

**THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON
LEARNING FROM TACHING
IN INDUSTRY**

Selected Documents



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Publisher's Note

Taching is a red banner designated by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao. Within the short space of 17 years, Taching has been built into an oilfield up to world advanced levels and a new, socialist mining enterprise which combines industry with agriculture and city with country. It has trained a proletarian contingent in the mould of the "Iron Man" Wang Chin-hsi, set up a revolutionized leading body and accumulated a wealth of experience in running a socialist enterprise well. Taching sets an example in keeping to China's own road in industrial development. After Chairman Mao issued the call "**In industry, learn from Taching**" in 1964, the Party Central Committee prepared several times to hold a national conference on learning from Taching in industry. Each time, however, interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and, especially, the anti-Party gang of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan aborted the plan. Now, with the smashing of the "gang of four" by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and the removal of the stumbling-block, the conference was finally held.

The National Conference on Learning from Taching in Industry, presided over by Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, and attended by 7,000 representatives from the whole country, was opened at the Taching Oilfield on April 20, 1977. From April 27 to May 13 when the conference was triumphantly concluded, the sessions were continued in Peking. It was a remarkable gathering of unprecedented scale on China's industrial front. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying made important speeches at the conference. Li Hsien-nien, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee Political Bureau and Vice-Premier of the State Council, delivered the opening speech, and Chi Teng-kuei,

Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee Political Bureau and Vice-Premier of the State Council, delivered the closing speech. Vice-Premier Yu Chiu-li was entrusted by the Party Central Committee to make an important report. The Taching Party Committee outlined Taching's basic experience, and the representatives shared the experience of various localities in learning from Taching. Holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, the conference was highly successful. It will certainly usher in a new all-round leap forward in China's national economy and stand as an important milestone in China's history of industrial development.

The speeches presented in this booklet are taken from the documents of the conference.

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SPEECH BY COMRADE HUA KUO-FENG

**Chairman of the Central Committee of
the Communist Party of China
and Premier of the State Council**

May 9, 1977

Comrades!

Since smashing the anti-Party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, the Party Central Committee has called first the Second National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture and now the National Conference on Learning from Taching in Industry. These are two very important conferences in striving to make the strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well achieve initial success this year and great success in three years.

An atmosphere of militant unity pervades this conference of ours which holds high the great banner of Chairman Mao, keeps to the orientation **In industry, learn from Taching** as indicated by Chairman Mao, and adheres to China's own road of industrial development. Just now Comrade Yeh Chien-ying has made an important speech. In the last ten days or so, you comrades have studied Comrade Li Hsien-nien's opening speech and a report by Comrade Yu Chiu-li, you have exchanged

experience in waging struggles against the "gang of four" and learning from Taching in industry, you have discussed plans to build Taching-type enterprises throughout the country and demonstrated the strong determination to push forward industry and the entire national economy speedily and without fail. This conference is highly successful and will certainly be an important milestone in the history of China's industrial development.

You comrades will be returning to your respective posts after the conference. You should take back the spirit of the conference, the Taching experience and the experience of other advanced units, together with the eager expectations of the Party Central Committee and the people of the whole country for the entire body of workers, cadres and scientific and technical personnel fighting on the industrial front. We are deeply convinced that after the conference, as we firmly grasp the key link of class struggle, deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and resolutely put Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line into implementation, a new upsurge in the mass movement to learn from Taching in industry and build Taching-type enterprises all over the country is bound to emerge and a new situation of an all-round leap forward in our national economy certainly will take place.

Comrades!

All of us are now conscientiously studying Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*. Its most important content is Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This theory is his greatest contribution to Marxism in

the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction; it provides the theoretical basis on which the Party's basic line in the entire historical period of socialism was worked out; it is the beacon guiding our work in all fields, including our work on the industrial front. It was under the guidance of this brilliant concept of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat that Chairman Mao laid down the Marxist-Leninist line and a series of principles, policies and measures to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in China's socialist industrialization.

We say learning from Taching is of fundamental importance to China's industrial development because the Taching red banner put up personally by Chairman Mao is a model of studying Mao Tsetung Thought and applying the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to the industrial front, a model of bringing about industrialization under the command of revolutionization and of taking China's own road of industrial development.

The theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat teaches us to use the fundamental law of materialist dialectics, the unity of opposites, to correctly understand and handle the basic contradictions in socialist society, i.e., the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base, and to correctly understand and handle the question of classes, class contradictions and class struggle which exists throughout the historical period of socialism. In socialist society, there is harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of produc-

tion and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Both that part of the relations of production which is not suited to the productive forces and that part of the superstructure which is not suited to the economic base hamper the development of the productive forces. That is why we must take class struggle as the key link, continue the revolution in the realm of the superstructure to make it harmonize with the economic base, continue the revolution in the realm of the relations of production to make them harmonize with the development of the productive forces, make big efforts to carry out technical innovations and technical revolution, and develop the productive forces rapidly, so as to provide an ever stronger material basis for our socialist political and economic system. Only thus can the dictatorship of the proletariat be continually consolidated and strengthened. And on the industrial front, these revolutionary tasks should be fulfilled by every enterprise. The principles of the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company approved by Chairman Mao, which integrate the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat with the concrete practice of running socialist industry and orient us in continuously carrying out the revolution in the superstructure, the relations of production and techniques of production in industrial enterprises.

You comrades have all gone to Taching to visit and study and have heard reports on its experience by Comrade Sung Chen-ming¹ and other comrades from

¹Comrade Sung Chen-ming is Secretary of the Taching Committee of the Communist Party of China and Chairman of the Taching Revolutionary Committee. — Tr.

Taching. From the visit and the reports, you have been deeply impressed by the fact that, guided by the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Taching has applied the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company in an all-round way and it has attached great importance to the revolution in the realm of the superstructure and in the relations of production and to technical innovations and technical revolution, thus developing production rapidly.

In industrial enterprises, the fundamental task of the revolution in the realm of the superstructure is to ensure that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled at the grass-roots level amidst acute struggles between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. To this end, it is necessary to carry out resolutely Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in enterprises, resist and defeat revisionist lines, keep the leadership of enterprises in the firm grip of Marxists and the mass of workers, do deep-going political and ideological work, arm the people with Mao Tsetung Thought and work unceasingly to promote the revolutionization of people's thinking.

Since its founding struggle, Taching has had a clear orientation, followed a correct line, relied on Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's essays *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*¹ for guidance and broken with revision-

¹When Taching was being opened up in 1960, the first decision of the Taching Party Committee was to call on the builders to study Chairman Mao's philosophical works *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* and his other writings and use Mao Tsetung Thought as the guide to action. The Taching people say the opening up and building of the oilfield was guided by these two works. — Tr.

ist conventions for running enterprises, thus opening up new vistas for China's industrial construction. In its early years of hard struggle, Taching persisted in following Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, withstood pressure from the Khrushchov renegade clique and Liu Shao-chi's attacks and sabotage, surmounted the difficulties caused by severe natural disasters and pushed construction of the oilfield ahead, thus establishing itself as a bright red banner on China's industrial front. At crucial moments in the fight against Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Taching stood the test, withstood pressure, unflinchingly defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and smashed their schemes to pull down the red banner of Taching. Taching has distinguished itself remarkably well, especially in its struggle against the "gang of four" in the last few years. No matter how the gang tried to stir up trouble, Taching's leading bodies never flinched, the workers' ranks were never split, and order in production was never disrupted. It has all along exercised effective dictatorship over class enemies. "Sitting tight in the fishing boat despite the rising wind and waves"—this is the true picture of Taching. What is meant by ensuring that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled at the grass-roots level? Just look at Taching, and there you see what this means. Comrades, we are carrying out industrial construction in a historical setting in which classes and class struggle will continue to exist for a long time. As proved by numerous facts, any enterprises and industrial departments which adhere to and carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the struggle make rapid progress, whereas those failing to

ward off interference and sabotage by revisionist lines make slow progress or even hover about and move backward. If every enterprise and every industrial department in China keeps its bearings in class struggle and the two-line struggle as Taching does, then no storm, no matter how fierce, will be able to prevent our triumphant advance.

Taching has a tempered revolutionary contingent cast in the mould of the Iron Man¹ and nurtured in Mao Tsetung Thought. This contingent is imbued with the spirit of revolution plus hard work, a real tenacity to carry an undertaking once started through to the end and an unflinching will power in face of all difficulties. That is what is most valuable and moves people the most. "Go ahead with the work when the conditions are available and, when they are not available, go ahead by creating the necessary conditions." This heroic utterance by Comrade Wang Chin-hsi, the Iron Man, voices the lofty aspirations of all revolutionary workers and cadres of Taching and their families. The Taching spirit of "hauling and carrying the machines manually," its spirit of "starting a revolution with five shovels"² and its spirit known as the "ten no's," that is, fearing neither hardship nor death, seeking neither fame nor fortune,

¹A reference to drilling worker Comrade Wang Chin-hsi (1923-70) who earned the name Iron Man. An outstanding representative of the Chinese working class, he made great contributions in opening up the oilfield.—*Tr.*

²When the Taching Oilfield was first opened in March 1960, there was a general lack of cranes and tractors, as of many other things. Comrade Wang Chin-hsi and his 1205 Drilling Team unloaded a 60-ton drilling rig from a train and moved it to the well site with ropes, cables, wooden planks and crowbars. To drill Taching's first oil well they surmounted many more

paying no heed to whether working conditions are good or bad, whether working hours are long or short, whether pay and position are high or low, whether the job is within or beyond one's sphere of responsibility, and whether it is work at the front or service in the rear — what kind of spirit is this? It is the spirit of serving the revolution wholeheartedly! The true communist spirit! This revolutionary spirit is the source of the strength behind Taching's great achievements. Where does it come from? It emanates from putting proletarian politics in command and revolutionizing people's thinking. Taching has applied the concept and line on army building established by Chairman Mao during the protracted revolutionary wars and the tradition and experience of the People's Liberation Army in political work to the concrete practice of industrial construction, so as to strengthen ideological remoulding, resist corruption of the workers by bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies, enable people from various classes to **"make the transition towards the working class,"** and thereby build up a contingent of industrial workers who are highly revolutionized, both red and expert and especially good at fulfilling fighting tasks. Chairman Mao issued the call to learn from Taching in industry, urging us to learn from the Liberation Army and strengthen polit-

difficulties. This is called the spirit of "hauling and carrying the machine manually," which has been fostered in Taching ever since, though of course under different circumstances.

In the spring of 1962, Hsueh Kuei-fang and four other housewives, each with only a shovel, were the first to answer the Taching Party Committee's call to reclaim wasteland under extremely harsh conditions. They took the lead in setting up Taching's first agricultural production base run by housewives. Hence, the spirit of "starting a revolution with five shovels."
— Tr.

ical and ideological work as Taching does so as to **"call forth the revolutionary spirit of millions and tens of millions of cadres and workers in all branches of industry (and commerce and agriculture as well)."** Comrades, guided by Chairman Mao's correct line during the period of the revolutionary wars, we relied on millet plus rifles and revolutionary enthusiasm plus death-defying spirit to conquer the snow-capped mountains and the trackless grasslands, drive out Japanese imperialism and overthrow the reactionary Kuomintang rule. The Taching spirit has the same vigour, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same death-defying spirit as in the years of revolutionary wars which it has carried forward and enhanced in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. If all our enterprises and industrial departments adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and have a revolutionized contingent of the Taching type plus this kind of revolutionary spirit, enthusiasm and perseverance, all difficulties can be overcome and every kind of miracle can be performed.

The revolution in the realm of the relations of production involves the following three aspects: ownership of the means of production, relations among people in the course of labour and relations of distribution. In enterprises under socialist ownership by the whole people, many things can be done in the revolution of relations among people in the course of labour. Taching has done many things successfully in this respect with new relations among people being formed and developed things that meet the requirements of socialist ownership by the whole people. Taching has indeed succeeded in wholeheartedly relying on the working class. Taching's work-

ers have high political consciousness and labour enthusiasm, take an active part in enterprise management, consciously observe labour discipline and unite in struggle — they have truly become masters of the enterprise. Taching's cadres work hard persistently take part in productive labour, consult the masses whenever questions arise, are concerned with the well-being of the masses and enjoy high prestige among them. Taching's scientific and technical personnel have made inventions and creations while integrating with the workers and are welcomed by them. The families of the Taching workers and cadres have organized themselves to take part in production and have become an important force in building Taching. According to conditions in the area, Taching also undertakes agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries, increasing collective welfare step by step and building up an oilfield of a new type which combines industry with agriculture and town with country. All this contributes to narrowing the three major differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between manual and mental labour, restricting bourgeois right and preventing the emergence of a class of bureaucrats. Comrades, in the harsh conditions of the revolutionary wars in the past, our officers and men, the higher and lower levels, and cadres and masses were united as one, shared weal and woe and established revolutionary relations among people. We should for ever maintain and develop those relations. This is what Taching is doing. If all our enterprises maintain and develop the new socialist relations among people in the course of labour as Taching is doing, this will greatly promote the consolidation of socialist ownership by the whole

people, the revolutionization of people's thinking and the development of the productive forces.

Revolution means liberating the productive forces. One important task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to develop the productive forces rapidly, make technical innovations and technical revolution and achieve labour productivity higher than under capitalism. This is an indispensable prerequisite for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevention of capitalist restoration and thenceforth for the elimination of classes and the transition to communism. Taching vigorously stimulates the growth of production by making revolution in the superstructure and in the relations of production. Following the general line for building socialism and upholding the principle of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands, relying on our own efforts and hard work and building the country with diligence and thrift. Taching studied and worked hard and built up one of the world's few huge oilfields at high speed, thus ridding China once and for all of backwardness in the petroleum industry and ending the days when China had to depend on imported oil. Taching's petroleum output has been rising steadily over the past 17 years at an average annual increase of 28 per cent. The present Taching is equivalent to six Tachings in 1965, the year before the start of the Great Cultural Revolution. In exploring and constructing the oilfield, Taching assimilated some of the science and technology of foreign countries, but did not simply follow the trodden path. It has its own unique creations, many of which are up to or surpass the most advanced world standards. This proves that

the proletariat of the East can accomplish whatever the bourgeoisie of the West can accomplish, and with better results. This is the pride of the Chinese working class and of the Chinese nation. Comrades, we started industrial construction from scratch. On the whole, our country is still relatively backward industrially and economically and our material base is not powerful enough. It is the urgent desire of the people of the whole country to change this state of affairs as soon as possible. If many more enterprises and industrial departments make achievements as great as those of Taching, we will certainly be able to catch up with and surpass the advanced world level in economy and in science and technology.

Party committees at various levels in Taching are skilled in the art of leadership and creative in their methods of work. Their revolutions in the superstructure, the relations of production and the techniques of production are all carried out under the leadership of Party committees by applying the mass line, boldly arousing the masses and launching mass movements in a big way. They are good at grasping advanced models, organizing mass campaigns to evaluate the ideology and outlook of comrades, compete in making contributions, elect model workers and pace-setters, so as to mobilize the masses to the full and bring into play all positive factors. They persistently combine high revolutionary spirit with a strict scientific approach, deep-going and painstaking political and ideological work with rational rules and regulations, ideological education in communism with implementation of the economic policies for the period of socialism, and hard work with concern

for the livelihood of the masses. In short, they oppose metaphysics and act in accordance with dialectics. Comrades, Chairman Mao told us long ago to **“strive to improve our methods of work.”** The leading organs of all our enterprises and industrial departments should learn from Taching, go deep into the real situation and go deep among the masses and greatly improve their methods of work and art of leadership so as to meet the needs of the developing socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Chairman Mao pointed out: **“Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will for ever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship.”** Taching has firmly followed this instruction of Chairman Mao's. Holding high the red flag while “launching satellites into the sky,” Taching has become a bastion in combating and preventing revisionism and a stronghold of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The “gang of four” vilified Taching as an “example advocating the theory of productive forces.” This is utter nonsense. In opposing Taching, they were not in the least opposed to the theory of productive forces, but to Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and its brilliant application on the industrial front, and

to China's taking her own road of industrial development. We must deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" so as to promote more effectively the mass movement of learning from Taching in industry and building Taching-type enterprises throughout the country, put Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat into better practice on the whole industrial front and develop China's industry with greater, faster, better and more economical results along the course charted by Chairman Mao.

Comrades!

Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao instructed us on many occasions to build China into a great and powerful modern socialist country in not too long a historical period of time. At the Fourth National People's Congress, Premier Chou, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, once again put forward the call to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology and build China into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century, so that our national economy will advance in the front ranks of the world. This is a behest Chairman Mao left behind for us to realize. The whole Party, the whole army, the working class and the people of all nationalities in the country must hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and exert themselves to translate this behest of Chairman Mao's into reality.

As of now, we have only 23 years left before the end of the century. To greatly increase the speed of develop-

ment of our national economy is a task which brooks no delay.

The question of the speed of construction is a political rather than a purely economic question. When viewed in the light of the international class struggle, the political nature of this question stands out still more sharply. By their very nature, imperialism and social-imperialism mean war. We must definitely **be ready for war.** We cannot afford to let time slip through our fingers, as it waits for no one. Every Communist, every revolutionary and every patriot should be clear about the situation, seize the present opportune moment, strive to work well and make our country strong and prosperous as soon as possible.

Comrades! Transforming China from a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country which was poor, backward and weak into a great and powerful modern socialist country —this is the historical mission of the working class and the people of China in the 20th century. Starting in the 21st year of this century, when Chairman Mao founded the Chinese Communist Party, the political party of the Chinese working class, he led us through 28 years of extremely difficult struggle in overthrowing the three great mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, winning complete victory in the new-democratic revolution and establishing the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people have stood up ever since then. Another 28 years have elapsed since the founding of the People's Republic of China. In this period, Chairman Mao led us in repeated struggles against class enemies at home and abroad, inside and outside the Party, winning great victories in the socialist revolution

on the economic, political and ideological fronts, winning great victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and building our country into a socialist one with the beginnings of prosperity. The task of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese working class in the next 23 years is to lead the people of the whole country in carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, adhering to the Party's basic line, taking class struggle as the key link, persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and building China into a great and powerful modern socialist country.

Our achievements in economic construction over the last 28 years are acknowledged by the whole world. Our agriculture feeds a population which exceeds one-fifth of the world's total although our cultivated acreage accounts for less than 7 per cent of the world's total. In 28 years our industry developed as much as many capitalist countries did in more than half a century. Chairman Mao said: **"Socialism is vastly superior to capitalism, and our country's economy will develop a lot faster than those of the capitalist countries."** This has already been borne out by facts in the past 28 years. However, as a result of interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four," our construction achievements are not great enough and the tempo of growth has fallen short of what we once anticipated. This is a bad thing, yet it can be turned into a good thing. We can draw valuable experience and lessons from this. The whole Party has also paid a tuition for learning the objective laws governing the economic growth of socialist society and for learning to follow China's own road for developing industry pointed out by

Chairman Mao. Is it possible for our national economy to develop faster and better in the next 23 years than it did in the previous 28? We hold that it is entirely possible. We now have a material basis built up over the past 28 years. We have gained experience, both positive and negative, in economic construction over the 28 years. Most important of all, through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the smashing of the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four," the unity of the whole Party is stronger than ever, the political consciousness of the people throughout the country is higher than ever, the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao can be implemented in an all-round and correct way, and the revolutionary vigour of the cadres and the masses has been enhanced and they can now go all out in working for socialism. With these favourable conditions, plus our country's huge population, its vast territory and rich resources, our national economy will undoubtedly develop faster and better in the coming 23 years than it did in the previous 28. Of course, we must take into full account that class struggle at home and abroad in the next 23 years will likewise be very complex, and we must be prepared for any possible emergency. We must redouble our efforts precisely for this reason. We believe that the lofty goal of achieving the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology and building our country into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century can assuredly be reached. The superiority of our socialist system over the capitalist system as regards economic development will certainly demonstrate itself with greater splendour.

If we are asked what concrete example speaks for our confidence, the red banner of Taching on the industrial front offers the most convincing proof.

What Taching has been able to do, other enterprises also must and can do. The central authorities require that all enterprises learn conscientiously from Taching and that during the period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, at least one-third of the enterprises in the country become Taching-type enterprises, with special emphasis on the key enterprises. The key to building Taching-type enterprises lies in the Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. The various industrial departments under the central government must also strengthen their leadership. Under the unified leadership of the central authorities, the initiative of both the central and the local authorities must be brought into full play. Leading comrades of the provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and the industrial departments under the central government, I would like to put the following questions for your serious consideration and discussion: Have we really understood the great significance of the Taching experience and China's own road of industrial development? In what way do the localities and departments you comrades belong to lag behind Taching and what do you intend to do about it? In order to build China into a powerful socialist country with the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology within this century, what plans do your localities and departments have and what contributions do they intend to make? I hope that everyone will vie

with each other in this great revolutionary mass movement and bring your talent into full play.

Chairman Mao taught us: **“Man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. Ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong.”** Taching has to advance towards still higher goals. The petroleum department must strive to build some ten more “Taching Oilfields.” All enterprises must work hard to emulate Taching. All other industrial departments must strive to catch up with the petroleum department. All provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions must continuously scale new heights. The advanced must become still more advanced and those lagging behind must catch up. Make revolution and work hard, and we will be ever-victorious in our forward march!

Let us hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, strive hard to fulfil the historical mission of the Chinese working class and the Chinese people in the 20th century and build China into a great and powerful modern socialist country!

SPEECH BY COMRADE YEH CHIEN-YING

**Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of
the Communist Party of China**

(Excerpts)

May 9, 1977

Comrades:

Thanks to our wise leader Chairman Hua's auspices and your joint efforts, the current conference has proceeded very satisfactorily and successfully. Chairman Hua will be making an important speech later today. Here, I will present some views.

One. Taching and Tachai, the two red banners put up by Chairman Mao, represent the orientation of advance of the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people.

Throughout the past decade and more, there has been a fierce struggle between the two lines on the question of learning from Taching in industry. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which overthrew Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four," has made it possible to unfold on a larger scale the mass movement to learn from Taching in industry and build Taching-type enterprises throughout the country. The convening of the current conference is a clear indication of this. In learning from Taching, a unit must deter-

mine the gap between itself and Taching, and in the spirit of the Taching people, work out the methods and measures to close the gap. We should be aware that a new gap appears when the old one is closed. Therefore, it is necessary to go on learning. This applies, too, to the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. Holding aloft the two red banners of Taching and Tachai put up by Chairman Mao, we will certainly bring about a vigorous new upsurge in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, in which people will strive to catch up and overtake one another. This will certainly lead our national economy to grow continually by leaps and bounds.

Both Taching and Tachai should continue to advance and rise to new levels. The movements to learn from them should also keep advancing. We should look not only at the present, but to the future. We should learn from Taching and Tachai not only as they are today, but as they will be tomorrow; we should see in them the orientation of our advance.

What is our orientation? It is, as Chairman Mao pointed out in 1958, to organize industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, and military affairs (people's militia, i.e., the people as a whole under arms) systematically and step by step into a big commune, which will thus form the basic unit of our society. Taching and Tachai represent this orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao. You comrades have all seen the present Taching. In addition to industry, it has its own agriculture, commerce, culture and education and militia. The kind of basic unit of our society described by Chairman Mao is taking shape there. The working class of Taching has not only chang-

ed the objective world but in doing so has changed its own subjective world. It has used Mao Tsetung Thought to arm itself and bring up a new generation — the Taching people. These people have high political consciousness, valuable revolutionary drive, the communist “ten no’s” spirit of wholehearted devotion to the public interest and a revolutionary style of work characterized by the “three honest’s, four strict’s” and “four same’s.”¹ Tachai, like Taching, has not only reshaped mountains and rivers but also brought up a new generation of peasants — the Tachai people. The Taching and Tachai people have held aloft the banner of Chairman Mao and adhered unwaveringly to his revolutionary line. They stood firm against all interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the “gang of four”; they remained steadfast, however difficult the conditions. They are the kind of new people we must train in order to carry the cause of socialism through to the end.

Chairman Mao time and again spoke about the combination of industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education and military affairs. His “May 7” Directive, for example, was issued precisely in that spirit. Chairman Mao said: **“So long as there is no world war, the army should be a great school. And even under the conditions of a third world war, the army could most probably be a great school which can do all kinds of work**

¹“Three honest’s”: be honest in thought, word and deed.
“Four strict’s”: set strict standards for work, organization, attitude and observance of discipline.
“Four same’s”: maintain the same high standard of work on the night shift as on the day shift, in bad weather as in good, in the absence of leaders as in their presence, and when the work is not checked by others as when it is. — *Tr.*

besides fighting. Wasn’t this what we did in the anti-Japanese base areas during the eight years of the Second World War? In this school, our army should study politics and military affairs, raise its educational level, and also engage in agriculture and side-occupations and run small or medium-sized factories to make products for its own needs or for exchange with the state against equal values. Our army should also do mass work and participate in the socialist education movement¹ in the factories and the villages. When the socialist education movement is over, it will always find mass work to do so as to be always at one with the masses. Also our army should always be ready to participate in the struggles to criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie in the cultural revolution. In this way, the army can concurrently engage in study, agriculture, industry and mass work. Of course, these tasks should be properly co-ordinated and a distinction should be made between the primary and secondary tasks. Each army unit should concurrently engage in one or two of the three tasks of agriculture, industry and mass work, but not in all three. Our army of several million will play a very great role in this way.” Chairman Mao added that the same holds good for the workers, peasants and students. While accomplishing their primary tasks, they should concurrently do other work. Where conditions permit, those working in commerce, in the service trades and in Party and government organizations should do the

¹Or simply the “four clean-ups” movement, meaning to clean up things in the fields of politics, economy, organization and ideology, which was launched both in China’s cities and countryside following the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party called in September 1962. — *Tr.*

same. In line with this directive of Chairman Mao's, all trades and professions and every unit should learn from Taching and Tachai according to their own conditions. And Taching and Tachai should learn from each other — Taching should learn from Tachai and Tachai should learn from Taching. The whole nation should learn from the People's Liberation Army and the People's Liberation Army should learn from the people of the whole country.

Chairman Mao pointed out that socialist society covers a very long historical period and in this historical period, there are still classes and class struggle, and it is still necessary to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our ultimate aim is the realization of communism. This is, of course, something to be accomplished a hundred years or several hundred years from now. But how the transition to communism is to be made, what steps and what channels are to be taken — these were questions Chairman Mao often pondered over. His call to learn from Taching in industry and Tachai in agriculture is of great practical importance for gradually integrating industry with agriculture, town with country and manual labour with mental labour. From a long-term point of view, a specific course has thus been charted for the elimination of the three major differences between worker and peasant, between town and country, and between manual and mental labour and for the transition to communism. Gradual elimination of the three major differences and the transition to communism is a very arduous task which can be fulfilled only step by step and systematically through prolonged efforts in the fierce struggle between the two classes and the two roads and in the process of

the gradual elimination of classes. While making earnest efforts to do our present work well, we Communists must never lose sight of the long-term goal of our struggle. Therefore, in the movements to learn from Taching in industry and to learn from Tachai in agriculture we must think of the future, see our orientation clearly and have this blueprint in mind.

Two. The development of China's basic industries must be speeded up to serve agriculture and national defence more effectively.

Chairman Mao said in 1964 that we have two fists and one rump. One fist is agriculture, the other the defence industries. If we want the fists to pack a wallop, our rump must be firmly anchored. The rump is the basic industries. Thus Chairman Mao explained the relationship between the basic industries on the one hand and agriculture and the defence industries on the other, and the importance of developing the basic industries, and defined their dual task of serving agriculture and national defence.

Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. In such a big country as ours, only when agriculture is doing well can the problem of feeding our 800 million people be solved and industrial development be feasible. Chairman Mao said: **"Agriculture has a vital bearing on the nation's economy and the people's livelihood. Take heed, for it is very dangerous not to grasp grain production. If this is ignored, there will be widespread disorder some day."** The whole Party should pay close attention to agriculture and make great efforts to speed up its development. But what must we do to bring about a con-

siderable growth in our agriculture and make it a powerful fist? We must infuse into agriculture a powerful array of modern techniques while unfolding the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country. **“The fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization.”** We must therefore make our national economic plan carefully in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, and accelerate the development of industry, particularly the iron and steel, petroleum, coal, power, chemical, machine building and other basic industries. Only thus can we meet the ever-growing needs of agriculture for machinery, chemical fertilizer, fuel, electric power and other products, effectively help agriculture forward and give full play to the leading role of industry.

So long as imperialism and social-imperialism remain in the world and there are classes and class struggle in our country, we must ceaselessly strengthen national defence capabilities to safeguard our socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This requires support from industry, particularly the basic industries. Without powerful modern basic industries, we will not have adequate modern arms and equipment, means of transportation and supply, means of reconnaissance and highly developed communications and command systems — in a word, we will not be able to modernize our national defence. We must **take steel as the key link** and speed up the development of the basic industries so as to put our defence industries on a strong basis and enable them to make greater progress.

Three. The importance of accelerating the building of industry in the interior must be fully recognized.

Chairman Mao explained the relationship between industry in the coastal regions and industry in the interior in his *On the Ten Major Relationships* in 1956. He pointed out that we must develop industry in the interior and at the same time make use of and develop industry in the coastal regions so as to support and develop industry in the interior. Chairman Mao attached great importance to the building of industry in the interior and issued a series of instructions on the question. The building of industry in the interior is not merely a question of industrial distribution, but a question of strategy affecting the whole situation. At present, the Soviet Union and the United States are locked in an increasingly fierce struggle for hegemony and some day a war will break out. We must be clearly aware of this situation, keep war in mind and be prepared for it, be prepared for war breaking out at an early date, be prepared for a big war. We must race against time and work as quickly as possible so that well before the outbreak of war we will have built up industry in the interior.

We made great efforts to build up industry in the interior in accordance with Chairman Mao's strategic arrangements during the period of the Third and Fourth Five-Year Plans, and the achievements were great. Facts show that building industry in the interior is an endeavour of great strategic importance. It not only helps strengthen our national defence, but plays an important role in improving industrial distribution and developing the economy of the minority regions and the interior. Leading comrades in various regions and departments should conscientiously sum up their experience in building

industry in the interior and solve the problems thereof. Great efforts must be made to push forward agriculture and light industry in the interior to ensure a balanced development of agriculture, light and heavy industry. We must work in a down-to-earth way and build up the interior well as fast as possible so that it can make greater contributions to the development of our national economy and our preparedness against war in peacetime and serve as our powerful strategic rear base areas in time of war.

Lastly, it is imperative to pay attention to methods of work and improve the work style of the leadership. A new situation of leap forward is now taking shape throughout the country, and everybody is busy with plenty to do. Special attention must be paid to methods of work and to improving the work style of the leadership. Chairman Hua has set us an example in this respect. He has carried on Chairman Mao's traditional style of work. When Chairman Mao was still with us, he used to call several national conferences annually to consult with responsible members of provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and departments on important Party and state affairs. For instance, in the great leap forward year of 1958, Chairman Mao called and presided over a dozen or more national conferences. Moreover, Chairman Mao frequently made inspection tours to study and investigate and to discover problems and solve them. Chairman Hua has acted in the same way during the six months or so since the "gang of four" was smashed. He has called a series of national conferences for consultations on important Party and state affairs. Chairman Hua has also done a great deal of investigation and study. During the current National Conference on Learning from Taching in

Industry, he inspected Taching, Heilungkiang, Kirin, Liaoning and Tangshan where he went among the masses, studied the situation and helped solve problems. We must follow Chairman Hua's example and study earnestly to master the Marxist-Leninist methods of work that Chairman Mao always advocated, i.e., the mass line method, the method of integrating theory with practice, and the materialist-dialectical method, so as to substantially raise our level of leadership. Leading cadres at all levels, particularly the principal leading cadres in charge of provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and central industrial departments, must go to the grass roots to investigate and study, do a good job of grasping typical examples and take effective measures to unfold in a down-to-earth manner the mass movement to learn from Taching in industry and build more and more Taching-type enterprises in their own areas, departments and units.

We must hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by our wise leader Chairman Hua, fight in unity to carry out the strategic policy decision of grasping the key link in running the country well and build China into a great and powerful modern socialist country before the end of the century.

OPENING SPEECH BY COMRADE LI HSIEN-NIEN

**Member of the Political Bureau of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party of China
and Vice-Premier of the State Council**

April 20, 1977

Comrades:

Long expected by China's working class and the Chinese people, the National Conference on Learning from Taching in Industry is now formally opened. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council, I extend warm greetings to all comrades present.

This conference is being convened at the proposal of our wise leader Chairman Hua and in accordance with the decision of the Party Central Committee. That Chairman Hua is presiding over today's meeting shows his great concern and is an enormous encouragement to all the comrades present and to the working class of the country.

This conference is being convened amid an excellent situation both at home and abroad and on the joyous occasion when the people of the whole country are hailing the official publication of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*. Chairman Hua has led us in smashing the anti-Party clique of the "gang of four" —

Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. Our Party has won another important victory in the two-line struggle. Holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have earnestly studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, resolutely implemented the strategic policy decision of grasping the key link in running the country well put forward by Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee, deepened the great political revolution of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and won one great victory after another. Inspired by this great political revolution, the mass movements of learning from Taching in industry and learning from Tachai in agriculture are in full swing and a new big leap forward is emerging in the national economy. United in struggle, the people of the whole country are elated and inspired with a lofty ideal and our dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated than ever. Everywhere orioles sing and swallows dart, our great socialist motherland is prospering and heading for an increasingly better situation. Facts have eloquently proved that the political and organizational line adopted by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, which is an outstanding embodiment of great Mao Tsetung Thought, is entirely correct. Chairman Hua is a good student of and good successor to Chairman Mao and our good leader. We must rally more closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, follow the instructions of Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee in all our actions, uphold the Party's basic line, wage arduous struggles, work hard, go all

out and aim high to develop the excellent situation and strive for still greater victories.

Since the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao issued the call **"In industry, learn from Taching,"** this is the first time we are holding such a national meeting to popularize the experience of Taching. Due to the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and especially by the "gang of four," it was not possible to convene the meeting even though we wished to do so several times. The destroying of the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and the smashing of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have cleared away the road-block in learning from Taching in industry. The convening of this conference is also a great victory in smashing the "gang of four," and a major victory of the Great Cultural Revolution and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

This conference of ours is an unprecedented grand meeting on China's industrial front. Among those present are representatives of the Taching Oilfield, representatives of the Taching-type enterprises, advanced enterprises and advanced collectives in learning from Taching, representatives of advanced producers and workers who are fighting on the front line of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, representatives of key enterprises related to the entire situation in the national economy, responsible comrades from various provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, prefectures, cities and part of the counties, and responsible comrades of the departments concerned under the Party Central Com-

mittee, the State Council and the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Representatives of Tachai, the red banner on the agricultural front, and of the "Hard-Boned Sixth Company"¹ of the P.L.A. are also present. Altogether 7,000 people are participating. This conference can be called a meeting of heroes on the industrial front.

The task of this conference is to mobilize the whole Party and the entire working class in raising still higher the great banner of Chairman Mao, launching a new high tide of studying Mao Tsetung Thought, further deepening the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," pushing the mass movement of learning from Taching in industry to a new stage, building Taching-type enterprises throughout the country and striving to build China into a powerful modern socialist country as soon as possible. This is an important step for implementing the strategic policy decision put forward by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua of grasping the key link in running the country well, and for attaining great order across the land.

Taching is a red banner personally put up by Chairman Mao. In the fierce struggle between the two classes and the two lines, Taching has upheld Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, implemented in an all-round way the **"Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company"** and blazed China's own road in developing industry diametrically opposed to that of capitalism and revisionism. Just as our respected and beloved Premier Chou once pointed out, Taching is a paragon of study-

¹A company in the P.L.A. Nanking Units, the "Hard-Boned Sixth Company" is an example for the whole army to emulate. —Tr.

ing and applying Mao Tsetung Thought and of vigorously learning from the P.L.A. and concretely applying its experience in doing political work. By conscientiously spreading the Taching experience and building Taching-type enterprises throughout the country so that the former can take root in every corner of the country, we will be able to ensure that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled at the grass-roots level and build every enterprise into a bastion combating and preventing revisionism; greatly accelerate the speed of our industrial development, enable industry to play better its role as the leading factor of the national economy, promote the modernization of agriculture, national defence and science and technology; carry out in a better way the strategic policy of **being prepared against war, being prepared against natural disasters, and doing everything for the people**, and greatly strengthen China's economic power and national defence. The two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are frenziedly expanding armaments and stepping up war preparations and a world war is bound to break out some day. The Soviet revisionists never give up their wild ambition of subjugating China. We must race against time, quicken our pace, greatly speed up the tempo of our industrial development, boost the national economy and build our socialist state of the proletarian dictatorship into a more powerful one.

During this conference, we must earnestly study Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, study Chairman Hua's recent important speeches and other related documents of the central authorities, deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four's" counter-

revolutionary crimes and their ultra-Right line, and further clarify the concepts which they had muddled up. We must conscientiously study and popularize Taching's experience, give commendations to advanced units and workers in learning from Taching and work out plans and measures in learning from Taching in industry and building Taching-type enterprises throughout the country in the period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Really mastering Taching's experience is by no means an easy job. We must, in the light of our own thinking and work, expose contradictions and find out where we have fallen short, adhere to continuing the revolution just as Taching does and learn from Taching with Taching's spirit.

Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee show great concern for and pay great attention to this conference. The entire working class and the people of the whole country place great hope on us. I am convinced that, through the efforts of all of us, this conference will be a conference full of vitality, a conference of unity and victory. After it, we should plunge into the great struggle of socialist revolution and construction with a new militant approach and make more outstanding achievements.

Comrades! Under the guidance of the great banner of Chairman Mao and under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we can certainly fulfil the militant task of achieving initial success this year and great success in three years in grasping the key link in running the country well; we will surely bring about a new big leap forward in the national economy, fulfil and overfulfil this year's plan and

the Fifth Five-Year Plan of national economy, and accomplish the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology within this century; we will surely realize the grand goal put forward by Chairman Mao of surpassing the United States economically in several decades and build China, this world revolutionary base area, still better and make greater contributions to humanity.

Unite to win still greater victories!

CLOSING SPEECH BY COMRADE CHI TENG-KUEI

**Member of the Political Bureau of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party of China
and Vice-Premier of the State Council**

May 13, 1977

Comrades:

The National Conference on Learning from Taching in Industry, called by the Party Central Committee and presided over by our wise leader Chairman Hua, has succeeded in fulfilling its tasks through the concerted efforts of all comrades present. It is indeed a conference of unity and of victory. As Chairman Hua pointed out, this conference which has held high the great banner of Chairman Mao has been highly successful, and will certainly be an important milestone in the history of China's industrial development.

Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh delivered important speeches at the conference, giving tremendous encouragement to the working class and the people throughout the country. Applying Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Hua has splendidly expounded the Taching experience, given a profound exposition of the great significance of learning from Taching in industry, further pointing out the direction

for this movement. Chairman Hua clearly indicated that the historical mission of China's working class and the Chinese people in the 20th century is to strive for the achievement of Chairman Mao's behests, uphold the Party's basic line and build China into a great and powerful modern socialist country. Chairman Hua's important speech has given us tremendous inspiration in our efforts to carry out the strategic policy decision of grasping the key link in running the country well, quickly build Taching-type enterprises countrywide, effect an all-round leap forward in the national economy, and win still greater victories in the socialist revolution and construction.

All of us comrades present at the conference must follow Chairman Hua's instructions, take back with us the spirit of the conference and the Taching experience and the experience of other advanced units, together with the eager expectations of the Party Central Committee and the people of the whole country for the entire body of workers, cadres and scientific and technical personnel fighting on the industrial front. We must unite as one under the unified leadership of the Party committees at all levels and bring about an immediate high tide in the study, propagation and implementation of the spirit of the conference.

We must mobilize and organize the working class and people throughout the country in the course of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, to study conscientiously works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, and make a good study at

present of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, in particular, so as to apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought better as the guide to all our work.

We must make a conscientious study of the important speeches of Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh, the opening speech by Comrade Li Hsien-nien and the report by Comrade Yu Chiu-li, as well as the experience introduced by the Taching Party Committee and that of the various localities, firmly grasp the key link of class struggle, deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" in connection with the concrete situation in our own localities, departments and units and thoroughly eliminate the pernicious influence and effects of the "gang of four," so that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the strategic plan of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua can be realized in an all-round way.

The key to building Taching-type enterprises countrywide lies in the Party committees of the provinces and municipalities. It is necessary first of all for them to make conscientious efforts in study and discussion to enhance their understanding and strengthen their leadership, so that the movement to learn from Taching in industry will succeed as the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture has done. It is necessary to pay particular attention to grasping the work well in key enterprises. Every big, medium and small city, every industrial department, enterprise, workshop, work group and team across the country should find out where it has fallen short against the Taching experience and map out plans accordingly. All plans must be forward-looking as well

as fully reliable. Attention must be paid to striking an overall balance. Enthusiasm should be aroused and not dampened. We must go all out, aim high and launch the learn-from-Taching mass movement in industry in a more vigorous and down-to-earth manner.

The Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and all central ministries, particularly those in charge of industry, must follow the instructions of Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh, and improve their style of leadership and methods of work. They should send large numbers of cadres, with leading cadres in the van, to grass-roots units where they will eat, live and work alongside the workers, study and investigate and sum up experience, use the experience gained from selected basic units to guide and promote overall work, doing their jobs intensively and meticulously, so that the learn-from-Taching movement in industry will surge forward with greater and greater momentum.

We must respond to Chairman Hua's call to "vie with each other in this great revolutionary mass movement and bring one's talent into full play," scale one new height after another, and make still greater contributions to the struggle for building socialism and attaining the lofty ideal of communism.

The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao said: **"We are now engaged in a great and most glorious cause never before attempted by our forefathers. Our goal must be attained. Our goal can certainly be attained."** Let us hold still higher the great banner of Chairman

Mao, and fully confident of victory, march courageously forward under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by the wise leader Chairman Hua!

Now we declare the National Conference on Learning from Taching in Industry successfully adjourned.

**MOBILIZE THE WHOLE PARTY AND
THE NATION'S WORKING CLASS
AND STRIVE TO BUILD TACHING-TYPE
ENTERPRISES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY**

Yu Chiu-li

Vice-Premier of the State Council

May 4, 1977

Comrades:

Our conference, which is presided over by our wise leader Chairman Hua, has been proceeding very well. Chairman Hua gave very important instructions concerning the conference, wrote an inscription for Taching and issued the militant call "We must hold high the red banner of Taching put up by Chairman Mao." This was a great inspiration to the comrades attending the conference and the Chinese working class as a whole. You have for many days held keen discussions and exchanged experience on how to better implement the strategic policy decision to grasp the key link in running the country well and further deepen the exposure and criticism of the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, and on the question of learning from Taching and building Taching-type enterprises throughout the country. The conference has been progressing in a lively and invigorating way. Entrusted

by the Party Central Committee, I'll now speak on the following questions.

**I. DEVELOP THE EXCELLENT SITUATION
AND WIN NEW VICTORIES**

Carrying out Chairman Mao's behests and displaying the fine mettle of a proletarian revolutionary, our wise leader Chairman Hua led us in smashing the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" at one blow; our Party emerged victorious in yet another important struggle between the two lines, and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is more consolidated than ever. This is of great immediate and far-reaching historic significance for our people to build China, this base area of the world revolution, still better and strive to make greater contributions to humanity.

In the seven months since the "gang of four" was smashed, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the hundreds of millions of people in our country has erupted like a volcano, socialism has advanced victoriously everywhere, and tremendous changes have taken place on all fronts. The situation in the whole country has developed so well and so rapidly that it far exceeds people's expectations.

Holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities are bringing about a new high tide in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. They are reading and studying eagerly and applying the basic principles "Practise Marxism, and

not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire" in their efforts to strip the "gang of four" of their masks, repudiate their crimes, criticize their fallacies and eliminate their pernicious influence, thus greatly heightening their own consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle. The publication of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, in particular, has tremendously aroused the enthusiasm of the people throughout the country in conscientiously studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought, persevering in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism vigorously. Great, invincible Mao Tsetung Thought has been further popularized on a wide scale in the course of struggle.

The "gang of four," a scourge of the country and the people, and their handful of sworn followers have been submerged in the sea of people's war. We have seized back that portion of power the gang usurped; the problems in those areas and departments the gang tightly controlled or seriously disrupted have been or are being solved smoothly; the right and wrong they distorted in theory, line and ideology are being set to rights step by step; the class alignments which they confused are being straightened out. The handful of new counter-revolutionaries and old and new bourgeois elements they shielded, abetted and supported have received resolute blows from the proletariat. That the masses could be mobilized so fully in this great political revolution to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and that the movement could go forward with such speed and impact and

in such an orderly way was something many people could not have conceived.

People all over the country are jubilant, inspired and in high and militant spirits. "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" has emerged before us. Relations have become closer among comrades in our Party, between the Party and the masses, between the cadres and the masses, between the army and the government, between the army and the people, between the higher and the lower levels and among all our nationalities. Up and down our country, an atmosphere of unity in struggle now prevails in the Party, the government, the army, mass organizations and cultural and educational institutions, whether in the east, west, south, north or centre. All this fully demonstrates that our Party is full of vitality and our country is growing more prosperous.

Seriously damaged by the "gang of four," our national economy has been swiftly restored and expanded. The mass movements **In industry, learn from Taching** and **In agriculture, learn from Tachai** are developing more extensively and in a deeper way. With soaring enthusiasm, the peasants in their hundreds of millions are vigorously criticizing revisionism and capitalism and building socialism while stepping up their efforts to build Tachai-type counties across the country. The entire industrial front, now freed from the mental shackles imposed by the "gang of four," has launched a vigorous socialist labour emulation drive to learn from Taching. With regard to railways, the arteries of the national economy, many trunk lines which previously suffered from serious traffic jams as a

result of the "gang of four's" sabotage have now been restored and are operating smoothly, and the monthly loading of freight waggons has topped its previous peak. The oil industry which waged a resolute struggle against the "gang of four" has overfulfilled its targets every month and year and raised its output steadily; it is continuously advancing at high speed. The coal industry which withstood pressure from the "gang of four" and overcame the serious effects of earthquakes has overfulfilled its state targets; it is going ahead at a greater tempo. Output of electric power, chemical fertilizer, cement, tractors, cotton yarn and cloth and other items and many products of the defence industries is increasing steadily. The iron and steel industry ended a decade-long hovering around one level in the Great Cultural Revolution, but again marked time for several years due to disruption by the "gang of four"; it is now taking a turn for the better as production rises continuously. With the overthrow of the "gang of four," the iron and steel industry can end its stagnation and advance steadily. It is particularly inspiring that the situation in a number of enterprises, where production was interrupted for a long period of time as a result of serious disruption by the "gang of four," has changed rapidly, and some have restored production to their previous peaks within only a few months. A new leap forward is taking shape in our national economy.

The most fundamental reason for the situation developing so fast and so well is that our wise leader Chairman Hua, firmly defending and holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao and proceeding from Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the

dictatorship of the proletariat and the progress of the Chinese revolution, has put forward the strategic policy decision of grasping the key link in running the country well and taken a number of effective measures in this respect. This fully reflects the common desire of the Chinese people in their hundreds of millions and arouses the enthusiasm of the cadres and masses for socialism. The great victories we have won fully prove that the political and organizational line of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua is a splendid embodiment of great Mao Tsetung Thought and is entirely correct. Our Chairman Hua is our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao's good student and successor and is worthy of being the wise leader and supreme commander of our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities of our country. Closely rallying round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and closely following his strategic plan is the basic guarantee for our winning new and still greater victories.

Advancing towards great order amidst the sharp struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, our country has now entered a new historical period of development. The fighting tasks facing the whole Party and the people of the whole country are to hold still higher the great banner of Chairman Mao and resolutely carry out Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision, that is, firmly grasping class struggle and steering the country towards great order, further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, achieve stability and unity and mobilize all positive factors to build China into a powerful, modern socialist country before the end of this century. The aim of this conference is to mobilize the whole Party and the

nation's working class to deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," carry forward the mass movement of learning from Taching in industry still more vigorously and solidly, build Taching-type enterprises all over the country, develop China's industry at high speed and strive to build a powerful socialist country.

Chairman Mao said: "**People must adapt their thinking to the changed conditions.**" The present situation is excellent and all our work must be adapted to this situation. Every comrade should work to promote this excellent situation. We must earnestly study Chairman Hua's important article "Revolutionary Drive Is the Important Thing" which was republished recently. We must act as Chairman Hua said of the masses and cadres in Maotien District in Hunan: "While setting themselves lofty goals, they work in a down-to-earth way." "Instead of retreating when they encounter difficulties on their path of advance, they dare to struggle and overcome them with a dauntless spirit." Leading comrades at all levels, in particular, must be clear about the situation, dare to struggle and dare to win, heighten their militancy, go all out, march in the van of the struggle and lead the masses in winning new victories. It would be wrong to fail to see the difficulties arising from interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," but it would be even more harmful to underestimate the tremendous enthusiasm for socialism among the masses and overestimate the temporary difficulties in our advance, thereby not making serious efforts to do what can be done. In order to carry out the glorious and arduous tasks before us, we must redouble our efforts, work with revolutionary enthusiasm and

death-defying spirit, accomplish two days' work in one, go full steam ahead and advance courageously.

II. CARRY THE GREAT STRUGGLE TO EXPOSE AND CRITICIZE THE "GANG OF FOUR" THROUGH TO THE END

To deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," resolutely eradicate their pernicious influence and effects politically, ideologically and organizationally and carry this great political revolution through to the end is at present the central task of the whole Party and the whole country; it is likewise the central task on the industrial front. Through this great political revolution, we must further sweep away the various obstacles to the learn-from-Taching movement in industry, raise the consciousness of the cadres and masses in implementing Chairman Mao's line in running socialist industry and hold still higher the red banner of Taching.

Our Party has waged sharp and complex struggles in recent years against the "gang of four" on the question of whether we should hold high the red banner of Taching put up by Chairman Mao or pull down this red banner and on the question of what road China's industry should take.

In order to achieve their criminal aim of usurping Party and state leadership and restoring the old order, the "gang of four" rabidly opposed Chairman Mao's great instruction "**In industry, learn from Taching**" and repeatedly stirred up the evil wind to oppose Taching and haul down this red banner. After the Tenth Party Congress, and especially after the start of the movement to criticize Lin

Piao and Confucius, the "gang of four" stepped up their counter-revolutionary moves to usurp supreme Party and state leadership and opposed Taching more wildly than before.

Chairman Mao in 1973 once again warmly praised the cadres and workers of Taching and said with joy: "Taching has done a good job." But the "gang of four" came out with a different tune, attacking Taching as "going back to the old order." Soon after the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius started, Wang Hung-wen ordered one of his henchmen to return to Taching, which he described as "sending the tiger back to the mountains," thus extending his claws into Taching to carry out sabotage. This was an important part of the "gang of four's" counter-revolutionary scheme to "throw the whole country into chaos so as to fish in troubled waters and seize power." Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Taching workers waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the "gang of four" and thwarted their plots.

In his Report on the Work of the Government to the Fourth National People's Congress in 1975, Premier Chou once again called on us to deepen the mass movements — **In industry, learn from Taching and In agriculture, learn from Tachai.** The State Council began active preparations to hold a national conference on learning from Taching in industry and the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and departments concerned did much work for this purpose. However, the "gang of four" tried in every possible way to obstruct and sabotage the convocation of this conference. Chang Chun-chiao shouted: "It is pointless to learn from Taching at present." He

even told the gang's followers in Shanghai: "They go their way, we go ours. Don't give a damn about what they tell you." The "gang of four" listed Taching as "out of bounds" and prohibited comrades in Shanghai from visiting it. When Shanghai workers and staff members went to Taching on a study tour organized by departments under the State Council, the gang even gave them what they called "preventive inoculations" before the trip and an "antidote" after it. The convocation of the present conference is therefore a major fruit of the victory in smashing the "gang of four."

The gang, furthermore, opposed Taching and tried to tear down the red banner by attacking the film *Pioneers*,¹ directing the spearhead of their attack at our great leader Chairman Mao and our respected and beloved Premier Chou. Chiang Ching viciously attacked the film as glorifying revisionism and fabricated ten "charges" against it. Yao Wen-yuan blatantly slandered the film as "whitewashing Liu Shao-chi." They banned its showing throughout the country and even clamoured that the "sinister boss" behind the making of the film must be ferreted out. Their reactionary arrogance went to the extreme. Chairman Mao promptly wrote a brilliant note on the film, thereby shattering the gang's plot and giving tremendous encouragement to the workers of Taching and the people of the whole country. The "gang of four," however, did not stop there. They continued to persecute the scenarist of *Pioneers* and opposed Chairman Mao's note, obstinately clinging to their counter-revolutionary

¹ *Pioneers* is a feature film in colour on the feats of the Chinese working class in opening up Taching, the nation's first big oilfield, independently and self-reliantly.

stand. They tried to consign the film to oblivion, and shelved for ten years another film, *Battle Song of Taching*,¹ made on Premier Chou's instructions. At the same time, they lauded to the skies a foreign film about how a Western capitalist makes a huge fortune from the exploitation of petroleum, claiming that it was better than our *Pioneers*. This fully shows the ugly features of the "gang of four" as slaves of foreigners and traitors. In the words of Chairman Mao when he criticized them, to their way of thinking even the moon is better over foreign lands than over China.

Things of a kind come together; people of a mind fall into the same group. In their violent opposition to Taching, the "gang of four" inherited the mantle of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and company in its entirety. Shortly after the campaign to build Taching started, Liu Shao-chi and Po I-po, in co-ordination with the adverse anti-China current of the Soviet revisionists, slandered the campaign as a "big mishmash," called for a halt and ordered the workers of Taching to pull out. When the Great Cultural Revolution started, Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta, in collaboration with Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, attacked an exhibition on Taching held in Peking as a "big poisonous weed against Mao Tsetung Thought" and spread the slander that "the red banner of Taching is in fact black, its models are falsified, its cadres are bad and its experience is just so much bragging." Time and again they sent so-called "fighting groups" to Taching to incite "overthrowing all," provoke "all-round civil war" and ruthlessly persecute Iron Man

¹*Battle Song of Taching* is a documentary of how Taching's workers arduously opened up and built the oilfield.

Comrade Wang Chin-hsi and a large number of revolutionary cadres and model workers in an attempt to pull down the red banner of Taching at one stroke. After the collapse of Lin Piao, the "gang of four" pressed ahead with its sinister designs and intensified its scandalous attacks on Taching. The frantic attack on Taching by the chieftains of the revisionist lines serves to show that Taching has done right and well in blazing China's own road for developing industry which is in direct opposition to that of capitalism and revisionism.

In opposing Taching by using all kinds of dirty tricks, the "gang of four," a sinister gang of old and new counter-revolutionaries, was in effect opposing Chairman Mao's line on running socialist industry. In undermining China's socialist industry, these criminal chieftains committed numerous crimes and did all kinds of bad things. Let us select from their principal crimes the following ten major accusations against them.

(1) They viciously attacked Taching's basic experience of "relying on Chairman Mao's essays *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* for guidance" and opposed the application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the industrial front. Chairman Mao's brilliant works *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* are scientific summaries of the experience of the Chinese people's protracted revolutionary struggle, a development of Marxist philosophy and an important theoretical basis on which our Party formulates its line, principles and policies. If the Taching workers, with the blue sky over their heads and the grasslands under their feet, had not armed themselves with the dialectical and historical materialist world outlook of the proletariat to change the world,

could they have overcome so many difficulties and opened such a big oilfield at a high speed rarely seen in the world? If Taching had not used Mao Tsetung Thought to build up a revolutionized contingent of the Iron Man type, could it have withstood the storms and won one victory after another in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines? In opposing the Taching experience of "relying on Chairman Mao's essays *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* for guidance," the "gang of four" attempted to pull down the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and confuse people's thinking with their idealist and metaphysical nonsense so as to push their ultra-Right counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

(2) They tampered with the Party's basic line¹ and opposed carrying out deep-going education in this line on the industrial front. Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism, put forward the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and formulated for us the Party's basic

¹The basic line of our Party for the whole historical period of socialism formulated by Chairman Mao is: **Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.**

line, which is the lifeline for all our work. Betraying the Party's basic line, the "gang of four" brazenly slandered education in the basic line as "criticism of the petty bourgeoisie by the big bourgeoisie" and vilified Taching's carrying out class education in the basic line by contrasting past bitterness with today's happiness as "vulgar" and "outdated." They deliberately distorted the principal contradiction during the historical period of socialism, reversed the relations between ourselves and the enemy, took leading cadres at various levels who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as targets of the "revolution" and wanted to overthrow them one and all, and they incited landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and old and new bourgeois elements to rebel against the proletariat in a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

(3) They formed a bourgeois factionalist setup and ganged up to pursue their own interests and usurp supreme Party leadership. They tried their utmost to undermine the Party's centralized leadership and incite people to "kick aside the Party committees to make revolution" in Taching and elsewhere in the country. But for the Communist Party, there would have been no new China and no victory for socialism, and we would have nothing. If the Party were kicked aside, where would the revolution be! Their "revolution" was in fact counter-revolution, which meant overthrowing the Communist Party and placing themselves in its stead. If this sinister gang of counter-revolutionaries had come to power, it would have meant the Kuomintang reactionaries and fascists coming to power, and our country would have

changed its political colour and turned into a colony of social-imperialism and imperialism, and the labouring people would again have been plunged into the abyss of misery.

(4) They opposed reliance on the working class and incited bourgeois factionalism so as to split the ranks of the working class. They slandered as a "political pick-pocket" Iron Man Comrade Wang Chin-hsi, a vanguard fighter of the Chinese working class who dedicated his whole life to the revolution with boundless devotion. They labelled as "people with vested interests" and "forces for restoration" heroes and model workers in Taching and other industrial enterprises in the country known for their great contributions to the socialist revolution and construction. They tried in every way to discredit all advanced units and individuals who had been commended by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. On the other hand, they honoured evil-doing scoundrels, hooligans, embezzlers, grafters, people guilty of beating, smashing and looting and new counter-revolutionaries as "fighting and dashing advanced elements," put them in important posts and used them as tools in their plot to usurp Party and state leadership. They pursued an out-and-out counter-revolutionary class line.

(5) They brandished the cudgel of the "theory of productive forces" everywhere to oppose going all out to build socialism. They could not operate machines, grow crops or fight battles, but were masters at sucking the blood of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, yet they had the impudence to slander Taching, which had made great contributions and performed outstanding deeds for the proletariat, as a "sinister example of follow-

ing the theory of productive forces." They slandered workers in various parts of the country who persisted in grasping revolution and promoting production as "working to lay the foundations for capitalism." In doing so, they aimed at sabotaging the socialist economy and undermining the material basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(6) They opposed the establishment and improvement of rational rules and regulations in socialist enterprises and smeared Taching as a "typical example of controlling, curbing and suppressing" the workers. Chang Chun-chiao went so far as to equate the rules and regulations which the workers consciously observed with the feudal yoke which the landlords used to oppress and exploit the serfs. He yelled: "Taching's system of personal responsibility is no innovation at all. When Wang Hsi-feng straightened out Grand View Garden,¹ she was introducing a system of personal responsibility for the women servants and maids." What an out-and-out reactionary and preposterous assertion! By rabidly sabotaging socialist enterprise management and fanning up anarchism, they were in effect trying to throw all our enterprises into chaos and paralysis.

(7) They desperately opposed Taching's revolutionary style of work — the "three honest's and four strict's," denigrating it as "imposing spiritual fetters" and "practising slavishness." By opposing Taching's "three honest's," they were encouraging lying, double-dealing, conspiring and intriguing. In opposing Taching's "four

¹An episode in the classical Chinese novel *The Dream of Red Mansions*. The Grand View Garden was a pleasure garden in one of the mansions.

strict's," they aimed at sabotaging the revolutionary discipline of the proletariat so that they themselves could do as they wished. Didn't Lin Piao say that "without telling lies one cannot achieve great things"? The "gang of four" and Lin Piao were of the same species.

(8) They opposed socialist accumulation and slandered as "putting profit in command" the fulfilment of the task of handing in financial returns according to the state plan. Without accumulation there could be no expanded reproduction and development of socialist undertakings. The "gang of four" deliberately blurred the demarcation between socialist accumulation and the capitalist practice of putting profit in command, confused people's thinking and caused many enterprises to run at a loss for years on end, all for the purpose of dissipating the wealth of our socialist country.

(9) They propagated such reactionary slogans as "We'd rather have workers without culture" and opposed people becoming both red and expert and training the proletariat's own experts. It would be impossible to realize the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology and build our country into a powerful socialist country without a high level of political consciousness, a developed culture and a huge contingent of proletarian scientific and technical personnel. The "gang of four" tried to dampen the enthusiasm of the masses of cadres, workers and technicians to study politics, raise their educational level and learn professional skills and techniques for the cause of revolution. Their purpose was to turn our country back to a state of ignorance and backwardness so that they, so-called

"standard-bearers" with "culture," could ride roughshod over the labouring people.

(10) They slandered the stipulations of our proletarian state on strengthening planned management as "revisionist decrees" and tried their utmost to oppose a socialist planned economy. Those areas and departments under their control went their own way without any restraint in production, recruiting workers, exchanging products, fixing prices and starting construction projects, which seriously aggravated the spread of capitalism and damaged our socialist economy.

The "gang of four" poked their noses into every nook and cranny, carried out sabotage, made trouble, and brought many enterprises to a standstill. Their crimes were by no means limited to the ten listed above! The counter-revolutionary revisionist line they pushed and the idealist and metaphysical nonsense they disseminated had a widespread pernicious influence and did enormous harm in industry. We should make serious efforts to organize the masses of workers and staff members to conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, and at present specifically study Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* well, and study Chairman Hua's important article "Continue the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to the End" so as to grasp the ideological weapon and make a penetrating and thoroughgoing criticism of the ultra-Right essence of the revisionist line of the "gang of four." Big successes have been achieved on the industrial front in the past months in the struggle to expose and criticize the gang, but their noxious influence is far from eliminated. The view that this task of criticism is

“just about fulfilled” does not conform with the facts and is therefore extremely harmful. People in every region, every department and every enterprise should, in close connection with the concrete situation in their own units and with their work and thinking, criticize one by one the counter-revolutionary crimes of the “gang of four” and the fallacies they spread. They should act as Taching has done, with everyone joining in the battle and vehemently condemning the gang by word of mouth and in writing for their crime and the damage they had done the Party and state, the enterprises and the people themselves during the heyday of their power. They should give an account of their past struggles against the “gang of four” when they were in power and their experience and gains in the fight, and by thus pouring out their grievances and repudiating them the cadres and people will really be profoundly educated in this struggle and raise their socialist consciousness. The more deeply the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by the “gang of four” is criticized and the more thoroughly it is destroyed, the more firmly and better will Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line and his various principles and policies be established and carried out.

In the struggle to expose and criticize the “gang of four,” we must firmly keep to the general orientation of the struggle and always direct the spearhead of our attack against the gang and its handful of diehard followers. We must strengthen centralized leadership by Party committees at all levels, and resolutely smash the bourgeois factionalist setups of the gang and its followers. We must draw a strict distinction between the two types of contradictions that are different in nature and handle them

correctly, help more people by educating them, narrow the target of attack and earnestly implement the Party’s policies. We must boldly arouse the masses to make investigations into every person and matter related to the gang’s conspiratorial activities, and there must be no sloppiness in doing this work. This job has not yet been taken up in a satisfactory way in a few localities and units mainly because the leadership there either fails to grasp the key link or is encumbered with personal concerns and therefore fainthearted and hesitant in action. In some cases, the leading comrades themselves do not have clean hands and, moreover, are reluctant to make a clean break with the gang and tell everything to the Party and the masses. If this situation is not changed, the masses will be dissatisfied, their enthusiasm will be dampened and no progress can be made in any kind of undertaking. The higher leading bodies concerned must take effective measures in the light of the concrete situation to solve the problems in these units as soon as possible so that they can rapidly catch up with our present excellent situation.

III. PERSEVERE IN TAKING CHINA’S OWN ROAD OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The red banner of Taching put up by Chairman Mao represents China’s orientation for developing its industry. Building Taching-type enterprises throughout the country means doing a better job in bringing all enterprises in China into the framework of Chairman Mao’s line on running industry. This is an important measure for implementing the strategic policy decision put forward by Chairman Hua of grasping the key link in running the

country well, as well as an extremely profound revolution on China's industrial front.

Over the past decade or so, particularly since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the mass movement of learning from Taching in industry has made progress and a number of Taching-type enterprises or advanced units in learning from Taching have emerged in various trades and regions across the land. However, interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and especially the "gang of four" prevented the movement from really getting started in many enterprises and hindered it from gaining such scope and depth as the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. With the overthrow of the gang and the removal of the stumbling-blocks, we must start a large-scale campaign of propaganda, study and discussion so that every comrade will acquire a deep understanding of the great significance of building Taching-type enterprises throughout the country and get clear about what to learn from Taching and how to learn, in the hope that the experience of Taching will soon blossom and bear fruit all over the country.

As you comrades all know, China's socialist industry started to develop on the basis of the confiscation of bureaucrat-capital and transformation of capitalist industry and individual handicrafts. After the socialist public ownership of the means of production was established, how should the proletariat run its industry was a question over which there still existed a serious struggle between the two lines. Because Liu Shao-chi and company tried hard to push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and because we lacked experience at that time, a num-

ber of enterprises followed the capitalist way of management and, during the First Five-Year Plan, we mechanically copied the Soviet practices such as the system of placing responsibility solely on the factory director, material incentives and reliance on specialists in running factories, and worshipped the "Charter of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine"¹ as sacrosanct. In view of these circumstances, Chairman Mao time and again summed up both the positive and negative experience in socialist construction at home and abroad and gradually formulated a whole series of theory, line, principles and policies for running socialist industry. In his directive on the "**Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company**" in 1960, Chairman Mao systematically criticized the "Charter of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine" and laid down these fundamental principles: Keep politics firmly in command; strengthen Party leadership; launch vigorous mass movements; institute the system of cadre participation in productive labour and worker participation in management, of reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations, and of close co-operation among workers, cadres and technicians; and go full steam ahead with technical innovations and technical revolution. For the first time in the history of the development of Marxism, Chairman Mao solved in an all-round way the question of the road for running industry according to socialist principles. The opening and construction of the Taching Oilfield is an example of a thorough rupture with outdated conventions and foreign stereotypes, con-

¹This refers to the methods of management in the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine of the Soviet Union. The set of authoritative rules practised there is typical in Soviet industrial enterprises.

scientious application of Chairman Mao's teachings and comprehensive implementation of the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company." Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Taching has further enriched and developed its experience and the red banner of Taching has become brighter than ever.

Our respected and beloved Premier Chou En-lai, who made great efforts to help Taching develop, spoke highly of its experience in his Report on the Work of the Government to the Third National People's Congress. He pointed out that Taching was an example in the study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought and in learning from the Liberation Army and making concrete use of its experience in political work; that Taching had all along adhered to the principle of combining centralized leadership with mass movements, the principle of combining high revolutionary spirit with a strict scientific approach and the principle of making technical revolution and building the country through industry and frugality; that it had fully met the requirements of the general line for achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

In his important speech at the Second National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture, our wise leader Chairman Hua pointed out: "Chairman Mao held up Tachai and Taching as two red banners, but the 'gang of four' vainly attempted to cut them down. We must hold them high." Our Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying enthusiastically wrote the following poem in praise of the Taching Oilfield: "For thousands of years this land has slumbered. People with the help of science are turning it into an oilfield. Builders converge from all direc-

tions for this massive battle. I wish you success and expect to hear your songs of triumph."

Taching has blazed China's own road of industrial development which is diametrically opposed to that of capitalism and revisionism. This is of great, epoch-making significance in the history of the development of socialist industry. It has answered, on the plane of combining theory and practice, the question of how to transform and build enterprises in the image of the proletariat and according to socialist principles. Historical experience has proved to the hilt that it is not enough only to carry out revolution in the ownership of the means of production; it is also necessary to continue to carry out a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts and ceaselessly transform that part of relations of production not in harmony with the productive forces and that portion of the superstructure not in harmony with the economic base. Without carrying out revolution in these spheres, the socialist system cannot be consolidated and the enterprises under public ownership may degenerate into capitalist enterprises in the guise of socialism. Has this not been the case with Soviet revisionist social-imperialism? Weren't there similar cases in a number of enterprises in China before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and in those enterprises which suffered from serious interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" in the past few years? We must keep this lesson firmly in mind. Only by persevering in continuing the revolution can we prevent a capitalist restoration, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and speed up socialist construction.

The Party committee of Taching has reported to this conference its basic experience which is very good and very important. Why is it that Taching was able to withstand interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in the acute struggle between the two classes and the two lines? Why is it that Taching achieved greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing socialist production and kept leaping forward in the past 17 years? Its experience has given a most convincing answer. We should all learn from it conscientiously and really master this.

Building Taching-type enterprises throughout the country means getting every enterprise to emulate Taching and assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, constantly criticize revisionism, capitalism and all kinds of erroneous ideas, apply the whole set of experience of the Liberation Army in doing political work to the industrial front and, in the course of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, build a leading body that firmly follows Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, perseveres in taking part in collective productive labour, maintains close ties with the masses and unites in struggle, and train a contingent of industrial workers who are ideologically sound, full of drive and technically proficient and who have a good style of work and strictly observe discipline. In this way, we will be able to stand any test in the storms of class struggle, ensure that the leadership of the enterprises is firmly in the hands of Marxists and the workers, build all enterprises into bastions combating and pre-

venting revisionism and greatly consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in China in a fundamental way.

Building Taching-type enterprises throughout the country means getting every enterprise to emulate Taching and work hard and self-reliantly, surmount all difficulties with heaven-storming and death-defying revolutionary enthusiasm, display the revolutionary spirit of "going ahead with the work when the conditions are available and, when they are not available, going ahead by creating the necessary conditions," dare to think, speak and act and dare to scale the world peaks of science and technology and, at the same time, combine high revolutionary spirit with a strict scientific approach, and establish and perfect rules and regulations that reflect the new socialist relations of production and objective laws of production. In this way, our country will certainly be able to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in industrial production and construction and press ahead at top speed.

Building Taching-type enterprises throughout the country means getting every enterprise to emulate Taching and adhere to the "May 7" road;¹ while engaging mainly in industrial activity, the workers should be urged to do other things and, where conditions permit, organize them and the staff members and their families to take up farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries. In doing so, we will be able to arrange for everyone to live in collective communities, do a good job of revolutionizing our thinking and improve the workers'

¹This refers to an important directive issued by Chairman Mao on May 7, 1966,

livelihood. This helps restrict bourgeois right and narrow step by step the differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between manual and mental labour.

What is most valuable in Taching's experience is that the Taching people really hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao on the industrial front and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, whether or not one learns from Taching, whether one does it truly or for show, wholeheartedly or halfheartedly, is in the final analysis a question of what road one takes, a question of whether one practises Marxism or revisionism and a question of whether one really makes revolution or is only shamming, of whether one is a revolutionary or a non-revolutionary. Unless one sees the question from this height, one will not be able to master the Taching experience or will only learn the superficial things instead of the essentials, and may even lose one's bearings and go astray.

A very sharp question now confronts us. Why is it that, after the smashing of the "gang of four" and the resultant removal of the biggest obstacle to learning from Taching, some places and enterprises have done well in learning but some others have not or even remain indifferent and take no action at all? The responsibility does not lie with the masses but essentially with the leadership. The Party committees of the provinces, prefectures and cities, the ministries and commissions under the State Council and leading comrades of the enterprises must all think over this question seriously and answer it conscientiously. Numerous facts show that

people will learn nothing from Taching if they do not adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, do not thoroughly expose and criticize the "gang of four," do not completely break with the old conventions of capitalism and revisionism and foreign stereotypes and do not have the vigorous spirit of continuing the revolution; they will learn nothing from Taching if they do not effectively revolutionize the leading bodies, but fear hardships and fatigue, hanker after an easy and comfortable life and are seriously affected by the world outlook of a sluggard or coward; they will learn nothing from Taching if they do not have revolutionary and death-defying heroism but always complain about natural conditions and other people, flinch from difficulty, are content with things as they are, resign themselves to a state of mediocrity and cherish no lofty aspirations; they will learn nothing from Taching if they do not share weal and woe with the masses or do painstaking political and ideological work and strive hard to train a revolutionized contingent of workers. Leading comrades at all levels should seriously reflect on the question — whether or not they have really grasped the significance of learning from Taching and whether or not they have really understood Taching's basic experience. They should boldly mobilize the masses, bring contradictions to light, find out where they have fallen short, raise the level of their understanding, go all out, carry forward **the same vigour, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war** and make an earnest effort to carry out the mass movement to learn from Taching. In a word, we must learn from Taching in the Taching spirit.

We are fully confident that, with the vigorous development of the movement to learn from Taching in industry and build Taching-type enterprises throughout the country, an unprecedentedly excellent situation is sure to emerge in China's industry and a new upsurge is sure to come in China's socialist revolution and construction. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Chinese working class will certainly play a still greater role and make still greater contributions to the magnificent cause of building socialism and realizing the lofty goal of communism.

IV. SPEED UP CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL GROWTH, STRIVE TO CATCH UP WITH AND SURPASS ADVANCED WORLD LEVELS

To build our socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat into a still more powerful state and catch up with and surpass the most developed capitalist countries economically — this is the great call of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, the long-cherished common aspiration of the people of the whole country and the lofty ideal for which countless revolutionary martyrs fought to the last drop of their blood. Building Taching-type enterprises throughout the country means speeding up China's socialist construction and carrying out Chairman Mao's great call and achieving the lofty ideal cherished by the revolutionary martyrs at an early date.

On the eve of the founding of the new China, Chairman Mao pointed out that we should **“steadily transform China from an agricultural into an industrial country and**

build China into a great socialist state.” At the First Session of the Preparatory Meeting for the Eighth Party Congress in 1956, Chairman Mao compared the conditions of our country with those of the United States, and suggested that we overtake it economically in 50 or 60 years. He said: **“This is an obligation. You have such a big population, such a vast territory and such rich resources, and what is more, it has been said that you are building socialism, which is supposed to be superior; if after much ado for 50 or 60 years you are still unable to overtake the United States, what a sorry figure you will cut! You should be read off the face of the earth. Therefore, to overtake the United States is not only possible, but absolutely necessary and obligatory. If we don't, we the Chinese nation will be letting the nations of the world down and we will not be making much of a contribution to mankind.”**

In view of the advances in China's socialist revolution and construction, Chairman Mao in 1963 mapped out a grand plan for building a powerful, modern socialist country. In line with Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Chou in his reports on the work of the government to the Third and Fourth National People's Congresses proclaimed the envisaged two-stage development of our national economy: First, to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system before 1980; second, to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the front ranks in the world. The decade 1976-85 is crucial for accomplishing the grand plan of

the two-stage development. In this period, we are first of all to build a nationwide, independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system and basically complete the technical transformation of the national economy; then, on this basis, the six major regions of northeast, north, east, central-south, southwest and northwest China are to build up step by step their respective economic systems, which vary as regards standards and characteristics and which function self-reliantly while working in close co-ordination, and have a fairly harmonious development of agriculture and light and heavy industry.

Fulfilment of Chairman Mao's behest to overtake the United States economically in several decades requires that we uphold the Party's basic line, conscientiously implement the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism**, mobilize all positive factors and develop the entire national economy proportionately, in a planned way and at high speed. Soon after smashing the "gang of four," the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua called the Second National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture and now it is holding this large-scale National Conference on Learning from Taching in Industry. The day before the conference opened, Chairman Hua gave the instruction that we should not only build the Taching Oilfield more successfully and continue concentrating on production in breadth and depth, but should build some ten more oilfields as big as Taching within this century. Chairman Hua's instruction not only sets a grand plan for China's oil industry to catch up with and surpass the

most developed capitalist countries in the world, but gives great encouragement and impetus to our comrades in all fields of endeavour. In the spirit of Chairman Hua's instruction, all of us should look farther ahead from a higher plane, cherish loftier aspirations and do all our work still better.

Agriculture is the foundation and industry is the leading factor of the national economy. While vigorously developing large-scale socialist agriculture, we must greatly speed up industrial development. It is possible to strengthen leadership by the working class and further consolidate the worker-peasant alliance on a new basis only when industry develops faster and supplies agriculture with more and better farm machinery, chemical fertilizer, pesticides and other producer's goods, turns out large quantities of light industrial products to exchange for farm products, and ensures the mechanization of agriculture by and large by 1980, and then proceeds to achieve the modernization of agriculture. Only when industry develops faster will it be possible to push the entire national economy forward rapidly and strengthen the material basis for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. And only when industry develops faster will it be possible to better carry out the strategic policy "**Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people,**" strengthen our national defence capabilities and be well prepared against a war of aggression. The question of speed in industry concerns the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and of socialism over capitalism, and concerns the future and destiny of our country. The factors for revolution and war are both

increasing in the world today and the contention between the two hegemonic powers—the Soviet Union and the United States—is becoming ever more acute. A world war is bound to break out some day. Soviet revisionism has not given up its wild ambition to subjugate China. With the wolf and tiger confronting us, we must never lower our guard. As far back as over half a century ago, Lenin sharply pointed out: **“Either perish or overtake and outstrip the advanced countries economically as well.”** We have already achieved great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is being strengthened and consolidated day by day. But, generally speaking, our economic capacity and national defence capabilities are not yet strong enough; the question raised by Lenin in his day confronts us in all its sharpness. We must fully understand this and never waste time which is so precious to us. We must seize every minute and second, work with tremendous exertion, strive with the greatest determination to make up for the losses caused by the “gang of four” and exert every ounce of energy to accelerate the rate of industrial growth.

Developing our industry at high speed is not only absolutely necessary but entirely possible. We have the superior socialist system, the Marxist line, principles and policies formulated by Chairman Mao, the wise leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, an industrious and courageous people and a powerful working-class force tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, an abundance of material resources and a vast home market, an industrial base

built up over the past 20 years and more and both positive and negative experience accumulated in the course of construction, as well as the most convincing example set by Taching of running industry according to Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and the example of a number of Taching-type enterprises like the Kailuan Coal Mine and many advanced units in learning from Taching for all to emulate. Provided we fully mobilize the masses, conscientiously carry out the line for running industry and the policies of “walking on two legs” that Chairman Mao formulated for us, deepen the mass movement of learning from Taching in industry and building Taching-type enterprises throughout the country and work hard to build our country industriously and with frugality and through self-reliance and redoubled efforts, we can assuredly develop our country’s industry along the socialist road at consistently high speed.

The downfall of the “gang of four” has greatly emancipated our country’s productive forces. We must channel the immense political enthusiasm generated among the masses of workers and staff in the struggle to eliminate the “four pests” into an all-out drive for building socialism, carry out socialist labour emulation on a wide scale, strengthen scientific and technical research, strive to adopt new techniques, extend multi-purpose use of natural resources, go in for technical innovations and technical revolution in a big way, work conscientiously to tap the potential and renovate and transform the existing enterprises, steadily raise labour productivity and launch a new upsurge to increase production and practise economy. We must adhere to the

policy of **taking steel as the key link** in developing industry, step up geological surveying and launch a big campaign to build mining centres, speed up the development of the iron and steel, fuel and power, petroleum and chemical industries and strive to turn out more products for farm use and light industrial products. For all products, we require not only quantity but also quality and lower consumption of material. We must work conscientiously to strike an overall balance, and make concentrated efforts in capital construction. All enterprises which have not yet reached their previous peaks for technical and economic indices must do so as soon as possible. Without exception, all enterprises must strive to reach present advanced national levels for their respective trades within two to three years; those which have already achieved this goal must advance to higher standards and strive to reach and surpass advanced world levels.

V. SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING STRAIGHTENING OUT ENTERPRISES

We must deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," do a good job of giving education in the Party's basic line, and straighten out all enterprises with determination so as to build Taching-type enterprises throughout the country and accelerate industrial development. In putting enterprises in order, the stress is to do a good job in consolidating the Party organizations and rectify the style of work. Some provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have in the past months done this in some of their enterprises, others have started

experimenting in a number of selected enterprises, and serious efforts should be made to sum up experience in this respect. Consolidation of Party organizations and rectification of style of work are to be undertaken throughout the Party after the Central Committee has made unified arrangements.

Some of the questions raised by the comrades about putting enterprises in order are well answered by the Taching experience, while other questions need further elucidation.

(1) A correct guideline is primary for putting enterprises in order. Interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" in the past few years created confusion in people's minds, in organization and in management of production in quite a number of enterprises, with grave consequences. What we mean by rectification is carrying out a widespread Marxist education movement, carrying out education in political line, and settling one by one those issues over which the "gang of four" created confusion. Therefore, rectification means revolution and only through rectification can we make progress. The "gang of four's" allegation that "rectification means restoration" was an attack with ulterior motives. By opposing rectification, they tried their utmost to push their revisionist fallacies which would truly lead to restoration. In the course of rectification, we should use the Party's basic line formulated by Chairman Mao as our guide, penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," sum up both the positive and negative experience gained since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, summarize the inventions and innovations of the masses, wholeheartedly support socialist new things, and help

consolidate and carry forward the victories of the Great Cultural Revolution.

(2) The Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, as well as the departments concerned, should seriously analyse and study the leading bodies of the enterprises under their administration. Most of our cadres are good or fairly good and those who are bad come to only a very small number. Through the Great Cultural Revolution, many veteran cadres have regained their revolutionary youthfulness and a large number of new cadres are maturing well. In consolidating the leading bodies, it is imperative to uphold the five requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause and the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young. Stress should be laid on doing a good job in ideological education. We should commend and support good cadres; patiently help and educate those cadres who have committed mistakes of one kind or another; wage a resolute struggle against and deal seriously with those who practise revisionism, create splits, engage in intrigues and conspiracy and refuse to mend their ways despite repeated education; and take resolute steps to weed out the few bad elements who have wormed their way into the leading bodies. As for those who do not grasp revolution nor engage in production but form cliques to carry out conspiracies, and always yearn to grab official posts and seize power, they will, in the words of the report on the Taching experience, "get nothing but criticism, no matter how far they reach out their hands for official posts, power and Party membership." The Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and

the departments concerned should directly help those enterprises which have many problems in their leading bodies and quickly solve these problems one after another without delay. Special attention must be paid to selecting and appointing the two top leaders in each enterprise. This year we must first of all do a good job of consolidating the leading bodies of key enterprises which affect the national economy as a whole.

(3) We must deal firm blows at sabotage activities by the handful of class enemies and beat back attacks by capitalist forces. With the support and connivance of the "gang of four," class enemies were rampant and capitalism spread unchecked in some localities and units in the past few years, causing great damage. In their struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," these localities and units should, in the light of their concrete conditions, concentrate for a time on arcusing the masses boldly and widely to firmly suppress counter-revolutionaries and those guilty of beating, smashing and looting and expose and punish embezzlers and grafters, speculators and law-breakers by concerted efforts in both town and countryside and at both higher and lower levels. Capitalist tendencies among the people should be dealt with by criticism and education and the problems conscientiously solved. This holds good for both industry and agriculture; unless the channels leading to capitalism are blocked, it will be impossible for socialism to stride forward.

As a result of interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," a small number of enterprises over a long period of time violated state plans, broke supply and marketing contracts and went their own way in production, ex-

change and fixing prices, thus opening the floodgates to illicit activities by old and new bourgeois elements. We must take firm steps to end this. The leading bodies concerned should strengthen management, institute strict discipline in financial and economic affairs, and take appropriate measures to solve the actual problems in mapping out plans for the enterprises, in linking production with supply and marketing and in co-ordinating the work of various enterprises.

(4) All enterprises should take Taching as the example, conscientiously learn from the experience of the Liberation Army, establish and improve their organizations, systems and rules of political work, and take effective steps to strengthen political and ideological education. Political work should be linked with economic work and carried out carefully on the workshop floor, in the workers' living quarters and among the workers' families. All enterprises should persist in doing a good job of education in political line, in classes and class struggle, in the general situation and in the revolutionary tradition. They should launch large-scale mass campaigns to comment on the ideology and outlook of the comrades, compete with one another in making contributions, elect model workers and select pace-setters, and commend advanced people so as to set examples for all to learn from and encourage everyone to make progress. Patient and painstaking efforts should also be made to help those lagging behind catch up with the advanced. All enterprises should learn from the Liberation Army's experience that **"the Party branch is organized on a company basis,"** strengthen the building of Party branches at the grass-roots level and make the Party branch play its full role

as a fighting bastion and Party members play their exemplary vanguard role. A good job should also be done in building groups and teams in the workshops. An enterprise can do its work better when the grass-roots units are put in order. Enthusiastic efforts should be made to train Party branch secretaries and group and team leaders so that they will effectively play their role as pace-setters politically and ideologically and in production and thus be supported by the masses.

(5) Management of plans, materials, finances, labour power, technical matters and equipment in some enterprises was disrupted in the past few years by the "gang of four." To do a good job in production, we must pay great attention to managing enterprises in a socialist way. Taching has also set a good example in this respect, and all enterprises should follow it. At present, emphasis should be laid on mobilizing the masses to work out ways and means to reverse the situation of certain enterprises running at a loss, improve quality, lower consumption of materials, overhaul and repair equipment and installations, and ensure safety in operations.

(6) The administrative structure of enterprises should be simplified and superfluous office functionaries sent to grass-roots units, and cadres must take part in collective productive labour. The number of non-productive personnel in general should not exceed 18 per cent of the total payroll in an enterprise. Overstaffing exceeding this percentage should be reduced step by step. Theoretical contingents, theatrical and propaganda groups, sports teams and militia organizations should be run well but the principle that their members are not divorced from productive labour should always be adhered

to. Each leading member and office cadre in Taching participates in productive labour at least 60 days a year, each cadre at the factory and divisional levels at least 100 days, each brigade cadre at least 150 days, and every cadre in grass-roots units works regular shifts. What is being done in Taching, other enterprises should strive to do.

(7) Enterprises should create the conditions for workers and staff members to become both red and expert, raise their political and technical level and train their own proletarian technicians and engineers. We must strictly carry out the Party's policy of uniting with, educating and remoulding the intellectuals and bring into full play the role of technical personnel. We must run political night schools and "July 21" workers' colleges¹ well. Factory-run technical schools and other spare-time technical training institutions which have suspended operation should be reopened. Enterprises should ensure that workers have adequate time for study.

(8) All enterprises should show concern for the material and cultural well-being of the workers and staff

¹On July 21, 1968, *Renmin Ribao* published an investigation report entitled "The Road for Training Engineering and Technical Personnel Indicated by the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant." On this report Chairman Mao wrote the following instruction: "Take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study." Afterwards, the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant set up a college for its workers and called it the "July 21" workers' college after the date Chairman Mao's instruction was published. Before long, factories all over the country followed suit in running their own "July 21" workers' colleges.

and do a good job of running canteens, nurseries and other collective welfare establishments in a planned way. They should take effective steps to encourage family planning and improve labour safety precautions and environmental protection. The workers' housing problems should be solved systematically and stage by stage through the joint efforts of the state, the local government and the enterprises concerned. The cities and industrial and mining areas should work out concrete plans and carry them out year by year. A special conference will be held to study and tackle the problems involving employment and wage rates.

(9) Enterprises should strengthen centralized Party leadership and institute the system of division of labour and responsibility under the leadership of the Party committee. Responsibility for the daily work in production, construction and management in an enterprise rests with the chairman of the revolutionary committee. We should oppose the phenomenon of having no one taking such responsibility and struggle against anarchism. It is necessary to give play to the initiative of the trade union, the Communist Youth League and the women's organization under the leadership of the Party.

(10) Work by city authorities must be done in line with the principle of serving production and the masses of workers, with great efforts being made to run educational and public health institutions, public utilities and commerce and the service trades well. An investigation should be conducted in all cities and resolute steps taken to correct any violation of this principle. The ministries and commissions under the State Council and the local leading organs at all levels should foster the concept of

taking the whole situation into consideration, abide by state plans, observe discipline in financial and economic matters and refrain from drawing manpower, materials and funds from enterprises without the approval of the Party committees of provinces, municipalities or autonomous regions.

VI. THE KEY TO BUILDING TACHING-TYPE ENTERPRISES LIES IN PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL PARTY COMMITTEES

The movement to learn from Taching in industry and build Taching-type enterprises throughout the country is a great revolutionary mass movement on the industrial front for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat with perseverance and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. This movement, like the revolutionary mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country, is a mighty revolutionary current in the present stage of our socialist revolution and socialist construction. The Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions should make overall plans and all-round arrangements and, with the Party secretaries taking responsibility, go all out in simultaneously grasping agriculture and industry so that they support and promote each other to win new victories for socialism in both town and country.

The Party committee of each enterprise is the key to its success in becoming a Taching-type enterprise. In the case of a city, the city Party committee is the key to the

successful building of its enterprises into Taching-type enterprises. As for a province or autonomous region, the key to such success lies in the Party committee of the province or autonomous region. The mass movement to build Taching-type enterprises throughout the country cannot be fruitful unless the provincial and city Party committees take the lead in learning from Taching, do a good job of revolutionizing the leading organs, strengthen their leadership, go to the grass-roots units and among the masses, work in selected basic units to gain experience to guide and promote overall work, and make serious efforts to deal with problems which the enterprises cannot solve on their own. The prefectural and county Party committees, while laying emphasis on the work of learning from Tachai in agriculture, should also grasp the work of building Taching-type enterprises and do it well.

The industrial ministries under the State Council and the institutions in charge of industry in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions must also earnestly revolutionize themselves. Chairman Mao pointed out in December 1963: **Among the dozens of ministries under the Central Government there are obviously several which have done better and have a better style of work, for instance, the Ministry of Petroleum Industry. Yet the other ministries simply ignore them and have never bothered to visit them, study their experience and compare notes.** After this, Chairman Mao repeatedly urged us to learn from the Ministry of Petroleum Industry. In its work during the past dozen years and more, this ministry has stood the test of acute, complex class struggle and two-line struggle. Conscientiously imple-

menting the principle of giving scope to the initiative of both the central and local authorities and relying on the local Party committees at various levels, people in the ministry, with powerful support from the People's Liberation Army and all other industries and trades, have mobilized the masses to work with might and main, thus enabling our country's petroleum industry to consistently march in the van and grow at high speed. Particularly in recent years, they pitted themselves against interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," persisted in putting revolution in command of production and made great contributions to the cause of socialism. Their drive is invaluable and their work outstanding. What the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemical Industries has been able to accomplish is entirely within the reach of all other industrial departments, provided they make energetic efforts.

Chairman Mao said as early as in 1955: **"We have entered a period, a new period in our history, in which what we have set ourselves to do, think about and dig into is socialist industrialization, socialist transformation and the modernization of our national defence, and we are beginning to do the same thing with atomic energy."** **"I hope that all secretaries of provincial, municipal and prefectural Party committees and the comrades in charge of the central departments will strive to become expert in political and economic work, for which the prerequisite is a higher level of Marxism-Leninism. They must do well both in political and ideological work and in economic construction. As for the latter we must really get to know how to do it."** Our leading cadres at all levels must earnestly put these teachings of Chairman Mao's

into practice, strive to become both red and expert, and take into their own hands the initiative in leading the learn-from-Taching movement in industry. An emulation drive is to be launched between the provinces, between the cities, and between the ministries and commissions under the State Council to see which of them excel in providing better leadership.

In line with discussions at this conference on the criteria for a Taching-type enterprise at the present stage, we propose the following six points as the standard for evaluation and comparison: (1) It should conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and adhere to the Party's basic line and the socialist orientation in running the enterprise; (2) it should have a core of Party leadership which combines the old, middle-aged and young and firmly carries out the Party's line, principles and policies, maintains close ties with the masses and is united in struggle; (3) it should have a contingent of workers and staff members capable of fighting hard battles in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment and imbued with the revolutionary style of being honest in thought, word and deed and setting itself strict standards for work, organization, attitude and observance of discipline; (4) it should adhere to the principle of cadre participation in productive labour and worker participation in management, reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations and close co-operation among cadres, workers and technicians, and institute scientific rules and regulations for management which rely on the masses and meet the needs for expanding production; (5) it should constantly make new achieve-

ments in technical innovations and technical revolution, fulfil state targets in an all-round way and reach the advanced national levels in major technical and economic indices; (6) it should keep to the "May 7" road, that is, while mainly engaging in industrial activity, the workers also do other things and, where conditions permit, do a good job of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries, and make good arrangements for the workers' daily life while improving production.

We should build one-third of the enterprises in the country into Taching-type units within the current Fifth Five-Year Plan. Departments concerned under the central authorities and Party committees at various local levels should work out concrete plans for building enterprises under their administration into Taching-type ones, adopt effective measures and organize efforts to carry them out. Of the large and medium-sized enterprises throughout the country, an average of 400 or more should be turned into Taching-type enterprises every year from 1977 through 1980. The number of Taching-type enterprises to be built in 1977 in each province, municipality, autonomous region or department concerned will be announced at this conference. All enterprises in the country should work out their own schedules and measures to turn themselves into Taching-type units. The Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and industrial departments should conscientiously check up on how the plans are being carried out. All trades and professions should contribute to the building of Taching-type enterprises. Each province, municipality and autonomous region should call a learn-from-Taching conference every year to exchange and sum up experience,

make assessments and consult with the departments concerned to determine which enterprises under their administration measure up to the standards set for Taching-type enterprises, confer that title on them and publicize them in the press. The central authorities will make comprehensive annual check-ups of the work in building Taching-type enterprises in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, and then assign tasks for the coming year. The Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions should report to the central authorities at least once every year on the development and experience of the movement to build Taching-type enterprises in their localities.

With the downfall of the "gang of four," the socialist enthusiasm of the masses has soared to unprecedented heights and a new upsurge is taking place in the mass movement to learn from Taching. We must hold the great banner of Chairman Mao still higher and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, enthusiastically and confidently lead the movement to learn from Taching so that it will surge ahead in a sound and sustained way and with greater and greater momentum. We will surely overcome any difficulty or obstacle on our road forward and realize the splendid goal set by Chairman Mao and announced by Premier Chou of building our country into a powerful, modern socialist state before the end of this century. This is the unalterable trend of history which no force can stem. Let us **be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!**

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