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TRANSLATIONS FROM RED FLAG

No. 3, 2 March 1978

Complete translation of the monthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Peking. Passages between slantlines printed in boldface type.

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NATIONAL ANTHEM OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 Inside Front Cover

[Text]

聂 耳 曲
Music by Nieh Erh

集体 填 词
Words written collectively

进行曲速度
Tempo di marcia

前
March

1. 1 | 1 1 5 0 7 | 1 1 | 0 2 1 2 3 | 5. 5 5 |
进! 各 民 族 英 宏 的 人 民, 伟 大 的 共 产 党
on, brave peo-ple of our na - tion, Our Com-mu-nist Par - ty

2. 2 1 2 | 6. 2 2 | 2 - | 5 5 | 2 5 |
领 导 我 们 继 续 长 征。 万 众 一 心
leads us on our new Long March. Mil - lions as one,

5 2 0 5 | 2 2 2 1 | 6 6 | 5. 2 1 1 | 2- 2 5 5 |
奔 向 共 产 主 义 明 天, 建 设 祖 国 保 卫 祖 国
we march, march on to the Communist goal. Build our coun-try, guard our coun-try,

2 2 2 0 | 2. 5 | 1. 1. | 2. 2 | 5 - |
英 勇 地 斗 争。 前 进! 前 进! 前 进!
We will work and fight. March on, march on, march on!

1. 2 5 5 | 6 5 | 9. 1 5 5 5 | 2 0 1 0 | 5 5 |
我 们 千 秋 万 代 高 举 毛 泽 东 旗 帜 前 进!
For - e-ver and e - ver, rais-ing Mao Tsetung's ban - ner, march on!

2. 1 5 5 5 | 2 0 1 0 | 5 5 | 5 5 | 5 5 | 5 0 |
高 举 毛 泽 东 旗 帜 前 进! 前 进! 前 进! 进!
Rais-ing Mao Tsetung's ban-ner, march on, march on, march on and on!

RESOLUTION OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE FIFTH NPC OF THE PRC CONCERNING
THE REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 p 2

[Resolution adopted at the first session of the Fifth NPC on 5 March 1978]

[Text] The first session of the Fifth National People's Congress approves the report on the work of the government made by Premier Hua Kuo-feng on behalf of the State Council.

The session notes with satisfaction that since the Fourth National People's Congress, the State Council, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, has firmly implemented the great leader Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. It has waged unremitting struggles against the antiparty "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan and achieved significant results in all fields. Particularly in the year or so since the smashing of the "gang of four," initial success has been won in carrying out the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land, and the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have thus been further consolidated and expanded. An increasingly promising situation prevails throughout the country.

The session unanimously points out that Premier Hua Kuo-feng's report on the work of the government explicitly sets forth the tasks, specific as well as general, for our people in the new period of the country's development, comprehensively and correctly embodies Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and fully reflects the common desires and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities. It is a programmatic document which will guide the work of our government and the common efforts of our people for some time to come.

The session fully endorses the Outline of the Ten-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy, 1976-1985, formulated by the State Council and holds that the outline is dynamic and sound and can be fulfilled or even overfulfilled through hard work.

The session calls on the people of all nationalities throughout the country to rally still more closely around the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua, hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, firmly implement the line of the 11th National CCP Congress, and strive to accomplish all the fighting tasks, political, economic, cultural, military and diplomatic, set forth in the report on the work of the government, and win marked success within 3 years in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, fulfill the Outline of the Ten-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy, carry out the behests of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, and build China into a great, modern and powerful socialist country by the end of the century so as to make a greater contribution to humanity.

UNITE AND STRIVE TO BUILD A MODERN, POWERFUL SOCIALIST COUNTRY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 3-30

[Report on the work of the government delivered at the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress on 26 February 1978 by Hua Kuo-feng]

[Text] Fellow deputies, on behalf of the State Council I will now make a report on the work of the government to the Fifth National People's Congress.

The report is divided into six parts: (1) The Struggle Over the Last 3 Years and the General Task for the New Period; (2) Carry Through to the End the Struggle To Expose and Criticize the "Gang of Four"; (3) Speed Up Socialist Economic Construction; (4) Develop Socialist Science, Education and Culture; (5) Consolidate Our Political Power and Strengthen the Great Unity of the People of All Nationalities; and (6) The International Situation and China's Foreign Policy.

The general theme of the report is: Unite and strive to build a modern, powerful socialist country.

The Struggle Over the Last 3 Years and the General Task for the New Period

Since the Fourth National People's Congress our country has gone through a severe test in sharp and complex struggles between the two classes and between the two lines. Led by the Chinese Communist Party, the people of our country finally smashed the antiparty "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan after repeated and intense trials of strength. This tremendous victory marked the successful conclusion of China's first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the beginning of a new period of development in its socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The 11th national congress of our party held last year comprehensively summed up the party's struggle against the "gang of four." It was truly

a life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a decisive and historic battle. The crux of the struggle was whether to uphold Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line or to follow the gang's counterrevolutionary revisionist line, whether to persevere in the dictatorship of the proletariat or to institute a fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, whether to make China a prosperous, modern and powerful socialist country or to reduce it to its former semicolonial and semifeudal status. It was around these focal questions that we waged one soul-stirring struggle after another against the gang.

The preparation and convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress was an important round in the struggle. Prior to the congress we had crushed the Lin Piao antiparty clique, and in August 1973 we convened the 10th party congress. The situation throughout the country was most encouraging. At that point Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the party decided to make preparations for the Fourth National People's Congress, which was to elect or decide on the leading personnel of the state so as to consolidate and carry forward the victories won in the Cultural Revolution. The congress was to be a very important one.

The "gang of four," which had worked most closely with the Lin Piao anti-party clique, surfaced at this juncture and ran amuck in their attempt to usurp supreme state power. In 1974, taking advantage of the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they sprang a surprise attack and whipped up counterrevolutionary opinion in order to usurp party and state power. They directed the spearhead of their assault against the Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and feverishly opposed Premier Chou En-lai and Vice Chairman Yeh Chien-ying, trying to overthrow a large number of leading cadres at the national and local levels. Their interference and sabotage made it impossible for many local party, government and military departments to perform their normal functions. In some places the leadership was actually seized by the gang's henchmen and, as a result, capitalism became rampant, the socialist economy suffered serious damage, and science, education and culture sustained tremendous losses. Criticizing their disruptive activities, Chairman Mao declared in clear terms: /"Eight years have passed since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started. Now it is preferable to have stability. The whole party and the whole army should get united."/ And he repeatedly instructed us to /"push the national economy forward."/ However, the gang stubbornly worked against these instructions and, what's more, they stepped up their scheme to exploit the convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress to "set up their own cabinet." Chairman Mao promptly exposed their intrigues and made the pointed remark that Chiang Ching had wild ambitions. He forbade her to make public appearances, write instructions on documents or organize a cabinet. Chairman Mao had boundless trust in our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and said explicitly: /"The premier is still our premier."/ He decided that Premier Chou should be responsible for personnel arrangements in connection with the Fourth National People's Congress and the State Council, and that

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping should assist the premier in drafting the report on the work of the government. The successful convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975 frustrated the gang's plot to form their own cabinet and dealt a crushing blow to their criminal activities aimed at usurping party and state power.

After the Fourth National People's Congress, our struggle with the "gang of four" became more intense. It was a struggle over whether to implement or to sabotage a number of Chairman Mao's important instructions. The essence of his instructions on the eve of the congress was that we should consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, promote nationwide stability and unity and push the national economy forward. It was in accordance with these instructions that at the first session of the congress Premier Chou called upon the whole nation to unite more closely, adhere to the party's basic line and strive to make China a modern, powerful socialist country by the end of the century. Premier Chou's clarion call fired the revolutionary zeal of the people in their hundreds of millions. In these circumstances, the "gang of four" took to tampering with Chairman Mao's directive concerning the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in their counterrevolutionary attempt to usurp party and state power. They went to all lengths to spread the counterrevolutionary nonsense that "empiricism is the main danger at present" and once again indulged in splittist activities and devised all kinds of schemes and plots, with the spearhead directed against Premier Chou and a large number of leading party, government and army cadres. In view of the gang's interference and sabotage, Chairman Mao repeatedly criticized them for violating the fundamental principles of /"Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire,"/ and time and again he warned them, /"Don't function as a 'gang of four.'"/ Acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee sternly criticized the gang.

Meanwhile, the Central Committee of the party and the State Council convened important conferences such as those on rail freight and traffic, the metallurgical industry, and the national defense industries, the enlarged conference of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, and the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture. Firm and effective measures were taken to consolidate the leading bodies at all levels, implement the party's policies, criticize bourgeois factionalism, mobilize the masses to combat urban and rural capitalist forces and initiate a program of readjusting our work in industry, agriculture, finance and trade, science and education and in the army so as to eliminate the dire effects of the gang's interference and sabotage. These measures taken by the Central Committee won warm response and support throughout the country. Distinct successes were chalked up in all fields, and the economy began to take a turn for the better.

Then, to our deep grief our beloved Premier Chou passed away in January 1976. About this time, the "gang of four," in their anxiety to seize all power in the party, the government and the army, mounted a ferocious counterattack. This touched off another struggle that was fraught with serious consequences. They resorted to various intrigues, persecuted and cracked down on large numbers of cadres and people for mourning Premier Chou's death and trumped up charges against Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping. They completely denied our achievements in all fields in 1975, slandering the implementation of Chairman Mao's instructions as pushing a "revisionist program," branding the consolidation in different spheres of work as "all-round restoration" and vilifying the building of a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology as "going capitalist." They fabricated lies, framed up charges and viciously attacked the leading comrades of the State Council in an attempt to cripple its work and that of the central departments. They wielded the "theory of the unique importance of the productive forces" as a big stick to club the numerous cadres and people who persisted in grasping revolution and promoting production. They fondly hoped they could thus paralyze the whole economy. Their criminal aim was to create countrywide confusion and seize power in the process. Chairman Mao wisely and resolutely took emergency measures at the end of January 1976. On his proposal and after discussion and approval by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, personnel decisions were taken concerning the acting premiership of the State Council and responsibility for the day-to-day work of the Central Committee. Then, early in April, again on his proposal and after discussion and approval by the Political Bureau, a decision was taken on the choice of the first vice chairman of the Central Committee and premier of the State Council. Chairman Mao's great strategic decisions struck hard at the gang's plot to usurp party and state power, and laid the groundwork for our subsequent settlement of the question of the "gang of four." But they would not take their defeat lying down. They stirred up trouble everywhere with a tenfold fanaticism and a hundredfold hatred. They even openly dished up a counterrevolutionary political program equating veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist roaders" at all levels from the central down to the local. It was a futile attempt to overthrow all the leading cadres of the party, government and army who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The vast majority of the Central Committee, united as one and adhering to principle, waged resolute struggles against the "gang of four." Tempered in the Cultural Revolution, large numbers of cadres, people and PLA commanders and men demonstrated a high degree of awareness in the struggle between the two lines. Their indignation at the gang's perverted acts knew no bounds. They put up all forms of resistance and opposition and stood up to pressure with revolutionary dauntlessness.

In September 1976, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao left us forever. Profound grief gripped the people of all nationalities. They were full of anxiety for the future. At this crucial juncture the "gang

of four" took advantage of the grave difficulties facing our party, country and people and quickened the tempo of their counterrevolutionary machinations to usurp supreme party and state power. They conspired to sever the contact between the Central Committee and the localities, and urged people to write letters to Chiang Ching pledging allegiance and imploring her to take over supreme power. There were hectic goings on at the time to prepare for the gang's ascension to power in full makeup, and surreptitious maneuvers were underway for the "suppression of counter-revolutionaries" and "executions." Still more sinister was their forgery, "act upon the principles laid down," which they claimed to be Chairman Mao's "death-bed injunction." They slanderously accused the Central Committee of "tampering with the principles laid down by Chairman Mao," thus openly inciting the overthrow of the Central Committee. They were spoiling for action and raring to stage a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat. At this moment, when everything hung by a thread, the Central Committee acted in accordance with Chairman Mao's behest and the common aspirations and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities and smashed the "gang of four" in one stroke on 6 October 1976. The whole nation was jubilant, it enthusiastically hailed our party for winning a decisive victory in the 11th major struggle between the two lines.

Looking back at this period of our history, we can see that the destiny of our party and country hinged on the struggle against the "gang of four." This counterrevolutionary clique of conspirators exploited the positions and power they had usurped to collect landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements as well as a small band of careerists, renegades, newborn counterrevolutionary elements, gangsters and smash-and-grabbers to make havoc of the party, army and country. They practiced fascist dictatorship and ruthlessly persecuted revolutionary cadres and people. They sabotaged the national economy and disrupted socialist construction in every field. The consequences were extremely grave. As a result of their interference and sabotage between 1974 and 1976 the nation lost about 100 billion yuan in total value of industrial output, 28 million tons of steel, and 40 billion yuan in state revenues, and the whole economy was on the brink of collapse. In some regions and departments where bad characters were in power because of the gang's support, protection and connivance, production came to a standstill in factories, land was parcelled out to peasant households for individual farming, corruption, embezzlement and profiteering became widespread, class enemies went berserk, unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements attempted to recover lost privileges and seek revenge, and in some cases there was even capitalist restoration. Had this situation been allowed to go on, our country would have changed color and our people would have suffered grave disasters. The smashing of the "gang of four" averted a major split in the party and a major retrogression in our country's history, and thus enabled our people to continue their advance along the socialist road charted by Chairman Mao.

In the past year the Central Committee of the party, holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, took the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land, and on a national scale initiated and led a great political revolution--the campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four." In this tremendous struggle the Central Committee of the party and the State Council, grasping the key link as well as other links and using the key link to set everything else in motion, worked hard, adopted many effective measures, called a number of important meetings and lost no time in solving many pressing problems resulting from the gang's interference and sabotage.

In overcoming the serious difficulties created by the gang, cadres and people in vast numbers have shown revolutionary heroism and an unyielding fighting will; this spirit is invaluable. Through the joint efforts of the party, the army and the people of all nationalities major victories have been won and profound changes have taken place on all fronts.

Because we have destroyed the bourgeois factional setup of the "gang of four" and their followers, recovered that portion of power usurped by them and repudiated their counterrevolutionary revisionist line, our Central Committee and our party and state organizations are now purer, stronger and more united than ever and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Central Committee's policies can now be successfully implemented in all spheres.

Having shattered the mental manacles the gang tried to fasten on them, our people are now bold in their thinking and high in their political consciousness. Inspired and jubilant, they are bursting with enthusiasm to work for socialism.

Having foiled the gang's plot to destroy our army, our great wall, the PLA is resolute in implementing Chairman Mao's line on army building and in promoting its glorious tradition. It is showing zeal in military and political training and in making preparations against war, and is progressing toward its goal of revolutionization and modernization.

Having destroyed the gang's "iron and steel and hat factories" and condemned its crime of savagely attacking and persecuting them, our cadres are displaying renewed revolutionary spirit. They are now more vigorous and bolder in their thinking, speech and action than ever before.

We have dealt telling blows to those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements trying to recover their lost privileges and seek revenge and to criminals who have seriously disrupted public order. We have dealt telling blows to the smash-and-grabbers, corrupt elements, embezzlers and profiteers. The revolutionary spirit of the proletariat is rising while the baleful influence of the bourgeoisie is

on the wane. Order prevails throughout the country, and this has won the people's approval and applause.

Relations are closer than ever 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 between the various nationalities. Our revolutionary united front is becoming stronger and everywhere in the country there is a lively atmosphere of unity in struggle.

The economy, once in a state of stagnation or even decline and retrogression because of sabotage by the "gang of four," has turned the corner and is now on the path of steady growth and healthy development. The mass campaigns to learn from Taching in industry and from Tachai in agriculture are forging ahead and a new upsurge is already in sight.

On the scientific, educational and cultural fronts we have smashed the gang's fascist cultural autocracy and repudiated the counterrevolutionary fallacy of the so-called "two appraisals" which they concocted, and we have thus kindled the enthusiasm of the intellectuals and created a lively and vigorous atmosphere.

In the international struggle, we strive to promote our relations with foreign countries and peoples in conformity with Chairman Mao's great theory of the three worlds.

This has helped to broaden the international united front against hegemony and influence the international situation in a direction favorable to the people of the world. China's prestige is higher than ever.

All this amply shows that the call of the Central Committee for initial success within a year in carrying out the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land has been fully met, and that things are going better than expected. The whole nation is jubilant and revolutionary people the world over are happy for our sake. The Soviet revisionists who vainly hope that we will depart from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought accuse our state of being "unstable" and of "running up a blind alley." But their slanders have all been exploded in the face of hard facts. Let these pygmies go on ranting and raving. The great Chinese people will continue to forge valiantly ahead.

Fellow deputies: The overthrow of the "gang of four" is another great turning point in the history of our revolution. The general task facing our people in the new period of development in socialist revolution and socialist construction is firmly to carry out the line of the 11th party congress, steadfastly continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment,

and transform China into a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology by the end of the century.

Back in 1963, Chairman Mao incisively pointed out: /"In the 105 years from the 1840's to the middle of the 1940's, almost all the imperialist countries of the world, whether large, medium or small, committed aggression against our country and waged war against us. Except for the last war, namely, the war of resistance against Japan, which resulted in the surrender of Japanese imperialism owing to internal and external causes, all these wars ended in our defeat and the signing of treaties with humiliating terms. That was due to two factors, first, a corrupt social system and, second, a backward economy and technology. Now our social system has changed and a basic solution has occurred as far as the first factor is concerned. But the solution is still incomplete, because class struggle still exists. There is some change, too, in regard to the second factor, but it will require several more decades to bring about a complete change. If in the decades to come we don't completely change the situation in which our economy and technology lag far behind those of the imperialist countries, it will be impossible for us to avoid being pushed around again."/ And he added, /"In planning our work we should start from the possibility of being attacked and do our utmost to change the backward state of our economy and technology in not too long a period of time, otherwise we will make mistakes."/

Chairman Mao here summed up the history of imperialist aggression against China and our people's struggle against it over the past century. He regarded the transformation of our economic and technological backwardness as a question of life and death for the nation, bringing into sharp relief the importance and urgency of socialist construction.

In studying Chairman Mao's teachings afresh, we can all see more clearly than ever that the socialist modernization of our agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology is not merely an important economic task, it is, above all, an urgent political task. Internationally, since the two hegemonist powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are locked in a fierce struggle for world domination, war is bound to break out sooner or later. The Soviet revisionists are bent on subjugating our country. We must race against time to strengthen ourselves economically and heighten our defense capabilities at top speed. For this is the only way to cope effectively with possible social-imperialist and imperialist aggression against us. Domestically, speeding up socialist modernization in the above four fields is likewise highly important. Only thus can we further consolidate the worker-peasant alliance on a new basis and enhance the power of the proletariat for victory over the bourgeoisie and of socialism for victory over capitalism. Only thus can we steadily raise the level of the people's material and cultural life and gradually eliminate the distinctions between town and country, between industry and agriculture and between mental and manual

labor. And only thus can we fully consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration.

To speed up socialist modernization in the four fields, we must be steadfast in grasping class struggle as the key link and persist in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. We must always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings and fully recognize that throughout the historical period of socialist society classes, class struggle and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads all exist and that this struggle is protracted and complicated. We must be good at correctly handling not only the problem of classes, class contradictions and class struggle but also contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and contradictions among the people. We must keep up the work of reforming the superstructure where it does not correspond with the economic base and the relations of production where they do not correspond with growing productive forces. We must conduct intensive socialist education in order to oppose and prevent revisionism. We must adhere to the principle, /"Grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war,"/ simultaneously press on with the three revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. To tackle production and scientific experiment without at the same time waging class struggle will not lead to success to the two former, since in that case it would be impossible to keep to the socialist orientation, foster stability and unity, sweep away the obstacles to the four modernizations and activate the revolutionary spirit of the people. But to wage class struggle without at the same time carrying on the struggle for production and scientific experiment will not do either, since in that case the four modernizations would be just so much idle talk and support for the party line would consist of nothing but spurious avowals. We must be good at integrating the three revolutionary movements and persevere in them.

The overthrow of the "gang of four" has removed the biggest obstacle in the way of our advance. Under the strong leadership of the Central Committee, the people of all nationalities, holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao and united as one, are going all out to criticize revisionism and capitalism and work for socialism and will certainly hasten the transformation of China into a modern, powerful socialist country.

The accomplishment of the four modernizations in less than a quarter of a century in our socialist country having as it does one-fifth of the world population is an outstanding achievement not only in our own history but also in the history of the world. We must strive to fulfill the magnificent task history has placed on our shoulders.

Carry Through to the End the Struggle To Expose and Criticize the "Gang of Four"

The primary task for the people of our country at present and for some time to come is still to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and carry

this great struggle through to the end. In deepening this struggle, we shall further clarify questions of right and wrong with regard to the political line, straighten things out in every field of endeavor, revive and foster our party's fine traditions and style of work, and carry out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat down to the grassroots units so as to promote nationwide stability and unity and achieve great order across the land. We shall thus achieve broad progress in all fields of socialist construction and within 3 years win marked and anticipated success in grasping the key link of class struggle and running the country well, thereby consolidating and expanding the splendid achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Over the last year or so, the mass movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has been both sound and vigorous. The bourgeois factional setup of the gang and their followers has collapsed. Investigation into the individuals and incidents associated with the gang's conspiracy to usurp party and state power has in the main been completed in most of the localities and departments, and in their essential aspects the class alignments have become clear. By and large, the countrywide investigation has been successfully concluded. Of course, this does not mean that our work is finished. The development of the movement is uneven. In a few localities and units where it got off to a late start or where progress was unsatisfactory, investigation needs to be stepped up. Leadership must be strengthened particularly in those units where the "gang of four" had their fingers deep in the pie and where problems abound and resistance is strong, and investigation should be resolute and conscientious in accordance with the requirements of the Central Committee.

At present, the third campaign in the struggle to expose and criticize the gang is deepening throughout the country. To carry out this campaign successfully is a more arduous and long-term task. In the process of exposing and criticizing their counterrevolutionary political program and the ultra-right essence of their counterrevolutionary revisionist line and all its manifestations, people working on all fronts and in all localities and departments must closely link up the campaign with the specific situation in their own units. Fine results were gained in the recent mass discussion of the "ten needs and ten need nots" carried out on the economic front, and in the PLA's educational program concerning the "ten shoulds and ten should nots" of the political line, as well as in the criticism of the gang's counterrevolutionary fallacy of the "two appraisals" conducted on the scientific, educational and cultural fronts. We must press on and deepen the campaign. People in all fields must concentrate on those matters where the gang's influence has been the deepest and the damage wrought has been the worst and, by waging an all-out people's war, clear up all the confusion created by the gang and rectify all their reversals of right and wrong. The aim is to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line correctly and comprehensively.

To lay bare the ultra-right essence of the gang's revisionist line, it is imperative to make a penetrating criticism of the reactionary theory on which it was based. They falsified Marxism in all its three aspects, namely, philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism and in particular, they completely corrupted Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and spread a host of anti-Marxist fallacies. With Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as our weapon, we must conduct a profound criticism of all these fallacies on the theoretical plane, smash the gang's reactionary ideology and make a clean sweep of their pernicious influence.

The "gang of four" was made up of old and new counterrevolutionaries who had succeeded in concealing themselves most artfully and of counter-revolutionary double-dealers of the sliest kind. As was their wont, they used the Red flag to oppose the Red flag, flaunted the banner of opposing capitalist restoration to effect a capitalist restoration, shouted anti-revisionist slogans while practicing revisionism, and put on a revolutionary guise to cover up their true counterrevolutionary features. They pushed an extreme ultra-right line, which manifested itself in an ultra-left as well as in an ultra-right form. As a rule, it was when they struck an ultra-left pose that their capacity to deceive became quite great. We must thoroughly expose the gang's counterrevolutionary double-dealing tricks, lay bare their reactionary features as real rightists masquerading as leftists and enhance our ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxists.

In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must do a thorough checkup on all our work. This includes party and government organizations, factories, mines and other enterprises, people's communes and brigades, shops, schools and colleges, and army units. The most important thing here is to consolidate the leading bodies at various levels and effectively solve the problem of impurity in ideology, organization and style of work, an impurity which exists in varying degrees and which is the result of the gang's interference and sabotage. Stress must be laid on ideological education to improve people's understanding of the political line and policies and, where necessary, there must also be organizational readjustments. Those who sold out to the gang and took part in its conspiracy to usurp party and state power must be duly dealt with. Leading bodies that are soft, lazy or lax must be readjusted, reinforced and strengthened. People who harbor wild ambitions, are politically bad and have an obnoxious style of work must not be allowed to fill posts in the leading bodies or be given important jobs. In accordance with the five requirements for revolutionary successors and the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young set forth by Chairman Mao, we must adopt effective measures and gradually build up leading bodies at all levels that will be nuclei resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, maintaining close ties with the masses and working with one mind. We must strengthen our political and ideological work, endeavor to build up our ranks and

raise the political consciousness of the workers, peasants and intellectuals still higher and sharpen their sense of organization and discipline. And we must continue to pay close attention to implementing the party's policy on cadres. Many localities and departments have done a lot in this respect since the smashing of the gang. The slanders and false charges leveled by the gang at many cadres have been repudiated, and objective conclusions have been reached on those whose past records have been examined. But failing to realize the full importance of giving effect to the party's policy on cadres, some units have been rather languid and progress has been slow.

This state of affairs must be speedily changed and a real effort must be made to discharge this duty well. All cadres who are able to work should be assigned to suitable jobs as soon as possible. For those who are advanced in age and poor in health proper arrangements should be made and care and concern should be shown for them politically and in their livelihood.

Chairman Mao said: /"The transformation and construction of China depend on us for leadership. When we have rectified our way of thinking and style of work, we shall enjoy greater initiative in our work, become more capable and do a better job."/ For a long time, the "gang of four" corrupted our party's style of work and social values and seriously corroded people's thinking. We must liquidate the gang's pernicious influence and restore and promote the party's fine traditions and style of work, for example, seeking truth from the facts, following the mass line, being modest and prudent, keeping to plain living and hard work, making criticism and self-criticism, and wholeheartedly serving the people. We must actively commend meritorious deeds and models, evoke a fresh socialist spirit and encourage the masses to cultivate lofty revolutionary ideals, contribute to realizing the four modernizations and work for the glory of our socialist motherland. Our party, our country, our army and our people must all maintain a fine style of work. The fine traditions and style of work fostered by Chairman Mao and the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries over long years of revolutionary struggle must spread and flourish throughout the Chinese nation and be handed down from generation to generation.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," a "double blow" movement, namely, a movement to deal blows both to the class enemies for their destructive activities and to the capitalist forces for their wild attacks, has unfolded on a large scale in some localities in connection with the struggle to expose and criticize the gang, with both town and country taking concerted action. It has yielded good results. Practice has shown that this revolutionary struggle waged to strike at the gang's social base is very important for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the protection of socialist public ownership and the acceleration of socialist construction. Taking its specific conditions into consideration, each locality should wage the struggle step by step under proper leadership and make it a success.

In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," it is imperative to implement conscientiously the policies laid down in the political report to the 11th party congress, strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and handle them correctly. Stress must be laid on the weight of evidence and on investigation and study, and it is strictly forbidden to obtain confessions by compulsion and give them credence. Help more people by education and narrow the target of attack. Be strict in criticism and lenient in your verdicts. Be strict with those who resist and lenient with those who repent. Deal resolute blows to the handful of the gang's sworn followers who are guilty of heinous crimes and are unwilling to repent and to counterrevolutionaries guilty of subversive activities. As for those backbone elements who have made a clean break with the gang, owned up to their wrongdoings and shown readiness to repent, they can be treated leniently. In the case of comrades who have made mistakes, including serious mistakes, we must adhere to the principle of /"Learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient,"/ and help them correct their mistakes. If they have done so, well and good.

Don't keep picking on them, and as early as possible let off those who can be let off. Chairman Mao said: /"For the revolution, it is always better to have more people."/ We should try to win over all those that can be won over so as to unite over 95 percent of the cadres and the masses.

The struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is in fact a vast movement of Marxist education. It is imperative to integrate the study of Marxist theory with the struggle and bring about a new upsurge in the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao throughout the party, army and nation. There should be an emulation drive among leading cadres at all levels, and among high-ranking cadres in particular, so that they can study better and have a broad and accurate grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought as a system. Study, criticism and summing up experience should be combined. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has held sway on all fronts throughout the past 28 years, including the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution. Despite the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and, in particular, the "gang of four," we should go in for investigation and study on a broad scale, objectively sum up our experience, whether positive or negative, get a clear idea of the specific line, principles, policies and methods in all spheres, revise or draw up rules and regulations for industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education and in the army, and institute and perfect systems for every branch which will fully embody Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and suit our conditions, so as to speed up our work in every field.

The revolutionary storm to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is sweeping away the dirt everywhere and heightening the revolutionary spirit of the broadest masses. We must persist in taking this gigantic

class struggle as the key link and bring about a new upsurge in our socialist economic and cultural construction.

Speed Up Socialist Economic Construction

In order to make China a modern, powerful socialist country by the end of the century, we must work and fight hard in the political, economic, cultural, military and diplomatic spheres, but in the final analysis what is of decisive importance is the rapid development of our socialist economy.

At the Third National People's Congress and again at the fourth, Premier Chou, acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, put forward a grand concept for the development of our national economy which calls for the all-round modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology by the end of the century so that our economy can take its place in the front ranks of the world. By the end of this century, the output per unit of major agricultural products is expected to reach or surpass advanced world levels and the output of major industrial products to approach, equal or outstrip that of the most developed capitalist countries. In agricultural production, the highest possible degree of mechanization, electrification and irrigation will be achieved. There will be automation in the main industrial processes, a major increase in rapid transport and communications services and a considerable rise in labor productivity. We must apply the results of modern science and technology on a broad scale, make extensive use of new materials and sources of energy, and modernize our major products and the processes of production. Our economic and technical norms must approach, equal or surpass advanced world levels.

As our social productive forces become highly developed, our socialist relations of production will be further improved and perfected, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country consolidated, our national defense strengthened, and our people's material well-being and cultural life substantially enriched. By then, China will have a new look and stand unshakably in the east as a modern, powerful socialist country.

The 10 years from 1976 to 1985 are crucial for accomplishing these gigantic tasks. In the summer of 1975, the State Council held a meeting for an exchange of views to deliberate on a prospective long-term plan. On the basis of a mass of material furnished by investigation and study, it worked out a draft outline of a ten-year plan for the development of our economy. The outline was discussed and approved by the Political Bureau. The "gang of four" attacked the State Council meeting as "the source of the right deviationist wind" and labeled the outline a "revisionist document." This was just plain slander and vilification. After the gang's downfall, the State Council revised and supplemented the outline in the light of China's fine political and economic situation and in accordance with the ardent desire of the whole nation to accelerate

the four modernizations. The draft outline of the plan is now submitted to you for consideration.

According to the plan, in the space of 10 years we are to lay a solid foundation for agriculture, achieve 85 percent mechanization in all major processes of farmwork, see to it that for each member of the rural population there is 1 mou of farmland with guaranteed stable high yields irrespective of drought or waterlogging, and attain a relatively high level in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fisheries. The plan calls for the growth of light industry, which should turn out an abundance of first-rate, attractive and reasonably priced goods with a considerable increase in per capita consumption. Construction of an advanced heavy industry is envisaged, with the metallurgical, fuel, power and machine-building industries to be further developed through the adoption of new techniques, with iron and steel, coal, crude oil and electricity in the world's front ranks in terms of output, and with much more developed petrochemical, electronics and other new industries. We will build transport and communications and postal and telecommunications networks big enough to meet growing industrial and agricultural needs, with most of our locomotives electrified or dieselized and with road, inland water and air transport and ocean shipping very much expanded. With the completion of an independent, and fairly comprehensive industrial complex and economic system for the whole country, we shall in the main have built up a regional economic system in each of the six major regions, that is, the southwest, the northwest, the central-south, the east, the north and northeast China, and turned our interior into a powerful, strategic rear base.

According to the ten-year plan, by 1985 we are to produce 400 billion kilograms of grain and 60 million tons of steel. In each of the 8 years from 1978 to 1985, the value of agricultural output is to increase by 4 to 5 percent and of industrial output by over 10 percent. The increase in our country's output of major industrial products in the 8 years will far exceed that in the past 28 years. In these 8 years, state revenues and investments budgeted for capital construction will both be equivalent to the total for the past 28 years. As fellow deputies have reviewed the various economic targets in the ten-year plan, there is no need to list them now.

The accomplishment of the ten-year plan will bring about tremendous economic and technological changes and provide the country with a much more solid material base, and, given another period of hard work over three more five-year plans, the stage will be set for China to take its place in the front ranks of the world economy.

The tasks set in the ten-year plan and the envisaged development over 23 years are gigantic, but the job can be done. We have a socialist system with its advantages which can insure a rapid growth of the productive forces. Since the Cultural Revolution, and especially since the great

struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is better understood by the broadest masses, who are filled with a growing enthusiasm for socialism. We have a large population and abundant natural resources, and after 20-odd years of construction we have established a fairly solid material base and accumulated a rich store of experience, negative as well as positive. We have all the preconditions for speeding up economic growth. Of course, there will be difficulties ahead and arduous efforts are needed to surmount them. But there is no reason at all to be apathetic--to underestimate the favorable conditions, be pessimistic and think that this or that is impossible. In the 11 years from 1966 to 1976, despite serious interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and particularly the "gang of four," grain output still registered an annual increase of over 4.3 percent in a third of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, with a maximum of 5.5 percent, and the value of industrial output went up annually by more than 12 percent likewise in a third of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, with a maximum of 18.5 percent. With the smashing of the "gang of four," we believe that it is entirely possible for all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to attain or exceed these rates of increase through their efforts. We are sure this splendid plan of ours can be fulfilled.

To turn the plan into reality, it is important to adhere to the party's basic line, keep to the general line of /going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism,/ uphold the principle of /building up our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance and hard work, and diligence and thrift/ and follow the road for building socialism charted by Chairman Mao. The red banners of Taching and Tachai, which Chairman Mao set up as models, are fine examples of how a good job can be done in socialist industry and agriculture by steadfastly continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In each of the past 17 years, Taching has increased its output of crude oil by an average of 28 percent and last year Tachai produced over 1,000 kilograms of grain per head. If all our industrial enterprises, communes and production brigades catch up with them, what an inspiring picture our national economy will present! Leading comrades at all levels should fully understand the profound significance of unfolding the movements to learn from Taching and Tachai and really endeavor to improve their work so that these movements will advance still more soundly and vigorously. They must not remain at the talking stage or be confined to meeting halls. No, they must be translated into action. Up to now, some localities and units have not made earnest efforts but have been halfhearted or have even made no real efforts in learning from the two models. Besides, there is a tendency in some localities to lower the standards for a Taching-type enterprise or a Tachai-type county. This must be quickly corrected. We must foster the revolutionary do-or-die spirit and work hard to insure that by 1980 one-third of our enterprises become Taching-type enterprises and one-third of our counties Tachai-type counties.

To turn the plan into reality, we must also adopt effective measures and strive to solve a number of problems bearing on our whole economy.

First: Mobilize the whole nation and go in for agriculture in a big way.

Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. If agriculture does not develop faster, there will be no upswing in our industry and economy as a whole, and even if there is a temporary upswing, a decline will follow, and there will be really serious trouble in the event of major natural calamities. We must have a clear understanding of this. Predominantly agricultural provinces must make an effort to develop agriculture, and predominantly industrial provinces must make still greater efforts. All trades and professions must do their best to support and serve agriculture.

In order to effect an upswing in agriculture, we rely mainly on learning conscientiously from Tachai, practicing scientific farming and speeding up mechanization. In line with the principle of /"taking grain as the key link and insuring an all-round development,"/ the state is planning to take the following measures to develop agricultural production:

1. While attaining a countrywide increase in grain production, focus on the two following tasks. One, run the 12 large commodity grain bases and all our state farms efficiently and enable them to achieve a twofold or threefold increase in marketable grain in a space of 8 years. Two, help low-yield, grain-deficient areas to become self-sufficient and achieve a surplus within 2 or 3 years.
2. While insuring a rise in yields per unit, organize planned reclamation of wasteland by the state farms and people's communes so as to obtain a fair increase in cultivated acreage year by year, provided such reclamation does not affect water and soil conservation and the protection of forests, grasslands and aquatic product resources.
3. In accordance with the principles of specialized planting and rational distribution build a number of bases for the production of cotton, edible oil, sugar and other cash crops where conditions are suitable, and turn them into the state's main sources of supply for these products.
4. Strive to develop forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fisheries. Do a good job of developing the forest regions. Plant trees around every house and every village, by roadsides and watersides. Build livestock breeding areas. Set up fresh-water and marine fishing grounds, and actively promote rural sideline occupations and commune- and brigade-run enterprises. In this way it will be possible considerably to expand the afforested areas and greatly increase the output of animal and aquatic products and increase the proportion of commune and brigade income derived from sideline occupations and enterprises.

5. Mobilize the masses to forge ahead with farmland capital construction and stress soil improvement and water control. The state must take charge of large-scale water conservancy projects, continue to harness such big rivers as the Yellow River, the Yangtze, the Huai, the Haiho, the Liaohe and the Pearl River, run the key projects to relieve drought in northwest, north and southwest China properly, and build projects to divert water from the Yangtze to areas north of the Yellow River. In the localities work must be initiated to build medium-sized and small water conservancy works suiting local conditions and to improve low-yield fields on mountain slopes, alkaline land and red soil.

6. From the top organs to the grassroots units, set up and perfect a system of agroscientific research and agrotechnical popularization; implement the eight-point charter for agriculture in an all-round way, with stress on cultivating and popularizing fine strains of seed, improving farming methods, extensively exploring various sources of fertilizer and making a big effort to develop organic fertilizer and making proper use of chemical fertilizer.

7. In order to hasten the mechanization of agriculture, strive to manufacture more, better and cheaper farm machinery, chemical fertilizer and insecticide that meet specific needs, do a good job of supplying complete sets of farm machinery and of their maintenance, repair and management, and step up the training of farm technicians.

8. Make an extra effort to build up mountain areas and in particular give attention and assistance to construction in the old revolutionary base areas so as to accelerate their economic progress.

9. Strengthen the leadership of the poorer production teams and help them to transform themselves economically and catch up with the richer teams as soon as possible.

In order to insure the implementation of the above measures, the state has planned to make appropriate increases in the proportion of its financial expenditures allocated to investments in agricultural capital construction and to operating expenses and to make corresponding arrangements for materials and equipment.

To increase agricultural production, it is imperative to bring into full play the socialist initiative of our peasant masses. Otherwise, the measures for increasing production will come to naught and socialist agriculture will not grow smoothly. All communes and brigades must deepen education in the party's basic line, persistently imbue the peasants with socialist ideas and keep on overcoming the spontaneous tendencies toward capitalism. It is necessary to adhere to the principle of running the people's communes democratically, diligently and frugally so as to insure efficient management. Matters of importance should be decided through discussion at the general meetings of commune members or

the conferences of their representatives, and not by a few people. To start farmland capital construction, improve farming methods, draw up plans for planting and work out ways to increase production, it is necessary to solicit opinions from the commune members and give full consideration to their practical experience in such matters. We must proceed from reality and adopt measures suiting local conditions. Coercion, commandism and arbitrary orders should be firmly opposed. Commune and brigade finances should be open to the supervision of the masses through the periodic publication of their accounts.

Sponging and taking more than one's share, overdrawing, and using funds for purposes other than those originally intended, and extravagance and waste on the part of cadres must be banned. Cadres at the county, commune and brigade levels should behave like the cadres of the Tachai production brigade and Hsiyang County and take an active part in collective productive labor. In some communes and brigades the proportion of cadres not engaged in production and of other nonproductive personnel is too large and their subsidies are excessive, and in some cases the cadres arbitrarily demand grain and money from the commune, production brigade, production team or commune members or even requisition labor power. All this adds to the burdens of the peasants and dampens their enthusiasm. Such things must be resolutely stopped.

The conscientious implementation of the party's rural economic policies for the present stage is vital for mobilizing the peasants' initiative. Experience over the years shows that our party's policy against "equalitarianism and indiscriminate requisition" and in favor of the exchange of equal value; its policy of diversifying the economy and developing collective sideline occupations; its policy on the purchase of agricultural and subsidiary products and on premiums for sales; its policy of allowing commune members to farm small plots for personal needs and engage in limited household sideline production and of allowing commune members in pastoral areas to keep a little livestock for personal needs, provided that in all cases the absolute predominance of the collective economy is insured; its policy of legitimate trade at village fairs; and so on--all these correct policies benefit the growth of agricultural production, improve the peasants' livelihood and consolidate and expand the communes' collective economy. They enjoy the support of the peasant masses. The "gang of four" maliciously attacked the implementation of these policies as "restoring capitalism." We must thoroughly criticize such nonsense, eliminate its pernicious influence and unswervingly carry out these policies.

The state farms are agricultural units owned by the whole people. They must play an exemplary role in building a modern, large-scale socialist agriculture. We must sum up experience, fully tap our potentialities and run the existing state farms well so as to provide the state with more agricultural and animal products. Meanwhile, we must actively set up more state farms to give our state-owned agriculture a big fillip.

Second: Speed up the development of the basic industries and give full scope to the leading role of industry.

As the economy becomes modernized, the leading role of industry, and especially that of the basic industries, becomes more and more prominent. We must /take steel as the key link,/ strengthen the basic industries and exert a special effort to step up the development of the power, fuel and raw and semifinished materials industries and transport and communications. Only thus can we give strong support to agriculture, rapidly expand light industry and substantially strengthen the national defense industries.

In developing the basic industries, we must endeavor to strengthen our work in geology and in the opening up of new mines so that geological surveying and the mining industry will meet the needs of economic construction at high speed.

In developing the basic industries, we must be good at tapping the potential of the existing enterprises and at renovating and transforming them as well as at integrating this task with the building of new enterprises. In the next 8 years, and especially in the next 3 years, our existing enterprises must be the foundation for the growth of production.

We must make full use of existing equipment, make sure that complete sets of equipment are available, introduce technical transformation in a planned way and carry out extensive coordination between specialized departments. This will gain us time and speed and will save on investment. Meanwhile, the state plans to build or complete 120 large-scale projects, including 10 iron and steel complexes, 9 nonferrous metal complexes, 8 coal mines, 10 oil and gas fields, 30 power stations, 6 new trunk railways and 5 key harbors. The completion of these projects added to the existing industrial foundation will provide China with 14 fairly strong and fairly rationally located industrial bases. This will be decisive in changing the backward state of our basic industries.

In capital construction, we must keep to the principle of concentrating our forces and fighting a battle of annihilation to achieve economy in our investments, high quality in our work and short building cycles, and we must rapidly acquire the capacity to streamline production and get optimum results. With regard to the 120 large-scale projects in the state plan for the next 8 years, the whole country, from the top levels to the grassroots, must cooperate closely and select competent leading cadres, fine technical personnel and skilled workers for the concerted battle to accomplish these projects successively with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

It is essential to adhere to the policy of the simultaneous development of large, medium-scale and small enterprises. While it is important to run the large modern enterprises well, every attention must also be given

to the development of medium-scale and small enterprises. All provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions must utilize local resources, strive to make a success of medium-scale and small coalfields, small power stations, mines, cement and chemical fertilizer plants, strengthen and improve medium-scale and small iron and steel and nonferrous metal enterprises, and try to produce more chemical raw materials. All medium-scale and small enterprises should come under the plans, get their raw materials from local sources and work hard to improve production and management techniques. Where they compete with the large enterprises for supplies of raw and semifinished materials or for fuel or power, the matter must be given overall consideration and properly solved to insure that the needs of the large enterprises are fully met.

The machine-building industry which has the vital task of equipping all branches of the economy should be organized in accordance with the principle of coordination between specialized departments. It should come under a unified plan, do a good job in the standardization, serialization and general utilization of its products, work hard to turn out high-grade machines and equipment and produce more and better sets of large modern precision machinery. The national defense industries should turn their production capacity to good account, diligently carry out research and the trial production and then the turning out of more and better modern conventional and strategic weapons. Serious efforts should be made to implement the policy of integrating military with nonmilitary enterprises and peacetime production with preparedness against war, and fully tap the potential of the machine-building and national defense industries.

Along with the strengthening of the basic industries there should be a vigorous development of light industry.

We should explore and open up more sources of raw materials, try to increase the supply of agricultural raw materials, substantially increase the ratio of such petrochemically produced raw materials as chemical fibers and plastics to all raw materials used in light industry, greatly expand the production of textiles, sugar and paper and other light industrial products, and see that the provinces and autonomous regions achieve self-sufficiency in ordinary light industrial products as early as possible. We should continue and expand the production of popular traditional articles, and efficiently arrange the production of articles of daily use, miscellaneous goods, handicraft wares and commodities specially needed by the minority nationalities.

In building our industry we should apply the principle of combining industry and agriculture and town and country. Where conditions permit, the workers and staff and their families should get organized for agricultural and sideline production, as in the Taching oilfield. We should as far as possible avoid crowding the big cities with new construction units and should build more small and medium-sized towns and cities.

Third: Do a good job in commerce and develop foreign trade.

Socialist commerce is a bridge that links industry with agriculture, urban areas with rural areas and production with consumption. It is essential to make a success of commerce, for it promotes the rapid growth of the economy, consolidates the worker-peasant alliance and serves to meet the people's daily needs. Those who work in shops and supply and marketing departments are part of the working class. They are inseparably linked with the general process of production, and since what they do is lofty revolutionary labor they should command the respect of all. The commercial departments should firmly implement the policy of /"develop the economy and insure supplies,"/ give strong support to industrial and agricultural production and wholeheartedly serve the people in meeting their daily needs. We should organize the exchange of industrial goods with agricultural products well, stimulate the interchange of urban and rural products, provide the markets with adequate supplies, appropriately expand commercial networks or centers, increase the variety of goods on the market, and improve the quality of service to customers. We should tighten price and market controls and deal resolute blows to speculation and profiteering.

There should be a big increase in foreign trade. In our export trade, attention should be given both to bulk exports and exports in small quantities. While expanding the export of agricultural and sideline products, we should raise the ratio of industrial and mineral productions in our exports. We should build a number of bases for supplying industrial and mineral products and agricultural and sideline products for export. We should earnestly sum up our experience in foreign trade and, in accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit, handle our business transactions flexibly and successfully.

Fourth: Encourage socialist labor emulation and be active in technical innovation and technical revolution.

The masses have a vast reservoir of enthusiasm for socialism. Socialist labor emulation is a good and important method of bringing the initiative and creativeness of the people into full play and of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing the economy. Each and every locality, trade, enterprise, establishment and rural commune and production brigade should fully mobilize the masses and bring about an upsurge in emulating, learning from, catching up with and overtaking the advanced units, and helping the less advanced units.

The main aim of the labor emulation is to increase production and practice economy, that is, to strive to step up production, improve quality, raise labor productivity, economize on materials, cut down costs and increase profits. At present, some enterprises seek to increase production to the neglect of quality of products and quantity of materials consumed, causing much waste. This does not square with the requirement

of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. Failure to achieve high quality, economize on materials and provide the state with constantly increasing profits will make it impossible for the economy to achieve sustained and high-speed development. All enterprises are required to reach their previous peak production levels in terms of economic and technical norms before the year is out, and those that have already done so should strive to catch up with or surpass domestic and world advanced standards. In the course of labor emulation, attention should be paid to combining work with adequate rest so as to keep up the enthusiasm of the masses. Moreover, all departments and enterprises should break down the boundaries between trades and create more for the state by actively undertaking the multiple utilization of resources and so turning "waste" into wealth. We must resolutely combat the spend-thrift style, which pays no attention to quality and economic accounting, and the prodigal bourgeois style of indulgence in extravagance and waste. We must foster the fine tradition of waging hard struggles and building the country with diligence and thrift.

For our economy to develop at high speed, we must break free from conventions and use advanced techniques as much as possible. The broad masses have inexhaustible creative power and are fully capable of making a great leap forward in science and technology by relying on their own strength. Our workers, peasants and intellectuals should be creative and dauntless; they should dare to think, dare to speak out and dare to act and should unfold a widespread movement for technical innovation and technical revolution in urban and rural areas, coming up with new and better ways to do things and turning their talents to full account. All localities and departments must keep abreast of current developments in technology at home and abroad, work out plans and measures for employing and popularizing new techniques, strive to learn advanced science and technology, domestic and foreign, and must not get stuck in a groove and rest content with old practices. We must increase technical exchanges and fight against the rotten bourgeois style of refusing to share information. Commendations and proper awards should be given to those units that have achieved marked successes in adopting new techniques, developing new technologies and turning out new products as well as to those collectives and individuals who have made inventions.

Fifth: Strengthen unified planning and give full play to the initiative of both the central and local authorities.

Planned economy is a basic feature of the socialist economy. We must resolutely put an end to the anarchy resulting from the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four" and bring all economic undertakings into the orbit of planned, proportionate development. In formulating plans, we must follow the mass line, and both the central departments and the localities should do more investigation and study, endeavor to strike an overall balance, make the plans bold as well as sound and allocate manpower, material and money where they are most needed so that the various branches of the economy develop in coordination.

A strict system of personal responsibility must be set up at all levels, from the departments under the State Council to the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions right down to the grassroots units, so that each leading cadre has his clearcut responsibilities and nothing is neglected. Fulfillment of the state plan will thus be effectively insured. We must check up regularly on how the localities, departments and grassroots units are carrying out their plans. We shall commend those who fulfill their plans satisfactorily and shall hold the leading cadres responsible where the plan is not fulfilled because of their poor work and bureaucracy. In the case of serious failures necessary disciplinary action will be taken.

The law of value must be consciously applied under the guidance of the unified state plan. We must study in earnest the price parities between industrial and agricultural products and between raw and semifinished materials, fuel and manufactured goods. To promote production, we must appropriately raise the purchase prices of agricultural products and, as costs are cut down, properly reduce the prices of manufactured goods, especially those produced to support agriculture. We must fully utilize finance, banking and credit in promoting and supervising economic undertakings so as to spur all enterprises to improve management, pay due attention to economic results and accumulate more capital for the state.

Given the strengthening of unified central leadership, it is necessary to develop the initiative of both the central and local authorities. While the former must have absolute control on major issues, power should devolve on the latter with respect to minor ones. Power is to be centralized where necessary, while active support is to be given to the local authorities in undertaking what should be put in their charge. The principle of transferring the management of certain enterprises to the localities should be adhered to. However, instead of washing their hands of these enterprises, the central departments should enthusiastically assist the local authorities to run them well. Key enterprises and research and designing institutions that have a bearing on the economy as a whole should be put under dual leadership. The central departments in charge should assume the chief responsibility, but the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions must shoulder some responsibility, too. We must conscientiously sum up experience, gradually reform and perfect the management of enterprises and control over planning, materials and finance. Both the central departments and the localities must have the overall interest in mind and work for the strengthening of the unified leadership of the central authorities. While we must put our foot down on the tendency of the central departments to take too much upon themselves and hamper the local authorities' initiative, we must also oppose the tendency of regions or departments to attend only to their own individual interests to the neglect of the unified state plan.

Sixth: Uphold the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" and steadily improve the livelihood of the people.

Throughout the historical period of socialism, we must uphold the principles of "he who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." In applying them we must firmly put proletarian politics in command, strengthen ideological and political work and teach and encourage everybody to cultivate the communist attitude toward labor and to serve the people wholeheartedly. With regard to distribution, while we should avoid a wide wage spread, we must also oppose equalitarianism and apply the principle of more pay for more work and less pay for less work.

The enthusiasm of the masses cannot be aroused if no distinction is made between those who do more work and those who do less, between those who do a good job and those who do a poor one, and between those who work and those who don't. All people's communes and production brigades must seriously apply the system of fixed production quotas and calculation of work-points on the basis of work done and must enforce the principle of equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex. The staff and workers of state enterprises should be paid primarily on a time-rate basis with piecework playing a secondary role, and with additional bonuses. There should be pecuniary allowances for jobs requiring higher labor intensity or performed under worse working conditions. In socialist labor emulation, moral encouragement and material reward must go hand in hand, with emphasis on the former. As regards the reform of the wage system, the relevant departments under the State Council should, together with the local authorities, make conscientious investigation and study, sum up experience, canvass the opinions of the masses and then submit a draft plan based on overall consideration to the central authorities for approval before it is to be gradually implemented.

Chairman Mao said: /"We must lay emphasis on the development of production, but consideration must be given to both the development of production and the improvement of the people's livelihood."/ We must carry forward our fine tradition of diligence, thrift, plain living and hard work so as to accumulate more capital for increasing production and promoting construction. At the same time, as production rises, we must gradually improve the livelihood of the people, so that in normal harvest years 90 percent of the commune members can receive a bigger income every year, and staff members and workers can have their wages increased step by step, provided that the state plan is fulfilled. Great efforts must be made to increase the supply of nonstaple foodstuffs for urban consumers. Large and medium-sized cities and those factories and mines which are in a position to do so should set up production bases for non-staple foodstuffs and set up well-run mechanized or semimechanized pig and poultry farms. We must improve the living conditions of the urban and rural population by systematically supplying the countryside with

materials needed for building houses and resolving the problem of providing living quarters for staff members and workers. Vigorous action should be taken to develop collective welfare and urban public utilities so as to facilitate production and provide amenities for the people. We must strive to insure safety in production and the protection of labor. The elimination of pollution and the protection of the environment are a major issue involving the people's health, an issue to which we must attach great importance. We must draw up regulations to protect the environment and make sure that related problems are satisfactorily solved.

We are not yet acquainted with many of the problems that crop up in economic construction. In particular, in many respects modern production remains an unknown kingdom of necessity to us. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, the leading cadres at all levels must use their brains and assiduously study Marxism-Leninism, economics, production management and science and technology so as to /"become expert in political and economic work on the basis of a higher level of Marxism-Leninism."/ We must study hard and work well, sum up experience, attain a better grasp of the laws governing socialist economic construction, master the art of guiding and organizing modern production, raise the level of economic management and do our economic work in an ever more meticulous, thoroughgoing, practical and scientific way, thus propelling the national economy forward at high speed.

Develop Socialist Science, Education and Culture

In the wake of the new upsurge in economic construction a new upsurge of construction in the cultural sphere will follow.

We must raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation to a much higher level so that our working people will master modern techniques of production and scientific knowledge. At the same time, we must build a vast army of working-class intellectuals. Only thus can we successfully fulfill the grand target of building a modern, powerful socialist country.

In the last 28 years, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we have achieved much in the spheres of science, education, literature and art, public health, physical culture, the press and publishing. The explosion of the A-bomb and the H-bomb, the launching and retraction of manmade satellites--all these mark a new level in the development of our country's science and technology. Junior middle-school education has become general in most cities and towns and primary school education in practically all villages. Institutions of higher learning and secondary technical schools have trained large numbers of students in professional skills. However, our scientific, educational and cultural work has suffered severely from interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, and most of all by the "gang of four." The gap between our

own and the advanced world scientific and technical level which had been narrowing has widened again in recent years. The quality of school education has fallen sharply. In all fields of endeavor there are not enough trained younger men and women ready to take over from older experts. A new liberation has come with the smashing of the "gang of four." The tremendous exuberance of the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals is becoming a mammoth force for storming the citadels of science, revitalizing education and creating a brilliant culture.

Modern science and technology, which are characterized mainly by the use of atomic energy and the development of electronic computers and space science, are experiencing a great revolution, leading to the emergence of new industries and spurring the advance of technology by leaps and bounds. To catch up quickly with the dramatic changes in modern science and technology and rapidly transform our backwardness in these fields are important and indispensable steps for the speedy development of our economy and the strengthening of our national defense. This is a matter to which our whole party, army and nation must give close attention. Scientific research should be comprehensively planned, with due attention to both short- and long-range targets and in the light of the needs of our national construction and the trends of modern science and technology. All branches of science and technology should be developed in coordination, with special emphasis on focal ones so that there is enough concentration to make a breakthrough. Scientific and technical personnel should be widely mobilized and their efforts organized, with proper division of labor and close coordination, to speed up research into urgent scientific and technical problems in economic construction and national defense. They should produce results in advanced scientific and technical research so as to achieve high and steady yields and fine quality at low cost in agriculture, the all-round development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fisheries, and the building of a modern, large-scale socialist agriculture. They should make contributions toward the technical transformation of the industrial departments, toward prospecting for and discovering more mineral resources and, in particular, toward rapidly transforming the weaker links in our economy; that is, fuel, electricity, raw and semi-finished materials industries, and transport and communications, so as to put our industries on an advanced technological basis as early as possible. The prediction of natural calamities and our ability to cope with them should be improved.

We must strive to develop new scientific techniques, set up nuclear power stations, launch different kinds of satellites, and step up research into laser theory and its application, attach importance to the research in genetic engineering and, above all, research on integrated circuits and electronic computers and their widespread application. We must strive to apply the latest techniques in scientific experiment and set up a number of centers for sophisticated experimentation. Full

attention must be paid to theoretical research in the natural sciences, including such basic subjects as modern mathematics, high energy physics and molecular biology. Negligence in this respect will make it impossible for us to master and apply the results of advanced world science and technology and properly solve important problems in our construction, to say nothing of making major discoveries or inventions. A national science conference is soon to be convened where a plan for the development of science and technology will be drawn up, advanced individuals cited and outstanding achievements commended, so as to bring everybody's initiative into full play for the modernization of our science and technology.

In the sphere of philosophy and the social sciences, we should make a study of the past as well as the present state of Chinese and world politics, economics, military affairs and ideology. We must deepen the criticism of the "gang of four," of revisionism and of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, and comprehensively and accurately expound and spread Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a system. This is required by our country's socialist revolution and construction and it is also our bounden internationalist obligation to the people of the world. We must organize forces to map out a national development plan for philosophy and the social sciences and for research into philosophy, economics, politics, military sciences, law, history, education, literary theory, linguistics, ethnology and religion. Comrades working on the ideological and theoretical front must strive to contribute to spreading and developing Marxist philosophy and social sciences.

We must correctly carry out the policy of making education serve proletarian politics and combining it with productive labor, have a correct orientation, insure the success of the revolution in education and accelerate the training of our students so that they develop in an all-round way, morally, intellectually and physically, and become workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. All professions and trades should attach due weight to education and fully support it. We should run well schools at all levels and of all types, and primarily the key universities and schools. In order to improve the quality of education, it is necessary to take effective measures to train teachers, to compile new textbooks speedily and to utilize modern aids fully. By 1985, in the main, 8-year schooling should be made universal in the rural areas and 10-year schooling in the cities. We should fully tap the potential of existing institutions of higher learning, actively expand the student enrollment, rapidly set up new colleges and institutes and endeavor to run the vocational and technical schools and colleges well. We must break free from old rules and conventions and spot, train and foster talents in all fields. Spare-time education should be actively promoted to satisfy the demand for learning on the part of cadres, workers, peasants, soldiers and school graduates who have gone to the countryside.

We should set up an appropriate examination system. Spare-time students who have attained college graduate level and have proved themselves qualified by passing an examination should be given the same treatment as college graduates in their employment. Our present college graduates should be enabled to put what they have learned to good use, and further efforts should be made to train them and raise their level. In recent years, large numbers of students selected from among workers, peasants, soldiers, and school graduates who had been to the countryside were trained in colleges and universities. They are a new force in our contingent of intellectuals and should be given every care and assistance to grow and mature.

The vital task on the front of literature and art now is conscientiously to implement Chairman Mao's directive on readjusting the party's policy in this sphere. Our work should be strengthened and the present shortage of all genres of literature and art caused by the sabotage of the "gang of four" should be rapidly overcome. The repertoires of the performing arts should be enlarged to enrich the people's cultural life. Literature and art must keep to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. Workers in literature, drama, the film, music, the fine arts, choreography and chui [popular forms of ballad singing, etc.] should be mobilized and encouraged to go to factories, rural areas and army units to experience life at its source and create more. We should give special attention to the film with its huge audience, because its impact is immense. We should redouble our efforts to produce more fine films. There should be variety in the subject matter of our literature and art. Modern revolutionary themes should be dominant, particularly those reflecting the three great revolutionary movements of the socialist period, but attention should also be given to historical and other themes. Revolutionary realism, combined with revolutionary romanticism, should be encouraged in artistic creation. We should give great emphasis to literary criticism. We should be active in organizing cultural centers, film projection teams and various forms of spare-time cultural activity for the masses. Local operas should be revived and the distinctive literature and art of our different nationalities developed. For half a century and more our great leader Chairman Mao led the Chinese people in great revolutionary struggles that brought epoch-making changes. Our writers and artists should have lofty aspirations and strive to produce fine works of art depicting the glorious deeds and achievements of Chairman Mao, Premier Chou, Chairman Chu Te of the NPC Standing Committee and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and the militant course of the people's revolutionary struggle led by our party.

In health work, we should continue the policy of putting the stress on the rural areas and run county and commune hospitals well. The rural cooperative medical service should be strengthened and expanded and the professional proficiency of barefoot doctors raised. At the same time, medical and health work in the cities and in factories and mines should also be done well. We should earnestly strengthen the leadership over

rural and urban hospitals, consolidate the management system, and raise the quality of medical care and nursing. Attention should be given to the health work for women and children. Doctors and nurses should be well trained. Medical research should be intensified and medical institutions be provided with advanced mechanical equipment. The policy of emphasizing preventive medicine should be implemented and patriotic sanitation movements aimed at wiping out pests and diseases should be launched. The policy of combining Chinese traditional and Western medicine should be pursued so as to create a new integrated Chinese medicine and pharmacology. We should vigorously promote mass sports to improve the people's physique. We should rapidly develop the ranks of our athletes and strive to scale the world's peaks in sports.

Family planning is a very significant matter. Planned control of population growth is conducive to the planned development of the national economy and to the health of mother and child. It also benefits the people where production, work and study are concerned. We must continue to give it serious attention and strive to lower the annual rate of growth of China's population to less than 1 percent within 3 years.

We should make a success of our press and broadcasting work and accelerate the development of television, so as to be able to utilize the mass media fully in our propaganda and education. We should improve our publishing work and lose no time in changing the present state of affairs in which books and periodicals are few, the process of printing is long and drawn out and printing techniques leave much to be desired. Libraries of all types should be promoted so that a network serving the masses and scientific research can be established.

Giving full scope to the abilities of intellectuals is important for speeding up the development of our science, education and other cultural undertakings and building a modern, powerful socialist country. The overwhelming majority of the intellectuals are devoted to the party and socialism and support Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In the political movements of the past, in their study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, in their endeavor to identify themselves with the workers and peasants and in their day-to-day work, they have made marked progress in remolding their bourgeois world outlook and acquiring the proletarian world outlook and played a significant role in the socialist revolution and construction. Working-class intellectuals are growing in number. The "gang of four" maligned the intellectuals as "the stinking ninth category." Instead of regarding them as a force to be united with and relied upon by the working class, the gang set them up as targets for attack and as objects of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus distorting the distinction between manual and mental labor under socialist conditions into a class antagonism. They undermined the revolutionary alliance between the workers, peasants and the numerous intellectuals and confused class alignments, thus dampening and stifling the enthusiasm of the intellectuals for socialism. We must make a clean sweep of the gang's

pernicious influence and correctly and comprehensively carry out the party's policy of uniting with, educating and remolding the intellectuals. We must give due weight to their work, improve their working conditions, turn their specializations to account and commend their achievements. At the same time, we must encourage them to make a real effort to remold their world outlook in the three great revolutionary movements, persevere in identifying themselves with the workers and peasants and advance along the Red-and-expert road. We must continue to develop and expand the ranks of working-class intellectuals and cultivate large numbers of fine scientists, engineers, professors, teachers, doctors, writers, artists, journalists and Marxist theorists.

Millions of school graduates now in the countryside are actively participating in the three great revolutionary movements, tempering themselves and becoming more and more competent. Many more will be going to the countryside. We should take effective measures to solve problems concerning their study, livelihood and other practical matters, and bring them up as reinforcements in our undertaking to make China a modern, powerful socialist country.

/"Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend"/ is the basic policy for making China's socialist science and culture flourish. Its essence is to adopt a policy of "opening wide" within the ranks of the people while adhering to the six political criteria so as constantly to expand the positions of Marxism in matters of ideology and to promote science and culture.

Only by firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's policy of a hundred flowers and a hundred schools can people cultivate the ability to distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds through comparison and struggle, and thus promote what is correct and overcome what is wrong. Only thus can different styles and trends in art and different viewpoints and schools of thought advance through discussion and mutual stimulation, and only thus can we turn out fine and competent people, register first-rate scientific achievements and produce fine literature and art. Of late, our academic circles have started a spirited discussion on a number of theoretical questions that had been bedeviled by the "gang of four." This is an auspicious sign and should be supported and encouraged. Where there is controversy in academic discussions and literary criticism, we should avoid hasty conclusions. We should seek solutions not through such oversimple measures as administrative orders, but through full discussion and practical experience.

/"We shouldn't demand perfection."/ This is a point of substance to bear in mind while implementing the policy of a hundred flowers and a hundred schools. To demand perfection, to require gold to be 100 percent pure and man to be flawless, is a manifestation of metaphysical thinking. The "gang of four" searched everywhere for false charges to level at people and stopped at nothing to throttle socialist science and culture.

We must try hard to remove their pernicious influence, warmly support and care for new socialist things and foster their sturdy growth. As long as works of literature and art conform to the six political criteria and pass muster artistically, they should be allowed to appear. After publication or appearance, they can be revised and improved in the light of comments and suggestions from the public.

To accelerate the development of socialist science and culture we must stick to the policy of /"making the past serve the present"/ and /"making things foreign serve China."/ We must conscientiously try to study the advanced science and technology of all countries and turn them to our account. We must be critical in assimilating things from our ancient culture and from the culture of foreign countries, taking the essence and discarding the dross and weeding through the old to bring forth the new, in order to promote a socialist culture which is national in its traits and rich in the characteristics of the age.

The "gang of four" vehemently opposed Chairman Mao's policies of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend and of making the past serve the present and things foreign serve China. It wildly pushed fascist cultural autocracy and a policy of prohibition. It put into cold storage all the highly rated films made before the Cultural Revolution and progressive films imported from abroad. It prohibited the performance of good historical plays and traditional operas. It banned large numbers of local operas, songs and dances of the nationalities, modern plays and excellent Chinese and foreign music. It stopped the publication of the finest literature, whether Chinese or foreign, disbanded the mass organizations devoted to scientific and cultural advancement and arbitrarily put books under lock and key. And so on and so forth. Cultural poverty and insipidity was the result of the gang's perversion and wrongdoing, and this aroused strong dissatisfaction among the people. We must deepen our criticism of the gang's cultural autocracy and policy of prohibitions and deal effectively with such problems as still require attention, in accordance with Chairman Mao's consistent teachings and the party's policies.

The basic task on the ideological and cultural fronts is to promote what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeois. All reactionary theories, whether feudal, capitalist or revisionist, and all that is decadent in the cultural sphere, must be criticized and repudiated and must not be allowed to spread with impunity.

Truth always exists by contrast with falsehood and grows in struggle with it, and so it is in the case of fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds. In struggling with things non-Marxist and anti-Marxist, we should not adopt a policy of prohibiting people from coming into contact with the false, the ugly and the hostile, for /"it is dangerous policy"/ and /"it will lead to mental deterioration, one-track minds, and unpreparedness to face the world and meet challenges."/ Our purpose in providing the people with

selections of needed negative material is to fortify and immunize them. To correctly implement the policies of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend and of making the past serve the present and things foreign serve China will definitely strengthen the leading role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the spheres of science and culture. It will definitely not lead to a bourgeois liberalization as the reactionaries at home and abroad fondly hope. If anything, it will bring about a flourishing socialist science and culture.

Our science, education and culture belong to the people and serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. If we popularize science and culture, if we raise the nation's scientific and cultural level and integrate popularization with higher standards, and if we forge links between specialists and laymen, we can certainly form a huge army of scientific and cultural workers and quicken the tempo of our advance. We are firm in our belief that the scientific prediction made by our great leader Chairman Mao on the solemn occasion of the birth of the People's Republic of China will come true: /"The era in which the Chinese people were regarded as uncivilized is now ended. We shall emerge in the world as a nation with an advanced culture."/

Consolidate Our Political Power and Strengthen the Great Unity of the People of All Nationalities

To make China a great modern, powerful socialist country, we must further strengthen the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat, give full play to popular democracy, enhance the great unity of the people of all nationalities, develop the revolutionary united front and mobilize all positive factors.

The revolutionary committees at various levels are local government organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the last few years, these committees were paralyzed in many places because of interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," and there were even cases where power was usurped by them and their followers. We must reelect these committees at the various levels and do a good job in building up our political power in strict accordance with the five requirements for successors in the revolutionary cause and with the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young laid down by Chairman Mao. Prior to this session of the National People's Congress, all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions had at one time or another convened people's congresses at which outstanding people from the ranks of workers, peasants, revolutionary armymen, revolutionary cadres, and intellectuals, outstanding people who had made genuine, publicly acknowledged contributions and representatives from all circles were elected to new revolutionary committees. This has had the warm support of the masses. People's congresses will be held in the cities directly under provincial authorities, in the autonomous prefectures and in the counties and communes throughout the country during the year to elect new revolutionary committees. As the

organ of state power at the prefectural level is an agency of the provincial authorities, no revolutionary committee will be established at this level. With the exception of those factories, mines or other enterprises where government administration is integrated with management, factories, production brigades, schools and colleges, shops, party and government organizations and other enterprises and establishments will no longer set up revolutionary committees, inasmuch as they do not form a level of government.

In lieu of revolutionary committees, a system of division of responsibilities should be adopted, with factory directors, production brigade leaders, school principals, college presidents and managers taking charge under the leadership of party committees.

The revolutionary committees at the various levels should hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to the basic principles of the "three do's and three don'ts" and foster the revolutionary spirit so that these organs of state power can play their role to the full. Cadres at all levels should apply themselves to the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, gain the professional proficiency required by their jobs, and improve their art of leadership. They should carry forward the party's fine traditions and style of work, throw themselves into the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements and persist in collective productive labor. They should be concerned about the livelihood of the masses, be ready to listen to their opinions, accept their supervision and be good servants of the people. Revolutionary committees at all levels must streamline their administrative structure, cut meetings to a minimum, improve working methods and raise efficiency. We must firmly oppose bureaucracy, commandism, formalism, extravagance and waste, cheating, jobbery, and privileges for the cadres and all other decadent bourgeois styles.

Under the unified leadership of the party, revolutionary committees at all levels must attach importance to the role played by the trade unions, the poor and lower-middle peasants' associations, the Youth League, women's federations and other popular organizations, and through them maintain close ties with the masses and do a good job in every field.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army, founded personally by Chairman Mao, is the staunch pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Over the past 50 years, this army has performed meritorious services, defeating internal and external enemies, defending our socialist motherland and taking part in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. It deserves to be hailed as a heroic people's army. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it again made significant contributions in the "three support's and two military's" and in crushing the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four." The People's Liberation Army should continue to implement Chairman Mao's important instructions: /"It is necessary to consolidate the army"/ and

/"Be ready to fight in a war."/ It must grasp the key link of class struggle and run its affairs well, promote its glorious traditions, strengthen its political work and its political and military training, run the military academies well, step up preparations against war and deepen the mass movements for learning from the model soldier Lei Feng, the "Hard-bone 6th Company" and the 1st Air Force Division. We must work hard to raise to a new height the military and political quality of our army, its revolutionization and modernization. We must uphold the system under which our armed forces are a combination of the field armies, the regional forces and the militia; we should continue to build up the militia organizationally, politically and militarily and give full scope to its role in the socialist revolution, socialist construction and the defense of the motherland.

Let the whole nation learn from the Liberation Army and the Liberation Army learn from the whole nation. In order to cement the ties of unity between the army and the people and between the army and the government, not only must the revolutionary committees at all levels seriously attend to the work of supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to the families of the army men but the People's Liberation Army units must do likewise in supporting the government and cherishing the people. Moreover, they must make proper arrangements for retired, demobilized and disabled army men and army men transferred to civilian jobs. In particular, they must be warm in their concern for the political well-being of revolutionary army men who have made contributions in the long years of revolutionary war and take effective measures to solve any difficulties in their livelihood.

The people's public security organs, the procuratorial organs and people's courts are important instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They must be further consolidated and built up. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching on correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions which are different in nature, we must firmly implement the principles and policies set down by the Central Committee concerning the struggle against the enemy and deal sure, accurate and relentless blows to the handful of class enemies, with the emphasis on accuracy. We must /enforce dictatorship over the reactionary classes and elements and all those who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction./ We must also exercise dictatorship over new bourgeois elements, thieves, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, criminal gangs, smash-and-grabbers and other scoundrels who seriously disrupt public order.

Dictatorship over the enemy and democracy among the people are the two inseparable aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only when we deal resolute blows to the enemy can we insure that the people will really become masters of their own affairs. Only when we give full play to democracy among the people can we deal effective blows to the enemy and truly protect the people. Only when we give full scope to democracy

can we correctly practice centralism, work out policies and methods consistent with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and promptly spot and correct shortcomings and mistakes in our work. Only thus can we closely unite the people and fully mobilize everyone's revolutionary initiative. Chairman Mao pointed out: /"Without broad democracy among the people, it is impossible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be consolidated or for political power to be stable." "If unity is to prevail throughout the party and the nation, we must give full play to democracy and let people speak up."/ We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, listen modestly to the opinions of the masses and treat seriously the letters the people send in and the complaints they make when they call. We will never allow suppression of opinion, much less retaliation against those who make criticisms. Our constitution lays down in clear terms the rights of the people. The organs of the state at various levels must take effective measures to insure that the people enjoy and exercise these rights. Violations of these rights will be dealt with strictly, and in serious cases will be punished according to law.

It is essential to strengthen the socialist legal system if we are to bring about great order across the land. Our laws protect the people's interests. Basing ourselves on the new constitution which is to be discussed and adopted at this session, we should draw on our 28 years of experience with the dictatorship of the proletariat, give a ready ear to the opinions of the masses and gradually make and perfect our socialist laws. We should give wide publicity to the significance of cultivating a sense of respect for socialist laws.

Cadres should be law-abiding, as should the masses, and indeed everyone. We should rely on the masses in enforcing public order and dealing firmly with crimes of different kinds.

China is a unitary state with more than 50 nationalities. Chairman Mao consistently stressed cementing the ties of unity among all nationalities and called on the people of all nationalities to make concerted efforts to build our great socialist motherland. We must thoroughly unmask and criticize the "gang of four" for their counterrevolutionary crime of undermining Chairman Mao's nationality policy and strengthen the unity of all nationalities. We must conduct reeducation in this policy, with the emphasis on opposing great-nationality chauvinism while at the same time directing our attention to overcoming and preventing local-nationality chauvinism. All nationalities should respect, help and learn from one another. The policy of regional national autonomy must be conscientiously implemented, and the right of the minority peoples to equality and autonomy must be guaranteed without fail. We must try very hard to train cadres from minority nationalities and promote the outstanding ones to leading positions. We must run the nationality institutes well and stress the use and development of the spoken and written languages of the minority nationalities. Comrades of the Han nationality who work in a minority nationality area must learn the area's language and respect its customs

and ways. As to old and backward customs and habits, it is up to the people of the minority nationalities concerned to reform them step by step according to their own will. The handful of class enemies who try to sow discord among the nationalities and undermine national unity must be fully exposed and resolutely dealt with.

To give sincere and active help to the minority nationalities to develop their economy and culture is a major task in our nationality work, in building up our border regions and in consolidating our national defense. The minority nationalities should foster the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle and self-reliance, and the state should help them in a planned way with funds, materials and personnel to insure /"the growth of agriculture, animal husbandry and industry from year to year, greater economic prosperity from year to year, and rising living standards of the people from year to year"/ in the minority areas.

In accordance with the provisions in the constitution, we shall continue to implement the policy of freedom of religious belief, which embraces freedom to believe in religion, freedom not to believe, and freedom to propagate atheism. We must expose and strike at the class enemies who carry on counterrevolutionary activities in religious garb.

An important component of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the development of the revolutionary united front, which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance and which unites the large numbers of intellectuals and other laboring people, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, our compatriots in and from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, and our countrymen residing abroad. The revolutionary united front was one of the magic weapons by which we defeated the enemy in the period of the new-democratic revolution. In the period of socialist revolution, this revolutionary united front continues to be consolidated and expanded, and is playing an important role. We must make further efforts to insure the full implementation of Chairman Mao's principles and policies concerning the united front, uniting with all the forces that can be united and mobilizing all positive factors to serve the socialist cause. The Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, now simultaneously in session with the National People's Congress, plays an important role in consolidating and developing the united front in our country.

In conformity with the six political criteria set forth by Chairman Mao, we will unite and cooperate with all those who accept the leadership of the Communist Party and love the socialist motherland, and bring their initiative into play. The government at all levels must earnestly give heed to their criticisms and suggestions and accept what is correct in order to improve our work. We must criticize and teach those whose words and deeds are at variance with the six political criteria and, where necessary, even wage struggles against them. Our principle is: unity, struggle, unity through struggle. Toward the national bourgeoisie,

our policy is to eliminate it as a class and reform its members so that they will gradually become working people supporting themselves by their own labor. Chairman Mao said: /"The people and their government have no reason to reject anyone or deny him the opportunity of making a living and rendering service to the country, provided he is really willing to serve the people and provided he really helped and did a good turn when the people were faced with difficulties and keeps on doing good without giving up halfway."/ It is our hope that all who love the socialist motherland will continue to make progress in their study, work and ideological remolding and do their share in building our great country.

Overseas Chinese who have returned from abroad have played a positive role in building the motherland. As before, we must seriously try to carry out the state's policies and pay attention to the political progress, work and well-being of all returned Overseas Chinese and the relatives of Overseas Chinese and give them proper preferential treatment, so as to bring their enthusiasm for socialism into fuller play. Our countrymen residing abroad and foreign nationals of Chinese descent who return to the homeland to visit their relatives and friends should be provided with the necessary facilities. The concern and preferential treatment extended to the relatives of Overseas Chinese will equally be extended to the relatives in China of foreign nationals of Chinese descent.

Taiwan is part of the sacred territory of China. The people in and from Taiwan are our kith and kin. The liberation of Taiwan and the unification of the motherland are the common aspirations of the whole Chinese people, our Taiwan compatriots included. We resolutely oppose anyone scheming to create what is called "two Chinas," "one China, one Taiwan," "one China, two governments" or an "independent Taiwan." We place our hopes on the people of Taiwan and resolutely support their patriotic struggle against imperialism and the Chiang clique. As for the military and administrative personnel of the Kuomintang in and from Taiwan, it has been our consistent policy that "all patriots belong to one big family," "whether they come over early or late." It is our hope that they will clearly see the general trend of events and take the road of patriotism and unification of the motherland. The Chinese People's Liberation Army must make all the preparations necessary for the liberation of Taiwan. We are determined to realize the behest of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and, together with our Taiwan compatriots, accomplish the sacred task of liberating Taiwan and unifying the motherland.

The International Situation and China's Foreign Policy

The international situation has been developing in a direction favorable to the people of the world in the last 3 years. The factors for revolution are growing all the time. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. This tide of history rolls on and no force on earth can hold it back. All the basic contradictions in

the world are sharpening daily and the rivalry between the two hegemonist powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and their contradictions with the people of all lands have become particularly acute, constituting the central problem in international relations today.

The people's struggle against them, and in particular against Soviet social imperialism, is on a higher upsurge than ever, and the international antihegemonist united front with the Third World as its main force is broadening. This is an outstanding feature of the fine international situation. More and more countries and people have come to see the aggressive features and paper-tiger essence of the superpowers clearly, waged tit-for-tat struggles against them and won victory after victory. The people of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos defeated the U.S. aggressors after long years of war and bloodshed. Egypt, Sudan and Somalia categorically abrogated their treaties with the Soviet Union and expelled the Soviet specialists from their countries. Zaire heroically routed the mercenary troops engaged in the invasion masterminded by the Soviet Union. The people of Africa will no longer tolerate the superpowers' riding roughshod over them and have angrily shouted such slogans as "Hands off African affairs!" and "Russia, get out of Africa!" Faced with the superpowers' threats, the Second World countries of Western Europe and other regions are making greater efforts toward unity against hegemonism. The unswerving struggles waged by the people of the world have struck crushing blows to the superpowers which, beset with difficulties at home and abroad and threatened by growing crises, find the going tougher than ever. The course of world events has further borne out the correctness of Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds.

Unreconciled to their reverses, the two hegemonist powers are intensifying their contention for world domination and frantically pushing their policies of aggression and war. At the same time the factors for revolution are growing, so obviously are the factors for war. The danger of a world war is a growing menace to the people of the world. So long as social-imperialism and imperialism exist, war is inevitable. The contention between the two hegemonist powers reaches every corner of the globe, but the cockpit is Europe. They work overtime to preach "detente" and "disarmament," with no other purpose than to fool people and hide their arms expansion and war preparations. A latecomer among imperialist powers, the Soviet Union relies mainly on its military power to carry out expansion; yet it goes about flaunting banners of "socialism" and "support for revolution" to dupe people and sell its wares. It is the most dangerous source of a new world war. Since things differ from one country to another, the people of each country must determine their own fighting tasks in the light of its specific conditions. But so far as the overall world situation is concerned, there is a strategic task common to the people the world over, and that is to consolidate and expand the international united front against hegemonism, oppose the policies of aggression and war pursued by the superpowers, and in particular by Soviet social-imperialism, and strive to put off the outbreak of a new world war.

At present, some people in the West follow a policy of appeasement toward the Soviet Union with the fond hope of saving themselves at the expense of others. This can only whet the ambitions of the aggressors and hasten the outbreak of war. Our attitude toward a new world war is: /"First, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it."/ We believe that the outbreak of war can be put off, but then the people of all countries must close ranks, sharpen their vigilance, prepare against all eventualities, oppose appeasement, resolutely struggle against the war machinations of the superpowers and foil their strategic dispositions. In this way, even if the superpowers gamble with war, the people of the world will not be caught in a vulnerable state of unpreparedness. We are revolutionary optimists. The future of the world is bright, though the struggle of the people of the world may be arduous and protracted and the road tortuous. Victory is sure to go to the people of the whole world.

The Chinese Government and people uphold proletarian internationalism and are determined to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. Following Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds, we should strengthen our unity with the proletariat, oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world, with the socialist countries and with the Third World countries, unite with all countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying by the superpowers and form the broadest united front against superpower hegemonism. We are ready to establish and develop relations with all countries on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. We support all the oppressed people and nations in their revolutionary struggles.

We have always maintained that all countries, whether big or small, are equal and that the big should not bully the small, the strong not domineer over the weak, the rich not oppress the poor. We oppose the superpowers' interference in the internal affairs of other countries and their attempts to monopolize international affairs. No country should seek hegemony in any region or impose its will on others. Whether a country treats others on an equal footing or seeks hegemony is a major criterion by which to tell whether or not it follows the five principles of peaceful coexistence and whether it is a genuine or sham socialist country. A socialist country should set an example in treating others as equals. We firmly stand on the side of the people of the world and will never seek hegemony or strive to be a superpower, neither today nor in the future when we have become a modern, powerful socialist country. We shall always follow Chairman Mao's teaching that we should /get rid of great-nation chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely./

The people of the world support each other in their just struggles. We are only fulfilling our bounden internationalist duty when we render assistance to other countries. We will continue to apply the eight

principles on providing aid to other countries as proclaimed by Premier Chou En-lai in 1964. We strictly respect the sovereignty of recipient countries and never attach any political strings, ask for any privileges or interfere in the internal affairs of these countries. In rendering assistance, we aim at helping the recipient countries to be self-reliant and not at making them dependent on the aid-giving country. As a developing country, China can provide only a limited amount of aid. Nevertheless, we will try our best to do this job well.

Before liberation, quite a few people left China to make a living abroad. They have contributed their share to the progress of the economy and culture of host countries and have forged bonds of deep friendship with the people there. The policy of our government has been consistent; it supports and encourages the Overseas Chinese voluntarily to take the citizenship of the countries in which they have made a new home, but it opposes any attempt to compel them to change their citizenship. All those who have voluntarily acquired the citizenship of their country of domicile, as well as those who are already citizens, automatically forfeit their Chinese citizenship, but their ties of kinship with the Chinese people remain. As for those who decide to keep their Chinese citizenship, we expect them to abide by the law of the country in which they reside, respect the customs and ways of its people and live amicably with them. While it is the duty of the Chinese Government to protect their legitimate rights and interests, it is hoped that safeguards to this effect will be provided by the countries concerned. We would like to see Chinese nationals residing abroad serve as a bridge to foster the friendship between the Chinese people and the people of the countries concerned.

China is a socialist country. It belongs to the Third World and has experience and tasks in common with the other Third World countries. We resolutely support the developing countries and people of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania and other regions in their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and in their struggles to win and preserve national independence, defend state sovereignty, develop the national economy, protect national resources and establish a new international economic order. We highly appraise the nonaligned movement, which plays a positive role in the struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, and give it firm support.

We have consistently worked for greater unity with the other socialist countries and the development of relations of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation with them on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We steadfastly support them in their efforts to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions in their own countries and to carry on their revolution and construction independently, and we steadfastly support them in their struggle to oppose foreign aggression and subversion and to safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We hold that the socialist countries should likewise adhere strictly to the five

principles of peaceful coexistence in their relations with one another. Should differences arise, they should seek a solution through friendly consultation. We pledge our firm support to the Korean people's just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

The Chinese people maintain traditional ties of friendship with the people of Southeast Asian countries. In the last few years, China has established diplomatic relations with Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand, and there has been a new growth in friendly contacts and economic and cultural interchange. It is our desire to restore or establish diplomatic relations with all the other countries in this region. We support the countries of Southeast Asia in their efforts to strengthen regional economic cooperation and bring about the neutralization of Southeast Asia.

The good neighborly relations we have with Burma, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran are steadily getting better and better. We support the proposal put forward by the countries concerned to make the Indian Ocean a peace zone, South Asia a nuclear-free zone and Nepal a zone of peace. The Chinese people have always cherished feelings of friendship for the Indian people. The people of both countries wish to see an increase in friendly contacts and an improvement in their relations. There are questions pending between China and India; nevertheless, relations can be further improved provided serious efforts are made on both sides.

The Middle Eastern question has long remained unsettled and the trouble is due to superpower support for Israeli aggression and superpower contention for hegemony in the region. The situation in the Middle East is still in a state of flux. We stand four-square behind the people of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people in their just struggle to recover lost territories and regain national rights. We are against Israeli aggression and against the contention between the Soviet Union and the United States in this part of the world. The Middle Eastern question cannot be solved unless Israel withdraws from the occupied Arab territories and the national rights of the Palestinian people are restored. We are convinced that ultimate victory will go to the people of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people, provided they set store by the general interests of their fight against the common enemy, uphold unity and persevere in struggle. China maintains good relations with most of the Arab countries and hopes to establish and develop relations with the remaining ones.

In recent years, there has been great progress in the friendly and cooperative relations between China and the African countries. The people of Africa are waging a hard struggle to win the complete emancipation of the continent. We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against colonialism and racism and for national independence and liberation. In accordance with their

strategic need to compete for global hegemony, the superpowers are stepping up their contention in Africa. We resolutely support the African countries in their struggle against aggression, subversion and intervention by the superpowers, and by Soviet social imperialism in particular. Africa belongs to the people of Africa. The African people can settle their own problems by themselves so long as they strengthen unity and exclude outside interference.

In recent years there has been a gradual extension of the relations between China and Latin American countries. We are ready to establish and develop relations with more Latin American countries and enhance mutual understanding and friendship. We support the Latin American countries in their struggle to safeguard their independence and sovereignty, to defend their maritime rights, to promote regional economic cooperation and to establish a Latin American nuclear-free zone. We also support the people of Panama in their unrelenting struggle to recover the Panama Canal.

There have been satisfactory developments in the relations between China and the Second World countries, with a steady increase in friendly contacts and economic and cultural interchange. We are ready to develop our relations with them in diverse fields. We support them in their struggle against threats, interference, subversion and control by the superpowers, and particularly by Soviet social imperialism. We support the West European countries in their efforts to unite against hegemonism, and we hope to see a united and powerful Europe. We also hope to see closer contacts between the Second and Third World countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

China and Japan are close neighbors separated only by a strip of water, and the friendship between their two peoples goes back to ancient times. Since the normalization of relations, contacts and exchanges have been growing in many fields and a long-term trade agreement was recently signed. It is in the fundamental interests of the people of China and Japan to conclude at an early date a treaty of peace and friendship based on the joint statement of the two governments. We firmly support the Japanese people in their just struggle to recover their four northern islands. The people of China and Japan should live in friendship for countless generations.

China and the United States differ in social system and ideology and there are fundamental differences between them. Yet the two countries have quite a few points in common on some issues in the present international situation. The Sino-U.S. Shanghai Communique issued in 1972 has brought a new turn in the relations between the two countries. These relations will continue to improve provided the principles laid down in the communique are seriously carried out. At present, the attitude of the U.S. Government toward the question of Taiwan is the obstacle to the normalization of Sino-U.S. relations. The Chinese people are

determined to liberate Taiwan. When and how is entirely China's internal affair, an internal affair which brooks no foreign interference whatsoever. If the relations between the two countries are to be normalized, the United States must sever its so-called diplomatic relations with the Chiang clique, withdraw all its armed forces and military installations from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits area and abrogate its so-called "mutual defense treaty" with the Chiang clique. This is the unswerving stand of the Chinese Government. The people of China and the United States have always been friendly to each other.

We are willing to increase contacts between the people of our two countries and promote mutual understanding and friendship.

China and the Soviet Union were once friendly neighbors. The people of the two countries forged a profound friendship in their long revolutionary struggles. The Sino-Soviet debates on matters of principle were provoked by the Soviet leading clique through its betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. The fact that the relations between the two countries have sunk to such a low point today must be traced to the social imperialist policy pursued by this clique. The debates on matters of principle must go on. At the same time, we have always held that such debates should not impede the maintenance of normal state relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet leading clique has expressed its desire to improve Sino-Soviet state relations in its words, but in actuality it stubbornly clings to its policy of hostility toward China. It has gone to the length of arrogantly demanding that we change Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This is nothing but a pipedream. If the Soviet leading clique really desires to improve the state relations between the two countries, it should prove its sincerity by deeds. First of all, in accordance with the understanding reached between the premiers of the two countries in 1969, it should sign an agreement on maintaining the status quo on the borders, averting armed clashes and disengaging the armed forces of both sides in the disputed border areas, and then enter into negotiations on resolving the boundary question. It should also withdraw its armed forces from the People's Republic of Mongolia and the Sino-Soviet borders, so that the situation there will revert to what it was in the early 1960's. How Sino-Soviet relations will develop is entirely up to the Soviet side.

Chairman Mao taught us: /"Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony,"/ and /"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people."/ We must maintain a high level of vigilance and be prepared against a war of aggression launched by the superpowers. /We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack./ The heroic People's Liberation Army and the millions of militia, together with the people of the whole country, must go all out to strengthen preparedness against war and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to invade us.

Fellow deputies!

Reviewing the past and looking forward to the future, we are fortified by our boundless confidence that we will win new and still greater victories in our socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The socialist modernization of our agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology is a great and unprecedented undertaking and a profound revolution, too. There will be momentous changes in town and country, in the productive forces and the relations of production, in the economic base and the superstructure, and in the political, economic, military, cultural and other spheres. In this great struggle, many new situations and new things will emerge and challenge our understanding, and many new contradictions and new problems will arise and challenge us to resolve them. Our thinking and our style and methods of work must be improved and raised to a new level. We must study hard and well, try to grasp new things as they come along, and tackle new problems as they crop up. In this way we shall be able to adapt ourselves to the new situation and tasks.

Our tasks are glorious as well as arduous. Our future is bright. We must free ourselves from superstitions, emancipate our minds, be dauntless and revolutionary in the task of /"transforming China in the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains,"/ be firm and unyielding, and work hard to reach our great goal through indomitable struggle.

The great banner of Chairman Mao is the invincible banner of unity in struggle and of continued revolution for the people of all nationalities in our country. For over half a century, this glorious banner has guided us out of darkness to a world of light, taken us past innumerable hidden reefs and enabled us to overcome countless difficulties and win triumph after triumph. On our road of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the banner of Chairman Mao will guide us in continuing to vanquish all internal and external class enemies, surmount all kinds of difficulties and hardships, achieve miracles and make a greater contribution to humanity.

Chairman Mao's behest that we should make China a modern, powerful socialist country must be fulfilled. It can certainly be fulfilled. This is the inexorable trend of history and no reactionary forces can hold it back.

Let us rally still more closely around the Central Committee of the party, hold aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao and march forward in giant strides!

Long live the great unity of the people of all nationalities in our country! Long live the great People's Republic of China! Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China! Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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Preamble

After more than a century of heroic struggle the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China headed by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung, finally overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism by means of people's revolutionary war, winning complete victory in the new-democratic revolution, and in 1949 founded the People's Republic of China.

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the beginning of the historical period of socialism in our country. Since then, under

the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, the people of all our nationalities have carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the political, economic, cultural and military fields and in foreign affairs and have won great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction through repeated struggles against enemies both at home and abroad and through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has been consolidated and strengthened, and China has become a socialist country with the beginnings of prosperity.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung was the founder of the People's Republic of China. All our victories in revolution and construction have been won under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The fundamental guarantee that the people of all our nationalities will struggle in unity and carry the proletarian revolution through to the end is always to hold high and staunchly to defend the great banner of Chairman Mao.

The triumphant conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has ushered in a new period of development in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. In accordance with the basic line of the Chinese Communist Party for the entire historical period of socialism, the general task for the people of the whole country in this new period is to persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and make China a great, powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense and modern science and technology by the end of the century.

We must persevere in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and in the struggle for the socialist road against the capitalist road. We must oppose revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism. We must be prepared to deal with subversion and aggression against our country by social-imperialism and imperialism.

We should consolidate and expand the revolutionary united front which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, and which unites the large numbers of intellectuals and other working people, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, and our countrymen residing abroad. We should enhance the great unity of all the nationalities in our country. We should correctly distinguish and handle the contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. We should endeavor to create among the people of the whole country a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, so as to help bring all positive factors into play, overcome all difficulties, better consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and build up our country more rapidly.

Taiwan is China's sacred territory. We are determined to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the great cause of unifying our motherland.

In international affairs, we should establish and develop relations with other countries on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. Our country will never seek hegemony, or strive to be a superpower. We should uphold proletarian internationalism. In accordance with the theory of the three worlds, we should strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations throughout the world, the socialist countries, and the Third World countries, and we should unite with all countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying by the social-imperialist and imperialist superpowers to form the broadest possible international united front against the hegemonism of the superpowers and against a new world war, and strive for the progress and emancipation of humanity.

Chapter One General Principles

Article 1

The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

Article 2

The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China.

The guiding ideology of the People's Republic of China is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Article 3

All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise state power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at various levels.

The National People's Congress, the local people's congresses at various levels and all other organs of state practice democratic centralism.

Article 4

The People's Republic of China is a unitary multinational state.

All the nationalities are equal. There should be unity and fraternal love among the nationalities and they should help and learn from each other. Discrimination against, or oppression of, any nationality, and acts which undermine the unity of the nationalities are prohibited. Big-nationality chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism must be opposed.

All the nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own customs and ways.

Regional autonomy applies in an area where a minority nationality lives in a compact community. All the national autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China.

Article 5

There are mainly two kinds of ownership of the means of production in the People's Republic of China at the present stage: socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by the working people.

The state allows nonagricultural individual laborers to engage in individual labor involving no exploitation of others, within the limits permitted by law and under unified arrangement and management by organizations at the basic level in cities and towns or in rural areas. At the same time, it guides these individual laborers step by step onto the road of socialist collectivization.

Article 6

The state sector of the economy, that is, the socialist sector owned by the whole people, is the leading force in the national economy.

Mineral resources, waters and those forests, undeveloped lands and other marine and land resources owned by the state are the property of the whole people.

The state may requisition by purchase, take over for use, or nationalize land under conditions prescribed by law.

Article 7

The rural people's commune sector of the economy is a socialist sector collectively owned by the masses of working people. At present, it generally takes the form of three-level ownership, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit. A production brigade may become the basic accounting unit when its conditions are ripe.

Provided that the absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's commune is insured, commune members may farm small plots of land for personal needs, engage in limited household sideline production, and in pastoral areas they may also keep a limited number of livestock for personal needs.

Article 8

Socialist public property shall be inviolable. The state insures the consolidation and development of the socialist sector of the economy owned by the whole people and of the socialist sector collectively owned by the masses of working people.

The state prohibits any person from using any means whatsoever to disrupt the economic order of the society, undermine the economic plans of the state, encroach upon or squander state and collective property, or injure the public interest.

Article 9

The state protects the right of citizens to own lawfully earned income, savings, and other means of livelihood.

Article 10

The state applies the socialist principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Work is an honorable duty for every citizen able to work. The state promotes socialist labor emulation, and, putting proletarian politics in command, it applies the policy of combining moral encouragement with material reward, with the stress on the former, in order to heighten the citizens' socialist enthusiasm and creativeness in work.

Article 11

The state adheres to the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economic results in building socialism. It undertakes the planned, proportionate and high-speed development of the national economy, and it continuously develops the productive forces, so as to consolidate the country's independence and security and improve the people's material and cultural life step by step.

In developing the national economy, the state adheres to the principle of building our country independently, with the initiative in our own hands and through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift. It adheres to the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation and

industry as the leading factor, and it adheres to the principle of bringing the initiative of both the central and local authorities into full play under the unified leadership of the central authorities.

The state protects the environment and natural resources and prevents and eliminates pollution and other hazards to the public.

Article 12

The state devotes major efforts to developing science, expands scientific research, promotes technical innovation and technical revolution and adopts advanced techniques wherever possible in all departments of the national economy. In scientific and technological work we must follow the practice of combining professional contingents with the masses, and combining learning from others with our own creative efforts.

Article 13

The state devotes major efforts to developing education in order to raise the cultural and scientific level of the whole nation. Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor and must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a workers with both socialist consciousness and culture.

Article 14

The state upholds the leading position of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in all spheres of ideology and culture. All cultural undertakings must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve socialism.

The state applies the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" so as to promote the development of the arts and sciences and bring about a flourishing socialist culture.

Article 15

All organs of state must constantly maintain close contact with the masses of the people, rely on them, heed their opinions, be concerned for their weal and woe, streamline administration, practice economy, raise efficiency and combat bureaucracy.

The leading personnel of state organs at all levels must conform to the requirements for successors in the proletarian revolutionary cause and their composition must conform to the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young.

Article 16

The personnel of organs of state must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, wholeheartedly serve the people, endeavor to perfect their professional competence, take an active part in collective productive labor, accept supervision by the masses, be models in observing the constitution and the law, correctly implement the policies of the state, seek the truth from facts, and must not have recourse to deception or exploit their position and power to seek personal gain.

Article 17

The state adheres to the principle of socialist democracy, and insures to the people the right to participate in the management of state affairs and of all economic and cultural undertakings, and the right to supervise the organs of state and their personnel.

Article 18

The state safeguards the socialist system, suppresses all treasonable and counterrevolutionary activities, punishes all traitors and counterrevolutionaries, and punishes newborn bourgeois elements and other bad elements.

The state deprives of political rights, as prescribed by law, those landlords, rich peasants and reactionary capitalists who have not yet been reformed, and at the same time it provides them with the opportunity to earn a living so that they may be reformed through labor and become law-abiding citizens supporting themselves by their own labor.

Article 19

The chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the armed forces of the People's Republic of China.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is the workers' and peasants' own armed force led by the Communist Party of China; it is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The state devotes major efforts to the revolutionization and modernization of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, strengthens the building of the militia and adopts a system under which our armed forces are a combination of the field armies, the regional forces and the militia.

The fundamental task of the armed forces of the People's Republic of China is: to safeguard the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the state, and to guard against subversion and aggression by social-imperialism, imperialism and their lackeys.

Chapter Two
The Structure of the State

Section I
The National People's Congress

Article 20

The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power.

Article 21

The National People's Congress is composed of deputies elected by the people's congresses of the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government, and by the People's Liberation Army. The deputies should be elected by secret ballot after democratic consultation.

The National People's Congress is elected for a term of 5 years. Under special circumstances, its term of office may be extended or the succeeding National People's Congress may be convened before its due date.

The National People's Congress holds one session each year. When necessary, the session may be advanced or postponed.

Article 22

The National People's Congress exercises the following functions and powers:

- (1) To amend the constitution;
- (2) To make laws;
- (3) To supervise the enforcement of the constitution and the law;
- (4) To decide on the choice of the premier of the State Council upon the recommendation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China;
- (5) To decide on the choice of other members of the State Council upon the recommendation of the premier of the State Council;
- (6) To elect the president of the Supreme People's Court and the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate;
- (7) To examine and approve the National Economic Plan, the state budget and the final state accounts;
- (8) To confirm the following administrative divisions: provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government;

(9) To decide on questions of war and peace; and

(10) To exercise such other functions and powers as the National People's Congress deems necessary.

Article 23

The National People's Congress has the power to remove from office the members of the State Council, the president of the Supreme People's Court and the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate.

Article 24

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is the permanent organ of the National People's Congress. It is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is composed of the following members:

The chairman;
The vice chairmen;
The secretary general; and
Other members.

The National People's Congress elects the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and has the power to recall its members.

Article 25

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress exercises the following functions and powers:

(1) To conduct the election of deputies to the National People's Congress;

(2) To convene the sessions of the National People's Congress;

(3) To interpret the constitution and laws and to enact decrees;

(4) To supervise the work of the State Council, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate;

(5) To change and annul inappropriate decisions adopted by the organs of state power of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government;

(6) To decide on the appointment and removal of individual members of the State Council upon the recommendation of the premier of the State Council when the National People's Congress is not in session;

- (7) To appoint and remove vice presidents of the Supreme People's Court and deputy chief procurators of the Supreme People's Procuratorate;
- (8) To decide on the appointment and removal of plenipotentiary representatives abroad;
- (9) To decide on the ratification and abrogation of treaties concluded with foreign states;
- (10) To institute state titles of honor and decide on their conferment;
- (11) To decide on the granting of pardons;
- (12) To decide on the proclamation of a state of war in the event of armed attack on the country when the National People's Congress is not in session; and
- (13) To exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress.

Article 26

The chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress presides over the work of the Standing Committee; receives foreign diplomatic envoys; and in accordance with the decisions of the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee, promulgates laws and decrees, dispatches and recalls plenipotentiary representatives abroad, ratifies treaties concluded with foreign states and confers state titles of honor.

The vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress assist the chairman in his work and may exercise part of the chairman's functions and powers on his behalf.

Article 27

The National People's Congress and its Standing Committee may establish special committees as deemed necessary.

Article 28

Deputies to the National People's Congress have the right to address inquiries to the State Council, the Supreme People's Court, the Supreme People's Procuratorate, and the ministries and commissions of the State Council, which are all under obligation to answer.

Article 29

Deputies to the National People's Congress are subject to supervision by the units which elect them. These electoral units have the power to replace at any time the deputies they elect, as prescribed by law.

Section II
The State Council

Article 30

The State Council is the central people's government and the executive organ of the highest organ of state power; it is the highest organ of state administration.

The State Council is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress, or when the National People's Congress is not in session, to its Standing Committee.

Article 31

The State Council is composed of the following members:

The premier;
The vice premiers;
The ministers; and
The ministers heading the commissions.

The premier presides over the work of the State Council and the vice premiers assist the premier in his work.

Article 32

The State Council exercises the following functions and powers:

- (1) To formulate administrative measures, issue decisions and orders and verify their execution, in accordance with the constitution, laws and decrees;
- (2) To submit proposals on laws and other matters to the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee;
- (3) To exercise unified leadership over the work of the ministries and commissions and other organizations under it;
- (4) To exercise unified leadership over the work of local organs of state administration at various levels throughout the country;
- (5) To draw up and put into effect the national economic plan and the state budget;
- (6) To protect the interests of the state, maintain public order and safeguard the rights of citizens;
- (7) To confirm the following administrative divisions: autonomous prefectures, counties, autonomous counties and cities;

(8) To appoint and remove administrative personnel according to the provisions of the law; and

(9) To exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee.

Section III
The Local People's Congresses and the
Local Revolutionary Committees at
Various Levels

Article 33

The administrative division of the People's Republic of China is as follows:

(1) The country is divided into provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government;

(2) Provinces and autonomous regions are divided into autonomous prefectures, counties, autonomous counties and cities; and

(3) Counties and autonomous counties are divided into people's communes and towns.

Municipalities directly under the central government and other large cities are divided into districts and counties. Autonomous prefectures are divided into counties, autonomous counties and cities.

Autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties are all national autonomous areas.

Article 34

People's congresses and revolutionary committees are established in provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, counties, cities, municipal districts, people's communes and towns.

People's congresses and revolutionary committees of the people's communes are organizations of political power at the grassroots level, and are also leading organs of collective economy.

Revolutionary committees at the provincial level may establish administrative offices as their agencies in prefectures.

Organs of self-government are established in autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties.

Article 35

Local people's congresses at various levels are local organs of state power.

Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, counties and cities divided into districts are elected by people's congresses at the next lower level by secret ballot after democratic consultation; deputies to the people's congresses of cities not divided into districts, and of municipal districts, people's communes and towns are directly elected by the voters by secret ballot after democratic consultation.

The people's congresses of provinces and municipalities directly under the central government are elected for a term of 5 years. The people's congresses of counties, cities and municipal districts are elected for a term of 3 years. The people's congresses of people's communes and towns are elected for a term of 2 years.

Local people's congresses at various levels hold at least one session each year, which is to be convened by revolutionary committees at the corresponding levels.

The units and electorates which elect the deputies to the local people's congresses at various levels have the power to supervise, remove and replace their deputies at any time, according to the provisions of the law.

Article 36

Local people's congresses at various levels, in their respective administrative areas, insure the observance and enforcement of the constitution, laws and decrees; insure the implementation of the state plan; make plans for local economic and cultural development and for public utilities; examine and approve local economic plans, budgets and final accounts; protect public property; maintain public order; safeguard the rights of citizens and the equal rights of minority nationalities; and promote the development of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Local people's congresses may adopt and issue decisions within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law.

Local people's congresses elect, and have the power to recall, members of revolutionary committees at the corresponding levels. People's congresses at county level and above elect, and have the power to recall, the presidents of the People's Courts and the chief procurators of the People's Procuratorates at the corresponding levels.

Deputies to local people's congresses at various levels have the right to address inquiries to the revolutionary committees, People's Courts, People's Procuratorates and organs under the revolutionary committees at the corresponding levels, which are all under obligation to answer.

Article 37

Local revolutionary committees at various levels, that is, local people's governments, are the executive organs of local people's congresses at the corresponding levels and they are also local organs of state administration.

A local revolutionary committee is composed of a chairman, vice chairmen and other members.

Local revolutionary committees carry out the decisions of people's congresses at the corresponding levels as well as the decisions and orders of the organs of state administration at higher levels, direct the administrative work of their respective areas, and issue decisions and orders within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law. Revolutionary committees at county level and above appoint or remove the personnel of organs of state, according to the provisions of the law.

Local revolutionary committees are responsible and accountable to people's congresses at the corresponding levels and to the organs of state administration at the next higher level, and work under the unified leadership of the State Council.

Section IV The Organs of Self-Government of National Autonomous Areas

Article 38

The organs of self-government of autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties are people's congresses and revolutionary committees.

The election of the people's congresses and revolutionary committees of national autonomous areas, their terms of office, their functions and powers and also the establishment of their agencies should conform to the basic principles governing the organization of local organs of state as specified in Section III, Chapter Two of the constitution.

In autonomous areas where a number of nationalities live together, each nationality is entitled to appropriate representation in the organs of self-government.

Article 39

The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas exercise autonomy within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law, in addition to exercising the functions and powers of local organs of state as specified by the constitution.

The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas may, in the light of the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the nationality or nationalities in a given area, make regulations on the exercise of autonomy and also specific regulations and submit them to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for approval.

In performing their functions, the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas employ the spoken and written language or languages commonly used by the nationality or nationalities in the locality.

Article 40

The higher organs of state shall fully safeguard the exercise of autonomy by the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas, take into full consideration the characteristics and needs of the various minority nationalities, make a major effort to train cadres of the minority nationalities, and actively support and assist all the minority nationalities in their socialist revolution and construction and thus advance their socialist economic and cultural development.

Section V The People's Courts and the People's Procuratorates

Article 41

The Supreme People's Court, Local People's Courts at various levels and Special People's Courts exercise judicial authority. The People's Courts are formed as prescribed by law.

In accordance with law, the People's Courts apply the system whereby representatives of the masses participate as assessors in administering justice. With regard to major counterrevolutionary or criminal cases, the masses should be drawn in for discussion and suggestions.

All cases in the People's Courts are heard in public except those involving special circumstances, as prescribed by law. The accused has the right to defense.

Article 42

The Supreme People's Court is the highest judicial organ.

The Supreme People's Court supervises the administration of justice by Local People's Courts at various levels and by Special People's Courts; People's Courts at the higher levels supervise the administration of justice by People's Courts at the lower levels.

The Supreme People's Court is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee. Local People's Courts at various levels are responsible and accountable to local people's congresses at the corresponding levels.

Article 43

The Supreme People's Procuratorate exercises procuratorial authority to insure observance of the constitution and the law by all the departments under the State Council, the local organs of state at various levels, the personnel of organs of state and the citizens. Local People's Procuratorates and Special People's Procuratorates exercise procuratorial authority within the limits prescribed by law. The People's Procuratorates are formed as prescribed by law.

The Supreme People's Procuratorate supervises the work of Local People's Procuratorates at various levels of Special People's Procuratorates; People's Procuratorates at the higher levels supervise the work of those at the lower levels.

The Supreme People's Procuratorate is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee. Local People's Procuratorates at various levels are responsible and accountable to people's congresses at the corresponding levels.

Chapter Three The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

Article 44

All citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote and to stand for election, with the exception of persons deprived of these rights by law.

Article 45

Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and the freedom to strike, and have the right to "speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters."

Article 46

Citizens enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism.

Article 47

The citizens' freedom of person and their homes are inviolable.

No citizen may be arrested except by decision of a People's Court or with the sanction of a People's Procuratorate, and the arrest must be made by a public security organ.

Article 48

Citizens have the right to work. To insure that citizens enjoy this right, the state provides employment in accordance with the principle of overall consideration, and on the basis of increased production, the state gradually increases payment for labor, improves working conditions, strengthens labor protection and expands collective welfare.

Article 49

Working people have the right to rest. To insure that working people enjoy this right, the state prescribes working hours and systems of vacations and gradually expands material facilities for the working people to rest and recuperate.

Article 50

Working people have the right to material assistance in old age, and in case of illness or disability. To insure that working people enjoy this right, the state gradually expands social insurance, social assistance, public health services, cooperative medical services and other services.

The state cares for and insures the livelihood of disabled revolutionary army men and the families of revolutionary martyrs.

Article 51

Citizens have the right to education. To insure that citizens enjoy this right, the state gradually increases the number of schools of various types and of other cultural and educational institutions and popularizes education.

The state pays special attention to the healthy development of young people and children.

Article 52

Citizens have the freedom to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activities. The state encourages and assists the creative endeavors of citizens engaged in science, education, literature, art, journalism, publishing, public health, sports and other cultural work.

Article 53

Women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural, social and family life. Men and women enjoy equal pay for equal work.

Men and women shall marry of their own free will. The state protects marriage, the family, and the mother and child.

The state advocates and encourages family planning.

Article 54

The state protects the just rights and interests of Overseas Chinese and their relatives.

Article 55

Citizens have the right to lodge complaints with organs of state at any level against any person working in an organ of state, enterprise or institution for transgression of law or neglect of duty. Citizens have the right to appeal to organs of state at any level against any infringement of their rights. No one shall suppress such complaints and appeals or retaliate against persons making them.

Article 56

Citizens must support the leadership of the Communist Party of China, support the socialist system, safeguard the unification of the motherland and the unity of all nationalities in our country and abide by the constitution and the law.

Article 57

Citizens must take care of and protect public property, observe labor discipline, observe public order, respect social ethics and safeguard state secrets.

Article 58

It is the lofty duty of every citizen to defend the motherland and resist aggression.

It is the honorable obligation of citizens to perform military service and to join the militia according to the law.

Article 59

The People's Republic of China grants the right of residence to any foreign national persecuted for supporting a just cause, for taking part in revolutionary movements or for engaging in scientific work.

Chapter Four The National Flag, the National Emblem and the Capital

Article 60

The national flag of the People's Republic of China has five stars on a field of red.

The national emblem of the People's Republic of China is: Tienanmen in the center, illuminated by five stars and encircled by ears of grain and a cogwheel.

The capital of the People's Republic of China is Peking.

REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 42-53

[Report by Yeh Chien-ying at the first session of the Fifth NPC on 1 March 1978]

[Text] Comrade deputies, the draft of the revised constitution of the People's Republic of China now submitted to the congress to discuss, has been drawn up by the Committee for Revising the Constitution, headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and composed of all the comrades on the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. During the drafting of the revised text, the committee repeatedly consulted the broad masses both inside and outside the party through the various provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, the greater military areas and central departments, and adopted all the correct ideas brought up. The 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China discussed and adopted this draft at its second plenary session, and decided to submit it to the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress for examination and approval. As entrusted by the Central Committee of the party, I will now make a report to the congress on the revision of the constitution.

On the General Task for the New Period:

The constitution to be adopted by the congress is a new constitution, designed for the new period of development in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In September 1976, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung passed away. Our beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Te of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress had passed away some time earlier. The antiparty "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, who had long schemed to usurp power and restore capitalism, seized this opportunity to make trouble. The Chinese revolution was in dire peril. Carrying out Chairman Mao's behest, the Central Committee of the party, headed by our wise leader Chairman Hua, led the whole party, army and people in crushing the

conspiracy of the "gang of four" at one stroke. It was a historic turning-point in the Chinese revolution, a turning-point from danger to safety. The smashing of the "gang of four" was yet another great victory scored by us after the toppling of the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao; it marked the triumphant conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in our country. Our socialist revolution and construction entered a new period of development. The Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua promptly made the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land and convened the party's 11th National Congress. The line of the 11th party congress is being carried out in all fields with the warm support of the people of all our nationalities. The situation throughout the country is excellent.

To meet the needs of the new period in socialist revolution and construction, the constitution of 1975 should be revised. The new constitution should hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, give comprehensive and accurate expression to the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and to Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It should fully reflect the line of the 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party and the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land formulated by the Central Committee of the party headed by Chairman Hua. It should sum up the experience of our struggle against the "gang of four," uproot its pernicious influence, and consolidate and develop the achievements of the Cultural Revolution. These have been our guidelines in revising the constitution and they also embody what the broad masses primarily demand of the new constitution.

The immortal and historic contributions of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung are solemnly recorded in the preamble of the draft of the revised constitution. The banner of Chairman Mao is the banner of victory. Our revolution advances from victory to victory whenever Chairman Mao's thought and line are adhered to; it suffers setbacks or even defeats whenever it departs from Chairman Mao's thought and line. This is the most essential lesson taught by the historical experience of China's revolution. The people of all our nationalities take it as their sacred duty to hold high and defend the great banner of Chairman Mao, and they will teach coming generations to do the same. The preamble emphatically points out, "All our victories in revolution and construction have been won under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The fundamental guarantee that the people of all our nationalities will struggle in unity and carry the proletarian revolution through to the end is always to hold high and staunchly to defend the great banner of Chairman Mao."

The general task for the whole nation in the new period as set at the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China is laid down in

legal form in the draft of the revised constitution and written into the preamble. It is: "Persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and make China a great, powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense and modern science and technology by the end of the century."

This general task is based on Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and on the basic line of the Chinese Communist Party which he formulated for the entire historical period of socialism.

Chairman Mao teaches us that socialist society covers a historical period of considerable length and that in this period classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and the danger of capitalist restoration invariably continue to exist, and that there is the threat of subversion and aggression by social-imperialism and imperialism. In line with this analysis, the preamble states, "We must persevere in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and in the struggle for the socialist road against the capitalist road. We must oppose revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism. We must be prepared to deal with subversion and aggression against our country by social-imperialism and imperialism."

Chairman Mao always linked revolution closely with construction and called on us to grasp revolution and promote production. To make China a modern, powerful socialist country is a task laid down by Chairman Mao long ago. At the Third National People's Congress held in December 1964, Premier Chou En-lai, on Chairman Mao's instructions, clearly set forth for the people of the whole country the goal of accomplishing the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology by the end of the century so that China's economy will advance in the front ranks of the world. Having defeated the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the Cultural Revolution, we now have adequate conditions for accomplishing this task. In the course of achieving the four modernizations, we must continue to carry out consistent and arduous socialist revolutionary struggles and socialist education in the political, economic and cultural spheres so as to triumph over the forces of capitalism and their corrupting and corrosive influence on the Chinese Communist Party and the organs of our state. What we must do at present and for some time to come is to deepen the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and get rid of its pernicious influence. Unless we firmly grasp the key link of class struggle, we cannot consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor will it be possible for us to accomplish the task of the four modernizations. Likewise, unless we bring the superiority of the socialist system into full play and speedily develop the productive forces so as to secure, step by step, a powerful material base of modern

large-scale production for our socialist system, we shall be unable to check the growth of the forces of capitalism effectively and, in the event of aggression by social-imperialism and imperialism, to avoid being at the receiving end of their attacks. The criminal purpose of the "gang of four" in sabotaging our socialist revolution and construction and in opposing the four modernizations was to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, thus reducing China once again to a semicolonial and semifeudal country. Chairman Mao teaches us: /"Class 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 forever 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."/ Our general task for the new period requires that we grasp the three great revolutionary movements simultaneously, in order to attain our goal of building a powerful socialist country.

The preamble outlines the broad scope of our revolutionary united front fully and in concrete terms, and it lays emphasis on the great unity of the people of all China's nationalities on the broadest possible base. We must unite with all the forces that can be united, correctly distinguish and handle the two types of contradictions and strive to create a nationwide political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Without this great unity of the people, it will be impossible to accomplish the general task for the new period. Chairman Mao taught us time and again: /"The proletariat must rely on its broad allies to exercise dictatorship, it cannot do so all by itself."/ The Chinese proletariat /"must rely on the several hundred million poor and lower-middle peasants, city poor, badly off handicraftsmen and revolutionary intellectuals in order to exercise dictatorship-- otherwise it cannot." "Workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeois elements, patriotic intellectuals, patriotic capitalists and other patriotic democrats together comprise more than 95 percent of the whole population. Under our people's democratic dictatorship, they all belong to the category of the people."/ This comprehensive and scientific class appraisal which Chairman Mao made of the various social forces that our proletarian dictatorship must rely on and unite is a most profound strategic concept. We must uphold it in our struggle to carry out our general task for the new period.

Chairman Mao always fully esteemed the profound significance of international support to the victory of the Chinese revolution, and the world significance of the victory of the Chinese revolution. China's population is one-fifth of that of the whole world. The Chinese people should make a greater contribution to humanity. By running China's affairs

well and making China a modern, powerful socialist country we will gladden the hearts of the people of all lands. Today, China belongs to the Third World. In future, when it becomes powerful, it will still belong to the Third World. China will never seek hegemony or strive to be a superpower. We must uphold proletarian internationalism. In accordance with Chairman Mao's great theory of the three worlds, we must unite with all the forces in the world that can be united to form the broadest possible united front in order to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and oppose a new world war, and strive for the progress and emancipation of humanity.

On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao pointed out, /"As long as we persist in the people's democratic dictatorship and unite with our foreign friends, we shall always be victorious."/ By relying on these two fundamental conditions, we have already won great victories in socialist revolution and construction, and we will surely be able to score still greater victories in our efforts to fulfill the general task for the new period.

On the Revision of the Articles of the Constitution:

I shall now give some explanations concerning the revision of the articles of the constitution.

First. To turn to account the socialist enthusiasm of the people of all our nationalities in striving for the fulfillment of the general task for the new period, it is imperative to give full play to socialist democracy.

Under our socialist system, the people are the masters of the country. Our socialist democracy is a democracy which truly insures that the people run state affairs. Speaking on this question, Chairman Mao acutely pointed out: The people must have the right to manage the superstructure; we must not interpret the question of the people's rights to mean that only under the administration of certain people can the masses enjoy the right to work, the right to education, the right to social insurance, etc. He also taught us that, under the socialist system, the right of the working people to manage affairs of state, to run various kinds of enterprises and to administer culture and education is their supreme and fundamental right, without which they can enjoy neither the right to work, nor the right to education and rest, nor any other right.

In the light of this concept of Chairman Mao's the following article has been added to the general principles of the draft: "The state adheres to the principle of socialist democracy, and insures to the people the right to participate in the management of state affairs and of all economic and cultural undertakings, and the right to supervise the organs of state and their personnel." With regard to the structure of the state, some specific provisions have been added concerning the

improvement of the electoral system and the extension of the functions of the National People's Congress and of the local people's congresses at various levels, so as to enhance the role of the people's congresses at all levels in the political life of the country and enable them to exercise more effectively the state power vested in them by the people. There are also some new provisions on the democratic rights of citizens in the political, economic, cultural, educational and other fields. As for the material conditions necessary to insure the rights of citizens, these should be gradually expanded on the basis of increased production through the joint efforts of state enterprises, people's communes, collectively owned enterprises, people's organizations and the people themselves under the guidance of the state.

We must earnestly carry out democratic management with the participation of the broad masses, from the grassroots units on up. Whether or not grassroots units are democratically run is a vital link in insuring the people's democratic rights. It has always been a rewarding practice of our People's Liberation Army to exercise democracy at the company level in three main fields, namely, political democracy, economic democracy and military democracy, and this has attained three major objectives: a high degree of political unity, improvement in living conditions and a higher level of military technique and tactics. Since this could be done in our armed forces, why can't it be done in our factories, villages, stores, offices and schools? Take the rural people's communes, production brigades or production teams, for example. It is necessary to have good democratic management at each of these three levels in every aspect of their work, whether it is production management, the distribution of income, the livelihood and welfare of the members, or anything else. This is a vital matter affecting the immediate interests of several hundred million peasants. We have already accumulated a good deal of experience in democratic management in grassroots units including enterprises and public institutions.

We must seriously sum up and apply this experience so as gradually to perfect a system of democratic management suited to our conditions--a system which gives full expression to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Our party has always urged giving broad play to democracy among the masses including the use of great democracy when necessary. Chairman Mao teaches us: /"Democracy is a method, and it all depends on to whom it is applied and for what purpose. We are in favor of great democracy. And what we favor is great democracy under the leadership of the proletariat."/ It is precisely for the purpose of insuring great democracy under the leadership of the proletariat that the draft of the revised constitution provides that citizens "have the right to 'speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters.'" The "gang of four" waved the banner of "great democracy" to oppose the leadership of the party and the proletariat and said such things as "the greater the disturbances, the better," "kick aside the party committees

in order to make revolution" and "the correct orientation is to direct the spearhead upward against the leadership." In so doing they were attempting to put their gang above the party and the people, acting like overlords not bound by party discipline and the laws of the state, and practicing revisionism, splittism and conspiracy so as to usurp power in the party, the army and the state and establish their gang's fascist rule. Such "great democracy" would mean a vengeful comeback of the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements, and an antiparty and antisocialist rightist coup. Just look at the areas and departments which were under the gang's strict control and seriously ravaged and you will see that there evildoers were in power while good people suffered and unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements wreaked vengeance while newborn counterrevolutionaries and bourgeois elements ruled supreme; these scoundrels even took measures of dictatorship against the revolutionary masses and cadres whom they cruelly persecuted; they gravely undermined socialist law and order and deprived the people of their just democratic rights and guarantees of personal safety. Isn't it fair and just for the broad masses to reject that kind of "great democracy"? Chairman Mao long ago said: /"If anyone resorts to what he calls great democracy to oppose the socialist system and tries to overthrow the leadership of the Communist Party, we shall exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over him."/

In our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there must be both broad democracy and a high degree of centralism, and this is proletarian democratic centralism. The "gang of four" not only trampled on democracy but also impaired centralism, disrupted socialist discipline and undermined the unity of the country and the unity of the people. In eliminating the gang's pernicious influence, we must energetically revive and carry forward our democratic tradition and fight against any encroachment on the people's democratic life or violations of the rights of citizens. At the same time, we must mobilize and rely on the masses to put things in order in every field of work and we must combat anarchism, bourgeois factionalism and all acts that impair discipline and unity. On the basis of democracy, we must vigorously strengthen centralism and heighten our sense of organization and discipline so as to achieve genuine unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action. In 1959 Chairman Mao said emphatically: /"Now the task for the whole country, the whole nation and the whole party is to make China a powerful socialist country in the span of several five-year plans. This calls for unity and iron discipline: it cannot be done without iron discipline. How else, I ask you, can we reach such a goal?"/ This spirit is embodied in the draft of the revised constitution. With regard to the duties of citizens an article is added on the need to take care of and protect public property, observe labor discipline, observe public order, respect social ethics and safeguard state secrets.

Democratic centralism is of fundamental importance in the political life of our country, especially at present. Once democracy is exercised to

the full and democratic centralism is strengthened, we will be able to improve our work more and more and our cause will advance much more smoothly.

Second. The draft makes fairly big changes in the articles concerning organs of state and state personnel and sets indispensable, strict demands on them. The most essential is that they maintain contact with the masses.

Our people are a very fine people. Having been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the masses have raised their political consciousness to a much higher level. They take a deep interest in state affairs, know how to tell right from wrong in matters of line, have boundless faith in the Chinese Communist Party, in Chairman Mao and in the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and have tremendous enthusiasm for transforming China into a modern, powerful socialist country. Chairman Mao always taught us to follow the mass line. He declared, /"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."/ To maintain contact with the masses it is necessary to have complete faith in them, respect their sense of responsibility to the revolution, care for and protect their socialist enthusiasm and initiative, share their feelings and sentiments, and earnestly heed their criticisms and complaints, particularly in relation to leading bodies and leading cadres. All well-meant criticisms from the grassroots and masses should be warmly encouraged. The people's organs should be fully guaranteed. Leading cadres must go down to the grassroots and among the masses to investigate matters, so that their own thinking and work can adequately express the interests and desires of the masses; they must earnestly help the masses solve problems for which the masses urgently demand solutions, and serve the people heart and soul.

We have talked about the mass line for so many years, and yet there are still cadres who, because of the vicious influence of the "gang of four" and their own failure to remold their world outlook properly, are going against the mass line. Some don't make investigations, don't go down to a grassroots unit to gain experience, don't consult the masses when problems arise, don't concern themselves with the well-being of the masses, don't participate in collective productive labor and don't treat the masses as equals. Others sit up high in leading positions, make arbitrary decisions and act dictatorially, suppress differing opinions and try to keep people from voicing their ideas while they themselves mess things up by issuing ignorant orders and even stoop to deception. Still others revel in their high position, pursue comfort, squander money and exploit their status for personal gain. They love extravagance, are addicted to the lazy life, and the people's interests mean nothing to them. Such cadres don't have an atom of the communist in them. They reek of bureaucracy from head to toe and arouse nothing but disgust among the masses. Unless these cadres get rid of their bureaucratic airs and mend their ways, the masses will not allow them to remain in leadership. Those who have committed serious offenses will be dealt with

in accordance with party discipline and the laws of the state. Chairman Mao says: /"We must overcome bureaucracy and maintain close contact with the masses of the people if we are to undertake national construction on a large scale."/ We must follow his teachings and do away with bureaucratic airs, go all out in work, seek the truth from facts, and strive to correct all shortcomings and mistakes existing in our work, in our work style and in our work systems. We must integrate ourselves with the masses and together work hard to make China a modern, powerful socialist country. It is what the people expect of us and we should live up to their expectations.

Drawing on the experiences of the inner-party struggles between the two lines, Chairman Mao set forth the basic principles /"practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."/ Whether or not the leadership at all levels of party and state organs is in the hands of Marxists who adhere to these basic principles is a crucial matter. The Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua attaches the utmost importance to the question of consolidating and building up the leading bodies at all levels. This spirit is embodied in the provision in the draft that the leading personnel of our state organs at all levels must conform to the five requirements set forth by Chairman Mao for successors in the proletarian revolutionary cause, and that their composition must conform to the principle of the three-in-one combination of old, middle-aged and young cadres. This provision obligates us to know our subordinates, put them where they can do the best work, and appoint people by merit. We must oppose the gang's reactionary line of appointing people by favoritism and using only those from its own gang and factions, and make serious efforts to eliminate the impurities of organization in our state organs, and especially in the leading bodies, which have resulted from the gang's interference and sabotage.

In relation to the question of state organs another point to be mentioned is that the draft explicitly stipulates that our country in the main applies a three-level system of local organs of political power, namely, at the provincial, county and commune levels. Prefectures under the provinces and autonomous regions, with the exception of national autonomous prefectures, are not classified as a level of political power. There, instead of people's congresses and revolutionary committees, administrative offices will be set up as agencies of the revolutionary committees of the provinces or autonomous regions, and administrative commissioners and deputy commissioners will be appointed. Where districts are set up under counties, they likewise are not a level of political power, but are agencies of the county revolutionary committees. These stipulations are aimed at trimming the administrative structure and raising efficiency.

Third. The draft also stipulates that the people's state apparatus must be reinforced and dictatorship over the enemy strengthened.

With regard to the people's armed forces the draft has added: "The state devotes major efforts to the revolutionization and modernization of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, strengthens the building of the militia and adopts a system under which our armed forces are a combination of the field armies, the regional forces and the militia." The draft further stipulates that it is the honorable obligation of citizens to perform military service and to join the militia.

In view of the extreme importance of fighting against violations of the law and discipline, the draft requires that people's procuratorates be set up. Procuratorial organs at various levels of the state exercise their authority, within the limits prescribed by the constitution and the law, over state organs, state personnel and all citizens, to insure their observance of the constitution and the law. While strengthening the unified leadership of the party and relying on the masses, it is necessary to give full scope to the role of such specialized bodies as the public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts. These should complement and restrict each other. This is very important for protecting the people and dealing blows to the enemy. The "gang of four" raved about "smashing the public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts" and put their words into action, seriously undermining the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They went so far as to exercise dictatorship within the party and the ranks of the people. We must thoroughly expose and condemn the gang's crimes in undermining our public security and procuratorial organs and the people's courts, sum up experience, draw lessons and strengthen our socialist legal system.

Acts of smashing and grabbing are strictly forbidden. Detention and arrests must follow legal procedures and the system of checking and approval must be strictly observed in this regard. In the trial of cases, stress must be laid on the weight of evidence and on investigation and study. To obtain confessions by coercion and to give them credence is strictly forbidden. Only thus will it be possible to protect the people effectively and strike sure, accurate and relentless blows at the enemy, with the stress on accuracy.

The draft specifies that the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat "suppresses all treasonable and counterrevolutionary activities, punishes all traitors and counterrevolutionaries, and punishes newborn bourgeois elements and other bad elements." An important change is that the provision regarding the punishment for newborn bourgeois elements has been added in conformity with the present situation of the class struggle in our country. It refers to those newly emerged elements who resist socialist revolution, disrupt socialist construction, gravely undermine socialist public ownership, appropriate social property or violate the criminal law. Not a few of the embezzlers, thieves, speculators, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, gangsters, smash-and-grabbers and other evildoers who have committed serious crimes and offenses

against the law and discipline or disrupted public order in our socialist society belong to this category of newborn bourgeois elements. Chairman Mao has said: /"The reactionary classes which have been overthrown are still attempting a comeback. In socialist society, new bourgeois elements will still emerge."/ Though not numerous, newborn bourgeois elements of this kind, acting in collusion with the old unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and bourgeois elements, are now the most rampant section of the urban and rural capitalist forces. To exercise dictatorship over them is very necessary.

The draft also stipulates: "The state deprives of political rights as prescribed by law those landlords, rich peasants and reactionary capitalists who have not yet been reformed, and at the same time it provides them with the opportunity to earn a living so that they may be reformed through labor and become law-abiding citizens supporting themselves by their own labor." There has been a differentiation over the years among the landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists and elements guilty of counterrevolutionary or other crimes in the past. The policy consistently pursued by our party and state in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings is to analyze the conduct of each one of them and deal with every case on its merits, giving them a way out. The provision quoted from the draft means that, on the one hand, we must continue to exercise dictatorship over the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists, counterrevolutionaries and other bad elements, and strengthen supervision over such persons so as to reform them, dealing resolute blows particularly at those who have sought class revenge aided and abetted by the "gang of four," committed serious crimes and incurred the bitter hatred of the masses. It also means that, on the other hand, with regard to those who after remolding and education have really behaved well, we should remove their labels as landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries or bad elements and give them citizenship rights with the consent of the masses on the basis of public appraisal and approval by a revolutionary committee at the county level. This work must be done seriously, prudently and systematically under the unified leadership of party committees at various levels and in accordance with specific policies. What if some such persons make trouble again after their labels are removed? Well, we will just mobilize the masses to strike them down--and put their labels back again.

Fourth. In accordance with the general task for the new period, the present revised constitution includes clearcut stipulations for the consolidation of the socialist economic base and for high-speed development of the productive forces.

In the general principles of the draft, the struggle to safeguard socialist public ownership is given more prominence. In our country, the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was essentially completed long ago, and socialist public ownership consisting of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by working

people has been fully established for some time. This great victory was already recorded in the existing constitution. But with regard to the question of ownership the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road is by no means over. Facts over the past 2 decades have borne this out repeatedly. Especially in recent years, a handful of old and new bourgeois elements, aided and abetted by the "gang of four" and using all kinds of illegal means, have unscrupulously engaged in embezzlement and speculation, undermined the state plan and disrupted financial and economic discipline, doing grave damage to the socialist sector of the economy owned by the whole people and that owned collectively by working people. In conducting the mass movements to deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and to learn from Taching in industry and Tachai in agriculture, we must boldly mobilize the masses and effectively strengthen the publicly owned economy, launching a large-scale attack against the capitalist forces, urban and rural, and striking relentless blows at the bourgeois elements, old or new, who are guilty of serious crimes. As for capitalist tendencies in the ranks of the people, they must be earnestly corrected through socialist education. On the economic front the struggle to safeguard socialist public ownership is an important task in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and it will long continue to be so. Only by waging persistent struggles against capitalist forces and tendencies, and at the same time raising the productive forces to a fairly high level fairly rapidly can socialist public ownership be fully consolidated and further expanded.

With regard to the rural people's commune sector of the economy which is collectively owned, the draft says: "At present, it generally takes the form of three-level ownership, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit." This is provided because the nationwide situation indicates that the "three-level ownership," with the production team as the basic accounting unit, corresponds in general with the present level of development of the productive forces in the countryside. The draft stipulates: "A production brigade may become the basic accounting unit when its conditions are ripe." A number of production brigades with sound leading bodies have already become basic accounting units, because they possess the necessary conditions, such as a fairly strong economic base, fairly balanced economic development between their production teams and the masses' willingness to make the move. We should adopt dynamic but steady policies and steps, proceeding from reality to enable the production brigades to become basic accounting units, one by one or batch by batch, whenever the conditions are really ripe. Where the conditions are not ripe, we should not hastily make the move. Instead we should energetically prepare the conditions by conscientiously implementing the various policies concerning the rural economy and by developing production.

The system of distribution is a vital feature of the relations of production. The principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" can only be applied on the basis of socialist public ownership of the means of production. It is a socialist principle. It is necessary to give appropriate overall consideration to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. Only by correctly implementing the principle of "to each according to his work" in the distribution of the means of livelihood can the consolidation of socialist public ownership and the development of the productive forces be promoted. The "gang of four" slanderously alleged that "to each according to his work" is a capitalist principle. They attacked our system and policies of payment for labor which embody this principle as the use of material incentives as bait, and thus they undermined the application of this principle, dampened the working people's socialist enthusiasm and disrupted socialist production. We must thoroughly expose and criticize the gang for the theoretical confusion it created and the practical damage it wrought, and conscientiously apply the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" as stipulated in the constitution.

Chairman Mao once said: /"To combine political work with the necessary practice of distribution according to work--this, I think, is good."/ Political and ideological education is in command, it is dominant and takes the lead. We have all along opposed putting bonuses instead of proletarian politics in command. We must do our ideological and political work thoroughly and meticulously, help the working people to keep on raising their political consciousness, and educate them in learning from the people of Taching and Tachai the communist attitude toward labor, learning from the spirit of defiance of hardship and death, of indifference to fame and personal gain, and of devoting one's ability to contributing more to socialism. At the same time, it should be understood that the income of the working people will differ in accordance with their production and work. /"To reject this difference is to reject the socialist principle of to each according to his work and more pay for more work."/ Hence, the state and the collective should practice distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done. Those who do outstanding work should be commended and appropriately rewarded in accordance with the policy of combining moral encouragement with material reward, with stress on the former.

The general principles section of the draft states, "The state adheres to the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, it undertakes the planned, proportionate and high-speed development of the national economy, and it continuously develops the productive forces, so as to consolidate the country's independence and security and improve the people's material and cultural life step by step." A significant addition here is the reference to high-speed development of the national economy and steady increase of the productive forces. This is a vital prerequisite

for the triumph of socialism over capitalism. /"In saying that the socialist relations of production correspond better to the character of the productive forces than did the old relations of production, we mean that they allow the productive forces to develop at a speed unattainable in the old society, so that production can expand steadily and increasingly meet the constantly growing needs of the people."/ The development of economic construction in our country over the past 28 years is a preliminary demonstration of this superiority of the socialist system. However, the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" have seriously affected the speed of our national construction. Especially when the "gang of four" was preaching that it would "prefer socialist low speed" and wildly sabotaging production the development of our national economy slowed down to a standstill and even slipped back.

Now that the gang has been toppled, we have already changed this situation. We must do all we can to bring about a really broad high-speed development of China's productive forces and so initiate, on a planned and proportionate basis, a sound, steady and sustained leap forward in our national economy.

High-speed development of the productive forces depends on putting proletarian politics in command, on adherence to the mass line, and on adherence to the party's general line for building socialism and the series of policies known as "walking on two legs." All this is expressed in the draft of the revised constitution. In the general principles, a separate article is devoted to our work in science and technology; this shows the importance of stepping up such work in order to fulfill our general task for the new period. We must fight this battle well, intensify scientific research and promote technical innovation and technical revolution so as to accelerate the development of the productive forces.

Fifth. To accomplish the general task for the new period requires an upsurge of construction in the cultural sphere as well as an upsurge in economic construction. The draft gives this ample attention.

A great effort to expand education is vital both for our revolution and for economic construction. To stress this point, a separate article in the general principles section is devoted to educational work. We must follow the principles laid down by Chairman Mao, work well and conscientiously in the revolution in education, rapidly develop our country's educational undertakings of all types and at all levels and raise the quality of education and the cultural, scientific and technological level of the whole nation. All this is essential to fulfilling the general task for the new period.

As to the development of socialist culture, special mention should be made of the following provision in the general principles: "The state upholds the leading position of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in

all spheres of ideology and culture" and the policy "let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend."

To uphold the leading position of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the spheres of ideology and culture, the proletariat must grasp the leadership and implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in all of them, and use Marxism as an ideological weapon to criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie so as to enable socialist culture to flourish. This is what Chairman Mao wanted us to do when he talked about /the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture./

In accordance with Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, in our struggles in the ideological and cultural spheres we must correctly distinguish and handle the two types of contradictions that differ in nature. We must never allow counterrevolutionaries to have their way in their anti-party, antisocialist and anti-Marxist activities in these fields. /"Outside the ranks of the people, it is criminal to allow counterrevolutionaries to be unruly in word or deed and it is legitimate to exercise dictatorship over them."/ Within the ranks of the people questions of an ideological, academic or artistic nature can only be solved by the method of reasoning, criticism and discussion, and the method of dictatorship should never be used. /"Within the ranks of the people, it is criminal to suppress freedom, to suppress the people's criticism of the shortcomings and mistakes of the party and the government or to suppress free discussion in academic circles."/

The policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend put forward by Chairman Mao is conducive to correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions differing in nature, and is a fundamental policy of our country in the spheres of ideology and culture.

The "gang of four" at one time usurped a substantial portion of leadership in these spheres, but we have already won it back. They turned things upside down with regard to questions of line in various cultural spheres, and now we are gradually setting these things right so as to be able to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in these fields correctly and integrally. The "gang of four" tampered with the essence of Chairman Mao's thought on the dictatorship of the proletariat in the cultural realm, flagrantly opposed the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend, persecuted intellectuals, and trampled on fragrant socialist flowers by means of dictatorship while permitting antisocialist poisonous weeds to grow unchecked. We must thoroughly repudiate these crimes of the gang and resolutely carry out the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend advocated by Chairman Mao. Under this policy, so long as the six political criteria are observed, different forms and styles in art should freely develop, different schools in

science should freely contend and questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in artistic and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. We firmly believe that so long as we seriously implement this policy, we will be able to unite the broad masses of intellectuals, urge them on to continue their self-education and self-remolding, help build up a vast army of working-class intellectuals, strengthen the leading position of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in all the spheres of ideology and culture, help socialist flowers to bloom and uproot antisocialist weeds, promote the rapid development of the arts and sciences and create a flourishing situation in our socialist culture.

On the Enforcement of the Constitution:

The enactment of the new constitution is a major event in the political life of our people. If we are to bring about great order across the land, we must have rules for running it. The new constitution is a set of general rules for managing the affairs of the state in the new period.

Our constitution is the concentrated expression of the will of the proletariat and of the people in general. It is clearcut in its class character and militant in spirit. It is a powerful weapon for maintaining revolutionary order, safeguarding the interests of the working people and protecting the socialist economic base and the productive forces. The people will use this weapon to oppose and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and deal blows to the enemies of socialism; they will also use this weapon to correctly solve the contradictions among the people so that they can better close their ranks and, marching in step, strive to build a modern, powerful socialist country.

After the constitution is adopted, we must make sure that it is fully observed in letter and spirit. No one will be allowed to violate the constitution. Acts that undermine the socialist legal system, injure the interests of the state and the people or encroach upon the people's rights shall be sternly dealt with, and serious violations will be punished by law. In accordance with the new constitution we shall revise and enact other laws and decrees, as well as rules and regulations for the various fields of work.

In the period when the "gang of four" rode roughshod over the country, they incited anarchism and slandered the socialist legal system and every kind of rational rules and regulations as revisionist and capitalist in their vain attempt to throw our proletarian country into chaos and seize power amid this chaos. Through the enforcement of the new constitution we should eliminate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" and strengthen the socialist legal system so that our work in every field will develop in a more orderly way.

One of the significant functions and powers of the National People's Congress as prescribed by the new constitution is to "supervise the enforcement of the constitution and the law." Local people's congresses at various levels must also "insure the observance and enforcement of the constitution, laws and decrees" in areas under their administration. In this regard, we should also bring into play the role of the trade unions, the poor and lower-middle peasants' associations, the Communist Youth League, the Women's Federation and other mass organizations. Full play, too, should be given to the significant role of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which is an important organizational form of the revolutionary united front.

For the purpose of mobilizing and relying upon the strength of the masses for the enforcement of the constitution, we should now launch a nationwide campaign to publicize the constitution and educate the people, and link this campaign with deepgoing exposure and criticism of the "gang of four." Such propaganda and educational work should be done regularly from now on. The strengthening of the socialist legal system answers the needs of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the people, and accords with the people's fundamental interests. The socialist legal system is a deterrent to, and a restraining force upon, law-breakers and offenders; for enemies who sabotage socialist revolution and construction it is a merciless iron fist; but for the masses of the people it is a code of conduct which they voluntarily observe. Through study of the constitution, the people should steadily raise their political consciousness, heighten their awareness of being masters of the country, enhance their sense of law, correctly exercise the rights of citizens as stipulated in the constitution, faithfully fulfill their duties as citizens, supervise the enforcement of the constitution and, as the country's masters, properly administer and build up our socialist state.

State organs at all levels should organize the study of the constitution well. Whatever their rank, all personnel in the state organs are servants of the people; they should all be examples and take the lead in implementing the constitution and abiding by it. In handling both contradictions among the people and contradictions between the enemy and ourselves we should act according to the provisions of the constitution and guard the sanctity of the law. Speaking of eliminating counterrevolutionaries, Chairman Mao said: /"The legal system must be respected. Acting in accordance with the law does not mean being bound hand and foot."/ We should mobilize the people and struggle against the enemy in accordance with the law, with our hands and feet unfettered, so that all class enemies will realize their only way out is to behave themselves and obey the law of the state. At the same time we should protect the rights of the people in accordance with the law. We should see to it that all who support socialism feel that their freedom of person, democratic rights, and legitimate economic interests as prescribed by the constitution are solidly assured.

We should mobilize the masses of the people to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over a handful of class enemies, thus heightening the people's morale and deflating the enemy's arrogance.

The revolutionary people will feel proud and happy while class enemies will not dare speak or act in an unruly way. In all factories, villages, schools, army units and offices, we should establish good order characterized by stability and unity, order which is indispensable for revolution, production, other work and study. Then the masses of cadres and people will be able to work in an atmosphere of unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness and contribute their best efforts to socialism.

Comrade deputies! Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and premier of the State Council, has made a report on the work of the government to this congress. The report reviews and sums up the work done since the Fourth National People's Congress and in particular during the last year or so since the smashing of the "gang of four." It sets forth comprehensively and systematically the tasks, principles, policies and measures for building a modern, powerful socialist state. It has given full expression to the lofty ideals and high aspirations of our people, who are resolved to work hard for the prosperity and transformation of China, and has charted the road for our socialist cause. It is a great programmatic document.

The people of our country are most happy because we have our wise leader Chairman Hua at the helm. Our Chairman Hua has all along held high the great banner of Chairman Mao and unswervingly carried out his revolutionary line. He is Chairman Mao's good student, and Chairman Mao chose him as his successor. Chairman Hua was appointed at a time of turmoil, he was entrusted with his mission at a critical and difficult moment. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the party headed by Chairman Hua, the whole party, army and people, by their joint exertions, have succeeded in turning the tide and created a bright new situation in just over a year. That we have overcome so grave a crisis and scored so signal a victory in so short a time, at such an extraordinary historical juncture, proves that the line, principles and policies formulated by the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua are entirely correct. With all their hearts the people love Chairman Hua and support the Central Committee which he heads. We all take great pride in the fact that our party and our country again have their own wise leader.

Our country has tremendous prospects. At the start of the 20th century, Dr Sun Yat-sen, the precursor of the Chinese revolution, led the 1911 revolution, but it ended in failure. Chairman Mao led us for over half a century and founded and built the new socialist China. Now Chairman Hua carries on the cause and leads us forward in a new long march. Raising the great banner of Chairman Mao, holding firmly to the line of the 11th party congress and mobilizing all positive factors inside and outside the party and at home and abroad, the Central Committee headed

by Chairman Hua is leading the whole party, army and people in revolution and construction and modernization, and in fulfilling, step by step, the general task for the new period. In another 23 years when China enters the 21st century, how changed our socialist motherland will be! Let our whole nation work together with one mind, overcome all difficulties, defeat our enemies, transform China into a great modern, powerful socialist country and forge ahead toward the great goal of communism. This is the behest of our great leader Chairman Mao and the great cause for which our beloved Premier Chou, Chairman Chu Te of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation worked and fought all their lives, and for which countless revolutionary martyrs laid down their own lives. We shall certainly carry this great cause to triumph.

PROCLAMATIONS OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 54-56

[Text] The presidium of the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China issued the following proclamations in Peking on 5 March 1978:

It is hereby proclaimed that the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress on 5 March 1978 elected the chairman, vice chairmen, secretary general and other members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress:

Chairman: Yeh Chien-ying

Vice Chairmen: Soong Ching Ling (female), Nieh Jung-chen, Liu Po-cheng, Ulanfu, Wu Teh, Wei Kuo-ching, Chen Yun, Kuo Mo-jo, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Chang Ting-cheng, Tsai Chang (f.), Teng Ying-chao (f.), Saifudin, Liao Cheng-chih, Chi Peng-fei, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Teh-heng and Hu Chueh-wen

Secretary General: Chi Peng-fei (concurrently)

Members: (175 members. Their names are listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames.) Tsai-tan Cho-ma (female), Ma Chun-ku, Ma Heng-chang, Ma Hao-chien, Wang Yu-kuei, Wang Ping, Wang Yung-hsing, Wang Yeh-chiu, Wang Kun-lun, Wang Chien-an, Wang Kan-chang, Wang Yao-hua (f.), Ou Tang-liang (f.), Pei Shih-chang, Mao Ti-chiu, Fang Chih-chun, Pa I-kai, Pa Chin, Pa Sang [1572 2718] (f.), Teng Chu-min, Teng Tien-tao, Kan Tsu-chang, Shih Chung-chin (f.), Lu Sheng-ho, Yeh Sheng-tao, Shih Lai-ho, Shih Liang (f.), Pai Shou-i, Chi Chang-shan, Po Chun-tzu [2613 2504 1311] (f.), Pi Ken (f.), Lu Yu-lan (f.), Lu Shu-hsiang, Lu Chi, Chu Liang-tsai, Chu Hsueh-fan, Chu Yun-shan, Jen Hsin-min, Hua Lo-keng, Hsiang La-yu (f.), Chuang Hsi-chuan, Liu Ta-nien, Liu Fei, Chi Tzu-sheng, Chiang Li-yin, Hsu Chieh, Hsu Ti-hsin, Na-mu-la Yen Chi-tzu [6719 2606 2139 0917 3444 1964], Ko-yu-mu Mai-ti-ni-ya-tzu [0344 1429 2606 6314 2251 1441 3660 1320], Su Pu-ching, Li Feng-lan (f.), Li Chen (f.), Li Yen-lu,

Li Chang, Li Jui-huan, Li Fu-chung, Li Chu-kuei, Yang Tung-chun, Yang Hsiu-feng, Yang Shang-kuei, Yang Mo (f.), Yang Yung, Hsiao Ching-kuang, Wu Hsien-feng, Wu Leng-hsi, Wu Cheng-ching, Wu Yao-tsung, Wang Yueh-hsia (f.), Sha Chien-li, Shen Hung, Chang Wan-fu, Chang Feng-yun (f.), Chang Wen-yu, Chang Cheng-tao, Chang Ping-hua, Chang Chi-lung, Chang Kuo-ching (f.), Chang Ping-kuei, Chang Chin-pang, Chang Kuei-chen (f.), Chang Ai-ping, Chang Fu-tsai, Chen Yu-niang (f.), Chen Yung-hsiang, Chen Tsai-tao, Chen Tzu-sheng, Chen Hsiao-shun, Chen I-sung, Shao Jung-pin, Wu Yu-pu, Wu Hsin-yu, Fan Chung-chih, Mao I-sheng, Lin I-shan, Lin Chiao-chih (f.), Lin Li-yun (f.), Lin I-ping, Lin Tieh, Ouyang Chin, Lo Ching-chang, Lo Shu-chang (f.), Lo Jui-ching, Chi Fang, Yueh Mei-chung, Chou Shih-ti, Chou Chan-ao, Chou Li, Chou Shu-tao, Chou Pei-yuan, Shan Huai-hsiang, Pao-jih-le-Tai [1405 2480 0519 1486] (f.), Meng Chi-mao, Chao Chung-yao, Hao Te-ching, Jung I-jen, Hu Tzu-ang, Hu Chiao-mu, Hu Sheng, Hu Yu-chih, Hu Yao-pang, Kuei Pi, Yu Ai-feng (f.), Hung Hsueh-chih, Yao Shih-chang, Yao Mao-chi, Yuan Jen-yuan, Yuan Hsueh-fen (f.), Chin Kuei-hsiang (f.), Hsia Chu-hua (f.), Ku Kang-lo, Chien Hsin-chung, Tieh-mu-erh, Ta-wa-mai [6993 2606 1422 6671 3907 6312], Ni Ku-yin (f.), Kao Ko-lin, Kuo Hua-jo, Kuo Feng-lien (f.), Kuo Shu-shen, Kuo Ying-fu, Tang Tien-chi, Hai Yu-chen, Tao Chih-yueh, Huang Tso-chin, Huang Ping-wei, Huang Jung-chang, Huang Chu-hsiang (f.), Tsao I-ou (f.), Tsao Yu, Tsao Chu-ju, Sheng Wan (f.), Kang Ko-ching (f.), Chang Jui-ying (f.), Yen Te-i, Liang Pi-yeh, Liang Chi-chuan, Peng Ming-chih, Tung Tien-chen, Tung Chi-wu, Chiang Nan-hsiang, Su Yu, Cheng Shih-tsai, Fu Chung, Fu Chiu-tao, Tung Ti-chou, Tseng Sheng, Tseng Chih (f.), Hsieh Tieh-li, Jui Pan, Chu Tu-nan, Chan Tsai-fang, I Shih-chuan (f.), Pei Chang-hui, Tan Yu-pao, Tan Cheng and Fan Te-ling

On the proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress decided on 5 March 1978 on the appointment of Hua Kuo-feng as premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

The first session of the Fifth National People's Congress on 5 March 1978 elected Chiang Hua president of the Supreme People's Court and Huang Huo-ching chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate.

On the proposal of Premier Hua Kuo-feng of the State Council, the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress decided on 5 March 1978 on other component members of the State Council.

Vice Premiers:

Teng Hsiao-ping
Li Hsien-nien
Hsu Hsiang-chien
Chi Teng-kuei
Yu Chiu-li
Chen Hsi-lien

Keng Piao
Chen Yung-kuei
Fang Yi
Wang Chen
Ku Mu
Kang Shih-en
Chen Mu-hua

Minister of Foreign Affairs	Huang Hua
Minister of National Defense	Hsu Hsiang-chien
Minister in Charge of the State Planning Commission	Yu Chiu-li
Minister in Charge of the State Economic Commission	Kang Shih-en
Minister in Charge of the State Capital Construction Commission	Ku Mu
Minister in Charge of the State Scientific and Technological Commission	Fang Yi
Minister in Charge of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission	Yang Ching-jen
Minister of Public Security	Chao Tsang-pi
Minister of Civil Affairs	Cheng Tzu-hua
Minister of Foreign Trade	Li Chiang
Minister of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries	Chen Mu-hua
Minister of Agriculture and Forestry	Yang Li-kung
Minister of Metallurgical Industry	Tang Ke
Minister of the First Ministry of Machine-Building	Chou Tzu-chien
Minister of the Second Ministry of Machine-Building	Liu Wei
Minister of the Third Ministry of Machine-Building	Lu Tung
Minister of the Fourth Ministry of Machine-Building	Wang Cheng
Minister of the Fifth Ministry of Machine-Building	Chang Chen
Minister of the Sixth Ministry of Machine-Building	Chai Shu-fan
Minister of the Seventh Ministry of Machine-Building	Sung Jen-chiung
Minister of Coal Industry	Hsiao Han
Minister of Petroleum Industry	Sung Chen-ming
Minister of Chemical Industry	Sun Ching-wen
Minister of Water Conservancy and Power	Chien Cheng-ying
Minister of Textile Industry	Chien Chih-kuang
Minister of Light Industry	Liang Ling-kuang
Minister of Railways	Tuan Chun-yi
Minister of Communications	Yeh Fei

Minister of Posts and Telecommunications	Chung Fu-hsiang
Minister of Finance	Chang Ching-fu
President of the People's Bank of China	Li Pao-hua
Minister of Commerce	Wang Lei
Director of the All-China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives	Chen Kuo-tung
Minister of Culture	Huang Chen
Minister of Education	Liu Hsi-yao
Minister of Public Health	Chiang Yi-chen
Minister in Charge of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission	Wang Meng

On the proposal of Premier Hua Kuo-feng of the State Council, the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress decided on 5 March 1978 on appointing Kuo Mo-jo as president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and Hu Chiao-mu as president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

It is hereby proclaimed that on 5 March 1978 the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress adopted the national anthem of the People's Republic of China.

RESOLUTION OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE FIFTH NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE
CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 p 57

[Resolution adopted at the first session of the Fifth CPPCC National
Committee on 8 March 1978]

[Text] The first session of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee approved Vice Chairman Hsu Te-heng's report on the work of the Standing Committee of the Fourth CPPCC National Committee and Vice Chairman Wei Kuo-ching's explanation on the revision of the CPPCC Constitution. The session unanimously adopted the new Constitution of the CPPCC.

During the session, all members of the CPPCC National Committee attended the first session of the Fifth NPC as observers, heard and discussed Premier Hua Kuo-feng's report on the work of the government and Vice Chairman Yeh Chien-ying's report on the revision of the [state] constitution and discussed the draft of the revised Constitution of the PRC and the outline of the 10-year plan for the development of the national economy (draft). All members were greatly inspired and encouraged by these activities and voiced resolute support for them.

The session participants were very happy and were greatly inspired by the new situation in which our country, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, smashed the "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan in one blow; in which initial success was achieved in grasping the key link and running the country well after eliminating chaos and restoring order; in which stability and unity was achieved and great efforts made in building socialism; and in which the first sessions of the Fifth NPC and the Fifth CPPCC National Committee have been successfully held.

The participants held that facts in the past year fully prove that the line, principles and policies formulated by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua are entirely correct. The people of all nationalities throughout the country are extremely proud of the fact that the great CCP and our country again have their own wise leader.

The participants held: The convening of the NPC was of great historic significance; the government's work report has set forth the general task for our country, which is in a new period of development in the course of socialist revolution and construction, and is a militant program for mobilizing the people of all nationalities throughout the country to build a modern and powerful socialist state; the outline of the 10-year plan for the development of the national economy is a splendid preview of the new period; the new constitution is the general regulation for running the country well in the new period, which will certainly insure and promote a vigorous development of the socialist cause in our country; the state leaders elected by the NPC, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, will certainly be able to lead the people of all nationalities throughout the country in striving to fulfill the general task in the new period of the triumphant Long March. We warmly hail the great achievements scored by the NPC.

The participants pointed out: To build our country into a great, powerful socialist state with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology before the end of the century is a glorious responsibility given us by history; our country has all the necessary conditions for accelerating socialist construction.

The participants called on the people of all nationalities throughout the country, the intellectuals, the patriotic democratic parties, the people's organizations, patriotic personages from all walks of life, compatriots from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Overseas Chinese, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, to hold high Chairman Mao's great banner, firmly carry out the line of the 11th National CCP Congress, firmly implement the new constitution, firmly carry out the principles and tasks set forth in the report on the work of the government, further eliminate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four," carry forward socialist democracy, take advantage of all positive factors, expand the revolutionary united front, and strengthen the great unity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country. The participants called on the people to wage a common struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, liberate Taiwan and reunify the motherland, unfold the international united front against the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and build our country into a great, modern and powerful socialist state before the end of the century.

CONSTITUTION OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 58-62

[Constitution adopted at the first session of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee on 8 March 1978]

[Text] General Principles

The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is an organization of the revolutionary united front under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. It was personally founded by great leader and teacher Chairman Mao.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the CPPCC, personally led and presided over by Chairman Mao and his close comrade in arms Premier Chou, has united with the people of all nationalities in the country, the broad masses of intellectuals and all patriotic forces. It has played an active role in organizing the national bourgeoisie to undergo socialist transformation; in implementing the principle of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision between the CCP and the various patriotic democratic parties as well as the various policies on nationalities, Overseas Chinese affairs and religion; in consolidating and developing the revolutionary united front; in bringing into full play all positive factors to serve the cause of socialism; and in persisting in the revolutionary struggle to oppose social-imperialism and imperialism and to support peoples throughout the world.

Inheriting Chairman Mao's behests, the CCP Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng led the people of all nationalities in our country in smashing the "gang of four" antiparty clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan with one blow. This was another great victory scored since the smashing of the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. It shows that China's socialist revolution and construction entered a new period of development following the victorious conclusion of China's first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The general task of the Chinese people for the new period is to resolutely implement the line formulated at the 11th National CCP Congress, persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, penetratingly carry out the three revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment and build China into a great and powerful socialist nation with modernized agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology before the end of the century.

On the basis of this general task, the CPPCC must enhance great unity among the people of all nationalities in the country and expand the revolutionary united front, which is led by the working class and is based on the worker-peasant alliance and unites a large number of intellectuals and other working people, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, and our countrymen residing abroad. It must unite with all possible forces, bring into full play all positive factors, change negative factors into positive ones whenever possible, struggle against enemies at home and abroad, further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and strive to build China into a powerful and modern socialist country before the end of the century.

In international struggle, it should, following Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds, contribute its share in firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs and in opposing the super-powers' hegemonism and policy of war.

All units and individuals participating in the CPPCC must closely rally around the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, raise the great banner of Chairman Mao, work in close coordination and with concerted effort, and shoulder the glorious task assigned to us by history.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China is a basic charter the people of all nationalities in China must follow; it is a common program all units and individuals participating in the CPPCC must observe. The six political criteria formulated by Chairman Mao are standards for political life by which the Chinese people can distinguish right from wrong. They form a political basis for long-term coexistence and mutual supervision between the Communist Party and all democratic parties, and for the revolutionary united front at present.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the CPPCC must carry forward the fine tradition of democratic consultation fostered by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and conscientiously follow the principle of "say all you know and say it without reserve," "blame not the speaker but be warned by his words" and "correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not," and strive to create a political situation in which there is both centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

The first plenum of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee has decided the following guiding principles shall be commonly observed by all participating units and individuals of the CPPCC:

1. We will support the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and our country's socialist system, which is characterized by the dictatorship of the proletariat; we will support the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and fully implement all articles of said constitution.
2. We will hold high Chairman Mao's great banner, adhere to the basic line of the Chinese Communist Party for the entire historical period of socialism; persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; uphold the general line of going all out, aiming high and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economic results; prevent capitalist restoration; and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.
3. We will abide by and publicize the principles and policies of the Chinese Communist Party and the state, forge close ties with the masses, provide assistance to state organs, push social forces forward and take an active part in socialist revolution and socialist construction.
4. Taiwan Province has been China's sacred territory since ancient times. Our compatriots in Taiwan are our flesh-and-blood brothers. We must liberate Taiwan and concert efforts in the cause of reunifying the motherland.
5. We will promote patriotism, increase revolutionary vigilance, increase our consciousness of preparedness against war, and actively oppose subversion and aggression by social-imperialism and imperialism and defend the motherland.
6. We will implement our country's revolutionary line and policy on foreign affairs, persist in proletarian internationalism, cement friendly relations with people of various countries, give impetus to the development of the international united front against hegemonism and struggle unremittingly against the hegemonism and war policies of the superpowers.
7. We will strive voluntarily to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and gradually remold our world outlook by participating in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific development.
8. Unification of the country, unity of the people and unity among all nationalities in the country are the basic guarantees for the victory of our cause. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must be frank and straightforward, good at listening to all useful opinions, honest and unselfish, open and aboveboard. We must criticize and engage in self-criticism, pursue the truth, correct mistakes, and constantly strengthen the internal unity of the revolutionary united front.

Chapter I. General Organizational Principles

Article 1. The CPPCC is composed of the Chinese Communist Party, various patriotic democratic parties, various people's organizations and representatives of all communities.

Article 2. The CPPCC shall set up a national committee and local committees.

Article 3. The CPPCC National Committee maintains guiding relations with the local committees, as do higher-level local committees with subordinate local committees.

Article 4. All units and individuals participating in the CPPCC National Committee and CPPCC local committees are bound to abide by and implement the CPPCC Constitution.

Article 5. CPPCC local committees are obliged to abide by and carry out resolutions and appeals applicable nationwide adopted by the CPPCC National Committee.

Article 6. The resolutions of the CPPCC National Committee plenums and Standing Committee meetings and those of the plenums and Standing Committee meetings of CPPCC local committees shall be adopted by the majority of the entire membership. All participating units and individuals shall abide by and carry out these resolutions. When there are differing opinions, a statement for retention may be made for discussion at the next meeting, provided, however, that resolutions are carried out and not violated in accordance with the principle that the minority is subordinate to the majority. Those who fundamentally disagree with any important resolutions are free to withdraw from the CPPCC.

Article 7. Any unit or individual participating in the CPPCC National Committee that has seriously violated the CPPCC Constitution or the resolutions adopted by its National Committee shall be given a warning or be subjected to withdrawal of the individual's membership or the unit's right of participation by the National Committee, according to the merits of the case.

Any unit or individual participating in a CPPCC local committee that has seriously violated the CPPCC Constitution, the resolutions adopted by its National Committee or the resolutions adopted by the local committee shall be given a warning or subjected to withdrawal of the individual's membership or the unit's right of participation by the local committee, according to the merits of the case.

The unit or individual subjected to disciplinary action may, if dissatisfied with the action taken, request reconsideration. The unit or individual subjected to disciplinary action by a local committee may also appeal to a higher committee.

Chapter II. General Working Principles

Article 8. In accordance with the general principles of the CPPCC Constitution, the National Committee and local committees of the CPPCC conduct democratic consultations and activities on important events concerning the country's political life and the revolutionary united front.

Article 9. The National Committee and local committees of the CPPCC actively encourage patriotic democratic parties, people's organizations and personages from all walks of life to take part in the socialist revolution and socialist construction and serve the people wholeheartedly.

Article 10. In accordance with the general principle of the CPPCC Constitution, the National Committee and local committees of the CPPCC are mainly engaged in the following tasks:

1. On a voluntary basis, organizing and encouraging patriotic democratic parties, people's organizations and personages from all walks of life to diligently study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, study current events and politics, learn from workers, peasants and soldiers in various and feasible ways and, in the light of actual conditions, conduct criticism and self-criticism and carry out ideological remolding.
2. Holding report meetings and discussion meetings and organizing visits, interviews and investigations to reflect actual conditions, and expressing opinions or making suggestions in order to assist state organs in publicizing and implementing policies and improving their work.
3. In coordination with the concerned units, conducting activities in the political, economic, cultural, educational, scientific and technological fields in order to open all avenues to new ideas and talents. In cultural and scientific activities, it is necessary to implement the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend to help bring about socialist cultural prosperity and scientific progress.
4. Collecting, sorting out, compiling and writing China's modern history, revolutionary history and other historical materials.
5. Working for the liberation of Taiwan.
6. Studying international questions; publicizing and implementing the government's foreign policy and, in accordance with the unified arrangement, carrying out activities for the international united front.
7. Responding seriously to the people's letters and visits.

Article 11. The CPPCC carries forward the fine tradition of democratic consultations, upholds the mass line and maintains close ties with people of all walks of life to foster the exchange of ideas, readjust mutual relations and march in step.

Chapter III. The National Committee

Article 12. The CPPCC National Committee is composed of representatives of the Chinese Communist Party, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages without party affiliation, people's organizations and people of all walks of life as well as specially invited individuals. It should include suitable numbers of members representing minority nationalities, compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and returned Overseas Chinese.

The participating units and the number and choice of members for each National Committee are decided on through consultation by the Standing Committee of the previous National Committee.

During the term of each National Committee, when it is necessary to increase or change the participating units or the number and choice of its members, the decision will be made through consultation by the Standing Committee of the current National Committee.

Article 13. The term of each CPPCC National Committee is 5 years. When necessary, the term can be extended, or the date of the next National Committee can be advanced.

Article 14. The CPPCC National Committee has a chairman, a number of vice chairmen and a secretary general.

Article 15. The CPPCC National Committee has a Standing Committee to take charge of its work.

The Standing Committee is composed of the chairman, a number of vice chairmen and the secretary general of the National Committee and a number of Standing Committee members.

Article 16. The plenum of the CPPCC National Committee is convened once every year by the Standing Committee. It may be convened before its due date or postponed, as deemed necessary by the Standing Committee.

Article 17. The following functions and powers of the CPPCC National Committee must be exercised by its plenum:

1. Revision of the CPPCC Constitution;
2. Election of chairman, vice chairmen, secretary general and Standing Committee members of the National Committee; and
3. Hearing and examining the Standing Committee's work report.

Article 18. The CPPCC National Committee has a number of deputy secretaries general, chosen by the Standing Committee, to assist the secretary general in his work.

A Secretariat is set up to work under the leadership of the secretary general.

Article 19. The CPPCC National Committee may set up a number of working organs as needed and upon decisions made by the Standing Committee.

Chapter IV. Local Committees

Article 20. Provincial, autonomous regional and municipal committees of the CPPCC are set up in provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central authorities. When necessary, local committees may also be set up in other localities.

Article 21. Local committees of the CPPCC are composed of the Chinese Communist Party, patriotic democratic parties, people's organizations and representatives of all walks of life, as well as specially invited individuals. A suitable number of committee members should represent the local minority nationalities.

The participating units and number and choice of members of each local committee are decided through consultation by the Standing Committee of the previous local committee.

During the term of each local committee, when it is necessary to increase or change the participating units or the number and choice of its members, the decision will be made through consultation by the Standing Committee of the current local committee.

Article 22. The term of each provincial, autonomous regional and municipal committee of the CPPCC is 5 years.

Article 23. A local committee of the CPPCC has a chairman, a number of vice chairmen and a secretary general.

Article 24. A local committee of the CPPCC has a Standing Committee to take charge of its work.

The Standing Committee is composed of the chairman, a number of vice chairmen and the secretary general of the local committee and a number of Standing Committee members.

Article 25. The plenum of a local committee of the CPPCC is convened when necessary by its Standing Committee, at least once a year.

Article 26. The following functions and powers of a local committee of the CPPCC must be exercised by its plenum:

1. Election of chairman, vice chairmen, secretary general and Standing Committee members of the local committee;
2. Hearing and examining the work report of the Standing Committee of the local committee.

Article 27. A local committee of the CPPCC may have one or a number of deputy secretaries general as needed, to be selected and appointed by its Standing Committee.

A local committee may set up working organs as needed and in accordance with decisions made by its Standing Committee.

EXPLANATIONS ON REVISIONS OF THE CPPCC CONSTITUTION

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 63-66

[Report by Wei Kuo-ching [7279 0948 3237] at the first session of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee on 3 March 1978]

[Text] Members of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee: "The CPPCC Constitution (revised draft)," which has now been submitted to the session for discussion, adheres to the line of the 11th National CCP Congress and the basic principles laid down in the PRC Constitution. It went through repeated consultation and discussion in all quarters and was adopted in principle by the Standing Committee of the Fourth CPPCC National Committee. The chapter of the former CPPCC Constitution on the "General Program" was revised, and necessary revisions were made in the chapter on "General Organizational Principles." Added to the former constitution is a chapter on general working principles.

Entrusted by the Standing Committee of the Fourth CPPCC National Committee, I will now make some explanations of revisions in the CPPCC Constitution (draft).

1. On the Nature and Role of the CPPCC

Under the leadership of the CCP, the CPPCC is a revolutionary united front organization founded personally by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung. In its "General Program," the constitution explicitly defines the nature of the CPPCC. It is followed by a description of the important role played by the CPPCC under the leadership of Chairman Mao and his close comrade in arms, Premier Chou En-lai, in our country's socialist revolution and construction in the past two decades and more.

We all know well that Chairman Mao's theory, line, principles and policies on the united front are an important part of Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The revolutionary united front

founded personally by Chairman Mao is a charm which assures victory over the enemy. Our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai firmly implemented Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and was outstanding at it, making immortal contributions to the establishment and development of the united front and setting a brilliant example for us.

Proceeding from their counterrevolutionary aim of usurping party and state power, the antiparty "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan tampered in every way with Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and completely reversed the relationship between the enemy and ourselves in the historical stage of socialism. They wantonly trampled on the party's united front policy and did their utmost to disintegrate the revolutionary united front politically, ideologically and organizationally. Their criminal counterrevolutionary activities were opposed and resisted by the cadres and masses both inside and outside the party.

Since the founding of the PRC, Chairman Mao's concept of the united front has been very popular among the people and has been rooted deeply in their minds. Despite interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in particular, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has always remained predominant in our united front work. We must clear away the "gang of four's" pernicious influence, inherit and carry forward the rich thoughts which Chairman Mao has left us on the question of developing the united front and perform CPPCC work well so that it continues to be a positive factor in our political life.

2. On the Tasks of the CPPCC

Wise leader Chairman Hua is the successor selected by Chairman Mao himself and is the latter's good student. At a crucial moment at which the "gang of four" were plotting to usurp supreme party and state leadership, Chairman Hua, carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, led the whole party, army and people of all nationalities throughout the country in smashing this counterrevolutionary conspiratorial group with a single blow. The great victory in smashing the "gang of four" marks the beginning of a new period of development in our country's socialist revolution and construction. The 11th National CCP Congress, which was held last year, laid down a Marxist line for us. In accordance with this line, the first session of the Fifth NPC has set forth the general task for the people of the whole country in the new period.

In its "General Program," the CPPCC Constitution (revised draft) explicitly stipulates that "in accordance with the general task, the CPPCC should strengthen the great unity of people of all nationalities throughout the country; develop the revolutionary united front led by the working class, based on the worker-peasant alliance and uniting the large numbers of intellectuals and other working people, patriotic

democratic parties, patriotic personages, our compatriots in and from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, and our countrymen residing abroad; unite all the forces that can be united, mobilize all positive factors, turn negative factors into positive ones as far as possible and oppose our enemies at home and abroad; further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat; and strive to build our country into a modern, powerful socialist state by the end of the century."

To build our country into a great, powerful socialist state with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology is a long-cherished ideal of our people. It is the behest of Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and many revolutionary martyrs. Further developing and strengthening the revolutionary united front is also an important condition for fulfilling this great yet arduous task.

We should continue implementing the principle of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision with the patriotic democratic parties and use their enthusiasm in the service of socialism. It is necessary to unite with, educate and remold the intellectuals and give full scope to their positive role in socialist revolution and construction so they can make greater contributions to the four modernizations. It is imperative to continue implementing the principles and policies of step-by-step eliminating the national bourgeoisie and remolding them as persons, encouraging them to continue along the road of accepting socialist transformation and to do their share in socialist construction. We hope everyone will act as Premier Chou said: One should learn and remold oneself as long as one lives and continue to make new progress along the road of continuing the revolution.

Being an organization of the united front, the CPPCC should also work to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. Chairman Mao's three worlds theory indicates the general orientation of the current international struggle, distinguishes between ourselves and our friends and the enemy, and provides a mighty ideological weapon for the people of our country and the world. Propelled by this strategic concept, an international united front against the superpowers' hegemonism and their policy of war is developing on a broad scale. With the development of our international contacts, there is a lot of work to be done through the CPPCC. Therefore, the revised draft of the CPPCC Constitution includes explicit provisions for the tasks of the CPPCC in this regard.

3. On the Political Basis for Democratic Consultation With the CPPCC

In its "General Program," the revised draft of the CPPCC Constitution explicitly stipulates that the PRC Constitution is a fundamental charter which must be followed by the people of all nationalities in our country and a common program all units and individuals participating in the CPPCC must observe. It also provides in explicit terms that the six

political criteria formulated by Chairman Mao according to constitutional principles are standards for political life, by which people distinguish right from wrong in word and action. They form the political base for long-term coexistence and mutual supervision between the Communist Party and all democratic parties, as well as for the present revolutionary united front. The CPPCC National Committee and its various local committees must abide by the state constitution and be guided by the six political criteria in stepping up their political activities. They must hold consultations over important affairs in the political life of the state and in the revolutionary united front. They must forge close ties with personages of all walks of life, listen carefully to opinions of various circles and report them in good time to departments concerned. Those within the CPPCC must exchange views frequently, achieve unity in thinking and, in accordance with the principle of correctly handling contradictions among the people, readjust their relations and strengthen their unity.

Our country is a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the CCP. The fundamental organizational principle of our party and state is a combination of centralism on the basis of extensive democracy and democracy under highly centralized guidance. Chairman Mao once pointed out: /"There should be full democracy both inside and outside the party, that is, it is essential to conscientiously practice democratic centralism."/ Democratic consultation is a fine tradition fostered in our united front by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou. In the activities of the CPPCC, we must follow the principles of /"say all you know and say it without reserve," "blame not the speaker but be warned by his words"/ and /"correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not."/ We must open all avenues to ideas and pool the wisdom of the masses. As to disputes between differing opinions, we must solve them by democratic methods through discussion, criticism, persuasion and education. Only by so doing can we arouse the enthusiasm of the masses, do CPPCC work well and make it conduct its role better in the political life of our country.

We promote democracy to further facilitate the strengthening of the CCP leadership and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to correctly handle the contradictions among the people, waging struggle against class enemies in a better way and better serving socialist construction instead of weakening or even undermining party leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat and weakening or even undermining socialist construction. For this reason, it is necessary to make criticism and self-criticism or even to carry out necessary struggle against any speech and act that may run counter to the constitution, to the six political criteria and to the CPPCC Constitution, so as to insure the political unanimity of the CPPCC.

4. On the Common Guidelines of the CPPCC

The revised draft of the CPPCC Constitution has supplemented and revised the guidelines to be observed jointly by units and individuals participating in the CPPCC and increased their number from 7 to 8 articles. Most important is the emphasis on holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao; adhering to the basic line of the CCP during the entire historical period of socialism; persevering in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and upholding the general line of going all out, aiming high and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results. The banner of Chairman Mao is the victorious banner of unity and struggle on the part of the people of all nationalities throughout our country, and it is our sacred duty to hold high and defend this shining banner forever, passing it on from generation to generation.

Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the greatest contribution ever made to Marxism. It clearly defines the fundamental road of how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and build socialism by countries which have won victories in proletarian revolution. The basic line Chairman Mao formulated for our party is the lifeline for all our work. The general line for building socialism Chairman Mao prescribed for us is the guideline for developing the national economy at high speed, continuously enhancing social productivity and insuring the victory of socialism over capitalism. We must carry the revolution through to the end along the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao. The revised draft of the CPPCC Constitution also provides that the CPPCC should make concerted efforts to liberate China's sacred territory Taiwan Province and accomplish the grand cause of reunifying the motherland. We should all contribute to this cause.

5. On the General Working Principles

A chapter on general working principles has been added to the revised draft of the CPPCC Constitution, in which the principal work of the CPPCC is formally defined. This is put forward to meet the needs of the general task in the new period and after summing up the many years' work experience of the CPPCC. In the new situation, the revolutionary united front has witnessed further consolidation and development, and there is much work which the CPPCC should do and its task is heavy. The CPPCC National Committee and local committees should, under the leadership of the CCP, unite with and push all democratic parties, people's organizations and personages of all walks of life to further develop all kinds of work. It is noted that both the CPPCC national and local committees have recruited a group of veteran revolutionary cadres. With rich experience in revolutionary struggle, they will surely play a backbone role in carrying out the CPPCC work. It is also our hope that all the departments under the central government and all local revolutionary

committees will take the initiative in consulting and seeking opinions from the CPPCC on major issues of concern to the masses and so make the CPPCC an important channel for maintaining close ties with the masses.

6. On the Local Committees

The revised draft of the CPPCC Constitution has not revised in principle the chapter on "General Organizational Principles" and the chapter on the "National Committee" in the original constitution. As to the chapter on "Local Committees," for the setting up of CPPCC local committees, based on the social relations and nationality relations existing in all localities and to meet actual needs, the revised draft of the constitution provides that "provincial, autonomous regional and municipal committees of the CPPCC are set up in provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central authorities. When necessary, local committees may also be set up in other localities." The term "other localities" refers to municipalities wherein a provincial capital is located and big municipalities where the united front work is relatively heavier, such as the city of Chungking. The term of service of such a local committee shall correspond to that of a people's congress at the same level.

Members: The current session is unprecedented both in size and in representation. This reflects further consolidation and development of our country's united front and further prosperity and advancement of our socialist cause. Let us rally more closely around the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, make concerted efforts and strive to build China into a great, modern and powerful socialist country.

NAMELIST OF THE CHAIRMAN, VICE CHAIRMEN, SECRETARY GENERAL AND MEMBERS OF
THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE FIFTH CPPCC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 p 67

[Text] The first session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on 8 March 1978 elected the chairman, vice chairmen, secretary general and members of the Standing Committee of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee, as follows:

Chairman: Teng Hsiao-ping

Vice Chairmen: Wu Lan-fu, Wei Kuo-ching, Peng Chung, Chao Tzu-yang, Kuo Mo-jo, Sung Jen-chiung, Shen Yen-ping, Hsu Te-heng, Ouyang Chin, Shih Liang (female), Chu Yun-shan, Kang Ko-ching (f.), Chi Fang, Wang Shou-tao, Yang Ching-jen, Chang Chung, Pa-pa-la Ko-lieh-lang-chieh, Chou Chien-jen, Chuang Hsi-chuan, Hu Tzu-ang, Jung I-jen, Tung Ti-chou

Secretary General: Chi Yen-ming

Members of the Standing Committee (listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames):

Ting Kuang-hsun, Tao Tung-ting, Yu Shu-te, Yu I-fu, Tsun Shu-sheng, Wan I, Hsi Chung-hsun, Ma Ching-nien, Ma Yin-chu, Wang Chung, Wang Fu, Wang Tzu-kang, Wang Wen-ting, Wang Tsung-wu, Wang Yun-sheng, Wang Chin-shan, Wang Kun-lun, Wang Hsueh-wen, Wang Ping-nan, Wang Hsueh-ying (f.), Wang Wei-kang, Wang I-lun, Wang Hsin-ting, Mushayef [Mu sha yeh fu 2606 3097 0048 1133], Wachamuchi [Wu cha mu chi 3907 2089 2606 1015], Fang Chung-ju, Yin Lin-ping, Kung Yuan, Kung Tsung-chou, Kung Hsiang-chen, Teng Chu-min, Kan Chun-lei, Kan Tzu-sen, Ku Keng-yu, Lung Chien, Lu Sheng, Shen Chien, Yeh Sheng-tao, Yeh Chu-chuan, Yeh Tao-ying, Burhan Shahidi, Feng Wen-pin, Feng Te-pei, Kung Tien-min, Cheng Fang-wu, Lu Tung, Chu Li-chih, Chu Hui-fang, Chu Mu-chih, Wu Hsien-wen, Jen Pai-ko, Chuang Tien, Liu Hsing, Liu Hsiao, Liu Fei, Liu Ting, Liu Shao-wen, Liu Chung-jung, Liu Liang-mo, Liu Shun-yuan, Liu Ching-fan, Liu Jui-lung, Liu Ching-chi, Kuan Jui-wu (f.), Chiang I-chen, An Shih-wei, Hsu Li-chun, Sun I, Sun Lan-feng, Sun Cheng-pei, Sun Chi-meng, Sun Hsiao-tsun, Mahsut Teibov [Mai ho su te Tieh i po fu 6314 0678 5685 1795 6993 5902 3134 1133], Yen Hsin-min, Kergen [Ko li keng

0344 5000 2577], Su Ching, Su Tzu-heng, Tu Yu-ming, Li Hsin, Li Chi, Li Li-yin, Li Wen-i (f.), Li Shih-chi (f.), Li Shih-chang, Li Pu-hsin, Li Chu-li, Li Chun-ching, Li Cho-jan, Li Kuo-wei, Li Chin-te, Li Pao-kuang (f.), Li Shu-ying (f.), Li Wei-han, Li Ching-lin, Yang Shih-chieh, Yang Shih-hsien, Yang Tung-sheng, Yang Tung-chun, Yang Chi-ching, Yang Kuo-fu, Yang Cheng-min, Yang Chiu-ling (f.), Hsiao Peng, Hsiao Szu-ming, Wu Po, Wu Wen-chun, Wu Mao-sun, Wu Tai-feng, Wu I-fang (f.), Wu Liang-ping, Wu Chueh-nung, Wu Huan-hsing, Wu Hsueh-chih, Wu Hung-pin, Ho Hsien, Ho Chang-kung, Ho I-tuan, Ho Chi-feng, Ku Chih-piao, Ku Chun-fan, Wang Chin-hsiang, Wang Te-chao, Sha Chien-li, Sung Hsi-lien, Chang Su, Chang Tse, Chang Tzu-i, Chang Pang-ying, Chang Hsiao-chien, Chang Chih-jang, Chang Ko-hsia, Chang Lien-kuei, Chang Hsiu-shu, Chang Han-ying, Chang Nan-sheng, Chang Hsiang-shan, Chang Wei-chen, Chang Chao-lun, Chang Jui-hua (f.), Chang Chia-fu, Lu Chen-fan, Chen Cheng-hsiang, Chen Tzu-sheng, Chen Yang-shan, Chen Wei-chi, Chen Jui-ting, Lin I-hsin, Lin Hsiu-te, Lin Hai-yun, Lo Chiung (f.), Chin Cheng, Chou Yang, Chou Shih-kuan, Chou Chun-chuan, Cheng Tung-kuo, Cheng Min-chih (f.), Chu Wu, Hsiang Chao-tsung, Chao Pu-chu, Chao Tsung-yu, Chao Te-hsien, Hu Tzu-ying (f.), Hu Ko-shih, Hu Chueh-wen, Hu Yu-chih, Chung Shih-tung, Chung Chi-kuang, Chung Hui-lan, Hou Hsiang-lin, Hou Te-feng, Hou Ching-ju, Yu Ta-fu, Wen Chia-szu, Chiang Chun-fang, Fei Hsiao-tung, Fei I-ming, Yao Che, Ho Cheng, Ho Ching-chi, Ho Lu-ting, Panchen Erdeni Chuji-geltseng [Pan-chan-o Erh-te-ni Chueh-chi Chien-tsan 3803 4407 7345 1422 1795 1441 0606 0679 1017 6363], Yuan Ko-fu, Li Yu-wen, Chia I-pin, Hsia Yen, Hsia Chih-hsu (f.), Tun Hsing-yun, Chien Chang-chao, Hsu Po-hsin, Hsu Pin-ju, Hsu Chu-po, Kao Wen-hua, Kuo Hung-tao, Kuo Ti-huo, Kuo Ying-chiu, Tan Chia-chen, Tao Chih-yueh, Huang Ta, Huang Kun, Huang Yen, Huang Wei, Huang Chen, Huang Kan-ying (f.), Huang Chi-ching, Huang Ko-cheng, Huang Ting-chen, Sa Kung-liao, Tsao Kuang-hua, Kung Feng-chun, Chang Yun (f.), Yen Kuei-yao, Liang Hua-hsin, Peng Ti-hsien, Tung Chi-wu, Chiang Ying, Han Kuang, Han Tung-shan, Han Lien-cheng, Yu Chieh, Cheng Tan, Cheng Szu-yuan, Fu Ying, Tung Hsiao-peng, Tung Shao-sheng, Tseng Chuan-liu, Tseng Hsien-chih (f.), Tseng Yung-chuan, Hsieh Ping-hsin (f.), Chu Tu-nan, Lai I, Lai Chi-fa, Lei Chieh-chiung (f.), Pao Hsien-chih, Jamyang Lozang-jigme Thubtan Chuji-nima [Chai-mu-yang Lo-sang Chiu-mei Tu-tan Chueh-chi-ni-ma 0857 2606 2876 3157 2718 0036 5019 0956 0030 0606 0679 1441 3854], Tsai Hsiao, Tan Kuan-san, Hsiung Fu, Hsiung Tien-ching (f.), Hsiung Hsiang-hui, Pan Shu, Pan Chen-ya, Chien Hsien-jen (f.) and Feng Yun-ho (f.)

A MAJOR MOVE IN CONTINUING THE LONG MARCH--WARMLY GREETING THE OPENING OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE FIFTH NPC AND THE FIFTH CPPCC

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 68-69

[Joint editorial of the PEOPLE'S DAILY, RED FLAG and LIBERATION ARMY DAILY dated 26 February]

[Text] The first session of the Fifth National People's Congress holds its grand opening in Peking today [26 February]. The first session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference opened on 24 February. The convocation of these two meetings is a major event in the political life of the people of all our nationalities, a major event in the course of grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land and of consolidating and developing our revolutionary united front led by the Chinese working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance.

We warmly hail the convocation of the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress and the first session of the Fifth National Committee of the CPPCC. We warmly hail the Chinese people, who, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, have taken new strides forward and won new victories, grasping the key link of class struggle to put the country in order.

At the second plenary session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, our wise leader Chairman Hua, full of the joy of victory, proclaimed to the people of the whole country: "Our country has successfully got over the grave crisis created by the 'gang of four,' and the new period of development of the socialist revolution and construction in our country has a fine beginning." The first session of the Fifth National People's Congress is convened just at this important juncture. It is of great importance and charged with a great historic mission, namely, to hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, implement the party line formulated at its 11th national congress, further eradicate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four," consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, give scope to socialist democracy,

turn all positive factors to account, unite with all the forces that can be united, develop the fine situation and strive to make China a great, modern and powerful socialist country.

Reviewing the militant course traversed from the Fourth National People's Congress to the Fifth National People's Congress, the Chinese people are imbued with boundless pride. What severe tests we went through, what arduous struggles we waged and what great victories we scored during these 3 breathtaking years! During this period, we waged an intensive struggle against the criminal moves of the antiparty "gang of four" to usurp party and state power. In 1976, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Te departed from us. Taking advantage of our grave difficulties, the "gang of four" hastened to try for a seizure of supreme power over the party and the state. At this most critical juncture, our wise leader Chairman Hua carried out Chairman Mao's behest and, representing the fundamental interests and the common aspirations of all our nationalities, smashed the "gang of four" at one blow, averting a major disaster for the party and the state and eliminating the crisis. This was another great turning point in the history of the Chinese revolution.

Now, at the time of the opening of the Fifth National People's Congress and the first session of the Fifth National Committee of the CPPCC, what gladdening changes have taken place in the situation in our land. Chairman Hua's call for initial success within a year in carrying out the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land has been fully carried out, and things are going much better than expected. A great victory has been won in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." The bourgeois factional setup of the "gang of four" and their followers has received smashing blows, and the rights and the wrongs of the two-line struggle, which were muddled for such a long time, have been basically clarified. The broad masses of the cadres and the people are going forward in triumph, and the third campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is going on in depth. In the field of national economy, not only has the situation taken a turn for the better after a long period of stagnation or even backsliding which resulted from grave disruption and sabotage by the "gang of four," but what is more, a new leap forward is emerging.

News of victory in the first battles of the new year have come from industrial production and from transport and communications. The coal, petroleum, metallurgical, chemical and power industries and railway transport are continuing to rise steadily, breaking through the "conventional" drop at the beginning of the year. Farmland construction is unprecedented in scale throughout the country. The national budgetary income is in better shape than at any corresponding period in recent years. Profound changes have now taken place in the political, economic, military and cultural spheres throughout our country. Our land is bright in the spring sunshine, and everyone is in high spirits, showing

unprecedented socialist initiative. That series of important directives issued by Chairman Mao on the eve of the convening of the Fourth National People's Congress, on studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, on stability and unity and on pushing forward the national economy, have been genuinely implemented, and a new situation has come about, one of stability and unity and of going all out to build socialism.

To convene the National People's Congress--the highest organ of state power--and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference--the organization of the revolutionary united front for uniting the people of all nationalities and all walks of life throughout the country--is both necessary and timely in such an excellent situation, in order to discuss major policies for the country, to implement the party line formulated at its 11th national congress, and to quicken the pace in making China a great, modern and powerful socialist country. This NPC session will examine a "Report on the Work of the Government" and an "Outline of the 10-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy, 1976-1985 (Draft)," revise the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, pass a "Report on the Revision of the Constitution," and elect or decide on leading state personnel. The "Report on the Work of the Government" will set forth our general tasks in the new period of development in socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is a program for action to mobilize the people of all nationalities throughout the country, uniting and striving to build a powerful, modern socialist country. The "Outline of the 10-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy" will present us with the splendid outlines of the new period of development. The new constitution will be a general charter for running the country in the new period. The first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, shouldering such heavy responsibilities, will draw up major moves for continuing the Long March and call on the people to forge ahead to build a powerful, modern socialist country.

To modernize agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology in an all-round way by the end of this century so as to make China's national economy stand in the world's foremost ranks--these are the behests of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, aspirations long dreamed of by the Chinese people and a sacred mission which history has given us. In the present-day world, to be backward economically and in technology means to be beaten. For a whole century following the Opium War, China was beaten. Unequal treaties humiliating the nation and forfeiting its sovereignty shackled our beloved country. Why was our country subject to such humiliation? Why was she trampled on so? The corrupt social system was one factor, and economic and technological backwardness was another. From Hung Hsiu-chuan to Sun Yat-sen, Chinese progressives waged an indomitable struggle to resist the aggression of the big powers and build a prosperous and powerful China, advancing wave upon wave.

Our great Chairman Mao Tse-tung integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution,

led us to overthrow the three big mountains which lay like a dead weight on the Chinese people and founded the People's Republic of China; only then did the Chinese people stand up. In the past 28 years we have changed the old social system and initially changed the economic and technical backwardness. But China's socialist revolution and socialist construction were seriously affected by the disruption and sabotage carried on by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, and particularly by the antiparty "gang of four." Several times the national economy was bogged down at the same general level. The gap between the scientific and technological level of China and that of the advanced countries was once narrowed down, but it widened again. But the obstacles have now been cleared away. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line can be implemented smoothly, Chairman Hua is leading us on a new Long March. We shall build a powerful China, modernized in the socialist way. A great ideal shall be attained. Who can help being excited beyond words! People all over the country are looking forward with great feeling to the important plan for a new Long March, submitted by the party Central Committee and to be adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress. The very moment the word comes from Chairman Hua, we shall immediately and resolutely act in accordance with this plan and march forward bravely and advance toward the great goal of a powerful, modern socialist country.

The current sessions of the National People's Congress and the CPPCC are on a grand scale, drawing together representatives of all walks of life to discuss major affairs of state. This marks furtherance of the great revolutionary unity among people of all nationalities and a further development of the united front, which is under the leadership of the working class, based on the worker-peasant alliance and embraces patriotic democratic parties, other patriots, compatriots in Taiwan Province, Hong Kong and Macao as well as other countrymen overseas. This is a sure guarantee of victory for our cause. Under our country's socialist system, the people are the masters of the state. Our socialist democracy reliably guarantees that the people act as the masters. Only by giving full scope to socialist democracy can we arouse the people's socialist enthusiasm to the maximum and continuously consolidate their unity, so that they will fight to carry out great revolutionary tasks. The convocation of these two meetings is a vivid manifestation of our socialist democracy. We hope the NPC deputies and the members of the National Committee of the CPPCC will bring to the meetings the people's determination and aspirations, their demands and proposals for grasping the key link of class struggle and putting the country in order, for going all out to achieve faster results. We hope that each one of them will express his views fully and that they will all pool their wisdom so that the meetings will be successful, lively and invigorating. The meetings have attracted the attention of the world. In view of the all-round preparations made throughout the party, the army and the people of all nationalities and the completion of the necessary preparatory work, political, ideological and organizational, at the second plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, we believe the Fifth National People's

Congress and the Fifth CPPCC sessions will surely be held successfully, with unity and victory.

We are full of pride and emotion at this solemn moment, the opening of the Fifth National People's Congress, which is of tremendous importance. We feel ourselves most fortunate to have a wise leader like Chairman Hua and are confident a hundredfold.

Advancing in the continued Long March under the command of Chairman Hua, neither hardship nor peril can stop us. We shall sweep all before us. Ours is a land of great hope and a shining future. Let us rally still closer around the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, hold aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao and march forward bravely with great strides.

TRANSFORM CHINA IN THE SPIRIT OF THE FOOLISH OLD MAN WHO REMOVED THE MOUNTAINS--HAILING THE SUCCESSFUL FIRST SESSION OF THE FIFTH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 70-72

[Joint editorial of the PEOPLE'S DAILY, RED FLAG and LIBERATION ARMY DAILY dated 6 March]

[Text] The first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, which has drawn the attention of the world, has come to a triumphant close. It was held in an invigorating atmosphere which greatly inspires our people. It was truly a conference of unity and victory. It will go down for all time in the annals of the Chinese revolution as a great milestone.

The mobilization of the people of all nationalities of China to unite and strive to build a powerful and modern socialist country--this is the main topic of the session. In his report on the work of the government, Premier Hua Kuo-feng, holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, comprehensively and systematically set out the tasks, principles, policies and measures for building a powerful and modern socialist country. The report explicitly points out: "The general task before our people in the new period of socialist revolution and construction is to carry out firmly the line of the 11th party congress, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and make China a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology by the end of the century." This general task is laid down in legal form in the new constitution. The outline of the 10-year plan for the development of the national economy lays out a splendid picture of construction for us. A group of long-tested proletarian revolutionaries headed by Chairman Hua has assumed the responsibility for leading the state. This is the reliable organizational guarantee for building a powerful socialist country. The plan has now been ratified, the order issued and an all-round new Long March has started toward the great goal of a modern and powerful socialist country!

The first task on our agenda after the conclusion of this congress is to bring home to every person and every household the general tasks in the new period through extensive publicity, study and arousing of the masses. Chairman Mao sharply pointed out: "In the 105 years from the 1840's to the middle of the 1940's, almost all the imperialist countries of the world, whether large, medium or small, committed aggression against our country and waged war against us. Except for the last war, namely, the war of resistance against Japan, which resulted in the surrender of Japanese imperialism owing to internal and external causes, all these wars ended in our defeat and the signing of treaties with humiliating terms. That was due to two factors: First, a corrupt social system and, second, a backward economy and technology. Now our social system has changed and a basic solution has occurred as far as the first factor is concerned. But the solution is still incomplete, because class struggle still exists. There is some change, too, in regard to the second factor, but it will require several more decades to bring about a complete change. If in the decades to come we don't completely change the situation in which our economy and technology lag far behind those of the imperialist countries, it will be impossible for us to avoid being pushed around again." "In planning our work we should start from the possibility of being attacked and do our utmost to change the backward state of our economy and technology in not too long a period of time, otherwise we will make mistakes." We must help the people understand that carrying out the four modernizations is not only a tremendous task in the economic field, but primarily one of extreme urgency in the political field. It involves whether our economy and national defense are strong enough to deal with possible aggression by social-imperialism and imperialism. It involves whether we can consolidate the worker-peasant alliance and constantly raise the level of the material and cultural life of the people, step by step narrow the gap between mental and manual labor, between industry and agriculture and between city and countryside, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. This is a major question involving the vital interests of this generation and generations to come. The masses must be informed of the principles and policies, steps and measures to carry out the general and concrete tasks for each locality and each organization. When the masses know the facts and their own interest, the clear goals ahead and the measures to achieve them, they will concert their efforts and resolutely pool their wisdom and talents and strength for victory.

The key link of class struggle must be firmly grasped from beginning to end to accomplish the general task. Premier Hua pointed out in his report on the work of the government: "The primary task for the people of our country at present and for some time to come is still to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' and carry this great struggle through to the end." The gang, which damaged the country and brought calamity to the people, were ferocious enemies of the four modernizations. Inheriting Lin Piao's mantle, the gang whipped up an ultra-"leftist" tendency and anarchism, stirred up armed conflicts and sabotaged

production and construction by striking, smashing and looting and by bringing work and production to a standstill. Like Lin Piao, they distorted and tampered with Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and forbade mentioning revolution in production and technology. They used charges of "the theory of productive forces" as a big stick with which they wildly attacked the development of production, and even asserted that "the day the four modernizations is realized will be the day capitalism has been restored." We must struggle well in the third campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four," study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works with a will so as to master our ideological weapon, and continue deepening the criticism of their counterrevolutionary revisionist line. The gang pushed an ultra-rightist line, a line that went to the extreme right; but the line had various manifestations: At times it was ultra-rightist while on other occasions it was ultra-"leftist." The "gang of four" were very deceptive when they posed as ultra-"leftist." Particular efforts should therefore be made to expose and criticize their counterrevolutionary ultra-"leftist" tactics. We can increase our ability to distinguish between true and sham Marxism, emancipate our minds and take big strides on the road of the new Long March only when we strip away the gang's "leftist" cloak, uncover their ultra-rightist essence and clarify right and wrong with regard to theory and line. The fundamental reason for the initial success of the strategic arrangement made by the party committee headed by Chairman Hua for grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing great order across the land lies in our successful battle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." In the new Long March, we must carry the struggle to expose and criticize the gang through to the end and be completely successful.

This struggle calls for a well-guided, step-by-step campaign of "two blows," dealing blows at disruptive activities by the class enemy and at wanton attacks by capitalist forces. Our blows should be directed particularly at those newborn bourgeois elements who impair socialist construction and seriously disrupt the socialist public ownership. The new constitution stipulates punishment for newborn bourgeois elements. In this category are many embezzlers, thieves, speculators, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, hooligans and smash-and-grabbers who committed serious crimes, and other scoundrels who seriously violated the law, discipline and socialist order. They form an important part of the social basis of the "gang of four" and are the most ferocious urban and rural capitalist forces. Only when dictatorship of the proletariat is imposed on them can we guarantee that the general task will be accomplished smoothly.

It is a great undertaking and a very arduous task to build up a country that accounts for one-fifth of the world's population but is backward economically and culturally into a powerful socialist country and achieve the four modernizations comprehensively within a period of less than one-quarter of a century. Our most reliable base is the masses of the people. Provided they are fully aroused, any wonder can be performed.

The mass line is our party's basic line. Our people are a very fine people. They have boundless faith in our party, and great enthusiasm for building a modern, powerful socialist country. Provided we have faith in the masses, rely on them, respect their initiative, listen carefully to their opinions and pay heed to their well-being, their enthusiasm and creativeness can be brought into full play. This means we should apply socialist democracy. The people have the right to administer their country, undertakings and culture and education. It is imperative earnestly to carry out, starting from the grassroots level, democratic management in which the masses take part, and at the same time to strengthen unification and centralization. It is also imperative to combat anarchism, bourgeois factionalism and any act to undermine discipline.

Chairman Mao said: "The transformation and construction of China depend on us for leadership. When we have rectified our style of work, we shall enjoy greater initiative in our work, become more capable and do a better job." We must particularly keep to and develop the style of work of seeking truth from facts to carry out the four modernizations. Seeking truth from facts is the scientific attitude that communists must adopt toward all work. We must advocate honesty in thinking, speech and action and oppose the use of empty words, bragging and lying. We must rouse the real and not sham drive of the people. At present, the socialist enthusiasm of the people is unprecedentedly high and we must treasure this enthusiasm and absolutely should not abuse it or dampen it down. We must combine a revolutionary spirit with a scientific attitude, do things with vigor and vitality but in a down-to-earth way. Only so can the enthusiasm of the masses be sustained and shown effectively, leaving its mark on every step taken in our triumphant march toward our lofty objective.

World history provides many examples of an economically backward country catching up with an economically developed country. Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is even more possible for us to catch up with the developed capitalist countries in a relatively short period. In fact, our economy and science and technology were once advancing at a quite high speed. But interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and particularly the "gang of four" caused setbacks in the development of our economic construction. The smashing of the "gang of four" has made it possible to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line smoothly now. In addition, China has an enormous population, a large territory, rich natural resources, the material foundation built in the past two decades and more and both positive and negative experience. In particular, we have our wise leader Chairman Hua and the strong leadership of the party Central Committee headed by him that has forged the closest unity, accumulated rich experience in struggle and maintains close ties with the masses. We have full conditions for building China into a great and powerful socialist country.

At this encouraging and important historic juncture, we are reviewing the speech that Chairman Mao delivered at the closing session of the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China. The great plan made at that congress was to remove the three big mountains which had weighed on the backs of the Chinese people--imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Chairman Mao said: "Our aim in propagating the line of the congress is to build up the confidence of the whole party and the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution." Faced with the great revolutionary task of making China into a modern and powerful socialist country, we must now also build up the confidence of the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution.

In his report on the work of the government, Premier Hua Kuo-feng pointed out: "We must free ourselves from superstitions, emancipate our mind, be dauntless and revolutionary in the task of 'transforming China in the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains,' be firm and unyielding, and work hard to reach our great goal through indomitable struggle." Workers, peasants, fighters, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and all patriots! Let us respond to the call of the Fifth National People's Congress, rally more closely around the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Hua, hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, firmly adhere to the line of the 11th national party congress, work energetically to carry out all the fighting tasks for politics, the economy, culture, military and foreign affairs put forward in the report on the work of the government and strive to reach the goal of marked success within 3 years of grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing great order across the land, fulfill the outline of the 10-year plan for the development of the national economy and accomplish the behests of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou to build China into a great, modern and powerful socialist country by the end of the century and make a greater contribution to humanity!

DEVELOP THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT--WARMLY CELEBRATING THE SUCCESSFUL
CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE FIFTH CPPCC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 73-74

[Joint editorial of the PEOPLE'S DAILY, RED FLAG and LIBERATION ARMY
DAILY dated 9 March]

[Text] The first session of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee, which held its last session 13 years ago, convened this session after winning great victories in smashing the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This session was held at an important time in which the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua is leading our country into a new period of development in socialist revolution and construction.

During the CPPCC session, all members of the CPPCC National Committee attended as observers at the first session of the Fifth NPC, which was of great historic significance. The members of the CPPCC adopted the new CPPCC Constitution, elected Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, a party and state leader who is loved and admired by the people of the whole country, as chairman of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee, and elected other leading members to the Standing Committee of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee.

This CPPCC session marks a new development in the revolutionary united front and the great unity of the people of all nationalities in our country. It will have an important effect on implementing the line of the 11th CCP National Congress, on fulfilling the general task in the new period, and on making our country a modern, powerful socialist state.

The united front is one of the important weapons with which the CCP defeated its enemies in the Chinese revolution. In the period of the new democratic revolution, the united front played an important role in the struggle to overcome the three great mountains: imperialism,

feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. In the period of the socialist revolution, it has played a key role in taking advantage of all positive factors, in opposing enemies at home and abroad, and in promoting socialist revolution and construction. The CPPCC is a revolutionary united front organization founded by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou firmly and outstandingly implemented Chairman Mao's concept of the united front, thus making tremendous contributions to setting up and developing the revolutionary united front organization. Chairman Mao's theory, line, principles, and policies on the united front are important parts of Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They constitute a treasure house of thought handed down to us from Chairman Mao.

The history of the revolution in our country over a long period proves whenever Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies have been correctly implemented, the united front is developed and strengthened and victory is won in our revolutionary struggle, and whenever Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies have been violated, the united front is weakened and undermined and our revolutionary struggle suffers setbacks. In the new period of development in the socialist revolution and construction, we must firmly implement Chairman Mao's line and policies on the united front, and the CPPCC must continue to play an important role.

The struggle for and against the revolutionary united front and the CPPCC was an important part of our struggle with the "gang of four." Chairman Mao said long ago: /"Will the united front be abolished some day? I for one am not for its abolition."/ He also taught us: /"The proletariat must rely on its broad allies to exercise dictatorship; it cannot do so all by itself."/ The proletariat in China /"must rely on the several hundred million poor and lower-middle peasants, city poor, badly off handicraftsmen and revolutionary intellectuals in order to exercise dictatorship--otherwise it cannot."/ The "gang of four" willfully trampled upon our party's line and policies regarding the united front and did their utmost to pull it apart politically, ideologically and organizationally. They slandered the democratic parties and patriotic personages that had cooperated with the Communist Party for a long time by saying the parties and personages were "monsters and demons," slandered intellectuals for being the "stinking ninth category" and slandered the returned Overseas Chinese and the families of Overseas Chinese for being "enemy agents." The "gang of four" undermined the party's policies on nationalities and religion, thus producing an evil influence. Representing the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionary bad elements, and new and old bourgeois elements, they enforced fascist dictatorship and set themselves against the people throughout the country. Thus, they completely isolated themselves and were spurned by the people of the whole country.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four" with one blow, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has firmly carried out Chairman Mao's line and policies on the revolutionary united front and has paid great attention to strengthening it. Its consolidation and development are plainly called for in both the party constitution adopted at the 11th National CCP Congress and in the national constitution adopted by the Fifth NPC.

In his report to the Fifth NPC on the revision of the constitution, Vice Chairman Yeh said: The constitution's preamble "specifically and comprehensively explains the broad scope of our revolutionary united front and emphatically calls for the broadest and greatest unity of people of all nationalities in China." "Without the great unity of the people it is impossible to fulfill the general task for the new period." The size of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee and the breadth of its representation are both unprecedented. The session was animated and lively, and each member had ease of mind. This shows that, under the leadership of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, our revolutionary united front has been further consolidated and developed and the socialist cause in our country has been flourishing more than ever.

The CPPCC is shouldering important tasks in the new period of development in our country's socialist revolution and construction. In his report on the work of the government to the Fifth NPC, Premier Hua Kuo-feng pointed out: The general task before our people in the new period is to firmly carry out the line of the 11th National CCP Congress, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle and the struggles for production and scientific experiment, and make our country a great, modern and powerful socialist state with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology before the end of the century. In accordance with this general task, the CPPCC Constitution adopted at this session stipulates that the tasks of the CPPCC are to strengthen the great unity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country; develop the revolutionary united front which, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, unites the intellectuals, working people, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Overseas Chinese; unite with all the forces that can be united, mobilize all positive factors and turn as many negative factors as possible into positive factors to oppose the enemies at home and abroad; further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat; and strive to build our country into a great, modern and powerful socialist state before the end of the century. In international struggles, the CPPCC, following Chairman Mao's great theory of three worlds, should contribute its share to firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs and opposing the superpowers' hegemonism and policy of war. To this end, the CPPCC has much work to do and should play a role in many fields. It should organize democratic parties and patriotic personages for democratic consultations

on major issues concerning the political life of the country and the revolutionary united front, and urge them to participate in socialist revolution and construction. It should organize study sessions among people of various circles and promote their ideological remolding. It should organize visits, carry out investigations and study, report on local situations, elicit criticism and suggestions, and help state organs to publicize and implement policies and improve their work. It should cooperate with departments concerned in political, economic, cultural, educational, scientific and technological fields, thus opening broad avenues for ideas and knowledge that will aid national construction. It should collect, organize and compile data on contemporary Chinese history and the history of the Chinese revolution. It should work for the liberation of Taiwan and the great cause of reunifying the motherland. It should also conduct research on international questions, help strengthen our friendly relations with people of other countries and help expand the international united front against hegemonism.

It is expected that, following new developments in socialist revolution and construction, a new and more lively situation will prevail in the work of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

In order to develop and strengthen the revolutionary united front, it is necessary to carry forward the fine tradition of democratic consultation fostered by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and follow the principle of /"say all you know and say it without reserve," "blame not the speaker but be warned by his words"/ and /"correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not,"/ thus giving full rein to everyone's initiative. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China is a basic charter which people of all nationalities in China must follow; it is a common program which all units and individuals participating in the CPPCC must observe. The six political criteria formulated by Chairman Mao are standards for political life by which people can distinguish right from wrong in word and action. They form a political basis for long-term coexistence and mutual supervision between the Communist Party and all democratic parties, and for the revolutionary united front at present.

CPPCC organizations at all levels must be guided by the state constitution and the six political criteria in carrying out their political activities. The Communist Party committees at all levels should strengthen their leadership over united front work; central government departments and local revolutionary committees should make the CPPCC an important channel for maintaining close ties with the masses. They should pay attention to consulting and seeking opinions from the CPPCC on major issues of concern to the masses so as to improve their work.

We believe that, after this session, all units and individuals participating in the CPPCC will definitely be able to rally still more closely around the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, hold aloft

the red banner of Chairman Mao, work in close coordination and with concerted efforts, and make the revolutionary united front play an even greater role in the new stage of development in China's socialist revolution and construction. The high ideal of the Chinese people--to build China into a powerful, prosperous socialist nation--will definitely be realized.

SELECTED POEMS OF PREMIER CHOU WRITTEN DURING HIS YOUTH

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 75-79

[Text] PEOPLE'S DAILY editor's note: 5 March this year marks the 80th anniversary of the birth of our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou. Today we have selected and publish below 10 poems written by Premier Chou during his youth as a means of commemorating him and for all of us to study. From these poems we can see a shining facet of the premier in his youth.

Written by Chance on a Spring Day

1914

I

As I gaze at the verdant suburbs far beyond,
Mist is gathering.
In the central plains a struggle for power rages,
One wave higher than the other.

II

The cherry blossoms line the path,
Willow leaves fall on the edge of the pond.
Amid the twittering of the swallows,
Another year passes missing you.

In August 1913 Comrade Chou En-lai went to the Nankai School in Tientsin to study. The following year, together with several schoolmates, he set up the Ching-Yeh Lo-Chun Hui [Society for Respecting the Profession and Enjoying the Companionship of Others] and published the CHING-YEH magazine. From 1915 to 1916 Comrade Chou En-lai served as chief editor of CHING-YEH, HSIAO-FENG [THE SCHOOL STYLE] and other magazines. During

this period he wrote many editorials, commentaries, narratives and works of literature and art forcefully exposing the decadence and dark side of society and awakening young people and the masses. The above two poems with five-word lines were carried in the inaugural issue of CHING-YEH.

Thoughts on Accompanying Brother Feng-hsien Back to His Village

Early 1916

I

A chance meeting was also preordained
As both of us left for Tientsin.
Your uninhibited talks startled us all around.
With nipper crabs and wine we talked
About the past years.
The danger is great, but we will never change
Our will.
The fight is just and we can't stop.
One day when we return to the farm it will be
The day when mission is fulfilled.
Then we shall select our neighbors
Before settling down.

II

The east wind urges the stranger on
As the song of farewell is sung on the southern shore.
A wink of an eye you are a thousand miles apart.
It has all been like a dream.
Stars disappear, clouds disperse, and only sorrow
remains;
Pleasantly the past is vivid before our eyes,
For we have written much about it.

III

In a race among us all, you alone cracked
The first whip.
We were pitifully inadequate, yet you sped on
In a torrent.
Crows clung to trees at dusk, the lonely goose
Flew to the unbounded sky.
There is this old friendship, which makes our parting
All the more poignant.

The three poems above were originally carried in the No 4 issue of CHING-YEH in April 1916 and signed "Fei Fei." Chang Feng-hsien, a native of Kirin, gained entrance to the Nankai School in Tientsin together with

Comrade Chou En-lai in August 1913 and was one of the founders of Ching-Yeh Lo-Chun Hui.

In Response to Master Hao-ju's Poem Lamenting
the Current Events

October 1916

A storm broke out over the vast continent,
The whole nation slumbered.
In a moment of greatest sorrow autumn arrives,
The creaking of insects is intolerable.

This poem was originally carried in the No 5 issue of CHING-YEH published in October 1916. "Master Hao-ju" was Mr Chang Hao-ju, then teaching at the Nankai School. Imbued with patriotic and democratic ideas, he supported the students' progressive activities. His poem "Lamenting the Current Events" and Comrade Chou En-lai's poem were published in the same issue of CHING-YEH. Chang's poem was as follows:

On 28 September I learned from press reports that the warlords were hatching a conspiracy in Hsuehou, and yet the government was still hesitant and stalled. The life of the nation had been lost in the hands of a few people! I couldn't help throwing away my book and shedding my tears, and I wrote this poem:

The hope for peace vanished like smoke,
The work of the traitors.
The lonely guest sheds tears in vain
On heaven's edge,
Heartbroken and almost afraid of reading the news.

Going East After Singing on the Great River

September 1917

Going east after singing on the great river,
One is burned with a secret desire to save the country.
For 10 years one has not accomplished anything
Yet has not given up.
A hero is he who jumps into the sea to kill himself,
His ambition unfulfilled.

This poem was written by Comrade Chou En-lai on the eve of his departure for Japan after completing his middle school education. In March 1919, in order to throw himself into the anti-imperialist and antifeudal torrent of the mother country, he determinedly gave up his chance to study in Japan and decided to come home. Before he left, his good friend Chang Hung-kao gave a farewell party for him and asked him to autograph this

poem so that he, Chang, might keep it as a memento. Then Comrade Chou En-lai wrote these remarks after the poem: "I wrote this poem after I crossed the sea to Japan at the age of 19." "I am returning to the country in the hope of doing something for it. Fully packed, I am saying goodbye to my friends." "I autograph this poem so it may be kept as a memento." At the same time, he stated that in presenting this poem he was also "exhorting himself."

Misty Mountains in the Rain--Kyoto, Japan

5 April 1919

Twice I toured the misty mountains in the rain.
Both banks were lined with pines
Mixed with a few cherries.
At the end of the path a tall mountain suddenly appeared,
Spring water flowing around rocks, clear as a mirror.
Rain was falling and mist thickening;
A ray of sunlight shot out through the clouds.
It was dazzling.
The truth of ten thousand phenomena on earth blurs
The more it is sought.
Amid the blur a ray of light is accidentally seen,
Especially illuminating.

This poem was originally carried in the inaugural issue of CHUEH-WU [AWAKENING]. From September 1917 to April 1919 Comrade Chou En-lai studied in Japan and took an active part in the revolutionary activities to oppose Japanese aggression and the traitorous moves of the warlords.

Bidding Farewell to Li Yu-ju and Showing It to Shu-ti

8 June 1920

Haven't seen you for three months,
How fast you have improved.
Sometime ago Nien-chiang came to say
You wanted to go to England,
I did not take it seriously.
A few days later Tan-wen again came to say
You wanted to go to France,
I didn't take it seriously either.
Then a few more days passed,
You came to say goodbye
And told me to my face
You could go.
Off you went.
Shu-ti wrote to me
Saying you told him in a letter:

"...Moreover, I am single,
I can support myself by getting a job.
However bad,
I won't starve to death in a foreign land!
You must know:
Happiness is for one to seek;
Waiting for it won't get one anywhere..."
When we parted, you also said to me:
"...Buy the fourth-class ticket,
Take the third-class berth. ...
... Go on a work-study program;
After 1 year of study,
Support myself with a job.
... Study practical physics and chemistry;
Based on my ambition,
Beat out a free path for us women to achieve independence
In livelihood and in spirit;
Protect the divine rights of women..."
Remember your spirit,
Your resolve,
Your courage,
Moving up aggressively
All depends on your bold struggle.
Going out of the country
To the East Sea, the South Sea, the Red Sea,
The Mediterranean,
Everywhere waves rising,
Surging forward boundlessly,
Sending you to the French coast, homeland of freedom.
Go there,
Raise your tool.
Out of your sweat will be produced
Your brilliant achievements.
Temper your talent;
Preserve your innocence.
When you come back someday,
Unfurl the banner of freedom,
Sing the song of independence.
Fight for women's rights,
Seek equality, and
Take up social practice.
Overthrow the old ethics,
It all depends on your will.
I passed through Nanking
And saw Shu-ti;
Alighting from the train dreamily,
I found myself on the bank of the Huangpu.
It was difficult to part.

We are all living in this world,
Why speak of separation?
Feelings are eternal,
"Though physically apart, we are united in spirit."
Two months later,
Shu-ti's footprints were again seen on the new continent.
The billow of the Atlantic
Could not interrupt your correspondence.
Two wireless posts
Stood erect on the east and west coasts,
Their wavelengths reaching heaven.
Three months later,
On the coast of Marseilles,
The suburbs of Paris,
Perhaps I might see you.
Take care!
So you have gone.
You are able to go.
Haven't seen you for three months,
How fast you have improved.

This poem was written by En-lai at the detention center of the Tientsin local prosecution office on the afternoon of 8 June 1920.

Yu-ju:

You have gone. I couldn't be there to see you off. So let me bid you farewell with this poem! I worked on it today from 4:00 pm until 6:30 pm, and I made it. This poem might be considered "above average" in the collection of my poems.

What do you think of it? When you go to Nanking, please show it to Shu-an! If the ship has not arrived, can you, by the "sounds of nature," write me a poem in response?

Goodbye! We may meet again in 3 months, hopefully. Tien-an also has a poem dedicated to you!

En-lai, 8 June 1920

This was written by Comrade Chou En-lai in prison. On 29 January 1920, Comrade Chou En-lai led the masses in Tientsin to besiege the Hopei Provincial Commission to strongly demand the lifting of the ban imposed on the Federation of All Circles in Tientsin and the Tientsin Students Union, both of which were unreasonably closed on 25 January, as well as the release of the 24 representatives who were arrested when they presented a petition to the Provincial Commission. Comrade Chou En-lai and three other representatives were arrested by the reactionary military and police and taken to the police station. In the enemy's dungeon,

Comrade Chou En-lai united his comrades in distress to wage all kinds of struggle. He also turned the prison into a classroom for the study of revolutionary theories. He organized everyone to study and lectured them on Marxism.

On 8 June, when Li Yu-ju (female), a comrade in arms of Chou En-lai, came to tell him that she was going to Europe to study on a work-study program, he immediately wrote the above poem. Both Li Yu-ju and Comrade Teng Ying-chao were students of the Hopei First Girls Normal School at that time. Shu-ti in the poem was Pan Shu-an, alias Pan Shih-lun. He was a classmate of Comrade Chou En-lai.

The Last Parting

1922

...After reading the letter from Shih-shan to Nien-wu, I learned that Mr Huang Cheng-pin had been murdered by Chao Heng-ti and the capitalists over the strike by the workers of the Changsha textile plant. I was instantly overwhelmed with grief, and my thoughts turned to the comrades at that time. I therefore wrote this poem to express my feelings to my friends.

To die heroically or
To live with a false sense of security.
Rather than living shamefully and
Being afraid to die,
Give greater weight to death than to life!
It is the last meeting
That is the most heartrending.
Farewell, so painful is it;
In death there is no difference in weight,
Why not die in a touching manner?
Without farming,
Where comes the harvest?
Without scattering the seeds of revolution,
How can one expect the flowering of communism?
Dream of the red flag flying,
Yet reluctant to dye it with blood.
Is there such a cheap thing in the world?
Instead of sitting down to talk,
Get up and walk!
Even those who want to live
Moan the parting, and
It will be their turn to die.
Only they do not understand the last parting
In so touching a manner.
A touching farewell indeed.
Beg no mercy from others!

The road of life and death
Is before everyone.
To fly toward the bright future,
It is up to you!
Pick up that metal hoe,
Plow that virgin land;
Scatter the seeds among men,
Blood dripping on the land.
Those who are to part
Will part forever in the future!
Life and death must be seen as they are.
Make an effort to live,
Also make an effort to die.
Then what does it matter to have the last parting?

This poem was carried in CHUEH-YU [MAIL FOR THE AWAKENING], a supplement to HSIN-MIN-I-PAO [NEW PUBLIC OPINION NEWS] of Tientsin on 15 April 1923. At that time Chou En-lai was in Germany working for the general branch for Europe of the Chinese Communist Party and engaging in revolutionary propoganda and organizing activities among Chinese workers and students who worked to pay for their school expenses in Europe.

Comrade Huang Ai (Cheng-pin) was a native of Changte, Hunan. In 1919, when he was studying in Tientsin, he became a member of the Chueh-Wu She [The Awakening Society], founded by Comrade Chou En-lai and others, and he actively plunged into the students' patriotic movement in Tientsin led by Comrade Chou En-lai.

In 1920 Comrade Chou En-lai went to Europe on a work-study program, and Comrade Huang Ai returned to Hunan, where, with Pang Jen-chuan and other comrades, he organized a labor union in Changsha and actively developed the workers movement. With Chairman Mao's direct help and education, Comra-e Huang Ai joined the Socialist Youth League. While leading the workers in struggle, he was arrested many times by the warlord Chao Heng-ti. In January 1922 Huang Ai and Comrade Pang Jen-chuan led the workers of the Changsha No 1 Textile Plant in staging a general strike in demand of year-end bonuses. On 16 January they were arrested by Chao Heng-ti, and early the next morning they were executed outside the Liuyang Gate.

On learning of the death of Comrades Huang and Pang, the workers rushed to the door of the labor union and cried. Some went to the reactionary warlord government to lodge their strongest protest. Chairman Mao Tse-tung was extremely agitated and immediately called a meeting to set the tactics and tasks for a struggle against the enemy. Moreover, he presided over the impressive memorial meeting.

In a letter to his comrades in arms at home at that time, Comrade Chou En-lai said: "The death of Cheng-pin is both heroic and tragic. Such

an incident is rarely seen, not only in China but also in the labor movement throughout the world. As friends we cannot but be seized with grief. To remember him, we have to make an effort! For my part, I have expressed my wishes in the poem, and recently there has been that firm resolution of the Communist Party." "Cheng-pin's death has further hardened my conviction, and, at any rate, I believe I will not let this dead comrade down." (Originally carried in PEOPLE'S DAILY of 1 March 1978)

DEVOTING HIMSELF ENTIRELY TO THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE--A STURDY ROCK IN MIDSTREAM

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 80-83

[Article by Hsu Hsiang-chien [1776 0686 0467]]

[Text] The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao was a soul-stirring, great political revolution in which there were acute and fierce struggles and intricate and complex contradictions.

Premier Chou remained at the forefront from beginning to end throughout the entire course of the struggle in this great revolution. He assumed the heaviest tasks and made indelible contributions in implementing Chairman Mao's various instructions, spurning interference and upholding the interests of the whole situation. I would like to recount only a few anecdotes which I personally witnessed and understood.

During the initial stage of the Great Cultural Revolution Premier Chou, following Chairman Mao's strategic plan, carried out the colossal task of organizing and arousing the masses. The premier was personally involved in the enormous organization work for the 11 receptions Chairman Mao granted to the Red Guards. In addition, he frequently went down to the grassroots level to see the big-character posters, take part in various mass meetings, carry out propaganda work among the masses, mobilize them and actively join the struggle against Liu Shao-chi's counterrevolutionary revisionist line.

At the same time, the premier devoted a great deal of his energy to doing cadre work. He talked to many high-ranking cadres and helped them to increase their understanding of the significance, nature, targets and tasks of the Great Cultural Revolution and to adopt "a correct attitude toward the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the masses and oneself." The premier held even more frequent talks with some old comrades who were being attacked. He would, with utmost sincerity and on the basis of his own understanding, review the development of the Chinese revolution from

the great revolution to the socialist revolution to explain that the Great Cultural Revolution was completely necessary and most timely. When he found out from reports that some comrades could not keep in step with the situation and he was too busy to talk with them, he would write letters or ask others to pass on the message to them in his efforts to do ideological work for them. He always encouraged high-ranking cadres to follow Chairman Mao's instructions to go among the masses and listen to their opinions. Moreover, he always tried to find time to accompany them when they did so.

In 1969, in accordance with the party Central Committee's decision, some veteran cadres were sent to work in some selected grassroots units to temper their thinking. The premier instructed that proper arrangements should be made for the well-being of such cadres but that they should receive no special privileges and that all arrangements should be made in such a way that they would contribute to strengthening the mass concept among these cadres and to improving their relations with the masses and their own ideological revolutionization.

During this period I worked in a plant near Peking. I personally witnessed the drastic change in thinking and workstyle that many comrades were going through as a result of this form of tempering. Some responsible comrades at the provincial party committee level, after a period of tempering themselves through working in selected grassroots units, were able to do physical labor in workshops just like workers, operate machines by themselves, produce products that met all standards, and undergo the same training as workers did. Some veteran cadres even lectured workers on party history based on their own experiences and lessons. When he heard about such things, the premier often smiled happily.

What is particularly unforgettable is that the premier constantly was quite self-critical when talking about his own experience in the inner party struggle between the two lines.

He used this to help cadres raise their understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and heighten the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He often said that one "should keep on studying and remolding himself as he grows older." This was the way he encouraged cadres, as well as a demand he placed on himself. During the Great Cultural Revolution he made even more frequent appearances in presenting his own experiences to enlighten and educate the cadres. Many comrades have their own impressions of the premier's political concern for cadres and his guidance to them during the test of the Great Cultural Revolution. This shows that Premier Chou not only was a firm supporter of the Great Cultural Revolution, but was able to translate Chairman Mao's thinking on the launching of this great revolution into conscious actions by cadres and masses.

But, in order to "change the dynasty," Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and their ilk vigorously peddled fallacies about the "contradictions between the new Cultural Revolution and old government" and the Great Cultural Revolution being a "movement to criticize cadres." Later, they dished up the counterrevolutionary political program that equated veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist roaders" in an effort to confuse the two types of contradictions and incite people to overthrow everything. A large number of revolutionary cadres were subjected to their ruthless persecution.

Premier Chou, following Chairman Mao's repeatedly emphasized instructions that /"the vast majority of the cadres are good"/ and it is necessary to /"trust and rely on the majority of the cadres,"/ waged heroic and arduous struggles to settle the cadre problem. Many times I accompanied the premier when he received the masses. I personally saw how he seriously and patiently worked among two factions, and how he educated the masses in the need to strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions to adopt a correct attitude toward cadres, to be ruthless toward the enemy but kind to one's own comrades, and to uphold the struggle by reasoning and oppose the struggle by force.

In 1967 Chairman Mao instructed: /"It is necessary to be good at guiding those people in our ranks with petty bourgeois ideas onto the path of proletarian revolution. This is a matter of key importance to the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."/ Premier Chou resolutely implemented this instruction and worked hard among the masses. At a mass rally he earnestly said: "Young people should treasure our party's fine tradition. They should have both a revolutionary spirit and a scientific approach, and be both courageous and good in waging struggle. They should seek truth from facts and pay attention to investigation and study. They must not develop a perverted work style." Referring to the bad work style practiced by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in indiscriminately criticizing and slandering others, he sternly pointed out: "We of the older generation should also pay attention to this and guard against setting a bad example."

At the same time, he adopted a clearcut stand in protecting revolutionary cadres despite the heavy pressure applied by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." When some responsible army comrades in other localities were attacked by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," the premier immediately made careful arrangements for them in line with Chairman Mao's instructions. Many of the army and local leading cadres were protected by the premier's personal efforts in assuming responsibility, in giving instructions or in making arrangements on their behalf.

One clear case in point was that the premier opposed making Comrade Chen I the target of a surprise attack and resolutely protected him. It was precisely because of the principled position adopted by the premier on the cadre problem that Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and their ilk

harbored still more deep-seated hatred and vilified the premier as the biggest "conservative." It is clear to all comrades who have been through the Great Cultural Revolution that, in a situation in which Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were occupying the important posts usurped by them and rabidly stirring up ultraleft trends of thought, how significant it was and what a strong party spirit and immense fortitude was called for in being able to remain firm in this principled position.

There was one event which was particularly unforgettable to me. During the 40th anniversary of the PLA's founding on 1 August 1967, the party Central Committee decided to hold a grand reception. Before this, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" had stirred up the public to ferret out "a handful of people in the army" and vigorously criticized the so-called "reverse current" and the "saber-rattling Liu Shao-chi line," and a number of comrades including myself were already in trouble. Under such circumstances, it was hard to know beforehand whether or not we would attend the reception as was previously the usual practice. Around 1700 on 31 July, Comrade Yeh Chien-ying suddenly came to my home and relayed a message from the premier informing me to get ready for the "1 August" reception. Comrade Yeh Chien-ying also said there was still no consensus as to whether I should attend the reception (actually Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were against my attending the reception) and that Premier Chou would ask Chairman Mao's approval. Comrade Yeh Chien-ying was very attentive to every detail, and he even brought along a barber just in case I might not have time to get a haircut. Afterward the premier informed me that he had asked Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao instructed: Commander Chu, I and some other responsible army comrades--who were also in trouble then--should attend the reception. To prevent accidents, the premier also positioned special personnel selected by departments concerned along the route from my residence to the Great Hall of the People. Just before the reception, the premier again called me personally to ask if I had left for the reception.

Of course, the question of whether or not a few old comrades should attend the reception was not a personal one concerning only the individuals involved. It was an issue concerning the army's unity and stability. It concerned the consistent cadre policy and traditional style of our party and army. It was significant in smashing the conspiracy of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" to create disorder in and usurp the leadership of the army and in correcting the perverse trends they had started.

I was deeply moved by the premier's warm concern. It was a solid class feeling of unity built up in the long revolutionary struggle. I would like to recall a scene I saw while attending Comrade Ho Lung's memorial service. Many comrades knew that while Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were cruelly persecuting Comrade Ho Lung, the premier used every means to protect him. When Comrade Ho Lung's memorial service was held in June 1975, long after his death, the premier attended despite other

people's advice against his attendance because of his poor health. He was so weak physically and so excited emotionally that his hand trembled violently when he signed his name in the attendance book.

I asked him: "In your present physical condition, why have you come?" While trying his best to hide his deep grief, and with a heart filled with sorrow, the premier said: "I must come." Every comrade at the memorial service immediately felt the premier's profound grief. The sentiments expressed by the premier at that time implied his great indignation at the serious damage caused by the "gang of four's" perverse acts.

The vast number of cadres and the masses knew clearly that the premier had done everything possible, demonstrated his outstanding ability and made excellent contributions while helping Chairman Mao minimize the damage caused by the "gang of four" and win the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The PLA is a pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was a guarantee for the victory of the Cultural Revolution. Maintaining stability in the army is an extremely important issue. Premier Chou was very concerned about the army's stability. While Premier Chou was still alive, because of the instigation of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," a number of responsible comrades in the military organizations and the army were attacked. At that time I was responsible for implementing the Cultural Revolution throughout the whole army. When we invited the premier to talk to us, he always consented.

Once at a Military Commission conference, following the spirit of the "16-point decision," I and a number of comrades proposed banning the wanton arrests of people, wanton confiscation of personal property, and physical torture or disguised physical torture, such as forcing the arrested to wear tall paper hats, hanging black labels around their necks and leading them through the streets for public display. The premier immediately expressed his approval, but Chen Po-ta and Chiang Ching refrained from expressing their views. Thus, no decision was made. My views at the meeting were printed and distributed after the meeting. But Chiang Ching ordered their immediate confiscation. Various quarters feared that those extreme measures might be put into effect continuously.

Following Chairman Mao's instructions, on 23 January [year not given] the PLA was ordered to take part in the Cultural Revolution in various localities. The situation called for relevant measures. After consultations with Yeh Chien-ying, Chen I, Nieh Jung-chen and other responsible comrades of the Military Commission, I prepared a draft eight-point order for the Military Commission. The premier personally presided over the discussions on the "eight-point order." The premier said that the "eight-point order" was fine. But Chen Po-ta and Chiang Ching still refrained from expressing their opinions. The truth was that they were anxious to stir up trouble in the army so they could seize power amid the chaos.

After the "eight-point order" was approved by Chairman Mao and issued, the premier supervised its implementation in the army. Many times he presided over meetings to solve difficult problems involving a number of local military organizations. He did a lot of hard work in maintaining stability in the army and local order. Later, when some problems emerged in a number of localities in implementing the "eight-point order," the premier instructed: Because of the army's hasty involvement in the Cultural Revolution, it lacks experience.

Therefore, it is necessary for the army to sum up experience and draw lessons and study the question of what to do in the future.

Taking advantage of this problem, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" blamed others for all the mistakes. Wielding a big stick, they grossly exaggerated others' mistakes.

Chairman Mao soundly analyzed this problem during a talk in March 1968. In talking about the problems arising from the implementation of the "eight-point order," Chairman Mao pointed out: We were all wise after the event.

As I look back today, at that time it was impossible to accomplish anything without the "eight-point order." The premier's attitude toward this problem fully reflected Chairman Mao's thinking. He both adhered to principles and made flexible applications of principles, thus enlightening and convincing others.

Today this incident is history, finished: Lin Piao and the "gang of four," in a vain attempt to destroy our army, have received their just punishment, while Premier Chou--who persistently carried out Chairman Mao's instruction and who was concerned about the army's stability, social order and economic construction and development--has won the wholehearted love and support of the whole party, the entire army and all the people in the country.

What was particularly profitable for us to learn was the premier's constant attention to public interests, his superman-like working spirit and his attentiveness to minute details in all matters during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which I personally observed and experienced while I was in charge of the Cultural Revolution in the whole army.

At that time Lin Piao stipulated that the Cultural Revolution in the whole army be under the dual leadership of the Military Commission and the Central Cultural Revolutionary Group, and that the Central Cultural Revolutionary Group be consulted first on any issue. However, it was very hard to contact either Chen Po-ta or Chiang Ching. Even Kuan Feng--assigned by them as the deputy group leader in charge of the Cultural Revolution in the army--was also hard to contact. Even if we did contact them, they would say neither yes nor no to all our questions.

Instead, they would play dirty tricks behind our backs, supporting one group of people to attack another or vice versa. As a result, when trouble arose they then placed all the blame on others in an attempt to strike them down permanently. Under such circumstances it was very difficult to do any work.

Not long afterward, complying with Chairman Mao's instruction, the premier attended meetings of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Group. I was particularly happy. Under the premier's direct leadership, our work would become much easier. At that time the premier, on the one hand, had to assist Chairman Mao direct the mass movement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the various ministries of the State Council and in the various provinces and municipalities, while on the other hand he also had to be in charge of daily administrative and foreign affairs. He was extremely busy. Yet when we asked the premier for instructions, in most cases he always gave us a prompt reply.

Whenever the cultural revolutionary task in the whole army encountered difficulties, the premier would always do his best to assist us. At a certain meeting, when I expressed my discontent with Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta and Chiang Ching because they hindered the work of promoting Cultural Revolution in the whole army, Chiang Ching said: "Commander Hsu is old, he cannot work any longer." I then told the premier that I wanted to resign from the job of handling the Cultural Revolution in the whole army. But the premier comforted me and said: "Devote yourself entirely to the service of the people till your last full measure of breath." The premier's words had a powerful impact on me, because in his long revolutionary struggle the premier always made this demand on himself.

For instance, the premier's office had only one public phone. Seeing that the premier was always busy with a myriad of affairs every day, comrades in the Telephone Bureau suggested that they change the telephone number so that the premier would not be bothered by too many phone calls. Resolutely rejecting the suggestion, the premier said: "If my telephone number is changed, how can the masses report to me their situation?" Thus, this telephone number was never changed from the founding of the republic, and his telephone never ceased ringing day and night. Great quantities of information flowed to the premier through this channel.

The premier always patiently listened to reports and promptly handled them. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution he worked even harder than usual day and night. He even neglected his sleep and meals and became used to these deprivations.

The premier laid down a principle for himself: Never refer to Chairman Mao any matter he could handle himself, so as to shoulder as much work as possible for the chairman. However, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" not only created one difficult problem after another for the premier,

but also pushed many contradictions to him for disposition. This made the premier's work even more complicated, and usually he had only 4 or 5 hours' sleep a day. He had a telephone at his bedside and often worked in bed. Even when he was eating or taking a bath, his secretary would come and wait for him, because there were always urgent matters requiring his instructions. At times he could not even rest after working continuously for several dozen hours. Once in 1967, because of his receiving a mass representation from a ministry, he had time neither to rest nor to eat for 18 hours and finally became sick from overwork. It was under such circumstances that the personnel working with him saw that he was unable to carry the workload and so put up the well-known "rebellious" big-character poster asking him to rest so as to cope with his new health condition (his heart disease). As busy as the premier was, Lin Piao and the "gang of four," in a vicious effort to exhaust him completely, plotted to reduce the number of personnel working for him. At the first meeting I attended after I had assumed the post of the all-army Cultural Revolution group leader, Chiang Ching frantically suggested that the slot of secretary to the premier be eliminated. She was truly frantic.

The premier's spirit of working diligently, conscientiously and wholeheartedly without complaining has been widely talked about among the people. Here I wish to recall an instance in which I was directly involved. One day in early February 1967 my office received a telephone call from the General Political Department saying that two comrades from the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemical Industries had visited that department and reported a big intelligence leak in the ministry. Since this was a local incident, we immediately reported it to the premier's office.

Shortly afterward we received a call from the premier's office asking us to send someone there to make a report. That evening the premier was busy receiving some representatives of the revolutionary masses. It was not until after midnight that the premier had a chance to receive the comrade we sent there to make the report. Just 1 day after receiving our telephone call, the premier sent someone to investigate the incident, but he still wanted to acquire a clear understanding of the matter himself. According to the comrade we sent there, while eating coarse biscuits as his midnight snack, the premier asked who reported the intelligence leak and whether the all-army Cultural Revolution group had sent someone to investigate. He had his secretary immediately call the General Political Department to ask the two comrades receiving the visitors to come to Chungnanhai. While waiting for these two comrades, the premier went to various reception rooms to talk with the waiting mass representatives. About 0400 hours the next morning, the two comrades of the reception station of the General Political Department came to Chungnanhai with the two comrades from the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemical Industries who had reported the incident. The premier questioned them about the intelligence leak until nearly 0600 hours and then gave his instruction on how to handle this incident. At that time he

was extremely tired but still refused to rest. He said: "There are still representatives from some units waiting for me. You may leave now." So saying, he walked toward another reception room.

This was a brilliant example for us of the premier's total devotion to the service of the people.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has triumphantly concluded. In view of the hard-won victory, we cherish even more the memory of our great leader Chairman Mao and our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, and we cherish more warmly our wise leader Chairman Hua. Without Chairman Mao's personal guidance it would have been inconceivable to launch this great revolution and win the great victory. Likewise, the victory would have been inconceivable were it not for Premier Chou's loyal assistance to Chairman Mao in giving guidance to push the Great Cultural Revolution, and were it not for the smashing of the "gang of four" with one blow by Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee headed by him, thus getting rid of the arch criminals who frantically undermined this revolution. The Great Cultural Revolution exhausted Premier Chou, who worked all his life for the splendid cause of the proletariat and, at the same time, deeply engraved in the hearts of hundreds of millions of people his great image of devoting himself entirely to the service of the people and as a sturdy rock in midstream.

Eternal glory to the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou!

PREMIER CHOU GUIDED YOUNG PEOPLE TO FORGE AHEAD UNDER THE MAO TSE-TUNG BANNER

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 84-88

[Article by the theoretical group of the Central Organ of the Communist Youth League]

[Text] The 80th anniversary of the birth of our beloved Premier Chou was celebrated on 5 March this year. On that day hundreds of millions of young people and a great number of CYL members, filled with feelings of profound respect, commemorated the occasion together with the people throughout the country.

Premier Chou, great leader and teacher Chairman Mao's close comrade in arms, was a great Marxist. In his younger days he dedicated himself to the Chinese people's emancipation and was one of the outstanding activists and founders of China's youth movement. He was also a fine representative of revolutionary youth during the 4 May Movement. When he was in Europe in 1922 on a work-study scholarship, he served as the CYL's general European branch secretary. In more than 50 years of struggle after that time Premier Chou showed great concern for youth work, implementing Chairman Mao's line on youth work in an exemplary and creative way and zealously guiding young people to advance under the Mao Tse-tung banner. His contribution to the development of China's youth movement is everlasting.

On the eve of liberation and in order to rally the vast number of young people around the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, Premier Chou mobilized them to take an active part in building new China. In October 1948 he sent a proposal to Chairman Mao on holding two congresses in 1949 for the purpose of forming the New Democratic Youth League and the All-China Youth Association. This proposal was approved by Chairman Mao. The two congresses were held in Peking in April and May of 1949 and attended by both Chairman Mao and Premier Chou. The meetings set the tasks for youth work in the new period and spurred the thriving development of the youth movement, thus writing a new chapter in the history of China's youth movement.

It would be very difficult for us to determine exactly how many meetings on youth work Premier Chou personally attended over the past decades, the number of documents relating to youth work he personally reviewed and revised, or the number of important instructions he gave. We cannot forget the many times our respected and beloved Premier Chou, smiling graciously, joined the young people, chatted with them and sang aloud with them. When he was critically ill in 1975 he did not forget the revolutionization of youth. Significantly, he gave this instruction: It is very important to grasp the education of the tens of millions of young people. Premier Chou is fondly remembered by all of them as the young people's fine teacher and good friend. His great proletarian revolutionary spirit, his shining image of enduring revolutionary youthfulness, and his constant exhortations to the younger generation inspire China's youth to bravely advance along the path indicated by Chairman Mao.

/Calling Upon Young People To Learn From Mao Tse-tung/

At the First All-China Youth Conference held before the establishment of new China, Premier Chou, looking far ahead, called upon China's youth to "learn from Mao Tse-tung" and "advance under the Mao Tse-tung banner."

In the history of China's youth movement, 7 May 1949 is an unforgettable date. At 1500 hours that day, esteemed and beloved Premier Chou came to the meeting of the First All-China Youth Congress. Walking to the rostrum to deliver the report "Young People Throughout the Country, Unite and Advance Under the Mao Tse-tung Banner," he was greeted by thunderous applause.

In the report Premier Chou explained the far-reaching significance of the great call "Advance Under the Mao Tse-tung Banner" and warmly praised Chairman Mao's immense contributions in leading the Chinese people's revolution from victory to victory. He pointed out with feeling: "Chairman Mao becomes the leader of the people after thousands of years of historical experience and lessons, nearly a hundred years of the revolutionary movement and almost 30 years of direct struggle."

Looking back on the history of the struggle and on the tortuous paths of the Chinese revolution, Premier Chou emphatically pointed out: "Chairman Mao remained correct during China's four revolutionary stages, representing the correct orientation of the Chinese people." He also attributed Chairman Mao's correct orientation to the fact that "Chairman Mao has applied the truth of world revolution, the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, to China, integrating it with the practice of the Chinese revolution to evolve Mao Tsetung Thought." Chairman Mao pointed out the truth and he upheld and developed it. "Chairman Mao's banner is our best call, a call to young people throughout the country to follow this banner." At the great historical turning point in the Chinese revolution, Premier Chou proposed "learning from Mao Tse-tung" as a task of prime importance for youth, thus enabling the youth movement in China's socialist period

to advance along the correct orientation. This is a valuable historical record of Premier Chou's holding high Chairman Mao's great banner.

In his report Premier Chou scientifically showed how Chairman Mao applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism in China to evolve the great Mao Tsetung Thought, exhorting and teaching young people to comprehensively and accurately study and grasp Mao Tsetung Thought. He said: "What we learn from Mao Tse-tung is not just a simple slogan. It must have very rich content and a clear-cut orientation." "In learning from Mao Tse-tung we must do so in a comprehensive way and study Mao Tsetung Thought as a system."

Summing up our party's experience and attitude in dealing with the positive and negative aspects of Marxism, Premier Chou incisively pointed out: Mao Tsetung Thought integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Therefore, linking theory with practice and comprehensively studying and grasping Mao Tsetung Thought as a system are fundamental issues of orientation in studying revolutionary theory.

Premier Chou also urged young people to link the study of Chairman Mao's orientation and theory with the study of his specific policies. He said: Chairman Mao has not only adhered to truth and indicated the orientation but has also formulated many specific policies and tactics for implementing this truth and principle. Failure to do this will prevent the revolution from being successful. That is why Chairman Mao utters no empty words about truth but links it with practice and puts it on a firm basis. Only by doing so can we win victory today. Therefore, young people must learn from Mao Tse-tung, try to understand the orientation, principle and truth of Chairman Mao's directives, and study his specific policies and tactics before they can make their work more practical. Our young people should not indulge in empty talk but should do something.

Premier Chou put it nicely, and his analysis is most penetrating. Nearly 29 years have passed since he said these things, yet his sonorous voice still lingers in our ears. His penetrating analysis and concisely stated views have not lost their immediate significance and militancy because of the passage of time. On the contrary, after more than 20 years of two-line struggles within the party, and especially after struggling against the antiparty cliques of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," there is further evidence of Premier Chou's foresight and his exemplary deeds in holding high Chairman Mao's great banner and in comprehensively and accurately propagating and defending Mao Tsetung Thought.

What Premier Chou proposed greatly spurred the mass movement among youth to study Mao Tsetung Thought. He often instructed the CYL to conduct the study movement well and to assist young people in solving those specific problems arising in their learning effort. In the early 1960's, in order to meet the young people's study needs, Premier Chou instructed

the CYL Central Committee to compile a popular edition of "Selected Readings From the Works of Mao Tse-tung" so that everybody could have a copy.

On 18 October 1963 Premier Chou took the time to attend the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the publication of CHUNG-KUO CHING-NIEN [CHINA YOUTH MAGAZINE]. Going over one of the issues which reviewed the "Selected Readings From the Works of Mao Tse-tung," he told the comrades of the editorial department: It is very important to help young people study the selected readings from Mao's works, but the selections should be short and go from the shallow to the deep, should be written in plain language, and should conform with rural conditions. The selections as compiled are too long. It is better to devote one section to one problem, so that the four volumes may be explained in a year in the form of notes. To enable the younger generation to grow up under the nurturing influence of Mao Tsetung Thought, Premier Chou gave the matter much thought and careful consideration.

The radiance of Mao Tsetung Thought shone wherever Premier Chou went. From the vast Taching Oilfield to the Tiger Head Hill of Tachai and from Peking's impressive Great Hall of the People to the Shihhotzu reclamation site in Sinkiang's Gobi Desert, whether he was on the rostrum of a meeting or talking amiably to relevant personnel, Premier Chou took every opportunity to inquire about the progress of the young people's study and to urge them to study Mao Tsetung Thought more and in a better way. He said: We must explain Mao Tsetung Thought over and over again until its truth is accepted by everybody and turned into strength.

During the hectic years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Premier Chou went to great lengths to comprehensively and accurately study and master Mao Tsetung Thought, even forgetting about sleep and meals. He did so in order to guide the Red Guards and the vast number of young people to closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and to eliminate the interference and sabotage of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four." He lost weight, looked pallid and became ill while groups of young people, growing up under the nurturing influence of Mao Tsetung Thought, became successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. We will never forget our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, who was responsible for disseminating Mao Tsetung Thought and impressing it on the minds of hundreds of millions of young people.

/Guiding Young People To Firmly Take the Road of Integrating With the Workers and Peasants/

Chairman Mao called on young people to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. Over the past decades Premier Chou ardently and unswervingly implemented Chairman Mao's directives and guided the vast

number of young people to take the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants.

In his report to the Second Plenum of the First CYL Central Committee after the founding of the state, Premier Chou pointed out in explicit terms: Educated youths in the socialist period should persistently link themselves with the practical struggles of the workers and peasants, transform their feelings under the influence of the workers and peasants, and strengthen their fighting spirit. With the deepening of socialist revolution and construction, Chairman Mao issued the great call urging young intellectuals to go to the countryside. Zealously responding to the call, Premier Chou stressed the importance of carrying on the undertaking from generation to generation in the socialist period. He declared that the task of fostering revolutionary successors should be viewed from its far-reaching significance of building a new socialist countryside, gradually narrowing and eventually eliminating the three major differences. He said with feeling: "What a great prospect this is, explaining why we place our hopes in young people."

In the movement to send educated youths to rural and mountainous areas, Premier Chou was responsible for drawing up plans, studying policies, summing up experiences and carefully cultivating typical models--organizational and guidance work that was extensive in scope. On many occasions he presided over meetings to discuss and study problems related to educated youths, attended national work conferences on educated youths and received delegates to these meetings. At a meeting held in February 1965 he listened to reports for 6 hours. Afterward he asked for particulars about the conditions of educated youths in various provinces and gave instructions in each case. In April 1973, when Chairman Mao issued an important directive on resolving the problem of sending educated youths to rural and mountainous areas, Premier Chou called a Politburo meeting in a timely way to discuss its implementation. He said: We must do this work well and not let this bother the chairman.

Premier Chou was very concerned about the maturation of the educated youths resettled in the countryside. He repeatedly urged the leading comrades: The older generation should be concerned about the next generation. They are responding to the party's and state's call to go to rural and mountainous areas. We must think about them, about their future prospects and our concern for them. We must be responsible to them to the very end.

Premier Chou considered every aspect of the problems faced by educated youths resettled in the countryside, such as their political life, spiritual nourishment, lodging, food, clothing, medical care, family maintenance for married young men and sanitary problems of young ladies.

In October 1963 Premier Chou, following the progress of educated youths resettled in the countryside, instructed CHUNG-KUO CHING-NIEN to orient

its editorial policy "toward the countryside with due consideration to the cities." He also provided the journal with specific guidance in regard to its contents, format, editorial staff and circulation. At a meeting in 1973 he again emphasized the need to provide educated youths with books on political science, economics, science and technology, literature and history. He said: "Young people should seek all-round development. If they lack spiritual nourishment, how can they nurture themselves and help the poor and lower-middle peasants?" Our good premier was truly concerned about the hundreds of millions of educated youths.

Premier Chou did not spare his own relatives and always insisted on taking the road of integrating with the workers and peasants. He urged his niece, Chou Ping-chan, to take the lead in going to the countryside since she wore a red scarf. Before going to Inner Mongolia in 1967 to join the herdsmen there, Premier Chou firmly held her hands and said happily: "I support your going to the Inner Mongolia grassland to settle down there, Ping-chan. I ask you to always take the road indicated by Chairman Mao and trod by educated youths of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants."

Ping-chan followed Premier Chou's advice. She persistently made revolution in the grassland and joined the CCP with honor. In April 1975 she wrote to her uncle about her desire to learn the Mongolian language so that she could better serve the poor and lower-middle peasants. He was then resting in a hospital, and his hand shook as he held the telephone. He said after she finished talking: "Always take the road indicated by Chairman Mao; study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought well; perseveringly advance and do not turn back."

Premier Chou fervently encouraged the vast number of educated youths resettled in the broad countryside to display their prowess. When the rustication program was under way in our country in 1962, Premier Chou said happily: These groups of educated youths going to the countryside will contribute to raising the cultural and political levels in rural China. At two meetings of the central authorities in 1973 he again mentioned the need for educated youths to settle in the rural areas. He said that their immense role in building a new socialist countryside and in achieving the mechanization of farming should be brought into full play. In April of the same year Premier Chou was in Tachai, where a Shansi provincial CYL congress was being held. Addressing the educated youths attending the meeting, he urged them to be the backbone of the effort to learn from Tachai in agriculture.

In conversations with Lu Yu-lan, an educated youth resettled in her native Hopei Province, Premier Chou told her about Tachai's advanced deeds. After she was assigned to the Linghsi County party committee, he asked her to study Hsiyang's experience of transforming the county into a Tachai-type county by working hard for 3 years. Late in the evening on

27 November 1972 Premier Chou talked to her for 1 hour and 20 minutes. She was so excited that she stayed up all night. The next day Premier Chou asked his wife, Teng Ying-chao, to continue exploring with her the ways to transform Linghsi into a Tachai-type county in 3 years: At a reception given that night Premier Chou saw Lu Yu-lan. He told her: "Three years, Yu-lan!" She replied with excitement: "Three years!" Clinking glasses with her, Premier Chou was pleased by her ready response.

Identifying with the workers and peasants is the common revolutionary path for young people. Premier Chou tirelessly encouraged young people from literature and art, science and technology, education, medical and sports circles to employ every means to go deep among the workers and peasants and to integrate with them. He received young literary and art fighters from Inner Mongolia's "Light Brigade" 13 times. In order to inspire and educate them to always adhere to the orientation of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, he said: "I'm not treating you to sea slugs and shark's fins. I'm asking you to partake of home-cooked food of our toiling people in the hope that you will always maintain the style of plain living and hard struggle. Having lived in big mansions, you must not forget Mongolian yurts, and having accustomed yourselves to traveling by train, you must not give up riding horses. You must take up riding horses and go among the poor and lower-middle herdsmen." Premier Chou was exhorting educated youths from different trades and professions to always learn from the workers and peasants as if they were primary school students.

/Urging Young People To Be Talented Persons in the Atomic Age and To Contribute Their Strength to the Four Modernizations/

In 1954 Chairman Mao called upon the people throughout the country to work hard, /"getting prepared to build our present economically and culturally backward country, within several five-year plans, into a great industrialized nation with a high standard of modern culture."/ Premier Chou followed Chairman Mao's directive and drew up the grand blueprint of the four modernizations.

Premier Chou particularly placed hopes on the younger generation in achieving the four modernizations. Addressing a youth rally in Peking in 1955 marking the 20th anniversary of the "9 December" Movement, he said: Some 30 or 40 years ago we shouldered the historical mission under Chairman Mao's leadership of opening up a path to the new democratic revolution. This task was accomplished. Our present task is to build socialism and to raise China's industry, agriculture, science and technology to the world's advanced levels. On whose shoulders will this responsibility fall? It will fall on the shoulders of adults and older people, but especially upon the shoulders of young people like you.

Premier Chou had great expectations and cherished deep feelings for young people, and this manifested itself in a mobilization call urging young people to plunge themselves into the battle. It spurred all those attending the meeting. They burst into loud cheers. Premier Chou was very pleased with the response. He concluded his speech with a request that a revolutionary march be sung by everyone so as to raise morale.

During his inspection tours of various localities, Premier Chou always made a practice of encouraging young people not to forget their historical mission. When he was at Tsinghua University in August 1958 watching the graduates of the department of dynamic engineering self-reliantly producing a tool machine, he said: "We rely on you young people in order to catch up." When he was in Shanghai that same year and met Wang Lin-o, a young engineer responsible for the successful construction of a high-pressure electrically controlled bridge, Premier Chou said to him: "Our future depends on those of the younger generation like you!" Standing near a converter at the Shanghai Iron and Steel Works, he turned to the workers and said: "You are all very young. The future of our country's iron and steel undertaking rests with you." Premier Chou wanted our country's young people to have soaring ambitions, go all out, aim high and commit themselves to the historical mission of building a modern and powerful socialist state.

The key to achieving the four modernizations lies in modernizing science and technology. Premier Chou had high hopes that young people would strive to master the most advanced science and technology and be politically Red and professionally competent. At a youth meeting held in Peking in 1955 to mark the "9 December" anniversary, he said with obvious relish: The atomic age of today requires that we raise the levels of science and technology. You are young people of the Mao Tse-tung era and qualified personnel of the atomic age. Over the past 20 years science and technology have developed at a fast pace. Premier Chou's call to young people urging them to master modern science and technology underscored the urgent task placed upon the younger generation.

In 1956 Premier Chou personally initiated the formulation of plans for the development of science and technology in our country and set the policy of "priority development and going ahead at full steam to catch up." He said emphatically: In developing science and technology we must whip up a "mass movement to march on science with a shattering force like that generated by a thousand troops and ten thousand horses." Under Premier Chou's specific direction, this mass movement was set in motion as groups of young scientists and technicians grew up and gained professional competence so as to vigorously spur the development of science and technology in our country.

On the basis of Chairman Mao's consistent teachings and with the interference and sabotage of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in mind, in 1972

Premier Chou took measures to strengthen research on basic theory and to improve the student enrollment work of institutions of higher learning based on the selective admission of senior middle school graduates to universities. Premier Chou attached considerable importance to those young people who had significantly contributed to making inventions and innovations in science and technology and warmly encouraged them.

Hsu Yung-chi, a young technician who had just completed a university course in engineering, was credited with having developed new ways to design thin coverings. He attended a meeting of national models and spoke at the gathering. Premier Chou commended him at the meeting and sent for him during the banquet, encouraging him with a few words to refrain from becoming arrogant and impetuous and to continue to work hard. A butterfly woven with jasmin blossoms placed on the banquet table was given to Hsu as a memento.

Chen Ching-jun, a young mathematician, achieved distinction in his research on mathematical problems. In 1974 Premier Chou and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng nominated Chen to be a delegate to the NPC. Premier Chou's devotion to the advancement of new branches of science and technology and the results achieved therefrom was chiefly responsible for the growth of young scientists and technicians in our country, for the expansion of the scientific and technological contingent, and for the development of science and technology.

Premier Chou urged young workers and peasants to strive to learn culture and science so as to equip themselves with practical experience and a knowledge of science. He said: Knowledge of culture and science is the sum total of the experience gained by our predecessors in the three great revolutionary movements. With this knowledge "we can avoid many tortuous paths in doing our work, more speedily solve various technical difficulties and reduce the hazards of having to grope in the dark. Moreover, there is the additional advantage of sorting out and summarizing our own experience and of offering new ideas and finding new approaches."

Huo Chan-hsiu, a nationally prominent young labor model, once had a very low cultural level. To develop her, the party sent her to the Chinese People's University's affiliated middle school for a short course. Premier Chou was very concerned about her progress in her studies. Whenever he saw her he would encourage her to defy difficulties and to study hard so as to win glory for the working class and to do credit to Chairman Mao. Later she was admitted to the East China Textile Engineering College for further studies and became a leading cadre distinguished for her political Redness and professional expertise. Premier Chou's concern for young workers and peasants demonstrated the expectations he had for them in becoming a new type of working class intellectuals dedicated to playing the role of building China into a modern and powerful socialist country.

Premier Chou also expected young people from various trades and professions to foster the concept of wholeheartedly serving the people and to be versed in their chosen vocations and adaptable to different callings. Chou Han-hua, a young peasant of Hsinhui County in Kwangtung, was 23 years old in 1958. He crossbred rice and kaoliang and developed five improved rice seed strains. In July of that year Premier Chou was in Kwangtung on an inspection trip and went out of his way to call on him so that he could acquaint himself with the new strains. That evening he chatted with Chou Han-hua and his family. Before leaving, Premier Chou gave him a battery-operated lamp and urged him to study well, make bold innovations and contribute to developing farm work and modernizing farming. He made a practice of teaching young people to stick to their calling, cherish them and dig into facts so that they could master them. He said: Studying hard and acquiring the basic skills conform to Mao Tsetung Thought. If artillerymen do not practice, the shells will be duds. That also applies to Lin Piao, who paid attention only to giving prominence to politics and opposed acquiring basic skills. Once Premier Chou was in a Peking hotel. There he saw a young attendant serving food to foreign visitors. Probably due to the language barrier, the attendant gesticulated with his hands. In a humorous but sober tone, Premier Chou commented: "The deaf and mute barrier has been broken yet you still have to act like a mute!" He urged him to study foreign languages well.

Chairman Mao pointed out more than 20 years ago: /"On entering the 21st century, China will have radically changed its features. It will have become a powerful, socialist industrial nation."/ Achieving the four modernizations is Chairman Mao's and Premier Chou's behest. It is a penetrating and great revolution, a glorious mission bestowed by history on our younger generation. Carrying on past traditions and opening a path for the future, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has once again beat the war drums to sound the advance on the four modernizations and to fire hundreds of millions of young people to continue the Long March. Led by wise leader Chairman Hua, let the ambitious and determined youth of China, holding high Chairman Mao's great banner, display their talents to the best of their ability in order to achieve the four modernizations!

GIVE REIN TO THE TREMENDOUS ROLE OF WOMEN IN ACHIEVING THE FOUR
MODERNIZATIONS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 89-91

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] At the first session of the Fifth NPC, our wise leader Chairman Hua issued the great call, "Unite and strive to build a powerful and modern socialist country." This tremendous call has greatly inspired the whole party, army and people of all nationalities throughout the country. Because women account for half of China's population, fully utilizing their socialist enthusiasm is of great significance in fulfilling the general task of our people for the new period of development of the socialist revolution and socialist construction put forward by Chairman Hua. It is also of great significance in carrying through to the end the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and in rapidly developing the national economy and achieving the four modernizations.

Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao consistently attached great importance to the role of women in revolution and construction and believed that women constitute a force which decisively determines the success and failure of a revolution. He pointed out that it is necessary to fully mobilize women to take part in the socialist construction. Speaking figuratively of the role of women, he said: A man has two hands. It won't do if he lacks one. Women are like one of the hands, and it won't do if we lack women as a force. It is necessary to use both hands.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, women have made tremendous contributions to the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the 28 years since the founding of the country. Although women's work has been affected by the interference and sabotage of the counterrevolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and particularly the "gang of four," Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has always been dominant in this area. Women have held up the "other half of the sky." Rural women have long been a main force in

productive labor. Women on the industrial front have created an increasing amount of wealth for the country. Women in areas of culture, education, science and technology have constantly made new achievements. The majority of women who are homemakers in urban areas, except for the old, the weak, the sick and the disabled, have participated in socialist labor. Many women have courageously worked in areas which were once regarded as "forbidden zones" for women. Groups of advanced women workers, heroes and models have emerged on all fronts. An entirely new situation has evolved particularly since the smashing of the spiritual shackles which the "gang of four" imposed on women. A lively situation has emerged in many areas in which both the old and the young have taken to the fields. Husbands challenge wives, older sisters compete with younger sisters and mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law compete in making contributions.

China's women have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism. The main issue at present, and one which brooks no delay, is how to further use their enthusiasm and how to enable them to play a greater role in achieving the four modernizations. In this regard it is most important to mobilize women to plunge into the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," to further distinguish between the correct and the erroneous lines and to do a good job in revolutionizing the thinking of women.

Chairman Hua points out: "The primary task for the people of our country now and for some time to come is still to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' and carry this great struggle through to the end." Women's work has been seriously affected by the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four."

In order to usurp party and state power, on the one hand they hoisted the banner of raising the women's position, blared that "men should yield their administrative posts to women," and brought up some bad "bristly" women to create confusion and cause "earthquakes" everywhere; on the other hand they did their best to discount women's role, clamoring that they had never become interested in women's work and that all they wanted was "that signboard of yours (that of the Women's Federation)." They did their utmost to sabotage the party's leadership over women's work, frustrate the Women's Federation's efforts to carry out the three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young generation according to the five requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause, undermine women's enthusiasm for studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, prevent them from taking part in production, and oppose our endeavors to show concern for women's livelihood and to protect their personal interests, thus seriously harming women's work. Therefore, women must penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary political program, the ultrarightist essence of their counterrevolutionary revisionist line and their crimes in sabotaging women's work so as to thoroughly clarify the confusion they created in various respects, set right those things they turned upside down and eradicate their pernicious

influence and effects. It is necessary to closely link the study of Marxist theory with the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" in order to greatly increase our ideological awareness through this great struggle. At the same time, it is imperative to thoroughly investigate the persons and cases on the women's work front that were involved in the "gang of four's" plot to usurp party and state power. As for those class enemies who tortured women and children, we must resolutely strike at them.

It is the behest of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou that we realize the four modernizations and advance our national economy into the world's front ranks before the end of this century. At present the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua is making important arrangements for a new Long March toward the goal of a modern and powerful socialist country. This reflects a common desire of the people of our country and points out the bright road for women's complete liberation. Chairman Mao pointed out that only when class society no longer exists, backbreaking labor is automated and agricultural production mechanized can we truly realize equality between man and woman. In other words, this means that only when we realize communism can women be truly liberated. With the realization of the four modernizations, our country's material foundation will become stronger, the dictatorship of the proletariat more consolidated, the people's life further improved, the collective welfare more advanced and the intensity of labor greatly reduced. As a result, women will be gradually released from backbreaking manual labor and tedious housework and will be further liberated. However, the four modernizations cannot be achieved by waiting; they must be achieved by doing. Women must not only have a farsighted revolutionary ideal and show perseverance and energy in their work, but also have the ability to perform their duties well. They should learn from the women of Tachai and Taching and work to realize socialism while having the goal of communism in mind. It is imperative to do away with superstition, emancipate our minds, study hard, conscientiously probe into the subjects under study and strive to become both Red and expert so as to meet the new situation and tasks.

In order to fully mobilize the women's enthusiasm and tap their latent potential, it is also necessary to relieve women of their chores. The present situation is such that in addition to the two heavy tasks of revolution and construction, many women still have to shoulder a considerable burden tending to housework and their children. Women workers, women commune members and women scientists and technicians need to work hard and study, but they have to spend a considerable portion of their time tending to housework and their children. This is a sharp contradiction.

So that women can put every effort into building socialism, leading cadres and various departments at all levels should vigorously mobilize all forces in society to set up an extensive system of child care centers,

kindergartens, service centers and other collective welfare services. Fanatically adhering to metaphysics, the "gang of four" set production against livelihood and set revolution against well-being. They slandered efforts to care for the well-being and vital interests of women as a "failure to grasp major issues and fundamentals," "placing the main stress on material benefits" and "feminine trivialities." Their criminal objective in sabotaging the well-being of women and children was to stifle female revolutionary initiative and undermine socialist construction.

Chairman Mao always showed great concern for the well-being of women and children. In his opinion, household work such as cooking, sewing and child care should be considered a public concern so that the female production force can be made available. The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, in grasping the key link and running the country well, is greatly concerned about people's livelihood. Party organizations of many localities and departments are solving problems concerning women. The Kiangsu provincial party committee has included planned parenthood, medical care for women and children, and child care service in "The 10-Year Plan for Building Kiangsu Into an Industrial Province." In addition to this long-range plan, it has also made short-term arrangements. As an example, child care centers in Jutung County serve 54 percent of the infants and 88 percent of the tots in the county. The female work attendance rate exceeds 95 percent since their physical conditions have generally improved. The women in Jutung County have made contributions to building a Tachai-type county. In urban areas, some child care centers provide 24-hour service; some neighborhoods have set up dining halls, thus solving the meal problem for children whose parents are working; some sales personnel voluntarily deliver goods to customers' homes; and service centers have expanded their activities. Such activities save time for the female workers and reduce the male workers' worries about their families. Therefore, efforts to promote the well-being of women and children affect the speed of national economic development and the livelihood and interests of people. They are definitely not "trivialities." All leading cadres at all levels should actively and resolutely solve these urgent problems. They should also create conditions for solving these problems if the conditions don't exist at present.

In order to bring into full play the role of women in achieving the four modernizations, we must further implement the party's policies on protection of women. Our party and government has always attached importance to protecting the interests of women and children and insuring equal rights for men and women.

They have formulated a number of specific policies in this respect. At present we should particularly emphasize implementation of the policy that "men and women should receive equal pay for equal work" and the policy of making proper arrangements for using the female labor force. The policy that "men and women should receive equal pay for equal work"

was repeatedly stressed by Chairman Mao, and it is an important policy of our party. The new constitution adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress contains an article dealing with this policy. Serious implementation of this policy and adherence to the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" will help speed up national economic development. Nevertheless, this problem has not yet been properly solved in some localities, where women receive less pay than men for equal work. We should criticize the fallacies of the "gang of four" who slandered the policy that "men and women should receive equal pay for equal work" as "putting work points in command" and "seeking more work points for women." We should strengthen awareness of our policies, stop slighting the role of women, publicize the significance of the policy that "men and women should receive equal pay for equal work" and seriously and resolutely implement this policy well.

In the current situation in which a new leap forward is taking shape, women on all fronts are enthusiastically plunging into the socialist labor emulation drive. The more vitality they demonstrate in their work, the more attention should be paid to their labor protection. In administering the female labor force, work allocation should be based on their physical strength, taking women's physiological conditions into consideration and insuring women's labor protection during menstruation, pregnancy, birth and infant care periods. A general survey of women's illnesses should be conducted and all women should be provided with medical care services. The leadership concerned should pay attention to the physical and mental health of educated young women settling in the countryside and should see to it that they can increase their role in socialist revolution and construction.

The key to giving full scope to women's role and insuring a good job in women's work is to concretely strengthen party leadership. Chairman Hua has always valued women's role and is always concerned about women's work. In his political report to the 11th party congress, Chairman Hua said: "The party must invigorate its leadership over trade unions, the CYL, Women's Federations and other mass organizations and must effectively overhaul and build them up and give free rein to their due role." He again pointed out in his report on the work of the government to the Fifth NPC: "Under the unified leadership of the party, revolutionary committees at all levels must attach importance to the role played by the trade unions, the poor and lower-middle peasants' associations, the Youth League, Women's Federations and other popular organizations and through them maintain close ties with the masses and do a good job in every field."

Practice has shown that wherever the leadership of the party acknowledges the role of women, their work is invigorated and enthusiasm is mobilized. Most of our leading comrades attach importance to the role of women and their work, but some comrades in leading posts still lack sufficient understanding of the issue and have attached insufficient importance to

women's role and thus are unable to give free rein to the wisdom and talents of women. Party committees at all levels should adhere to Chairman Mao's consistent teachings and Chairman Hua's instructions, pay real attention to women's work, take effective measures to further the immediate interests and well-being of women, step up training of women cadres, and give full play to the role of women's federations.

Under the leadership of the party, women's federations at various levels should firmly keep the party's central tasks in mind, take the initiative in carrying out women's work with high consciousness, and give full play to their role as one of the party's assistants. It is necessary to step up class education and education in the revolutionary tradition among women, especially young women, in order to enable them to carry forward the glorious tradition of hard struggle and resist and oppose corruption by bourgeois ideology. We should carry forward the work style of seeking truth from facts, going deep into reality and forging close ties with the masses. We should be concerned about the well-being of the masses of women and wholeheartedly help them solve their problems. It is necessary to strengthen our investigation and study, use a Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to analyze questions, sum up experiences, and pay attention to discovering and supporting socialist new things.

Women in the hundreds of millions should get mobilized, have lofty ambitions, work really hard, race against time, and enthusiastically plunge into socialist revolution and construction. Women should be no different from men comrades in carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of /"clap the moon in the ninth heaven and seize turtles deep down in the five seas"/ so as to make new contributions to the endeavor to build a modern, powerful socialist country.

CONSCIENTIOUSLY IMPLEMENT THE PARTY'S ECONOMIC POLICY IN THE RURAL AREAS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 92-97

[Article by Wan Li [5502 6849], first secretary of the Anhwei Provincial CCP Committee]

[Text] 1. Anhwei suffered greatly from the serious sabotage of the "gang of four" and their agents. In the rural areas the party's economic policy at the present stage was undermined, and the broad masses' enthusiasm for socialism was dampened. This situation affected agricultural development and the improvement of people's lives. Agriculture accounts for a large portion of Anhwei's national economy, thus occupying a position of extreme importance. We must take agriculture as our foundation; the whole party must be mobilized to develop agriculture in a big way. If agriculture is not pushed forward, our efforts to rapidly develop the national economy, grasp the key link and run Anhwei well will be seriously affected; we will not have a solid foundation for achieving the four modernizations.

What must serve as our basis for rapidly promoting agriculture? We must learn from Tachai, go all out to build farmland capital construction, speed up agricultural mechanization, and carry out farming with a scientific approach. However, the most fundamental requirement is to rely on the people's enthusiasm. People are the decisive factor in developing productive forces. With the enthusiasm of the people we will be able to create any miracle. How do we obtain this enthusiasm? We can arouse people's enthusiasm only by strengthening ideological and political work and by implementing party policies. Therefore, the provincial CCP committee has pledged to concentrate its efforts on vigorously implementing the party's economic policy in the rural areas while carrying out the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," and on working hard to answer the militant call of the party Central Committee, headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, to quicken the pace of agricultural and national economic development.

The "gang of four" and their agents in Anhwei were sham "leftists" but true rightists. They distorted and tampered with the party's basic line

and frenziedly undermined the party's economic policy in the rural areas. They tried by hook or by crook to blur the demarcation line between socialism and capitalism, criticize socialist things as if they were capitalist things, label the socialist principle "to each according to his work" as an old capitalist principle, and smear the legitimate domestic sideline occupations and village trade fairs as vestiges of capitalism. They trampled upon the principle of simultaneously taking into consideration the interests of the state, the collective and the individual and overestimated production norms, property values and procurement targets. Sometimes, using the excuse that they were providing typical "advanced" examples, they vigorously advocated "equalitarianism and indiscriminate requisition," asked people to render gratis assistance and fabricated typical examples. They distorted the principle of taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round agricultural development and onesidedly emphasized grain production while disregarding objective conditions. They even smeared the development of a diversified economy as an effort to "have money command everything." They set politics against economics and separated the former from the latter. They vilified rational rules and regulations and the necessary system of rewards as revisionist systems aimed at "controlling, restricting and suppressing the workers" and at "whipping up material incentives." They practiced coercion and commandism, issued arbitrary orders, and prevented production teams from standing on their own feet. They disrupted the business management of people's communes. They placed the label of "returning to the past" or "whipping up the backlash" on anyone who insisted on following party policies, adjusting the communes and brigades and strengthening business management.

Under the influence of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line, agricultural production in certain areas was seriously damaged. Class enemies took the opportunity to make trouble, the four olds--old customs, habits, traditions and culture--were revived, and evil bourgeois practices such as embezzlement, theft, speculation, extravagance, feasting, gift-giving and doing things through the back door prevailed for a time. These enemies seriously and adversely affected the collective economy of the people's communes and the livelihood of all the commune members.

The serious situations in Hsiao and Lihsin counties, which were under the direct control of the gang's agents and sinister cohorts in Anhwei, was even more shocking. The formerly fine situation in Hsiao County was crippled beyond recognition by the gang's agents and cohorts in Anhwei. Using the excuse of eliminating the vestiges of capitalism, they wantonly dampened the enthusiasm of the masses of commune members. Their policy of forcing people to grow paddy rice in areas without water supplies seriously damaged production. The commune members' cash income in 1976 dropped 20 percent as compared with that of 1973, and their grain consumption also showed a 15.4 percent decline.

The principal leader of the former Lihsin County CCP Committee dealt ruthless blows to the cadres and masses, lied about production achievements, and procured excessive amounts of grain for the state. Many commune members were forced to leave due to an insufficient amount of grain. Some communes and production brigades had no cash income and thus gave very low compensation for a day's work. Particularly in the mountainous regions of a number of old revolutionary base areas, some poor and lower-middle peasants earned so little that they were unable to feed or clothe themselves. The broad masses became furious. Some said: "We have worked hard for a whole year but have been given so little at the yearend distribution. How can we concentrate our efforts on farming?"

The situation is very clear. The "gang of four" and their agents in Anhwei tried by hook or by crook to disrupt the party's various economic policies in the countryside, undermine socialist revolution and construction, and foment discord between our party and the peasants. They aimed to realize their criminal plots of usurping party and state leadership and restoring capitalism.

To set to rights those things they turned upside down in the countryside and go all out to rapidly bring about great order, we must vigorously grasp exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the key link, deepen the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, and conscientiously implement the party's economic policy in the rural areas. Otherwise we will be unable to firmly grasp exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," fully arouse the enthusiasm of the cadres and masses for socialism, and quicken the pace of learning from Tachai in agriculture and developing agricultural production. Whether or not one conscientiously implements the party's economic policy in the rural areas concerns the major issues of whether or not one seriously learns from Tachai, whether or not socialist agriculture can be pushed forward as soon as possible, whether or not the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat can be consolidated, and whether or not the task put forward by Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee--to achieve great success within 3 years in grasping the key link and running the country well--can be realized. Because we now understand the significance and urgency of implementing the party's economic policy in the rural areas, we are even more determined to carry out this work well and demand that party committees at all levels list it as an important item on their agendas, regard it as a difficult battle, and fight it well and to the end.

Chairman Mao taught us: /"The basic tasks of a Communist Party leading organ are to understand the situation and to adhere to policy."/ In order to rectify the rural economic policy sabotaged by the "gang of four" and their agents in Anhwei and fully arouse the masses' dampened enthusiasm for socialism, the major responsible comrades of the provincial, prefectural and county party committees went to the grassroots units to conduct investigation and study. The standing committee of the

provincial CCP committee held serious discussions on the large amount of collected information; in light of the spirit embodied in the instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee and Anhwei's actual conditions, they drew up "Regulations Concerning the Current Economic Policy in the Rural Areas (Tentative Draft)" (that is, "the six-point regulation"), which were revised a dozen times while their practicability was repeatedly being studied by higher and lower departments. The tentative draft of these regulations is now being enforced. The document clearly stipulates: It is necessary to revive and formulate rules and regulations, respect production teams' independence and strengthen the management of people's communes; positively develop our great socialist agriculture in a planned way when necessary and possible; strictly control the flow of manpower, funds and materials from production teams and strive to lighten the burdens of production teams and their members; adhere to the principle of "to each according to his work," make diversified economy a success and insure that deficit households repay the money they owe and that distributions are made in cash; grain must be distributed with the interests of the state, collective and individual in mind; and effective measures must be taken to encourage commune members to engage in those sideline productions permitted by policy. In general, the three-level system of ownership, with the production team as the basic accounting unit, is still suited to present conditions in Anhwei. If such action is endorsed by the masses through discussions and approved by the leadership, production brigades which are ready for the transition to a system in which the production brigade is the basic accounting unit may be converted to this system one by one or in groups. Both rashness and passivity should be avoided in this work; assertiveness, prudence and the attitude of seeking truth from facts are necessary. In view of the sabotage by the "gang of four" and their agents in Anhwei, the resolutions aim to /"solve problems in the work and lives of the masses."/ They have been warmly supported by the masses, who have jubilantly declared: "Chairman Mao's policy has returned!"

2. In order to earnestly implement the party's economic policy in the rural areas at present, we must completely and accurately understand and implement Chairman Mao's line, principles and policy for the development of socialist agriculture; eliminate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" and their agents in Anhwei; truly put the party's policy into practice; fully arouse the enthusiasm of the commune members; and vigorously push forward the movement to learn from Tachai and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country.

Chairman Mao creatively used basic Marxist-Leninist theory to analyze the similarities as well as the contradictions between production relations and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in the socialist period; explained the laws on the development of the socialist rural economy; mapped out a Marxist-Leninist line on consolidating the socialist position in the countryside and rapidly developing agricultural production; and formulated a number of rural

economic policies for implementing this line. Our party's policies, which oppose "equalitarianism and indiscriminate requisition" and uphold exchange at equal value, which advocate a diversified economy and the development of collective side occupations, which advocate the principles "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" and "more pay for more work and less pay for less work," and which permit commune members to retain small private plots and carry out sideline production and village trade fairs while insuring the predominant role of the collective economy, are basically suited to China's level of agricultural development and the level of the peasants' awareness at present. They are correct policies reflecting the objective law governing agricultural production and representing the aspirations and interests of the broad masses. They are conducive to the development of agricultural production, the improvement of the peasants' lives and the consolidation of the collective economy of people's communes. We must always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching, /"Policy and tactics are the life of the party,"/ arouse the enthusiasm of the peasants by implementing party policy, and inject this enthusiasm into all our work so as to consolidate the socialist position in the countryside and accelerate the development of socialist agriculture.

Doing a good job in yearend distribution and implementing the principle of "to each according to his work" in this work is our point of departure in carrying out the "six-point regulation." This situation exists not because our initial efforts were made during the time of annual distribution in the rural areas but because distribution involves the interests of all commune members.

In recent years, due to the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four" and their agents in Anhwei, many communes and production brigades increased production without increasing incomes; many commune members worked harder without getting additional rewards. Their burdens were excessive, but distributions weren't realized as promised. As a result, the masses demanded that these problems be solved.

As a result, the cadres and masses in various localities penetratingly criticized the fallacies peddled by the "gang of four" with regard to yearend distribution. We effectively strengthened ideological and political work and confidently implemented the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." We persisted in properly recording the amounts and quality of work performed and in conducting distributions according to the records. While paying attention to the elimination of equalitarianism, we nevertheless gave consideration to families with an insufficient labor force and gave them necessary care.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, /"It is necessary to enable peasants to increase their personal income every year through their increases in production in a normal situation,"/ we have paid

attention to grasping two important problems. One is that some commune members borrowed excessively and seriously affected distribution work; the other is that the burdens of some production teams and commune members were very heavy, yet they didn't receive more for their heavier tasks.

In certain localities the fruits of the masses were sometimes picked by families which took more than their share. Some of those families actually did have difficulties, but some simply exerted their power and encroached on other people's rights. Finding a solution to this problem will be a major step in doing distribution work well. In reviewing past experiences, we noted that various localities had grasped this work during the "four cleanups" campaign and during the movement to implement the guidelines of the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture. The cadres and masses were quite satisfied with the results. Therefore, we decided to firmly ask those families which had taken more than their share to return the borrowed amounts to the collective; the results were quite satisfactory.

Regarding the issue of reducing the burdens of some production teams and commune members, we adopted a number of measures. When leading cadres visit lower-level units on work inspections, these units are not permitted to greet, fete and give gifts to the leading cadres. Cadres of communes and production brigades are not allowed to use public funds for their own food and drink. They should guard against waste and extravagance and shouldn't use the labor forces, funds or property of production teams. The number of people who receive set allowances must be very limited. Nonproduction personnel, nonproduction work and nonproduction expenditures must be reduced as much as possible. All unreasonable expenditures which may affect annual distribution should be recollected and reduced as much as possible. We also explained the harmfulness of these evil practices to the cadres and masses and criticized and educated persons involved so that their lessons can serve as warnings to us.

Because the distribution policy was implemented relatively well last year, the incomes of commune members in some localities increased; however, these places were hit by natural disasters, and production outputs were slightly reduced. In the past, commune members in many places received only a blank sheet of paper as their claim to a share in the distribution, because failures had occurred in distribution work. But this past year we held a distribution meeting at which commune members received red envelopes containing an amount of cash appropriate to the share allotted each member's family.

The masses said happily: "Chairman Hua's leadership is indeed good. Blank pieces of paper have become red envelopes."

While grasping distribution work we have also strengthened and improved management in conjunction with winter and spring production. The many

problems discovered in distribution work indicate that the strengthening of management is a very urgent matter.

As early as the time of agricultural cooperation, Chairman Mao pointed out: /"In all socialist economic enterprises it is necessary to make maximum use of manpower and facilities, necessary labor organization and management, raise labor productivity, practice strict economy, carry out work emulation drives and institute economic accounting so that we may reduce costs of production every year and increase personal income and collective accumulation. Agricultural cooperatives must follow the same course. In this respect, much work should be done."/ (Note to "The Experience of Saving Production Costs by the Litzuyuan Agricultural Cooperative in Chenju District," p 768, Vol 88 of "Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside")

To fully display the superiority of the people's communes, it is necessary to strengthen their management and establish a strict system of personal responsibility so as to fully utilize their manpower, material and land. The "gang of four" and their agents in Anhwei opposed the effective, long-standing management system contained in "The Draft Revisions of the Regulations Governing the Work of Rural People's Communes" and slandered it as "revisionism." They made all-out efforts to fan anarchism and create serious confusion within management. In the course of implementing "the six-point regulation" for dealing with existing problems, we have consolidated and improved labor management in particular. Those who have left production teams without authorization are asked to return within a prescribed time to insure a sufficient labor force at the forefront of agricultural production. The production team democratically decides on a yearly quota of working days for all who are able to work. The production team may organize temporary or permanent work teams for various types of farmwork and set tasks, work requirements, timetables and the number of workpoints. All communes, production brigades and production teams are required to seriously fulfill the fixed production quota, do a good job in evaluating individual labor, record an individual's workpoints and give men and women equal pay for equal work; but they are prohibited from practicing dogmatism or fixing output quotas based on the household. They should establish strict procedures for examining work before approving it, commend those who are good in their work and criticize and educate those who are rated unsatisfactory. At the same time we have emphasized the need to strengthen production management and financial management, run communes by means of democratic procedures and with diligence and thrift, and strive to increase production and lower costs. As the masses have been mobilized as a result of the correct policies, the upsurge in winter production is increasing vigorously. In December 1977, Suhsien Prefecture accumulated 60 percent more manure, plowed and leveled 50 percent more land and doubled the working efficiency on many farmland capital construction sites compared with December 1976.

To make production and distribution successful it is necessary to respect the production team's right to make its own decisions. Under the guidance of the state plan and the party's policies, we have let the production team handle and decide its own management of production and its distribution of proceeds. We have thereby further aroused the enthusiasm and initiative of the broad masses of cadres and commune members. The "gang of four" and their agents in Anhwei fanatically practiced metaphysics and idealism and exercised a system of blind command. They created "equalitarianism and indiscriminate requisition," wantonly increased the production teams' burdens, deprived them of their right to make their own decisions, and were responsible for serious and dangerous consequences. Under the blind command of the Anhwei agents of the "gang of four," Tingyuan County ran counter to the principle of adapting production to local conditions and proposed the "expansion of its rice area to increase total yield." As a result, its production decreased due to poor harvests of crops on large areas. The county's mistakes resulted in wasted effort and financial loss, with resultant discontent among the people. In the course of the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," the county has made efforts to eradicate the bad workstyle practiced by the "gang of four" and their Anhwei agents and to firmly respect the production teams' right to make their own decisions; it has also planted farm crops according to local and seasonal conditions. In the face of a serious drought, the county pooled the people's efforts and finally overcame the disasters caused by nature and the gang and reaped an all-round bumper harvest. Facts show that only by respecting the production team's right to make its own decisions can we enhance the awareness of the commune members and the production team cadres of being their own masters, so that everyone will be concerned with his collective and will want to manage the collective economy well.

Respecting the production team's right to make its own decisions with regard to production and distribution is related to upholding the three-level system of ownership of the means of production in the people's commune, with ownership by the production team as the basic form. We should not wantonly replace a production team in the ownership of land, the labor force, animals and farm implements, nor should we infringe on its right to use and manage them, since the production team maintains an independent accounting system. To infringe on the production team's right to make its own decisions results in confusion as regards the system of ownership and inevitably frustrates the enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres and commune members. Respect for this right is an important guarantee of our faith in and reliance on the masses for planning and directing production according to the actual situation.

The production team is a production unit fighting independently at the agricultural forefront. The cadres and commune members of the production team not only have rich experience in production but also are the most familiar with the natural conditions and special features of production in their locality. If we let production teams take measures

appropriate to the time and particular local conditions to arrange crop rotation and increase production in accordance with the state plan's requirements, it will be helpful in achieving good and averting bad results, tapping latent potentials, utilizing our manpower, materials and natural resources effectively and developing agricultural production in an all-round way. To give full play to the production teams' initiative, we have disseminated the main targets in the 1978 provincial agricultural production plan to various rural communes and production brigades, mobilized the masses to conscientiously discuss them, and repeatedly stressed that all production team plans and measures should be mapped out by the masses themselves, so that the development of production and the running of production teams will be the conscious action of every commune member and all comrades will "know earlier in the year." In this way we will be certain of success in fulfilling the production plan. When the "six-point regulation" of the provincial party committee was passed down for implementation, some comrades were afraid that emphasis on the production teams' right to make their own decisions would cause the leading organs to lose the right to command the production teams and thus there would be no guarantee that the state plan would be implemented. However, the facts reveal the contrary. As long as the strengthening of the party leadership and the respecting of the production teams' right to make their own decisions are dialectically unified, the plan laid down as a result of the masses' conscientious discussion is always more carefully considered and more reliable than the plan passed down from the higher level, be it for arranging crop rotation or for increasing production. The broad masses of commune members energetically support the production teams' right to make their own decisions. Full of confidence, they have said: With our decisions made by ourselves, agricultural production is bound to rise.

3. The implementation of the party's rural economic policy is a tough battle to halt the chaos and restore order and is a sharp, complicated struggle. Only by making a firm resolution, being good at destroying the wrong things and fostering the right ones, and grasping the work to the finish can we lead the broad masses to win this battle.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. To halt the chaos and restore order with regard to policy, it is first necessary to do so with regard to ideology. In recent years serious problems have arisen in some places; that is, production fails to rise, the harvest fails to increase despite efforts to boost production, people work more but do not gain more in return, and distribution is not carried out as it should be. All of this has resulted from the disruption of the rural economic policy by the "gang of four" and their agents in Anhwei, who pushed an ultrarightist revisionist line in the guise of "revolution." The "six-point regulation" of the provincial party committee reaffirms Chairman Mao's rural economic policy and simultaneously sets forth some specific requirements in accordance with Chairman Mao's consistent thinking and the instructions of the party

Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and based on the sabotage carried out by the "gang of four" and the actual situation in Anhwei. This meets the requirement of halting the chaos and restoring order. In discussing and implementing the "six-point regulation," however, some comrades are worried and thus adopt a hesitant attitude. Some even have the idea that the "six-point regulation" is a rightist product, a retrogressive thing and a yielding to capitalism. This idea was once reflected in the fact that when the "six-point regulation" was first passed down for implementation, the two ends (the provincial party committee and production teams and commune members) were enthusiastic, but the intermediate links (counties, districts, communes and production brigades) were indifferent. This was not accidental. In the history of Anhwei there were mistakes with regard to rural economic policy, including the "leftist" mistake of "effecting the transition to communism prematurely" and the rightist mistake of "fixing output quotas on the basis of individual households." Some cadres are deeply concerned about carrying out the policy for fear of making mistakes. Particularly because the "gang of four" and their agents in Anhwei rabidly pushed a counterrevolutionary political program and often peddled their sinister ultrarightist trash in ultra-"leftist" form to disrupt people's minds and confuse right and wrong with regard to policy, most people believe that "left" is better than right and would prefer being "left" to right in doing their work. The harmful effects of this "internal injury" in ideology are no less serious than the visible material losses. However, because it is something intangible it is more often than not ignored.

In view of this, in the course of implementing the rural economic policy, on the one hand we must firmly grasp exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the key link and boldly mobilize the masses to one by one expose and thoroughly criticize the crimes and fallacies of the "gang of four" and their agents in Anhwei in undermining the rural economic policy, strip off their "leftist" camouflage, uncover their ultrarightist essence and their undesirable qualities, and wipe out their pernicious influence in light of the actual situation in various localities and units and on the basis of Chairman Mao's basic ideology, line, principle and policy on rural economy. We must encourage the comrades to distinguish between right and wrong concerning the line in the course of struggle, heighten their awareness of the policy and emancipate them from the mental shackles of the "gang of four" and the latter's agents in Anhwei. On the other hand we must patiently lead the vast number of cadres to sum up their experience from Anhwei's history and draw lessons from it in an all-round way, learn to make specific analyses of concrete matters, heighten their consciousness, overcome blindness, guard against being "left" as well as being right, and correctly carry out the party policy.

Party policies are implemented through cadres at all levels. Improvement of the workstyles of the cadres, especially the leading cadres, greatly affects the implementation of party policies. If we fail to revive and carry forward the party's fine traditions and workstyle, particularly its

fine tradition and workstyle of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line, we can hardly implement party policies; even if we could implement them for a certain period of time, it would be difficult to consolidate this implementation.

Therefore, in implementing the party's economic policies we have vigorously tried to improve our workstyle and stop all evil practices. We have also reorganized the leading bodies and have implemented the party's policy on cadres during our struggle. The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao repeatedly taught us: /"By taking part in collective productive labor, the cadres maintain extensive, constant and close ties with the working people. This is a major measure of fundamental importance for a socialist system; it helps to overcome bureaucracy and to prevent revisionism and dogmatism."/ Proceeding from Anhwei's actual conditions and rectifying our workstyle, we have paid special attention to the cadres' participation in collective productive labor, particularly to participation by leading cadres of county party committees. Cadres at the county, commune and brigade levels are required to do 100, 200 and 300 workdays of productive labor, respectively, each year. The key to fulfilling this requirement lies in the participation of county-level cadres in productive labor. Once they get involved, cadres at the commune and brigade levels will follow suit. Some brigade cadres say: "As long as those at higher levels work in the fields, we will do likewise." Thus, the provincial party committee has seriously pointed out to leading cadres of county party committees: Comrade Li So-shou, secretary of the Pingting County party committee, Shansi Province, has participated in labor. Why can't we do likewise? We have also publicly commended Comrade Fu Chang-tang, secretary of the Liangting Brigade party branch in Wuwei County for his continued participation in collective productive labor. Comrade Fu Chang-tang, a disabled soldier with only one arm, has persistently taken part in collective productive labor along with the commune members over the past 20 years. His action has caused a large number of cadres in the countryside to think: If Comrade Fu Chang-tang has been able to do 300 days of productive labor each year with only one arm, why can't we, with our two arms, do the same?

Leading members at various levels are now paying attention to cadres' participation in collective productive labor and regard this as a major issue. They include the cadres' participation in labor in their work plans and, when they inspect the completed work, they also check the results of the cadres' labor. When they sum up the finished work they also sum up the cadres' experiences in taking part in the labor.

With the inspiration of the exemplary deeds of Comrades Li So-shou and Fu Chang-tang and with the leading members paying attention to this matter and taking the lead in this regard, more and more cadres have consciously taken part in collective productive labor. Many district and commune party committees have moved their offices to the worksites, and cadres are no longer seen in the brigade offices. They now say:

In grasping production we used to talk a lot but took little action. From now on we must act according to the requirements set forth by Chairman Hua and persistently follow the system in which cadres participate in collective productive labor.

By taking the lead in performing manual labor, cadres have been able to strengthen their ties with the masses, listen to the masses' opinions on a timely basis and promptly solve problems with regard to policy implementation. This has greatly aroused the enthusiasm of the masses for going all out to build socialism. Many cadres have begun to revive the fine tradition of "always taking part in labor and keeping the masses in mind." Commune members have said: "In the past we worked hard while cadres carped and quibbled. Consequently, we relaxed our efforts. But now we and the cadres work with one heart and one mind. Thus, the more we work, the more enthusiastic we become."

The "gang of four" and their agents in Anhwei had a widespread, deep-rooted pernicious influence on economic policies in the rural areas. The problems we encounter in implementing rural economic policies are not only closely related to the struggle between the two classes and two roads in society, but also connected with the ideological line and the workstyle practiced by various trades and professions. It is therefore essential to combine our efforts to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and deal blows at class enemies who engage in sabotage and at capitalist forces who launch frenzied attacks with our efforts to deepen the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and implement economic policies in the rural areas. It is necessary to mobilize people of all trades and professions in both city and county, at both higher and lower levels and in all other areas, so that concerted efforts are made in carrying out all of these tasks as a unified movement under the leadership of the party committees.

In accordance with the arrangements made by the provincial party committee, more than 20,000 cadres in various parts of the province have selected to make up efficient work teams. These teams have been sent to communes and brigades to mobilize the masses there to implement policies and to guide the people of various trades and professions in focusing their thinking and work on agriculture.

To solve the problem of returning personnel to their original units, the Liuan County party committee has mobilized government offices, factories and mines to check their organization charts and send personnel who are not on the charts back to their original units; has mobilized enterprises run by communes and brigades to strengthen their personnel management and reduce personnel; and has mobilized production teams to check where their members are and to get back those working elsewhere. In less than a month more than 6,400 persons have returned to their production teams to take part in collective productive labor.

Some dependents of state workers and staff members who live in rural villages in Chihchou Prefecture have overdrawn on their sponsors' pay and owe money to local production teams. To solve this problem, the production teams concerned have made lists of those owing money and the amounts due and have sent the lists to higher levels through channels. At the same time the units to which the workers and staff members belong have recorded the names and amounts of money due as reported, have helped the debtors to make plans for paying back the money and have educated and supervised them in repaying it on schedule. This method has yielded good results and has had widespread influence.

The struggle during this period shows that so long as we have a firm stand as regards the masses, production and policy, trust and rely on the overwhelming majority of the masses and cadres and work painstakingly, we can certainly set to rights the rural economic policies confused by the "gang of four" and make up the losses suffered due to their interference and sabotage. However, we should also note that we must implement the party's rural economic policy as a long-term task, that we shall meet with obstacles in carrying it out and that we cannot solve all problems by concentrating our efforts on only grasping this task once or twice. We are determined to make continuous efforts to eliminate the "gang of four's" pernicious influence and to carry out this task persistently and unswervingly.

At present the large numbers of cadres and commune members throughout the province's countryside are grasping the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the key link, taking the development of agricultural production as the central task, whipping up a new upsurge in learning from Tachai in agriculture, working hard to push our province's agriculture forward as fast as possible and striving to accelerate the realization of the grand goal of the four modernizations.

USE THE LAW OF VALUE TO SERVE SOCIALISM

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[Article by Hsu Ti-hsin [6079 3321 2450]]

[Text] Using the law of value to serve socialism is an important question.

Great leader and teacher Chairman Mao once told us that the law of value was a great school and that only by utilizing it could we properly teach our cadres and hundreds of millions of people to build our socialism and communism. Failing to do this, he said, would land us nowhere. The significance of this instruction from Chairman Mao is extremely far-reaching in that it requires us to look at the law of value from the viewpoint of building socialism and communism.

As everyone knows, the economic law that is in the dominant position under the socialist system is the basic economic law of socialism and the law of planned and proportionate development of the national economy; it is not the law of value. However, because commodity production and exchange through money are retained in socialist society, the law of value still has a vital role to play in production and circulation. To deny the existence of the law of value and fail to take account of the role of this law in our work would give rise to such blindness on our part as to make it impossible to properly lead and organize the national economy.

The "gang of four" and their henchmen, who caused such serious harm to the country and the people, dealt with the law of value from the viewpoint of subjective idealism and opposed using it to serve socialism, with resulting grave consequences for the national economy. We must thoroughly settle accounts with the fallacies spread by the gang on the question of the law of value and rectify our understanding of this law so as to speed up the building of socialism.

I

The law of value is a law inherent in the commodity economy. In the economy of private ownership the law of value plays the role of regulating commodity production and circulation.

Everyone is aware that a commodity has use value and value, and that the substance of value is man's abstract labor, namely, the time spent in producing a certain use value. This time is not the time of individual labor by a certain producer, but the time of socially necessary labor, that is, of labor needed in producing a certain use value under the existing normal production conditions and with the average extent of labor skills and intensity in society. The effect of the law of value is to meet the demand that the socially necessary time of labor determines the value of a commodity.

So far as a commodity is concerned, if the time spent in producing it exceeded the socially necessary time of labor, then according to the requirements of the law of value the excessive part of the time of labor would not be recognized by society and hence would not form a value. On the other hand, if the time of labor spent on producing it was less than the socially necessary time of labor, then according to the requirements of the same law its value would also have to be calculated on the basis of the socially necessary time of labor.

So far as a production department is concerned, the law of value requires that the amount of labor spent on the production of a certain category of commodities correspond with the amount of labor allocated from the total amount of labor in society for the production of this category of commodities. This is because between the various production departments there exists a definite proportionate relationship with regard to the distribution of the total amount of labor in society. Marx said: /"Not only is no more than the necessary labor time used for each specific commodity, but only the necessary proportional quantity of the total social labor time is used in the various groups."/ ("Das Kapital," Vol III, "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol XXV, p 716) If the amount of labor used for the production of a certain type of commodity exceeded the portion that should be allocated to it out of the quantity of total social labor, that is to say, the output of this commodity exceeded the quantity needed by society, then the excessive part of the quantity of labor for the commodity would not be recognized by society. Under these circumstances, /"the mass of the commodity comes to represent a much smaller quantity of social labor in the market than is actually incorporated in it."/ (Ibid., p 209) On the other hand, if the amount of labor used for the production of a certain type of commodity is smaller than the portion that should be allocated to it out of the total amount of social labor, then the amount of social labor represented by this type of commodity in the market is greater than the amount of labor actually incorporated in it.

In capitalist society the role of the law of value in regulating the blindness of commodity producers is realized through the movement of the market price of the commodity contrary to its value (price based on production cost). If producers of a certain production department who produce more commodities than are needed by society have to sell them below their value (price based on production cost), they will not acquire the average profit or may even incur losses. The alternative for them is to decrease output. Conversely, if a production department produces fewer goods than are needed by society, it will be able to sell its goods above its value (price based on production cost), and then it will not only be able to acquire average profits but even to make superprofits. This will make it increase production. Such a regulating function of the law of value drives the capital of capitalists to continuously flow in and out blindly between various production sectors. Due to the presence of the contradiction between the social character of production and private capitalist ownership, such competition and anarchy in production cause the proportionate relationship between various production sectors to be constantly disrupted, and a temporary balance can be achieved only by means of periodic economic crises. This is an incurable disease of capitalism.

II

In the socialist system the blindly regulating function of the law of value is replaced by the law of planned and proportionate development of the national economy. However, it still exerts a certain influence on production.

The aim of socialist production based on the public ownership of the means of production is to satisfy the needs of the laboring people. It establishes a direct link between the share of the total quantity of social labor for the production of a certain product and the satisfaction of the needs of society for such a product. Thanks to this direct link, the proletarian state is able to map out a plan to distribute according to set proportions the total labor time of society among different production sectors. This means that only under socialist conditions can the necessity of the proportionate relationship which objectively exists between various production departments be manifested as planned and proportionate development of the national economy. In China these conditions have been realized, so the blindly regulating role of the law of value has been replaced by the law of planned and proportionate development of the national economy.

Now it is necessary to further study what kind of role can still be played by value and the law of value in the course of socialist production.

First, the law of value is a tool of planning. Marx said in "Das Kapital": /"After the abolition of the capitalist mode of production,

but still retaining social production, the determination of value continues to prevail in the sense that the regulation of labor time and the distribution of social labor among the various production groups, and ultimately the bookkeeping encompassing all this, become more essential than ever."/ ("Das Kapital," Vol III, "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol XXV, p 963) In socialist society, as the commodity system is still practiced, the regulation of labor time and the distribution of social labor among the various production groups to which Marx referred will still have to be carried out in the form of value. The balancing of the national economy must be balancing not only in kind but also in value. Besides, it is necessary to use the category of value to carry out calculations and comparisons of the labor cost and its effective results, and so on and so forth.

Second, the law of value is an adjunct to the realization of the national economic plans. In socialist society, which adopts use value in the state of commodity, prices are not blindly determined by the supply and demand relationship in the marketplace but are formulated by the state consciously and in a planned manner. The planned prices of the proletarian state are the concrete forms of the value of commodities consciously reflected by people. Our state has always pursued the policy of giving first place to planning and second place to prices. In order to develop the production of various kinds of products according to plan and in a proportionate manner, apart from relying principally on planned regulation, the proletarian state must also find it necessary to set the prices of certain commodities above or below their value in order to appropriately influence the production of the production units. For instance, to develop the production of a certain product more rapidly, apart from relying mainly on planned arrangements, it is necessary sometimes to use the method of appropriately raising the price of that product to encourage the production unit to produce more of such a product. In this way the planned prices of certain commodities or even a portion of the commodities will diverge from their value. However, such divergence does not disclaim that during a certain period in society the sum total of prices of commodities is consistent with the sum total of their value.

Third, the law of value should be used to make a success of the economic accounting of an enterprise and to improve the results of its economic activity. With a view to encouraging socialist industrial and mining enterprises to make careful calculations, practice rigid economy and raise labor productivity, the proletarian state uses the form of money to calculate and compare the economic accounting systems practiced by socialist enterprises through various economic targets, including targets in the form of value such as cost and profit, and to supervise the production operations of the various enterprises. Economic accounting requires that our socialist enterprises in the course of producing a certain quantity of products (use value) should not exceed, or should as far as possible go below, the targets laid down by the state in terms of

labor and material consumed. In this way it will be possible to enable the enterprises to produce, in the same period of labor time, more products with the same quantity of material and labor. After they sell these products they will be able to provide the state with more tax income and profits in the form of money. Here it is apparent that in our socialist enterprises it is precisely by utilizing the role of the law of value and by carrying out economic accounting that we compare the advanced and the backward and push the backward to catch up with the advanced and the advanced to become more so.

Bent on undermining our socialist cause, the "gang of four" did their utmost to oppose our properly utilizing the law of value. The political careerist Ma Tien-shui said: "Why do we keep talking about the law of value?" He also said: "The law of value should be utilized only where it suits our objective." The mass media under the "gang of four" alleged that the law of value "means doing things on a large scale if big profits can be gained, doing things on a small scale if profits are small, and doing nothing where profits are not forthcoming," "to grasp economic accounting is to put profit in command," and due to the role of the law of value, "a 'wild chase after value' would appear." In consequence, "money would once again be converted into capital," and so on. By spreading these fallacies, the "gang of four" wanted to make us violate the objective economic laws and do our economic work blindly. They wanted to oppose our using less labor to produce more social wealth so as to uproot the material foundation of socialism. Influenced by the "gang of four," some of our comrades dared not talk about utilizing the law of value and dared not grasp economic accounting. Now is the time for us to break this spiritual shackle. We must criticize the gang's reactionary fallacies theoretically and, in our practical work, more properly utilize the law of value to raise our level of economic management and strengthen the economic accounting system of enterprises so that our economic work will be further improved in conformity with the requirements of the objective economic laws.

III

The law of value also has an important role to play in the circulation process in socialist society.

What the law of value demands in the circulation process is the exchange of equal values, namely, exchange between things of equivalent value. The exchange of equal values is an extension to the sphere of circulation of the law of value as a determinant of the value of commodities in the course of production.

In socialist society, since industry and agriculture are basically built on two different kinds of socialist public ownership, the economic links between state-owned industry and collective agriculture can only take the form of exchange of commodities (here money as the medium is

temporarily set aside). This being the case, the law of value necessarily calls for exchange of equal values. In our purchasing and marketing work we must observe the above-mentioned requirements of the law of value.

Chairman Mao said in "On the Ten Major Relationships": /"Our policies toward the peasants differ from those of the Soviet Union and take into account the interests of both the state and the peasants.... In the exchange of industrial and agricultural products we follow a policy of narrowing the price scissors, a policy of exchanging equal or roughly equal values."/ Practice proves that if the purchasing prices for agricultural and subsidiary products are fixed too low, if high prices are not paid for high quality, and if the principle of exchange of equal values is not generally implemented, then the state-owned commercial departments will run into difficulties in their purchasing work, and some materials that must be purchased may be taken to trade fairs to be sold at higher prices.

The exchange of equal values is also an indispensable condition for socialist reproduction and socialist accumulation. If the state in its economic dealing with the collective obtains from it agricultural products which in terms of value greatly exceed the industrial products that should be given to the collective, then the value of a substantial portion of the agricultural products of the collective economy will be converted into "superprofits" of the state-owned economy and delivered to the state as such. This will adversely affect the accumulation of the collective economy and may even affect the reproduction of the collective economy and the livelihood of the commune members. On the other hand, if the state takes from the collective agricultural products which in terms of value are less than the industrial products the state gives to the collective economy, then the value of a portion of the state's industrial products will be converted into the income of the collective and hence will tend to reduce the socialist accumulation of the state and retard the high-speed development of the state's socialist construction. Practice proves that in the matter of commodity relationship between the state-owned economy and the collective economy the party's policy of exchanging equal values correctly reflects the objective requirements of the law of value in the course of socialist circulation and constitutes a necessary condition for the high-speed development of socialist industrial and agricultural production.

Within the framework of the socialist ownership by the whole people, the state has to calculate the cost when it directly allocates the means of production between various production departments or enterprises according to plan. The value as expressed by the quantity of money is in quantity terms generally consistent with the quantity of socially necessary labor embodied in a fixed quantity of the means of production itself. This in essence is also exchange of equal values. Provided there is no change in the value of commodities, if the allocated prices cannot express the

value embodied in this fixed quantity of the means of production and are lower than the latter, then the department or enterprise which produces and sends out this means of production will not be able to entirely recover the cost of all the material and labor consumed in the course of production. This will affect its ability to obtain, in the form of money, the surplus labor that its working masses provide the state and society. This may in turn affect the normal production operations of this department or enterprise and even eventually affect the expansion of reproduction. On the other hand, if the department and its enterprise which receive and use this means of production pay a price higher than the value, that would cause them to reduce their earnings. This will affect their ability to pay to the state their taxes and profits and may eventually affect the expansion of their production scales. Thus, it can be seen that on the question of direct allocation of the means of production between state-owned enterprises, the principle of exchange of equal values still exists objectively and must be respected.

When the working masses, in the role of consumers, purchase the means of subsistence from state-owned stores with their wages, there is also a demand for exchange of equal values. When a consumer uses a fixed quantity of money to exchange for a fixed quantity of the means of subsistence from a store, the two must also be generally consistent in terms of value. If all other conditions remain unchanged, raising the prices of certain daily necessities will actually reduce the wage income of the workers; conversely, lowering the prices of certain daily necessities has the actual effect of raising the workers' wage income. Both of these conditions will affect the distribution of products of labor based on work done and the enterprise profits of state-owned commerce. For this reason, the exchange of equal values with regard to the means of subsistence between consumers and state-owned commerce is one of the conditions for the realization of distribution according to work, as well as one of the conditions for state-owned commerce to deliver profits to the state. Our country has consistently adopted the policy of basically stabilizing, and individually adjusting, the prices of consumer goods, so that the prices of the basic means of subsistence are stable. This is to insure gradual improvement of the livelihood of the laboring people on the basis of the development of production.

Within the framework of the collective ownership, the demand of the law of value for exchange of equal values is patently manifested in socialist labor cooperation between one production team and another, between one production brigade and another, and between one commune and another. Take the example of large and medium-sized water conservation projects in the countryside. They are all built through the joint cooperation of many production units. Here, due to their different locations, for some units the area to be benefited is quite considerable. For other units the area to be benefited is relatively small. Still other units will not only not receive any benefit but will even suffer losses. Practice proves that persistently putting proletarian politics in command and promoting

the communist style among the masses of commune members is a major premise for the smooth completion of rural water conservation projects in various parts of our country. It is only on this major premise that units which receive smaller benefits and units which receive no benefit but even suffer losses will be able to set great store by the general situation and positively take part in the joint venture.

However, to enable the projects to be more smoothly carried out, it is also necessary, on this major premise, to correctly handle the cooperative relationship between the different units from the economic aspect. This means that consideration should be given to the size of the areas of the various participating units likely to be benefited from the water conservation construction and that, accordingly, reasonable arrangements should be made for their respective shares of the burden in firm adherence to the principle of exchange of equal values. While there is some distinction between exchange of equal values in the cooperative effort and exchange of equal values in the course of circulation, there is one thing in common: the conscious application of the law of value.

As stated in the foregoing passages, in the course of circulation the proletarian state must utilize the law of value in respect to the demand for exchange of equal values to handle the economic ties between the state-owned economy and the collective economy; to handle the relationships between various state-owned enterprises with relative independence, within the scope of the ownership by the whole people, with regard to the calculation of costs for the products allocated and advance orders placed; and to handle the buyer-seller relationships between the state-owned commerce and the vast masses of consumers in the purchase of consumer goods. Here, in principle, the prices fixed by the state are prices of equal values or roughly equal values. This is the main aspect of the problem in the course of circulation. In the meantime, the proletarian state must also consider the status quo in the supply and demand of certain commodities both throughout the country and for a relatively long period of time to come, and it must use the reaction of the law of value on the supply and demand relationship. This is the principle to which Marx referred when he said /"...in the case of demand, since it moves in a direction opposite to prices, swelling when prices fall and vice versa."/ ("Das Kapital," Vol III, "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol XXV, p 213) For instance, by appropriately raising or lowering the purchasing price of a certain farm product we can influence the quantity of that product to be purchased; or by appropriately raising or lowering the selling price of a certain consumer item we can influence the quantity of this consumer item to be sold. As for products manufactured by state-owned industrial enterprises, it is sometimes also necessary to adjust their prices and, by doing so, achieve the aim of increasing production and practicing economy. All of these measures are beneficial to socialist construction.

The "gang of four" had all along undermined the party's price policy, denied that value was the basis or point of departure for our setting prices, and advocated setting prices freely. As everyone knows, without planned prices that generally reflect value it would be very difficult to enforce the planned economy. By trumpeting their set of policies, the "gang of four" wanted nothing less than to negate China's socialist planned economy. They also attacked the state purchasing of farm and subsidiary products as "a disguised form of taxation on and exploitation of the peasants." They opposed the calculation of costs involved in the exchange of products between the socialist public economic sectors, babbling that "everything belongs to the public; there is no need for accounting." Their criminal objective was to sabotage the purchasing and marketing work of socialist commerce, undermine the worker-peasant alliance, disrupt the entire socialist economy, and restore capitalism. All of this must be thoroughly criticized.

IV

In our country, before the upsurge of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in 1956, because there existed the capitalist economic elements and the predominant individual economic elements, the law of value still played a considerable regulating role in the course of production and exchange of commodities in these economic components. Following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the traditional capitalist enterprises were brought under public-private joint operation, led directly by the state, and drawn into the orbit of state planning. In the vast countryside, in the meantime, individual agriculture was collectivized. In this way the regulating role of the law of value in production was greatly restricted and its scope considerably reduced. However, this did not mean that the spontaneous character of the law of value had vanished out of sight in our country.

For example, if the state's planned regulation was undermined in certain basic accounting units of collective agriculture and certain state-owned enterprises, then the spontaneous nature of the law of value, its blindly regulating role in production, would be manifested in these basic accounting units of collective agriculture or in the economic activities of these state-owned enterprises. So far as state planning is concerned, if planned prices seriously diverge from value, and if the planned arrangements do not suit the proportionate relationship between the various production departments which exist objectively, the law of value would also play its role "in the later phase and silently" in opposition to the planned economy. Practice proves that the more correctly the national economic plan of the proletarian state reflects the proportionate relationship between various production departments and reflects the demand of the law for the planned and proportionate development of the national economy, the more restricted the spontaneous and blind role of the law of value in social production will become.

Rural trade fairs still exist in many places in our country. There is no doubt that the law of value plays a definite regulating role in these fairs. Following the changes in the supply and demand relationships, prices in the trade fairs will also change. Generally speaking, prices at the rural trade fairs are higher than those for the same kinds of commodities sold by state-owned stores. This situation has the negative effect of inducing capitalist tendencies and exerting pressure on the socialist unified market. The most outstanding point in this connection is that the state purchases of products often cannot be completed on schedule because of such influences. For this reason, while developing the role of the trade fairs as a supplement to socialist commerce, we must strengthen their management, impose proper restrictions on them, and strictly limit such trade to the scope permitted by the relevant state policy. We should allow only those who produce the goods to sell them and have the producer and buyer meet directly. We must prohibit people from giving up farming in favor of trade, ban trading without permits, and hit at speculative activities. We should stop government offices, enterprises and people's organizations from buying farm and subsidiary products at the rural trade fairs. In addition, it is necessary to further develop the diversified economy of collective agriculture and the business operations of state-owned commerce and of the supply and marketing cooperatives so that socialism will firmly occupy the commercial front in the countryside.

While rejecting the utilization of the law of value to serve socialism, the "gang of four" also advocated free pricing, free production, and free trade with the object of opposing our demand to regulate socialist production according to the socialist economic laws and of freely allowing the law of value to spontaneously regulate social production and circulation as in capitalist society. This amply demonstrated the gang's hideous counterrevolutionary revisionist features.

The law of value exists objectively in socialist society. Chairman Mao said: /"If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice."/ This is also true in dealing with the law of value. With a view to implementing Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision of grasping the key link in bringing order to the country and rapidly developing China's economy, we must adopt a scientific attitude toward the law of value, study it, recognize it, and make our thinking conform with objective laws. In this way we can utilize this law to render satisfactory service to socialism.

INVESTIGATION OF THE TRIAL IMPLEMENTATION OF TIME-RATE WAGES PLUS BONUSES
AT THE TANGCHIACHUANG MINE, KAILUAN

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 104-106

[Report by the investigation team of the Peking Economic Institute]

[Text] Editor's note: In his report on the work of the government, wise leader Chairman Hua pointed out: The staff and workers of state enterprises should be paid primarily on a time-rate basis with piecework playing a secondary role, and with additional bonuses. There should be pecuniary allowances for very difficult jobs or jobs performed under bad working conditions. This is in line with the socialist principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." Practice shows that only if the principle "to each according to his work" is correctly enforced can we obtain favorable results in consolidating the socialist system of public ownership and stimulating the development of productive forces. The "gang of four" maliciously attacked the bonus system and the piecework rate system as "the resurgence of revisionism," "material incentives," etc. Their sinister aim was to sabotage the principle "to each according to his work," dampen the socialist activism of the laboring masses and ruin the socialist economy. We must deepen our criticism of the "gang of four's" fallacies. We must seriously enforce the principle "no food for those who do not work, and from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" as stipulated in the constitution. We must doggedly put proletarian politics in command, strengthen ideological and political work, promote the communist attitude toward labor and serve the people wholeheartedly. We must combine moral encouragement with material reward, laying the emphasis on the former. We

publish here for everyone's discussion investigation reports on the experimental system combining time-rate wages with bonuses introduced at the Tangchiachuang Mine of the Kailuan Coal Mine and the experimental piecework rate system adopted for the stevedores at the Whampo harbor.

The Tangchiachuang Mine of the Kailuan Coal Mine has a history of more than 50 years and a designed annual production capacity of 1.5 million tons of raw coal. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the deepening of the mass movement to learn from Taching in industry enabled this old mine to become young again and to overfulfill state plans year after year. Especially during the Fourth Five-Year Plan, it achieved high and stable yields. It made continued leaps forward. In 1974 its raw coal output was double the designed capacity. After the earthquake, thanks to the great concern of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, it quickly resumed production. In December last year its average daily raw coal output surpassed the level achieved before the earthquake. The rapid increase in production achieved by the Tangchiachuang Mine was chiefly the result of seriously implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, doggedly putting proletarian politics in command and strengthening enterprise management. Meanwhile, the mine for many years had adhered to the socialist principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." It carried out the state's wage policy in a serious manner. It also introduced on a trial basis a system combining wages with bonuses. This had a positive effect.

In June 1968 the Kailuan Coal Mine abolished its cash award system and adopted the additional wages system. Under this system, wages are based on the actual number of workdays put in by a worker. There were different wage scales for mining and other workers. But equalitarianism still existed. Some workers said, "It's a big pot of rice shared by everyone." "Whether one works hard or not, one gets the same 35 cents." Because of restrictions placed on them, new workers could not benefit under the additional wages system. Therefore, the masses of workers demanded a reform. Acting on a decision of the party committee at a higher level, the Tangchiachuang Mine abolished the additional wages system and in September 1973 started implementing, on a trial basis, a system combining wages with bonuses.

The Tangchiachuang Mine's system combining time-rate wages with bonuses was worked out on the basis of experiences and lessons having been summed up and a clear distinction having been made between right and wrong in line, and through the cooperation of the leadership and the masses in strictly following the mass line. New or old workers are entitled to bonuses under this system so long as they meet the established requirements. Those who work on the surface get less than those who work underground. Important kinds of work entitle them to more compensation than less important kinds, and heavy physical work more than light

physical work. Payments are made with the work shifts, groups or teams taken as a unit. To qualify for a bonus, a unit must meet labor efficiency targets, work requirements and quality standards in carrying out a production plan. Meanwhile, the minimum number of days of work is stipulated for those entitled to a bonus. Those who frequently absent themselves from work, violate safety operation regulations or neglect labor discipline, as well as all members of a group on duty who are involved in a serious accident, including its responsible persons, are disqualified for bonuses for the month.

Several years' practice shows that this system has helped arouse the socialist activism of the masses of workers, bringing about unity between new and old workers, strengthening enterprise management and stimulating an increase in charcoal and coal production. After this system was implemented, labor productivity rose from year to year. Compared with 1972, the work efficiency of raw coal workers as a whole in 1975 rose 21.8 percent, that of extraction workers 98.9 percent, and that of tunneling workers 210 percent. For its efficiency in extraction and tunneling, Tangchiachuang was rated first in the Kailuan Coal Mine. The quality of coalface digging showed a marked improvement, and below-standard work was no longer seen. The attendance rate of production workers was always maintained at over 90 percent. For 1973, 1974 and 1975 the average daily raw coal output was 7,017 tons, 8,256 tons and 8,529 tons, respectively. The wage cost per ton dropped from year to year.

The Tangchiachuang Mine learned the following in carrying out the experimental bonus system:

First, we must doggedly put politics in command and take this as a prerequisite in handling well the matter of material incentives. The party committee of the mine believed that the more we promoted the bonus system the greater the need to strengthen ideological and political work. It persistently took class struggle as the key link, doggedly adhered to the party's basic line, and organized the masses of workers to seriously study works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. "When class education is taken as regular business, we will not forget to recall the bitter past in light of the sweet present." It continuously raised the masses of workers' awareness of class struggle and line struggle and strove to build a contingent /especially capable of fighting./ It conducted penetrating education on the great goals of communism among the masses of workers and aroused them to learn from advanced figures and to continuously strengthen their sense of responsibility as masters of the house. It persisted in putting the emphasis on moral encouragement. In the socialist labor emulation, it vigorously launched assessment, emulation, selection and citation activities and energetically commended the advanced and strengthened the workers' sense of political honor. This brought about a lively situation in which everyone learns from and catches up with the advanced and contributes to the revolution. While energetically

strengthening ideological and political work, the party committee combined moral encouragement with material incentives and resisted the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage. It persisted in its experiment with the system combining time-rate wages with bonuses. It further aroused the masses' enthusiasm for building socialism in a big way. The masses of workers said: "A bonus is not a matter of a few yuan. It is a manifestation of the party's concern for our working class. We must show soaring enthusiasm to grasp revolution and stimulate production and make a still greater contribution to the state."

Second, with material reward playing a secondary role, we must implement in an all-round manner the socialist principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." Like all the other mines in Kailuan, the Tangchiachuang Mine always insisted on different wage scales for those working on the surface and those working underground, for those working on the first line and those on the second line, for important production workers and for less important ones. The underground tunneling workers were paid one step more than the assistant underground workers and one to two steps more than the surface workers. Wages varied according to the kind of work. Allowances for underground work also varied according to the kind of work. This played an important role in consolidating the ranks of underground workers and handling production well. Different bonuses were specified for different kinds of work. The tunneling workers were entitled to a larger amount than the assistant underground workers, and the latter a larger amount than the surface workers. The size of the bonus paid in proportion to a tunneling worker's fixed wages ranged from a maximum of 22.6 percent to a minimum of 12.1 percent. The bonus system plays only a supplementary role in the all-round implementation of the principle "to each according to his work."

As far as conditions at this mine are concerned, the bonus system is required at the present stage. The time-rate system with its relative stability cannot be regularly adjusted. Besides, it is not well geared to such demands on production as safety, quality, efficiency, etc. Therefore, it has its limitations as an embodiment of the principle "to each according to his work." It must be supplemented with the bonus system.

Third, we must adhere to the party's labor economy policy and penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four's" revisionist fallacies. Meanwhile, we must seriously sum up experiences and avoid certain defects which previously appeared in carrying out the bonus system. The "gang of four" smeared the bonus system as "cash awards in command" and "material incentives" and as "the resurgence of revisionism." Great confusion about the line, ideology and theory was created. With this situation in mind, the party committee of the mine and the workers repeatedly studied the relevant writings by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on distribution according to labor, drew a clear line of distinction

between the correct implementation of the bonus system and the practice of putting cash awards in command, and obtained a clear idea of the important role of the bonus system in socialist construction. Everyone realized that giving a proper bonus to those workers who have exerted themselves, done hard and sweaty work and achieved relatively more in production was in line with the socialist principle of distribution according to labor and by no means a case of "cash awards in command." No matter what pressures were brought to bear by the "gang of four," the party committee of the mine was firm in its belief that this was the right system and it stuck to it. Meanwhile, earlier experiences and lessons about the bonus system were summed up. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, due to the influence of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, bonus payments were put in numerous categories. There were more than 70 of them. The amount of bonus given at one time was too great. Certain people got bonuses amounting to more than their fixed wages. To avoid these defects, the party committee ran various types of study classes. On the basis of a serious summing-up of past experiences, it worked out a relatively satisfactory bonus system. In carrying out this system the cadres were taught not to take the bonus as the chief means of arousing mass activism and not to replace careful ideological and political work with material incentives. The workers were also taught not to take the bonus as an object in itself and not to take the amount given too seriously. The cadres and the masses were encouraged to work as one in vigorously building socialism and to contribute to the early realization of the four modernizations.

Fourth, we must strengthen enterprise management and create conditions for properly handling the bonus system. In implementing the bonus system, enterprise management must not be weakened. Instead it must be strengthened. When it first carried out its experimental bonus system, the Tangchiachuang Mine aroused the masses to "conduct four checkups" (checking the amount of work, checking the time of work, checking the personnel and checking efficiency) and "make three fixed arrangements" (fixed personnel, a fixed amount of work and a fixed standard of quality) and to establish and round out a management system for fixing personnel and fixing quotas, a system for the control of plans worked out, a system for the control of techniques and a personal responsibility system. This provided a relatively reliable basis for defining and checking up on the production tasks of various units. Not only production but the implementation of the bonus system was stimulated.

In the light of the experimental system combining time-rate wages with bonuses carried out by Tangchiachuang, we think that certain problems must be further studied. Requirements for a comprehensive bonus are unlikely to be totally satisfactory and all-inclusive, but several main targets of production should be included. Many workers have said that the quality of coal and charcoal and the retrieval and reuse of "pit" logs should be set as targets for a bonus, so that the bonus system can better stimulate the production of coal and charcoal with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Also, bonus funds should be strictly controlled, and the fixed amount of the bonus must not be freely raised.

INVESTIGATION OF THE TRIAL IMPLEMENTATION OF PIECEWORK WAGES FOR
STEVEDORES AT WHAMPOA PORT

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 12 Mar 78 pp 107-109

[Report by the investigation team of the Kwangtung Institute of Philosophy
and Social Science]

[Text]

I

A mechanical team and three freight-handling teams are responsible for moving cargo at Whampoa Port, an important commercial harbor in South China. Together they comprise over a third of the total number of workers employed by this port.

Freight handling at Whampoa Port has been increasingly mechanized since liberation. Various types of equipment are now used to move cargo, while front loaders, tow trucks and other vehicles are employed for ground-level hauling at the wharf. These operations are undertaken mainly by machinery, with the wages for drivers generally calculated on a time basis plus bonuses. The same applies to cargo supervisors and godown keepers in jointly handling freight at the wharf.

Since liberation, stevedores generally have been paid on a piecework basis, with two reversions to wage payment on a time basis in the intervening period. The last reversion occurred in September 1971. Congestion at Whampoa Port in 1972 was responsible for the heavy drop in the fulfillment of major economic targets. For example, when wages were paid on a piecework basis from 1964 to 1966, the stevedores' annual labor productivity amounted to 3,089 tons. But the figure fell to 2,423 tons in 1972. While 106.79 percent of the quota for tonnage of cargo handled was fulfilled from 1964 to 1966, only 72.9 percent of it was fulfilled in 1972. Delayed clearance of shipping and movement of cargo at Whampoa Port thus caused huge losses politically and economically.

To change this situation, wages plus bonuses were paid on a time basis, but the results achieved were not satisfactory. In 1973, when our

esteemed and beloved Premier Chou showed concern for shipping and movement of cargo in the port, he gave important instructions on "changing the port's features in 3 years."

In the spirit of the instructions issued by the leading comrades of the State Council, the Ministry of Communications, and the Kwangtung provincial and Canton municipal revolutionary committees, and after fully discussing them and exchanging views with the workers and supervisory personnel, the Whampoa Harbor Affairs Bureau subsequently unified its thinking and tentatively reintroduced the piecework rate in wage payments, effective 16 October 1973, in the harbor's three major loading and pickup areas.

Paying wages at the piecework rate has the following features:

One, wages are paid to shifts and teams on the basis of the amount of work done and according to fixed rates--more for those who produce more. Where wage payments at the piecework rate are inapplicable in cases involving a small amount of work, then wages are paid on a time basis equally to producers of each team and shift which follows a rational division of work. The stevedore's wage is his major source of income.

Two, the original grades, wage scales and rates for individual stevedores are retained as a basis for making payments in cases where stevedores on official assignment are disengaged from work, are sick or injured, are on leave to visit relatives, or perform overtime duties during officially approved holidays.

Three, to prevent the older workers' original wage levels from falling, differences in excess of the anticipated wage levels based on piecework, fixed at 70 yuan, are made up. For example, if an old worker's original wage was 89 yuan, the allowance was fixed at 19 yuan after the introduction of the piecework rate.

Practice shows that this is an effective form of wage payment for stevedores. Since stevedores are engaged in heavy manual labor, what they produce is largely determined by the amount of labor power they can contribute. Moreover, production quotas for freight handled and quality inspection pose few problems, thus making the introduction of the piecework rate in wage payments more acceptable to the stevedores. Besides, it sets an example of conforming to the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

After reintroducing the piecework rate in wage payments, the authorities at Whampoa Port gave due consideration to factors that would unduly enlarge the difference in income between new and old stevedores and between robust and physically feeble laborers. Measures such as compensating for the difference in income were adopted, and other arrangements related to freight handling were made to enable old and physically

feeble stevedores to retain their original levels of income. This is another illustration of the superiority of the socialist system in our country.

II

Significant results were achieved in the winter of 1973 when the piecework rate in wage payments was tentatively implemented for Whampoa stevedores. Once the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" were informed of the action taken by the Whampoa Harbor Affairs Bureau in accordance with the instructions given by Premier Chou and the leading comrades of the State Council regarding the reintroduction of the piecework rate in wage payments, they immediately organized frenzied attacks from all sides. After dishing up the misleading and reactionary slogan "Be masters of the wharf and not slaves of tonnage," they labeled the piecework system "strengthening bourgeois rights," "backlash," "restoration," "wearing new shoes and taking the old road" and "producing those things criticized during the Great Cultural Revolution."

In countering and struggling against the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four," the party committee of the Whampoa Harbor Affairs Bureau looked for weapons for struggle from the revolutionary teachers. They realized that wage payments on either the time or piecework basis conformed to distribution according to work and denied that the practice was un-Marxist. The "gang of four's" deprecation of the piecework system only exposed their fierce opposition to Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao. The bureau's party committee rallied the vast number of workers and cadres in withstanding the "gang of four's" disruptive actions. It has upheld this system over the past 4 years.

By putting politics in command and implementing the piecework system on a trial basis, Whampoa Port has achieved fine results and radically changed the harbor's features.

First, production efficiency has improved. The average monthly quota for freight handled from 1974 to October 1977 was fulfilled 126.7 percent, an increase of 73.8 percent compared with January-September 1973, when wage payment on a time basis was implemented. This means that only 2 hours are now required to fill a trainload of 60 tons by a team of young stevedores as compared to the previous 7 hours.

Second, production is increased and the labor conservation achieved. The volume of cargo handled by the port increased month by month during the period from 1974 to October 1977. Compared to that of 1972, the amount of cargo handled at that port each month increased by an average of 19.4 percent and labor productivity by 27.2 percent, month by month over that year, while the number of stevedores employed fell by 411. A drop of 18.8 percent in the proportion of wage payments in total handling costs was noted from January to September 1977 compared with the same period of 1973. This means that the proportion of the stevedores' wages in the total handling costs dropped by 6.62 percent from January to September 1977 compared with the same period in 1973.

Third, enterprise management is promoted and the responsibility system for individual work posts strengthened. Moving cargo calls for close coordination among related sectors and departments. Due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in the past, rules and regulations governing the moving of cargo were branded as coercive measures and abolished. This led to confusion regarding freight handling. In reintroducing the wage payment system based on piecework, the harbor bureau conducted investigation and study, restored the system for fixed production quotas and drew up pertinent rules and regulations governing quality control, safety and other measures. Because these rules and regulations were closely related to the implementation of the piecework rate in wage payments, the stevedores not only observed them but also made suggestions on their own accord and took an active part in enterprise management. They now work closely with the management personnel in improving the weak segments and thus help promote the more satisfactory management of warehousing and inventory control.

Fourth, the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" is implemented with satisfactory results. The majority of the stevedores and cadres have reacted favorably to the reintroduction of the piecework rate in wage payments. They have said: "Viewing the matter from the interests of the state, moving cargo on a piecework basis helps to rapidly push the national economy forward and to quickly achieve the four modernizations."

In the past, stevedores, whether they were old, middle-aged or young, contributed the same amount of labor in loading or unloading rice or chemical fertilizer by the 100-kilo bale, but the wages they received differed. After the piecework rate was reintroduced, all the irrational aspects of labor remuneration were gradually eliminated.

III

What Whampoa Port has learned over the past years is summarized below:

First, it is imperative to put proletarian politics in command and to adhere to the principle that ideology must play a leading role. Under socialist conditions, arousing the workers' socialist enthusiasm and making a success of socialist construction largely depend on the party's political and ideological work. This calls for arming the workers with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and persistently conducting education in communist ideology.

In the course of implementing the piecework rate, grassroots-level cadres in charge of production, believing that output had gone up as a result of paying the workers at the piecework rate, became slack in conducting ideological and political work. There were cases in which certain workers chose jobs with low production quotas and were paid more than the others. When these anomalies came to the attention of the harbor bureau's party

committee, they were corrected in a timely way. The facts have shown that significant results in production can be achieved if greater attention is given to strengthening ideological and political work, encouraging the workers to handle cargo for the revolution, and linking spiritual uplift with material incentives.

Second, attention must be given to safety and quality control. If the safety factor and quality control are disregarded when implementing the piecework rate in wage payments, some workers may go after quantity and lose sight of quality in moving cargo.

With this development in mind, the harbor bureau's party committee paid particular attention to problems of quality and safety when implementing the piecework rate in wage payments. Judging from its experience, the key to solving the problems of safety and quality lies in the leadership's effort to raise the workers' socialist awareness. This calls for repeatedly acquainting both the workers and cadres with the importance of the general line for building socialism, so as to enable them to understand the relationship between achieving greater and faster results and achieving better and more economical results in building socialism. In addition, safety and quality inspection systems must be established.

Third, the system for fixed production quotas must be established in a satisfactory way to insure the correct implementation of the piecework rate in wage payments. On the basis of Whampoa Port's experience, production quotas retaining progressive features must be rationally fixed, neither too high nor too low, in order not to impair the workers' enthusiasm for work, their health and their income. This calls for a rational level of wage calculation based on the piecework rate.

According to the wage calculation level approved by the Ministry of Communications, the Whampoa stevedores' wage at the pre-Cultural Revolution piecework level was 70 yuan. The system of fixed production quotas worked out by the Whampoa Harbor Affairs Bureau on the basis of this level takes care of and correctly regulates the economic relations between young, middle-aged and old workers. As a result of this arrangement, the younger workers are not likely to upset the original wage level by a big margin because of the implementation of the piecework rate, the older workers will not get less income, while the middle-aged workers will get somewhat larger wages. Working out and revising the system of fixed production quotas is a policy measure involving the workers' vital interests. In doing this, consideration should be given to following the mass line and broadly soliciting the views of the workers, so that through overall planning and proper arrangement the quota system can retain its progressive features.

Fourth, enterprise management in all its related aspects must be improved. This calls for the establishment of rules and regulations aimed at improving management and coordination among various sectors and

strengthening the responsibility system at individual work posts. In order to rapidly promote production, no efforts have been spared in further unfolding the mass movement to learn from Taching in industry, to promote the fine style of work of Taching workers and thus to improve and strengthen enterprise management.

THE FIGHTING BUGLE THAT INSPIRES US TO CONTINUE THE LONG MARCH

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[Article by Lu Chi [0712 7535], Ho Lu-ting [6320 4845 3060] and Li Huan-chih [2621 3562 0037]]

[Text] March on, brave people of our nation,
Our Communist Party leads us on a new Long March.
Millions as one, we march,
March on to the communist goal.
Build our country, guard our country,
We will work and fight.
March on, march on, march on!
Forever and ever, raising Mao Tse-tung's banner,
March on!
Raising Mao Tse-tung's banner,
March on, march on, march on and on!

The first session of the historically significant Fifth NPC closed in triumph on 5 March after adopting the national anthem of the PRC amid the thunderous applause of the delegates. As music workers we were especially filled with excitement. We thought of our great nation's past, present and future.

The music of the national anthem was originally written by the well-known composer Nieh Erh during the Long March as "The March of the Volunteers." The stirring words of the battle song were conceived when the Chinese revolution encountered difficulties, and they expressed our people's rising sentiments against the reactionary rule of the KMT reactionaries and for resisting imperialist aggression.

In responding to the National Anthem Soliciting Group's call for contributions, the majority of the people and music workers were in favor of using the original music of the song, because it sings of the people and their great struggle. For many years the familiar song has inspired the fighting spirit of the people, evoked feelings for our great nation and aroused a strong sense of national pride and patriotism.

Marxism holds that patriotism and internationalism are united. We oppose a narrow sense of nationalism but are not opposed to the promotion of the spirit of patriotism. The National Anthem Soliciting Group was formed to carry forward the patriotic spirit.

Cherishing unbounded love for the socialist motherland and expressing great concern for the work of soliciting contributions, the vast number of cadres and masses pooled their resources in looking for new scores or selecting new lyrics for the original music. They spared no efforts in setting their contributions to new scores. Displaying an admirable sense of political responsibility, they greatly impressed the comrades of the soliciting group.

Composing a new national anthem calls for a high degree of integration politically and artistically. Using the original music but writing new lyrics is based on the new period of development in China's socialist revolution and construction, so that the new national anthem, embodying the collective wisdom of the people, will best express the heroic struggle undertaken by the people of all nationalities in our country under the CCP's leadership and holding high Chairman Mao's great banner.

The first line, "March on, brave people of our nation," shows the great unity of all nationalities in one unified, multinational state and expresses the sense of pride of the Chinese nation, which boasts a long history, a thriving culture and a glorious revolutionary tradition.

The hard-working and brave people of China have contributed to the cause of human progress. They experienced joys and sorrows in the past. Since the Opium War of 1840, imperialism, in collusion with feudal forces, cruelly oppressed and exploited the people of all nationalities in China, plunging the Chinese people and the Chinese nation into deep misery and profound misfortune.

As Chairman Mao said: /"The course of imperialism working in collusion with the feudal forces in China to turn China into a semicolon and colony was also the course of the Chinese people resisting imperialism and its lackeys."/ ("The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party")

Led by the CCP and Chairman Mao, our people united in combat eventually succeeded in removing the three big mountains that had pressed on them like a dead weight and established the PRC with the people as masters of the country. By continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, they subsequently won a great victory in socialist revolution and construction. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and after, they won another big victory in smashing the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Historical experience has shown that no force can stop our people from advancing. Haven't those reactionaries, looking outwardly powerful, collapsed one after another before our people?

Our country has now entered a new and very important period of development. In his report on the work of the government to the Fifth NPC, Premier Hua Kuo-feng pointed out: "The general task of the new period of development is to resolutely implement the line of the 11th party congress, to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to penetratingly conduct the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and to build our country within this century into a great and powerful socialist state with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology."

The new constitution has legalized the general task of the new period. In a certain sense, accomplishing this task calls for a new Long March that is different from and more difficult than the Long March of 25,000 li. The new national anthem sounds the bugle inspiring us to continue the Long March. It links the Long March led by Chairman Mao more than 40 years ago with the new Long March being led by Chairman Hua. The second line, "Our Communist Party leads us on a new Long March," shows that the force at the core leading the people's cause forward is the CCP.

Achieving the four modernizations and building China into a powerful socialist country are the common wishes of the people of all nationalities in our country. But this is not our ultimate goal, which is to realize communism. Our revolutionary martyrs shed blood and gave up their lives for the purpose of realizing communism. That is why the third line calls for marching toward the communist goal.

However, realizing communism is not easy. Millions of people must be mobilized as one to wage a protracted and arduous struggle. In this great struggle we must build and guard our country; these two things are inseparable. Only by building our country, strengthening the national economy and national defense and providing a material foundation for realizing communism can we prevent internal disruption and external aggression and subversion.

The "gang of four" opposed the four modernizations and equated building the national economy with preaching the "theory of productive forces." They incited work and production stoppages and stirred up an anarchist trend of thought to disrupt socialist construction. They operated as a counterrevolutionary sinister gang, the nation's scourge. We must criticize their fallacies and strive to achieve the four modernizations. This is not only a major economic task but a pressing political task as well. The existence of social imperialism and imperialism provides the grounds for the outbreak of war. There is no peace in the world today, because the two superpowers' contention for supremacy will sooner or later lead to war. Soviet social imperialism in particular has wild ambitions. It will not be reconciled until it has subjugated our country. Therefore, we must not take this lightly.

The third and fourth lines, "Millions as one, we march on toward the communist goal," and "Build our country, guard our country, we will work and fight," summarize the historical task for the people of all nationalities in our country and show their will to fight for the completion of their historical mission.

The last line, "Forever and ever, raising Mao Tse-tung's banner, march on," is the focal point of the song. It attributes the achievements made during the period of the new democratic revolution and that of the socialist revolution to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to the victory of Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao's banner symbolizes victory. Mao Tsetung Thought gives us strength because it is correct. This Chinese adaptation of Marxism-Leninism embodies theories drawn from and verified by the objective realities of the Chinese revolution. In a scientific sense, Mao Tsetung Thought is thus complete as a system and permits no alteration in any way.

In saying that we must hold high Chairman Mao's great banner, we mean accurately and comprehensively comprehending and applying Mao Tsetung Thought as a complete system, not just memorizing phrases taken from Chairman Mao's works. Whether we comprehensively and accurately interpret Mao Tsetung Thought as a system or make use of certain phrases picked at random involves two different approaches to the study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought. It is a question of whether we are sincere in holding or only pretend to hold high Chairman Mao's great banner.

Didn't Lin Piao and the "gang of four" also shout "hold high" the great banner of Mao Tsetung Thought? They were actually flaunting Chairman Mao's banner to oppose him. History has shown that they were the most vicious foes of Mao Tsetung Thought.

We must completely criticize Lin Piao's and the "gang of four's" crimes in opposing Mao Tsetung Thought and in altering, distorting and emasculating it. We must study and publicize Mao Tsetung Thought and defend its purity and completeness. The line "Forever and ever, raising Mao Tse-tung's banner, march on" is thus fraught with far-reaching significance.

The birth of the new national anthem is a happy occasion in our country's political life. It will greatly arouse the revolutionary spirit of hundreds of millions of our people and inspire us to follow the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua with one heart and one purpose in continuing the Long March and in winning new and still greater victories in socialist revolution and construction.

March on, brave people of our nation!

