

# PEKING REVIEW

26

June 24, 1977

**Chairman Hua Meets Congolese  
Prime Minister Goma**

**Watch How They Are Going  
To Act**

— "Renmin Ribao" Commentator refuting Soviet  
revisionist leaders' anti-China uproar

**Learn-From-Taching Conference: Important  
Milestone in China's Industrial  
Development**

"Peking Review" Subject Index Nos. 1-26, 1977

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# PEKING REVIEW

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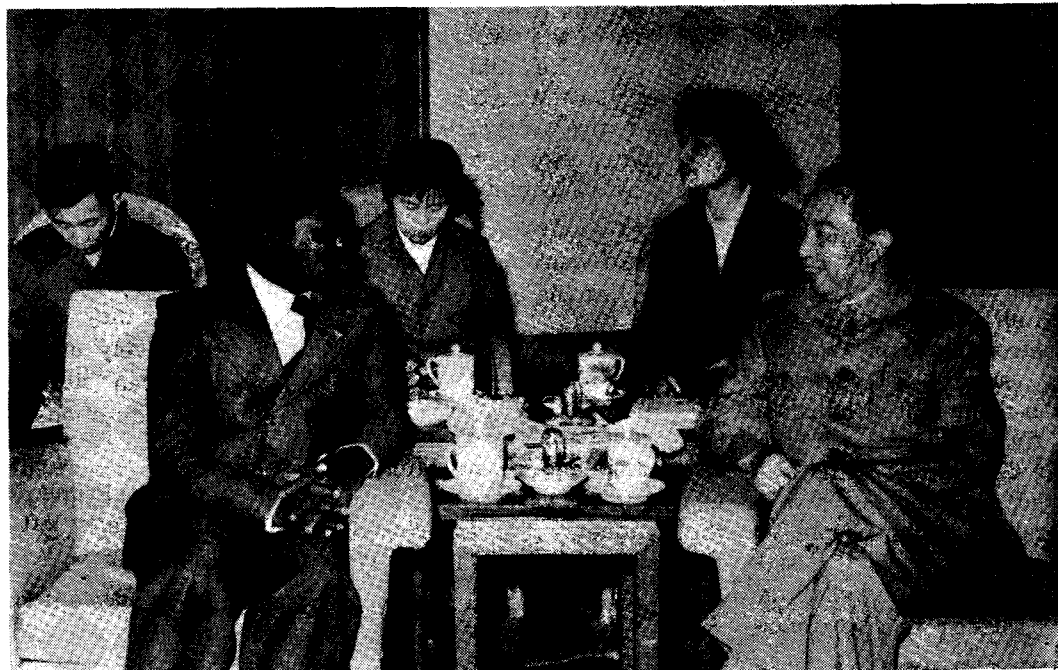
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## Chairman Hua Meets Prime Minister Goma



**H**UA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, on June 18 met with Louis Sylvain-Goma, Second Vice-President of the Congolese Military Committee and Prime Minister, and other distinguished Congolese guests accompanying him on the visit.

During the meeting, Chairman Hua had a cordial and friendly talk with Prime Minister Goma. Chairman Hua once again extended a warm welcome to Prime Minister Goma and the other distinguished Congolese guests on

their visit to China. He said: Your visit has contributed to deepening the understanding and friendship between the Governments and peoples of our two countries. Chairman Hua asked Prime Minister Goma, upon his returning home, to convey his cordial regards to President Joachim Yhomy-Opango and the Congolese people. Prime Minister Goma thanked the Chinese Government and people for the warm welcome accorded to his party. He said: We are satisfied and happy about the current visit and the friendly China-Congo co-opera-

tion since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries 13 years ago.

Present at the conversation were members of Prime Minister Goma's party: Theophile Obenga, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation; Jacob Okanza, Minister of Commerce; Francois Bita, Minister Delegate to the Prime Minister Responsible for Planning; Samba Oscar, Congolese Ambassador to China; Madzengue-Younous, Economic Counsellor of the Head of State; and Martin Adouki, Diplomatic Counsellor of the Prime Minister.

Taking part in the meeting and conversation were Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Foreign Minister Huang Hua, Minister of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries Chen Muhua and Vice-Foreign Minister Ma Wen-po.

## Prime Minister Goma Visits China

**L**OUIS Sylvain-Goma, Second Vice-President of the Congolese Military Committee and Prime Minister, arrived in Peking on June 16 on an official visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, greeted him at Peking Airport. Also welcoming him at the airport were Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairman Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress as well as several thousand people in the capital.

Prime Minister Goma thanked Chairman Hua for coming in person to the airport to welcome him. He said: I have brought you the cordial regards of the entire Congolese people and the personal regards of President Joachim Yhomby-Opango.

A grand welcoming ceremony was held at the airport.

In the evening, the State Council gave a banquet in honour of the distinguished Congolese guests. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Prime Minister Goma made warm speeches at the banquet. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 16 and 17.)

On June 18, an agreement on economic and technical co-operation between the Governments of China and the Congo was signed in Peking. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Prime Minister Goma attended the signing ceremony.

The next day Prime Minister Goma gave a banquet which was attended by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Vice-Chairman Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme.

During the Prime Minister's stay in Peking, Vice-Premier Li held talks with him on the further development of the relations between China and the Congo and they exchanged views extensively on the present-day African situation and international questions of common concern.

On June 21, Prime Minister Goma and his party left Peking for home.

## Chairman Hua Meets Lao Party and Government Delegation

**H**UA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, on June 19 met with the Lao Party and Government Delegation with Kaysone Phomvihane, General-Secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and Premier of the Lao Government, as its leader and Phoun Sipaseuth, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, Vice-

Premier of the Government and Minister for Foreign Affairs, as its deputy leader.

Chairman Hua extended a warm welcome to the delegation on its visit to China en route home.

Chairman Hua had a cordial and friendly conversation with Comrades Kaysone Phomvihane and Phoun Sipaseuth in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship.

Comrade Kaysone said that it gave him much pleasure to visit China once again. "On behalf of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party," he said, "I congratulate you on your determination to overthrow the 'gang of four.'" Chairman Hua gave an account of the extraordinary year that China had experienced since Comrade Kaysone's last visit in March 1976, and spoke with satisfaction of the development of

friendship between the two Parties, two countries and two peoples of China and Laos.

The delegation arrived in Peking on June 18 for a visit on its way home after visiting Korea. That evening, Comrade Li Hsien-nien gave a banquet in its honour.

In his toast at the banquet, Comrade Li Hsien-nien warmly praised the achievements of the Lao people in strengthening and consolidating the revolutionary political power, defending the fatherland, healing the wounds of war, steadily rehabilitating and transforming the national economy and developing culture, education, health work and other undertakings. These gratifying successes, he noted, were obtained by displaying the revolutionary spirit of the war years under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party. He expressed the hope that the revolutionary friendship between the two countries, two Parties and two peoples would grow with each passing day.



Chairman Hua meets delegation leader Kaysone.

Comrade Kaysone in his toast said: We are glad to see that the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, are carrying forward the revolutionary tradition and continuing their advance along the line formulated by Chairman Mao Tsetung.

He said that the visit by the Lao Party and Government Delegation would result in still closer ties of traditional fraternal friendship and militant unity between the two Parties, countries and peoples.

Comrade Li Hsien-nien and Comrade Kaysone held talks in Peking.

## Vice-President Ismail Arrives in Peking

**T**HE Government Delegation of Somalia led by Vice-President Ismail Ali Abucar of the Somali Democratic Republic arrived in Peking by special plane on June 20 and was accorded a warm and friendly welcome at the airport by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and 2,000 people in the capital.

In the evening, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien gave a banquet.

In his speech at the banquet, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien spoke highly of the Somali people, who, under the leadership of President Mohamed Siad Barre, have achieved gratifying successes in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and developing the national economy and culture. He praised the Somali Government for its positive contribu-

tions to the third world's cause of unity against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

After dwelling on the excellent international situation, the Vice-Premier said that the independent African countries, by strengthening unity, have won one victory after another in their struggle to defend state sovereignty and oppose subversion, intervention and aggres-

sion by imperialism, colonialism and superpower hegemonism. The struggle of the people of southern Africa for national liberation is deepening. He extended warm congratulations to the people of French Somaliland (Djibouti) who will soon achieve independence.

He pointed out that the two superpowers are locked in intense rivalry in Africa in their scramble for world hegemony, and the superpower that claims to be the third world's "natural ally," in particular, is pushing its policies of aggression and expansion by every means, sowing discord, creating and aggravating incidents, fishing in troubled waters, thus throwing the African continent into unrest. The perverse actions of the superpowers will only arouse the African people to ever stronger resistance and stimulate the people of the continent and the rest of the world to strengthen their united and just struggle against hegemonism and ultimately bury superpower hegemonism.

After describing the excellent situation in China, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said: Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, and particularly since the late Premier Chou En-lai's visit to Somalia and President Siad Barre's visit to China, the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries have made good progress. Led by their wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese people will, as before, firmly implement the line and policies in foreign affairs laid down by the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and further consolidate and develop

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### **Vice-Premier Li Condemns Aggression Against Mozambique**

**V**ICE-PREMIER Li Hsien-nien on June 20 said: "Recently the reactionary Smith regime in Rhodesia, defying world opinion, committed another act of massive military aggression against Mozambique, slaughtering civilian population of Espungabera and seriously damaging the town. The Chinese Government and people express their great indignation at this and most strongly condemn this aggressive crime of the reactionary Smith regime."

The Chinese Vice-Premier went on to say: "President Samora Machel of Mozambique made a just and stern statement on June 18 against this aggression by the reactionary Smith

regime of Rhodesia, and his statement greatly inspired the fighting will of the people of Mozambique and southern Africa in their struggle against white racism. The Chinese Government and people fully sympathize with the people of Mozambique and southern Africa and give them firm solidarity and support in their just struggle against white racism. And we are sure that the crime-steeped reactionary regimes of Smith and Vorster will end up in ignominious, thorough defeat and that victory will belong to the great people of Mozambique and southern Africa."

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien made this statement at the banquet he gave in honour of Somali Vice-President Ismail Ali Abucar.

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the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Somalia.

Addressing the banquet, Vice-President Ismail Ali Abucar paid high tribute to the Chinese people for their successes in revolution and construction. He said: We feel confident that under the wise leadership of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, chosen as successor by Chairman Mao Tsetung, China will continue to move forward rapidly.

The visit of the Somali Head of State Major General Mohamed Siad Barre to China in May 1972, the Vice-President said, made important contributions to the enhancement of

friendship between the Chinese and Somali people and the strengthening of the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries. "The Chinese and Somali people share common historical experience, and now our common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has bound us closely together," he added.

Vice-President Ismail observed: "The situation on the Somali coast, in Djibouti, has been excellent since the territory opted for independence and freedom. The territory is scheduled to proclaim independence by the 27th of this month." Discussing Somalia's foreign policy, he said: "The

Red Sea is an important waterway and should therefore be a zone of peace.

"It is the policy of my government that the Red Sea should not be allowed to become a theatre of conflict of any kind.

"With regard to the Indian Ocean, the Somali Government maintains that it also be a zone of peace. We condemn imperialist military bases in the Indian Ocean."

He reaffirmed firm support for the armed struggle waged by the people in southern Africa and the cause of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

"The Afro-Arab Summit Conference in Cairo was a complete success and will no doubt contribute to the strengthening of Afro-Arab solidarity and co-operation as well as to the cause of liberation of Palestine and southern Africa."

He said that Somalia firmly supports the Chinese people's just struggle to liberate Taiwan and the Korean people's cause of the peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

He said in conclusion: The scope of mutual co-operation between Somalia and China will be greatly expanded and the relations of friendship between the two peoples will become closer still.

## **President Nimeri Ends**

### **China Visit**

President Nimeri and the Sudanese Government Delegation led by him left Urumchi for

home on June 16 after completing their official visit to China.

While the distinguished Sudanese guests were in China, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng had a cordial and friendly meeting and conversation with President Nimeri. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and President Nimeri had sincere talks on international questions of common concern to both countries and on the further strengthening of the friendly relations and co-operation between China and the Sudan and satisfactory results were achieved.

An agreement on economic and technical co-operation between China and the Sudan was signed on June 9 during the distinguished guests' stay in Peking.

Besides Peking, the guests visited Changsha in Hunan Province; Shaoshan, Chairman Mao's birthplace; and the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. They had extensive contacts with the people.

Mutual understanding between the two countries has been deepened through President Nimeri's visit, and especially through the meeting of their top leaders. The friendship between the two peoples will, like the Yangtze and the Nile, be everlasting.

## **Italian Foreign Minister Visits China**

Italian Foreign Minister Arnaldo Forlani paid a visit to China from June 12 to 16. During his stay in Peking, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien met him,

and Foreign Minister Huang Hua held talks with him, which defined more clearly their common viewpoints. This is beneficial to the development of the relations between China and Italy.

In his speech at the banquet he gave on June 12 in honour of the Italian Foreign Minister, Foreign Minister Huang Hua said:

— China appreciates the efforts of the Italian Government to promote the unity of Western Europe and safeguard the security of the Mediterranean region.

— China firmly supports the efforts of West European countries to strengthen themselves through unity and jointly oppose hegemonism.

— China will continue actively to develop its friendly relations and co-operation with Italy.

Foreign Minister Arnaldo Forlani said in his speech at the banquet:

— Italy will make efforts to promote economic and cultural exchanges between the two countries based on mutual respect.

— Italy is an integral part of the West. Within this framework, she will continue to make positive contributions to the activities of the Atlantic alliance.

— Western Europe has displayed the dynamism to remove various factors of division. Italy believes that only a strong and united Europe can open its door wider to a dialogue with the people of other countries, especially with the newly emerging countries.



## Important Milestone in China's Industrial Development

by Chou Chin

THE National Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry, held from April 20 to May 13, is making a tremendous impact on the nation. A mass movement to learn from Taching with hundreds of millions of people actively participating is gathering momentum across the land.

During the conference, the 7,000 delegates from all over China studied the newly published Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, the important speeches of Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh (see issue No. 21) and the speeches of other leading comrades of the central authorities. They also studied the basic experience of the Taching Oilfield itself, exchanged experiences in struggling against the "gang of four" and in learning from Taching, discussed plans for building Taching-type enterprises and expressed their determination to speedily push forward industry and the national economy as a whole.

As Chairman Hua pointed out at the conference: "This conference is highly successful and will certainly be an important milestone in the history of China's industrial development."

### Stumbling Blocks Swept Aside

The conference showed that the ultra-Right line of the "gang of four" and its counter-revolutionary force, which did grave damage to China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, had been utterly shattered.

In the 28 years after the founding of New China in 1949, our industry developed fairly

rapidly and achieved what many capitalist countries had done in more than half a century. But owing to the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and, in particular, the "gang of four," our achievements still fell short of our expectations.

The damage inflicted by the "gang of four" on socialist revolution and socialist construction was the most serious in the two-line struggles since the founding of New China. Using Marxism-Leninism as a cloak, the gang opposed Marxism-Leninism and, flaunting the banner of opposing capitalist restoration, it tried to restore capitalism. Members of the gang made themselves out to be representatives of the correct line while actually they went about setting up bourgeois factions, plotted to usurp Party leadership and savagely suppressed the cadres and the masses who dared to stand up to them and did not dance to their tune. Delegates to the conference cited numerous facts exposing and condemning the gang's crimes.

The "gang of four" opposed and distorted the basic line of our Party formulated by Chairman Mao for the historical period of socialism. Chairman Mao said: "Class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." The gang took over the revolutionary slogan and, in the name of grasping class struggle, mercilessly attacked comrades who upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and treated them as enemies. The gang accused cadres who conscientiously grasped revolution and promoted production as "hard-working capitalist-roaders" and wanted to overthrow them all. They maligned workers



and technicians with a high level of socialist consciousness and doing their very best in building socialism as "blind oxen." They discriminated against and attacked these comrades, vilifying them as people who could only toil like the oxen but could not distinguish the right road from the wrong.

Moreover, the gang went about brandishing the big stick of the "theory of productive forces" to sabotage the socialist economy and sow confusion in people's thinking. The gang counterposed socialist revolution to socialist construction and absurdly claimed that "when satellites go up to the sky, the red flag falls to the ground" and that modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology would lead to "capitalist restoration." As a comrade said at the conference: "To the 'gang of four,' it was criminal to go all out in building socialism but meritorious to batten on it and it was criminal to fulfil state plans but commendable to stop work and production. Today, more than a century after the birth of Marxism, that workers should work and factories should produce and revolution should propel the development of production have all suddenly become an issue! Isn't this preposterous?"

The "gang of four" also stirred up anarchism to undermine the state planned economy and oppose all rules and regulations. Proper management of enterprises was decried by the gang as "revisionist controlling, curbing and suppressing" of workers.

This conference was convened six months after the "gang of four" had been smashed. Over a hundred delegates took the floor denouncing the gang for its crimes. Both in and outside the conference, delegates discussed and exchanged experience in exposing and criticizing the gang, and the conference epitomized the victories of six months of struggle against this gang.

In learning from Taching in industry, there will be no more interference and sabotage from the "gang of four's" counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The Chinese working class, together with the rest of the people, can now go all out and build socialism with might and main.

June 24, 1977

Continuing the in-depth exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" in order to thoroughly eliminate its noxious influence will greatly speed up the tempo of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction.

### Raise Higher the Red Banner of Taching

The importance of this conference lies also in the fact that China's industry will develop smoothly along its own road, a road indicated by Chairman Mao and pioneered by Taching.

The day the conference opened Chairman Hua wrote this inscription: "We must hold high the red banner of Taching put up by Chairman Mao." This was taken as the guideline throughout the conference.

Over the years since the establishment of the socialist public ownership of the means of production, a fierce struggle has been raging between the proletarian and the bourgeois lines as to how the proletariat should manage its enterprises and develop its industry. In the course of the struggle, Chairman Mao time and

In Industry, Learn From Taching.

Woodcut by Cheh Chin





Shanghai textile worker Mao Hsin-hsien who set up the record of making 400,000 metres of cloth without a blemish speaks to her fellow-workers about the recent national learn-from-Taching conference she attended.

Prior to the convening of the recent national conference to learn from Taching, some 7,000 delegates went to visit the oilfield and learn from its advanced experience. The comrades of Taching explained accurately and vividly their experience to the visitors. During the conference, Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh expounded in a profound way the road taken by Taching. Chairman Hua said: "We say learning from Taching is of fundamental importance to China's industrial development because the Taching red banner put up personally by Chairman Mao is a model of studying Mao Tsetung Thought and applying the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to the industrial front, a model of bringing about industrialization under the command of revolutionization and of taking China's own road of industrial development." Taching "has all along exercised effective dictatorship over class enemies. 'Sitting tight in the fishing boat despite the rising wind and waves' — this is the true picture of Taching. What is meant by ensuring that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled at the grass-roots level? Just look at Taching, and

again summed up both the positive and the negative experience at home and abroad and gradually formulated a whole series of theory, line, principles and policies for running socialist industry. In 1960 Chairman Mao wrote a note on the **Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company\*** and for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism solved in an all-round way the fundamental question of transforming enterprises in the image of the proletariat and developing industry according to socialist principles.

Beginning in 1960, the year when it was opened up, the Taching Oilfield has comprehensively implemented the **Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company** and blazed China's own road of industrial development, which is diametrically opposed to that of capitalism and revisionism. In 1964 Chairman Mao issued the call "In industry, learn from Taching." Premier Chou who took a devoted interest in Taching visited the oilfield on three occasions to sum up its experience and give directions regarding its work. But owing to the interference and sabotage of successive counter-revolutionary revisionist lines, there were numerous obstacles and even a national conference to learn from Taching in industry could not be held due to the "gang of four's" obstruction.

tion under the dictatorship of the proletariat to the industrial front, a model of bringing about industrialization under the command of revolutionization and of taking China's own road of industrial development." Taching "has all along exercised effective dictatorship over class enemies. 'Sitting tight in the fishing boat despite the rising wind and waves' — this is the true picture of Taching. What is meant by ensuring that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled at the grass-roots level? Just look at Taching, and

\*The Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company is the fundamental law for running China's socialist enterprises well. It was put forward in March 1960 by Chairman Mao in a note he wrote to a report by the Anshan City Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Taking into account the lessons drawn from economic construction in the Soviet Union, Chairman Mao summed up China's own experience and formulated the fundamental principles for running socialist enterprises as follows: Keep politics firmly in command; strengthen Party leadership; launch vigorous mass movements; institute the system of cadre participation in productive labour and worker participation in management, of reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations, and of close co-operation among cadres, workers and technicians; and go full steam ahead with the technical innovations and technical revolution. (For text of Chairman Mao's note, see issue No. 14, 1977.)

there you see what this means." Vice-Chairman Yeh in his speech said: "Taching and Tachai, the two red banners put up by Chairman Mao, represent the orientation of advance of the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people."

The conference opened the eyes of the delegates, enhanced their understanding and enabled them to grasp the essence of China's road of industrial development which Taching represents. The delegates equated learning from Taching with holding aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao and with continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They also regarded it as a question of having genuine or feigned desire to build China into a powerful, modern socialist country as quickly as possible. Full of confidence the delegates pledged to learn from Taching in the spirit of revolution plus hard work. Thus a big step forward has been taken on a nationwide scale in implementing the **Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company**, taking the Taching road and building Taching-type enterprises throughout the country.

### **Speedily Carry Out Chairman Mao's Behests**

The historical importance of this conference lies also in the fact that it will speed up the realization of the magnificent plan which Chairman Mao had in mind of building China into a powerful, modern socialist country and economically catching up with and surpassing the most developed capitalist countries.

In November 1956 when China completed in the main the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, Chairman Mao pointed out: "In another forty-five years, that is, in the year 2001, or the beginning of the 21st century, China will have undergone an even greater change. She will have become a powerful socialist industrial country. And that is as it should be. China is a land with an area of 9,600,000 square kilometres and a population of 600 million people, and she ought to have made a greater contribution to humanity." (*In Commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.*)

In accordance with this directive of Chairman Mao's, Premier Chou put forward at the Third National People's Congress in 1964 the

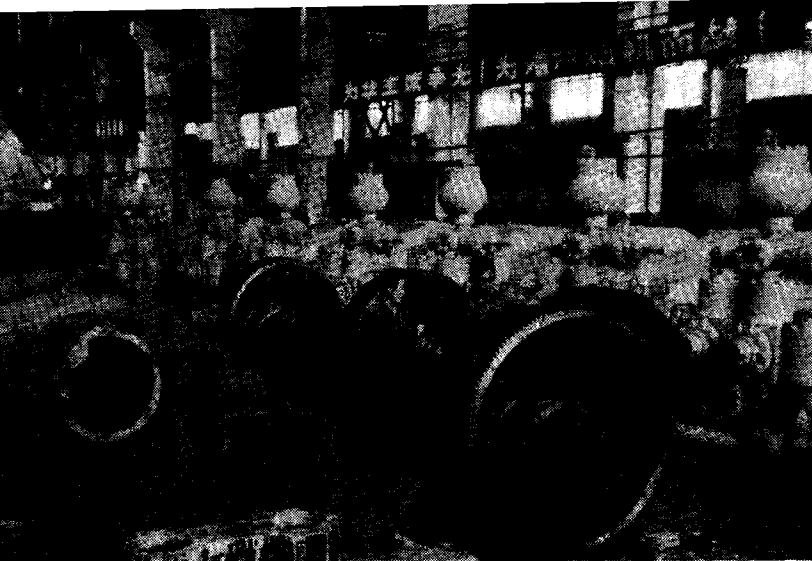
task of accomplishing the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the front ranks of the world. At the Fourth National People's Congress in 1975, Premier Chou reiterated this plan.

The national conference to learn from Taching in industry is a new mobilization order from the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua to the whole nation to speed up the realization of this plan Chairman Mao had left to us.

The conference proposed that in the current Fifth Five-Year Plan (1976-80), one-third of the enterprises in the country be transformed into Taching-type units, that is to say, an average of more than 400 large and medium-sized industrial enterprises are to be turned into Taching-type enterprises annually from 1977 to 1980. All enterprises in the country are required to work out their own schedules and measures to this end. In other words, we must let the red banner of Taching put up by Chairman Mao fly high over the whole country and bring about a big leap forward in industry and the national economy as a whole.

The conference called on the Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions as well as the industrial departments under the central authorities to strengthen their leadership, draw up concrete plans and work out effective measures to ensure the building of Taching-type enterprises step by step. The conference announced the six criteria\* (see footnote on next page) as the standard at the present stage for evaluating and comparing enterprises to be designated Taching-type units. Fulfilment of these six points by an enterprise leads to formal recognition as a Taching-type unit.

The conference held that building Taching-type enterprises all over the country and speeding up the development of the national economy are entirely feasible. This is because in addition to having a big population, a vast territory and rich resources, China has a material basis built up over the past 28 years and both positive and negative experience to go by in economic construction. More important, through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the



Responding to Chairman Hua's call to build some ten more Taching Oilfields, the Lanchow Petrochemical Machinery Plant speeds up production of drilling rigs.

three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" have been smashed, the unity of the whole Party is stronger and the political consciousness of the people

\* The six criteria for a Taching-type enterprise are: (1) It should conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and adhere to the Party's basic line and the socialist orientation in running the enterprise; (2) it should have a core of Party leadership which combines the old, middle-aged and young and firmly carries out the Party's line, principles and policies, maintains close ties with the masses and is united in struggle; (3) it should have a contingent of workers and staff members capable of fighting hard battles in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment and imbued with the revolutionary style of being honest in thought, word and deed and setting itself strict standards for work, organization, attitude and observance of discipline; (4) it should adhere to the principle of cadre participation in productive labour and worker participation in management, reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations and close co-operation among cadres, workers and technicians, and institute scientific rules and regulations for management which rely on the masses and meet the needs for expanding production; (5) it should constantly make new achievements in technical innovations and technical revolution, fulfil state targets in an all-round way and reach the advanced national levels in major technical and economic indices; (6) it should keep to the "May 7" road Chairman Mao pointed out in his directive on May 7, 1966, that is, while mainly engaging in industrial activity, the workers also do other things and, where conditions permit, do a good job of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries, and make good arrangements for the workers' daily life while improving production.

is higher than ever, and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line can be implemented in an all-round and correct way.

The conference expressed the conviction that, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and making full use of the above-mentioned favourable conditions, the development of our national economy in the next 23 years will be much faster and better than in the previous 28 years. The goal of accomplishing the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology and building China into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century can assuredly be reached. The superiority of China's socialist system over the capitalist system as regards economic development will certainly demonstrate itself with greater splendour.

### New Leap Begins

Since the conference ended, the whole nation has jubilantly plunged into studying the reports and speeches of the conference and fulfilling the tasks set forth at the conference. In large and medium-sized cities a festive atmosphere prevails in industrial enterprises. The spirit of learning from Taching and going all out in building socialism is evident everywhere.

The people of Taching, on their part, went over their work with a fine-tooth comb, seeking out shortcomings and overcoming them so as to attain higher standards. They made plans up to 1985, during which time they would scale new pinnacles in production and construction and make greater contributions to speeding up the development of the oil industry. After the conference the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemical Industries swiftly sent a large body of cadres, with the minister in the lead, to the frontline of production and construction, just as they did in the days of the massive battle to open up and build Taching. They are now working hard to build some ten more Taching Oilfields as Chairman Hua called for. The comrades pledge: "We are determined to

learn from Iron Man Wang Chin-hsi who performed outstanding deeds in opening up Taching and emulate his revolutionary spirit when he declared: 'Even if I have to give up 20 years of my life, I'll do my bit to help open up the big oilfield.' We will do all we can to catch up with and surpass advanced world levels!"

Workers and cadres of Hunan are inspired by the inscription Chairman Hua wrote for the delegation from Hunan Province: "The advanced must become still more advanced and those lagging behind must catch up. Make revolution and work hard, and we will be ever-victorious in our forward march!" They pledge to speed up the building of Hunan into an industrial province as Chairman Mao desired. Under the leadership of the provincial Party committee, Hunan workers and cadres have challenged their counterparts in Kiangsu Province in a friendly emulation, and a socialist labour emu-

lation drive is now in full swing between Changsha and four other cities in Hunan itself and between the various workshops, shifts and groups in the enterprises. Similar emulation pacts have been drawn up between Shantung and Szechuan, Hupeh and Kwangtung, Kansu and Kwangsi, and Shansi and Shensi.

Inspired by the conference, a swift upturn has taken place in both revolution and construction in the industrial and transport departments of Kweichow Province which were previously seriously disrupted by the "gang of four." Aggregate industrial output value in Kweichow from January through April reached an unprecedentedly high level and a big leap forward occurred in May.

Similar good news in production have poured in from all over the country, signalling a new leap forward is under way.

## Watch How They Are Going To Act

by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator

THE Soviet revisionist leaders recently let loose another spate of anti-China propaganda. They have delivered speeches and published articles, unscrupulously slandering, maligning and abusing China. They even issued a diplomatic note, blackmailing and browbeating China with such menacing expressions as "fraught with dangerous consequences" and "assuming a great responsibility." Thus, the Brezhnev clique has torn off its mask of being willing "to improve Soviet-Chinese relations" and demonstrated its deliberate attempt to extend to state relations the differences on matters of principle between the two sides so as to attain ends that cannot bear the light of day.

Brezhnev and company of Moscow have hurled at us a heap of appalling charges which fall into two categories: Under one category, we are "warlike" and under the other, "anti-Soviet." The charge of being "warlike" is based on nothing more than our statements that the danger of a world war still exists and that people must be prepared against it. Here the absurd logic of the Soviet revisionists is beneath refutation. As for the charge of being "anti-Soviet," it refers to our merciless exposure and repudiation of the evil doings of the Soviet social-imperialists and our unequivocal proclamation of our determination to fight to the end modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist

renegade clique at its centre. Our exposure and repudiation of the Soviet revisionists are based entirely on facts. The furious uproar of the Soviet revisionist leaders proves precisely that our exposure and repudiation have hit the nail on the head, and are unfavourable to the counter-revolutionary cause of the Brezhnev clique and its fond dreams of world domination. This tells us that in the interests of the Soviet people and the people of the world, the exposure and repudiation of the Soviet revisionists must not cease, but must be carried on.

We have shown and will continue to show how Soviet social-imperialism has become the most dangerous source of world war in the present era. The Brezhnev clique is pursuing more feverishly than ever a course of all-round arms buildup and global expansion. It has swung into a menacing offensive in its rivalry with the other superpower for world hegemony and is preparing in every way to unleash a new world war. It has spared no effort in manufacturing and developing nuclear and conventional arms and expanding its armed forces in the race for military superiority over the other superpower. In addition, it has placed the whole national economy on a war footing, intensified militaristic indoctrination, made military dispositions of an offensive nature and conducted military manoeuvres one after another. Its brass-hats even publicly declared that they "are preparing to fight a war with any kinds of weapons" and that they would go into "a surprise, lightning war with nuclear arms, aircraft and tank masses."

This Soviet revisionist trick of sham disarmament and real arms expansion, sham detente and real contention, is truly "fraught with dangerous consequences" if we fail to show it up for what it is and, instead, let it freely mislead and benumb the people of all countries. Decidedly we cannot do so.

We have shown and will continue to show that Soviet social-imperialism is the most vicious type of neo-colonialism in the present era. Disguising itself as a "natural ally" and flaunting the banner of "supporting national-liberation movements," the Brezhnev clique is engrossed in expansion and infiltration on a large scale in the third world and is doing its utmost to

enlarge its spheres of influence there. It never scruples to use **subversion**, intervention, manipulation and **aggression** to seize more sources of raw materials, markets for its manufactured goods, avenues for investment and military bases. Soviet social-imperialism has become one of the biggest international exploiters of the present day. Its recent acts of aggression in Africa show up even more convincingly its ferocious neo-colonialist features. We would fail to live up to the expectations of the people of the third world countries if we fail to point out the social-colonialist nature of Soviet revisionism and to show that it is the most vicious enemy of the oppressed nations and oppressed people. Decidedly we cannot do so.

We have shown and will continue to show that the Soviet revisionists are the worst renegades to Marxism-Leninism in the present era. The Brezhnev clique has restored capitalism in every field and exercises fascist dictatorship in an unbridled manner at home. Internationally, it pursues a social-imperialist policy and embarks on aggression and expansion in a big way. Day in and day out it commits acts of betraying Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet people and the people of the world. In the recently published draft of a new constitution of the U.S.S.R. they have formally included such revisionist stuff as "the state of the whole people" and "the party of the entire people" and openly thrown overboard the fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism — the dictatorship of the proletariat. We would not be Marxists if we fail to pull down their signboard of socialism and to show their true colours as renegades. Decidedly we cannot do so.

In further escalating their anti-China campaign, the Soviet revisionists have stooped to a new low. Their stock method has always been one of slandering and lying, but this time when they dished up the gross lies that China wants to build up a great empire and plans to make landings in Japan, the Philippines and San Francisco, and even put them in quotes, they sank to the depths of shamelessness! Following Khrushchov's clumsy tactics, the Brezhnev clique tries to poison the relations between China and other countries with

the bogey of the "yellow peril." Naturally, this is of no avail.

Most absurd is that the Brezhnev clique should find it wise to put on a stern expression and serve the Chinese people a "warning in all seriousness." Soviet revisionists, you gentlemen have been dealing with the Chinese people for so many years. Don't you know that they fear no threat or intimidation?

Indeed, it is not without reason that the Soviet revisionists should fly into a rage lately and behave in this disgraceful manner.

People remember that after the passing of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao last year, the Soviet revisionist leaders slackened their propaganda against China for a time and had the cheek to make some petty, unseemly moves. Making a pretence of willingness to improve the relations between China and the Soviet Union, they went so far as to hypocritically declare that they wanted to "hold constructive talks" and that "no question is insoluble" between China and the Soviet Union. But at the same time, they frenziedly attacked the foreign policy of our country and announced their adherence to the anti-China policy as laid down by the "25th party congress." Anyone with a discerning eye at that time was clearly aware that they resorted to such tricks because they hoped vainly that we would change our country's principle and policy in foreign affairs as formulated by Chairman Mao. Is this not simply daydreaming? Holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, our Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policy in foreign affairs and is resolved to carry through to the end the struggle against superpower hegemonism. With their illusions shattered and their intrigues frustrated, the Soviet revisionists' disgusting smile faded and they viciously slandered, cursed and attacked China with redoubled venom. Burning with such a frenzy of rage and exasperated at being rebuffed, they can only blame themselves for their miscalculation.

There was a more profound factor in the background of the Soviet revisionists' recent hysterical anti-China outbursts. People are

aware that the Soviet revisionists have met with strong opposition from a vast number of countries in Africa and the rest of the third world when, proceeding from their rabid ambition for world hegemony, they recently engaged in massive penetration and expansion in Africa, sowed discord in the relations between the African and Arab countries, and even blatantly organized mercenaries to invade Zaire. Having forcibly occupied Japan's northern territories, they, with ulterior motives, dragged the territorial issue into the Japanese-Soviet fishery talks in a vain attempt to force Japan to recognize the four northern islands as "Soviet territory." More and more people have come to see through the fraud of "detente" and "disarmament" perpetrated by the Soviet revisionists with such painstaking efforts. Heightening their vigilance against the Soviet revisionists' war threats, the second world countries, primarily the West European countries, have paid attention to strengthening their defence capabilities. In the rivalry for military superiority and spheres of influence, the other superpower is not to be outdone. In short, the Soviet revisionists have fared unfavourably in pushing their counter-revolutionary global strategy for world hegemony and have landed themselves in a position of increasing passivity and isolation internationally. It is precisely for the sake of trying to lift itself out of its awkward predicament that by unleashing a new anti-China upsurge, the Brezhnev clique intends to divert people's attention and to convince them that China, not Soviet social-imperialism, wants to dominate the world and is prepared to launch a world war. This sheer nonsense, however, can deceive nobody.

Marx was fond of quoting a maxim from the Italian poet Dante: "Follow your own course, and let people talk!" No matter how viciously they slander and curse us, the Soviet revisionists cannot in the least influence the Chinese people's advance in giant strides after smashing the "gang of four," or shake the Chinese people's resolve to carry through firmly to the end the struggle against Soviet modern revisionism. Let us watch how they are going to act.

(June 16)



## Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's Speech

(Excerpts)

WHILE playing host to His Excellency Prime Minister Sylvain-Goma, we deeply cherish the memory of the late President Marien N'Gouabi. The late President N'Gouabi was an old friend of ours, and his untimely death was a great loss to the Congolese people, over which the Chinese people sincerely condole. However, it is gratifying that, under the leadership of the Congolese Military Committee headed by President Joachim Yhomby-Opango, the Congolese people have turned grief into strength and are persevering in their struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and develop the national economy. Externally, the Congolese Government continues to pursue a policy of non-alignment, lay stress on African unity, good-neighbourly relations and friendship, oppose imperialism, colonialism, Zionism, racism and oppression in all forms and support national-liberation movements, thus making positive contributions to the third world's united struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. We sincerely wish the Congolese Government and people continuous, new and greater successes on their road of advance.

At present, the world is far from tranquil. The intense rivalry between the two superpowers is the cause of disturbances in all parts of the world. One superpower has interests to protect and is trying its utmost to maintain its hegemonic position; the other superpower has wild ambitions and is carrying out aggression and expansion everywhere in an attempt to seize global hegemony, thus posing a graver threat to the peoples of the world. Europe is the focus of contention between the super-

powers. In order to control Europe, they are intensifying their rivalry in Africa as well. Not long ago, a superpower flagrantly organized mercenaries to make a massive invasion of Zaire, a sovereign African state. Recently the white racist regime in Rhodesia, with the connivance of a superpower, dispatched troops to intrude into Botswana and even cross the border en masse to attack the interior of Mozambique. Evidently, these grave incidents are closely related to the rivalry between the superpowers. But the criminal activities of the superpowers can only arouse African countries and people to ever stronger resistance. The struggles of the independent African states against hegemonic interference, control, aggression and subversion are now mounting higher and higher. In particular, the victorious course of Zairian resistance to the mercenary invasion reflected the further growth of the anti-hegemonic united front. The national-liberation struggles in the non-independent territories are gathering momentum. In southern Africa, the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe is blazing fiercer. In the Horn of Africa, Djibouti will soon proclaim its independence. Facts show that the situation in Africa, like the entire international situation, is developing in a direction more favourable to the people. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become the irresistible trend of history.

The Chinese and Congolese peoples have always supported, assisted and learnt from each other in their long struggle to oppose

imperialism and colonialism and to build their own countries and have forged a profound friendship. The friendly relations and co-operation between China and the Congo developed satisfactorily in the past, and will certainly continue to make steady progress in future. Prime Minister Sylvain-Goma's visit will surely be a new contribution to strength-

ening the friendly Sino-Congolese relations. Our friends may rest assured that the Chinese Government and people will, as always, do our best to develop the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries. Let us work together so that the flowers of Sino-Congolese friendship will bear more splendid fruits.

## Prime Minister Sylvain-Goma's Speech

(Excerpts)

SINO-Congolese friendship and co-operation, though only a little more than 13 years old, take on more symbolic value than ever.

We are therefore proud and glad to solemnly reaffirm, here in Peking, this city backed by a mountain and facing the sea, the perfect active solidarity that exists so marvellously between the Chinese and Congolese peoples.

In a very short time and in an abrupt way, our two peoples experienced sad events.

In the People's Republic of China, the death of Premier Chou En-lai, a prestigious statesman and devoted diplomat who had travelled a great deal to underdeveloped countries of Africa and Asia; the death of Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Chu Teh; and the death of the glorious Chairman Mao Tsetung whose thought provides the revolutionaries of the whole world with indispensable ideological weapons in the general framework of Marxism-Leninism. It is proper for the writer Kuo Mo-jo to compare Mao Tsetung Thought to a "spiritual atom bomb of unlimited power."

As for the People's Republic of the Congo, she has lost her illustrious President, President Marien N'Gouabi, a great friend of the Chinese

people, cowardly assassinated on March 18 this year by imperialism and its local agents. I am pleased to recall that in 1973 President Marien N'Gouabi had extremely fruitful talks here in Peking with Chairman Mao Tsetung and Premier Chou En-lai. The ideal for which our President gave his life, with arms in hand, is being pursued and will always be pursued in the Congo, and the Congolese Party of Labour created by President Marien N'Gouabi will always base its theoretical and practical actions on Marxism-Leninism.

It is my important duty, on behalf of the entire Congolese people, their Party, their President and their government, to formally thank the Chinese people, their organizations and their high leaders for the sympathy and friendship they showed to the Congo on the occasion of the cowardly and despicable assassination of President Marien N'Gouabi.

I would now especially stress the fact that the Congolese people in central Africa have always had, in the past as in the present, a sincere and total admiration for the numerous Chinese people, their immense cultural prestige, their exemplary revolutionary dynamism, their strong collective unity, all unique qualities which have enabled them to rapidly

accomplish great works and courageously win decisive victories in the political, diplomatic, economic, scientific and cultural fields—victories that impress the people the world over.

The Chinese people are a great people. They are always able to turn their difficulties into an invincible force in their inexorable march towards new summits. Whether on the occasion of the passing of illustrious and immortal Chinese revolutionaries, or during the terrible earthquake that recently struck China, or again in the face of other natural calamities like the drought that hit vast areas of the country, the Chinese people, guided by Mao Tsetung Thought, have always adopted the principle of viewing reality objectively, fearing nothing and fighting resolutely.

Today, China has become a hope for revolutionaries all over the world, and at the same time she is an active and consistent ally of the peoples of the third world who universally aspire to greater justice.

But there is more, for the reality of the times in which we live makes us see clearly that the world and civilization of tomorrow are more than ever bound up with the future of China.

The gigantic work accomplished by Chairman Mao Tsetung is being continued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng.

Our country has followed with great interest the second national conference on agriculture and the first national conference on industry. The directives issued by these conferences reveal the firm will of the Chinese people to be at the forefront of progress and to reinforce and increase their revolutionary achievements in a world in quest of genuine peace.

Therefore the Congolese people, their government and their President, President Joachim Yhomby-Opango, deem it absolutely necessary to consolidate and deepen Sino-Congolese co-operation.

The general situation in Africa is very worrying at present. The African raw materials know little commercial improvement on the capitalist world market. Trade terms continue to deteriorate every day. What has come to be called "north-south dialogue" remains up to now a true dialogue of deafs, with the capitalist, industrialized powers refusing to listen to the voice of the proletarianized peoples of the third world.

The grave political problem which remains uppermost on the African continent is the liberation of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. It is difficult to liberate this southern part of the African continent except by armed struggle. That is why the People's Republic of the Congo unconditionally supports the liberation movements which truly fight for decolonization and the disappearance of racial discrimination which is a direct product of imperialism and colonialism.

Fascism is deeply implanted in South Africa where European-American imperialisms have huge investments. Racism, the affirmed ideology of the South African fascists, has reduced black people to a status of slaves.

It would be impossible truly to achieve and maintain the peace of the world apart from Africa, apart from Latin America, apart from Asia, in a word, apart from the third world.

The world structure of peace is a global structure. The political, economic and security problems of the third world peoples constitute an integral part of the problems of peace and progress of humanity throughout our planet.

The anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neocolonialist struggles that are developing in the third world countries concern the development of humanity as a whole.

We are sure that the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of the Congo, united in a great and sincere friendship, will continue the struggle for the liberation of the peoples still oppressed by imperialism, while at the same time making their bilateral mutual co-operation ever more intense and active.

# The Trotskyites: A Mirror Reflecting "Gang of Four"

by Ku Shan



**I**N the history of the international communist movement, Trotsky was an old hand at factional activities, bent on creating splits and adept at intriguing. Having much in common with the Trotskyite gangsters of old, the "gang of four" could only shudder at the mention of Stalin's struggle against the Trotskyites, and, unable to restrain themselves, always came forward to try and reverse the verdict on Trotsky. Chiang Ching once said: "Say no more about Stalin! For all I know, the case of Trotsky is far from settled!" It is, therefore, most necessary for us to delve into history to see how the Trotskyites in their time formed a faction to usurp power. This will serve as a looking-glass that shows up the "gang of four's" counter-revolutionary image.

## Posing as "Left"

Trotsky was a fanatic in factional activities. Now ganging up with one group of people and then forming a faction with another, he rabidly opposed the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin and attacked Marxism-Leninism. From 1903, he was constantly on the move to line himself up with the Mensheviks; in 1912, he became the ringleader of the notorious anti-Bolshevik August Bloc; during World War I, he wildly opposed Lenin's theory that socialism could be victorious first in one country. Lenin in 1917 properly epitomized Trotsky's behaviour in the following words: "Always true to him-

*self=twists, swindles, poses as a Left, helps the Right, so long as he can. . . ." (To Inessa Armand, 1917.)*

Trotsky wormed his way into the Bolshevik Party in 1917 on the eve of the October Revolution. Persisting in his reactionary stand, he caused two big discussions to take place inside the Party within the short span of three or four years after his admission. In collusion with Bukharin (who called himself a "Left Communist") in early 1918, he vehemently opposed Lenin and the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty. This nearly wrecked the newborn Soviet regime. Towards the end of 1920, he joined hands with Bukharin and others to touch off a controversy over the trade union question, resulting in the Party being forced to put off the urgent task of economic rehabilitation and engage them in a discussion involving the whole Party.

In view of the fact that factional activities had brought serious damage to the Russian Communist Party, its Tenth Congress in 1921 adopted the Preliminary Draft Resolution on Party Unity drafted by Lenin himself. The resolution said: "The unity and cohesion of the ranks of the Party . . . are particularly essential" and "factionalism of any kind is harmful and impermissible"; the congress "hereby . . . orders the immediate dissolution of all groups without exception formed on the basis

of one platform or another. . . . Non-observance of this decision of the Congress shall entail unconditional and instant expulsion from the Party." This resolution was a heavy blow to Trotsky's factional and splittist activities and, precisely for this reason, Trotsky and company always tried to repudiate and undermine it.

### When Lenin Was Seriously Ill

In 1923, the great leader Lenin's illness worsened and he was unable to attend office. In the autumn of the same year, some economic difficulties emerged in the country. Internationally, with the defeat of the revolution in Bulgaria and Germany, the revolution as a whole was at a low ebb. For Trotsky, all this provided him with an excellent opportunity to usurp Party and state power. He wrote a letter to the Party Central Committee on October 8 demanding a shake-up of the Party apparatus. This was a premeditated anti-Party move, in the wake of which a number of the oppositionists published on October 15 a Declaration of the Forty-Six. It sensationally predicted that "a grave economic crisis" was in store for the Soviet power, and, asserting that the policy of the majority in the politburo was bringing serious damage to the whole Party, asked for a change in the Party's line. Trotsky himself did not affix his signature to the declaration, though it was signed in his own home. Disregarding the Party's injunction, they put the declaration and the letter into wide circulation in the country in order to spread and build up their influence. Before long, Trotsky himself entered the arena and published in *Pravda* a series of articles under the title "The New Policy" which amounted to a factional declaration against the Party Central Committee. This was how Trotsky and his gang in Moscow and elsewhere started a campaign against the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party headed by Lenin.

Because staunch Party organizations and long-tempered old Bolsheviks seriously blocked his way to usurping Party and state power, Trotsky directed the brunt of the attack at the Party's leading organs and its veteran cadres. The leading Party organs, he said, had become

"bureaucratic"; by this, he thought he could upset the Party organizations at all levels and destroy them. He smeared the old guard as having become "degenerated" and hurled such terrible charges as "bureaucratic," "inactive," and "inert" at the old stalwarts. He even went to the absurd length of putting the old Bolsheviks headed by Lenin on a par with the Second International's ringleaders Kautsky and Bernstein, in an attempt to brand these old Bolsheviks as renegades and revisionists. In exposing this base trick, Stalin remarked that when Trotsky tried to discredit the veteran Party cadres by talk of degeneration, he was "trying to disrupt the Party, to break its backbone." (*The Results of the Thirteenth Congress of the R.C.P.* [B], 1924.)

Without exception, all who knew something about Trotsky's past — a man notorious for his anti-Leninist stand — held him in contempt. So he could only try and enlist the support of the young people who had little experience in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. To this end, he went out of his way to sing the praises of the young people whom he flatteringly referred to as the "Party's surest barometer." He did his utmost to make the young and old cadres oppose each other. The old cadres, he said, had only "pre-October Revolution experience," whereas the young people had "post-October Revolution experience" and so, he concluded, the young people must "take part in the class leadership."

The Trotskyites agitated people everywhere and visited Party branches in the capital, especially Party branches in the institutes of higher learning, to canvass and enlist supporters. They set up in Moscow a special committee of their own, called secret meetings, worked out a name list of the opposition as would-be members of the Central Committee, and sent their own men to make speeches and trouble at certain meetings. One Trotskyite element who had usurped the post of director of the Red Army's General Political Department issued without approval from the Central Committee a document known as Notice No. 200 calculated to create chaos in the work of the Party and the political organs in the army.

Thus, Trotsky and his cohorts once more forced a general discussion on the Party. But this merely served to enter into the record another defeat for them. In January 1924, the Party held its Thirteenth Congress at which Stalin summed up the results of the discussion. The conference reiterated, without any reservations, its approval of a Tenth Party Congress resolution prohibiting all factionalism; it recommended that the Party Central Committee make public the seventh clause in the resolution under which Central Committee members could be reduced to the status of candidate members or expelled from the Party in case of a breach of Party discipline or "of a revival . . . of factionalism." The publication of this clause was another grave warning to the Trotskyite factionalists. But, as later events proved, they completely ignored this warning and continued to go their own way as usual.

### After Lenin's Death

Lenin, leader and teacher of the world's revolutionary people, passed away on January 21, 1924. In those days of grief, the whole Party and people of the Soviet Union were determined to rally closely around the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party headed by Stalin, Lenin's successor, and carry the revolutionary cause of the proletariat pioneered by Lenin through to the end. Trotsky, however, took advantage of Lenin's death to step up his anti-Party activities. He misjudged the situation, thinking that the time had come for him to take over and hold the reins of government. While opposing the construction of Lenin's mausoleum for the world's revolutionary people and succeeding generations to pay their respects to the remains of the revolutionary leader, he unscrupulously tampered with history and distorted Lenin's image to prepare opinion for his usurpation of power. In 1924, he turned out three anti-Party pamphlets in a row: *The New Policy, On Lenin* and *The Lessons of October*.

As pointed out by Lenin earlier, Trotsky was very fond of explaining "historical phenomena in a way that is flattering to Trotsky."

(*Disruption of Unity Under Cover of Outcries for Unity*, 1914.) This fellow, who wormed his way into the Bolshevik Party as late as the eve of the October Revolution, had the impudence to talk at great length about the history of the Bolshevik Party. He divided it into two periods: the unimportant "pre-history history" before the October Revolution and the post-October period under his leadership, which was real, genuine history. He shamelessly falsified history to masquerade as the sole leader of the October Revolution, spreading the nonsense that the October armed uprising under Lenin's direct leadership was only of a "supplementary" nature since he, Trotsky, had prior to this already completed "nine-tenths" of the armed uprising. He continued his attacks on the old cadres. In his writings, all the old Bolsheviks of the period of the October Revolution had made "Right-deviationist" mistakes while he was the only one who had stood by Lenin's side. But even Lenin, he said, had made "mistakes," and he, Trotsky, was the only one who had been "correct from first to last." Chiming in, his followers lauded him as the "leader and organizer of the Red Army."

Trotsky vainly tried to lop off history in order to erase his ugly anti-Lenin past. This done, he would proceed to substitute, theoretically, Trotskyism for Leninism and, organizationally, remove and replace the Party's basic core of leadership, thus making it possible for him to usurp Party power and facilitate his take-over.

Of course, this was what the Party members at large and the broad revolutionary masses would never agree to. They unanimously excoriated Trotsky in the press and at meetings for his shameless lies. In defence of Leninism, Stalin made a number of important reports, *The Foundations of Leninism* among them. He put forward before the whole Party the militant task of "burying Trotskyism as an ideological trend." (*Trotskyism or Leninism?*, 1924.) In January 1925, a plenum of the Central Committee of the R.C.P. (B) took place to discuss Trotsky's anti-Party statements and activities. At the request of local Party organizations, the plenum decided to give Trotsky a most serious warning and remove him from

the post of chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council.

### The Trotskyite-Zinovievite Bloc

Trotsky's string of repeated defeats forced him to temporarily adopt a low profile and apply a strategy of concealment to bide his time, seeking political bedfellows and recruiting henchmen, spying out the land and waiting for the right moment to strike back.

The moment finally came. In 1925, a "new opposition" headed by Zinoviev and Kamenev emerged in the Russian Communist Party. Removing their anti-Trotsky mask, they now openly espoused the Trotskyite stand of negating Lenin's thesis that socialism could be victorious first in one country and denying the possibility of building socialism in the Soviet Union. Ostensibly, Trotsky remained on the sidelines to look on with folded arms; in actual fact, he showed his support through his reticence. Soon afterwards, when the Party Central Committee discussed the question of the "new oppositionists" who had made Leningrad their anti-Party base and *Leningradaskaya Pravda* their "faction organ," Trotsky openly lent Zinoviev a helping hand by coming forward with a statement in which he said he was against the issuance of an order as a means to snuff out the conflict mechanically and in which he also objected to the nomination of a chief editor for the paper by the Central Committee. By now, Zinoviev had come to a tacit understanding with Trotsky, followed immediately by a deal between the two during a plenum of the Party Central Committee in April 1926. The bloc of Trotskyites and Zinovievites began to take shape.

Both careerists, Trotsky and Zinoviev had wild personal ambitions. In his *Autobiography* written at a later date, the former admitted that as early as when Lenin was seriously ill, he already had the vaulting ambition to become "Lenin's deputy" and "take over the chairmanship of the Council of People's Commissars." Zinoviev too was manoeuvring, considering himself Lenin's "closest comrade-in-arms" and dreaming of becoming the Party's "absolute leader." Both told themselves they were "world leaders." As Lenin pointed out: "Certain individuals, especially among the unsuccessful

claimants to leadership, may (if they lack proletarian discipline and are not 'honest with themselves') persist in their mistakes for a long time." (*"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, 1920.) These three "leading lights" of the bloc of Trotskyites and Zinovievites were then all members of the Political Bureau of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee and had seized important posts in the Party and state. Zinoviev, moreover, was chairman of the Communist International and president of the Leningrad Soviet; Kamenev was president of the Moscow Soviet and director of the Lenin Institute. In the circumstances, their factional activities greatly harmed the C.P.S.U. and the international communist movement.

As a result of the behaviour of the Trotskyites, many undesirable elements inside the Party began surfacing. They were remnants or survivals of the various anti-Party blocs which once existed in the Party but had already been smashed, such as the "Workers' Opposition," the "Workers' Group," "Democratic Centralists," and the "Left Communist Group." All were beside themselves with joy, flocking to dance attendance on the Trotskyites and Zinovievites like flies buzzing around something gone rotten. The bloc of Trotskyites and Zinovievites thus became, in both name and fact, a gathering place and hotbed of all Right opportunist factions.

### Attempt to Overthrow C.P.S.U. Central Committee Headed by Stalin

In their bid to usurp supreme leadership of the Party and state, the Trotskyites made an especially big effort to attack Stalin, successor to Lenin. Kamenev, for one, was an anti-Stalin zealot. In the name of "opposing the establishment of the theory of 'leaders'" and "opposing the creation of 'leaders,'" he openly railed that "Stalin is not in a position to play the role of unifying the Bolshevik headquarters." For the purpose of toppling Stalin, the Trotskyites racked their brains to frame charges against him. The reason for their concentrated attacks on him was that before and after Lenin's death he upheld Lenin's teachings, united the whole Party to wage resolute struggles against Trotsky's sectarian and split-tist activities and repeatedly foiled the Trotskyites' scheme to usurp Party and state



power, thus becoming an insurmountable barrier to their seizing supreme leadership of the Party and state.

Waving the banner of opposing the "Rightists" inside the Party, the Trotskyites also made attacks on the Bolshevik Party's core of leadership. Since they called themselves "Bolshevik Leninists" and staunch "Leftists," they naturally branded the leaders of the Party Central Committee, who waged struggles against them, and most politburo members as "Rightists" or "middle-of-the-roaders." They slanderously described these people as "out-and-out opportunists" standing by the side of the "reviving bourgeoisie at home" and the bourgeoisie of the world to "suppress the vanguard of the proletariat." According to them, there were not only "Rightists" in the Party Central Committee but also "junior Rightists" in various localities. They yelled about "fighting Rightists" and, under this cover, schemed to topple a large number of old Bolsheviks and overthrow the C.P.S.U. Central Committee headed by Stalin so that they could take over and realize their wild ambition of usurping Party and state power.

Stalin laid bare their true feature of being sham Leftists and genuine Rightists, pointing out that their most revolutionary outcry was merely a "Left' camouflage of opportunist actions." (*The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I., 1926.*)

On the question of organizational line, they insisted on annulling the injunction forbidding factional activities inside the Party. But by then, what they asked for was no ordinary freedom of factional activities, as they were working feverishly to found a counter-revolutionary Trotskyite party. Their attacks were no longer confined to accusing certain veteran cadres of having become "degenerated," because they were slanderously speaking of "degeneration" of the Bolshevik Party as a whole. The Soviet Union, they said, had experienced a "degeneration" similar to the "Thermidor degeneration" in the period of the French Revolution. They made this a cover under which they engaged in splittist and underhand activities aimed at setting up another "party central committee" and "a party within the Party."

To work out a plan for their struggle against the Party Central Committee, the Trotskyites called a secret meeting of the opposition in the woods of suburban Moscow in June 1926. It was organized in the way of plotting underground activities, with some of their men hanging about and on the look-out. An anti-Party report was delivered by a candidate member of the Central Committee, who called on those present to get organized and wage a struggle against the Central Committee. After the meeting, they held numerous gatherings, both overt and covert, and their ringleaders made agitational speeches everywhere. As Trotsky himself acknowledged, he often had to attend two or three, sometimes as many as four or five, such meetings a day. They took every opportunity to demonstrate against the Party. On June 9, 1927, under the pretext of giving a send-off to Smilga, one of the Trotskyites, they held a political demonstration at the capital's Yaroslav railway station with Trotsky himself making an openly anti-Party speech to apply pressure on the Party. On November 4, 1927, these desperadoes started a fist fight in Moscow, forcibly occupied the campus of the Moscow Higher Technical Institute, beat up the revolutionary masses there and held a 2,000-strong meeting of the factionalists at which Trotsky and Kamenev made speeches lasting two hours. They sent their trusted followers to set up clandestine liaison centres everywhere in the country, working out codes for use in secret communications and designating places for their men to contact each other. They also had underground printing shops to print their manifestos, programmes and reactionary handbills for nationwide distribution. These printing shops also reprinted dossiers on leaders of the Central Committee which they had stealthily compiled for circulation among their followers.

Thus the bloc of Trotskyites and Zinovievites had already founded a second party in the Soviet Union, i.e., a Trotskyite party. This bunch of double-dealers, nevertheless, unabashedly cried "unity" and professed that they "denounce the slogan of 'two parties' and see it as an adventurer's slogan." A special committee of the Party, after making full investigations, established indisputably that the Trotskyites for some time had a central committee of

their own, their own local committees at all levels and their own working organs and publication offices.

### False Self-Criticism

The Trotskyites, who were a bunch of counter-revolutionary double-dealers, and who had suffered head-on blows from the revolutionary people and had been given a serious warning by the Party, now found themselves more isolated than ever and were well aware of the fact that they would not be able to escape punishment according to Party discipline and the law of the state. So they decided to change their tactics by making false self-criticisms. They admitted in these "self-criticisms" that they had formed a factional bloc in violation of Party discipline and swore they would "resolutely part with 'the freedom of factionalism and forming small blocs' both in theory and practice" and they were "ready to resolutely make efforts to wipe out all factors of factional activities." But, even as they were making their self-criticisms, they called secret meetings at which members of the bloc were instructed to "camouflage themselves still better, seek concealment, and carry on factional activities in a more careful way." In view of the fact that they had persisted in their mistakes and failed to mend their ways after repeated admonitions, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in accordance with the seventh clause of the resolution of the Tenth Party Congress, successively expelled Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, removed the latter from the post of chairman of the Communist International and also relieved Kamenev of his post of candidate member of the Political Bureau. However, it was really very difficult for the ringleaders of the opportunist line to change.

On November 7, 1927, as the Soviet people were warmly celebrating the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution, the Trotskyites staged an anti-Soviet demonstration in Moscow and Leningrad. Carrying portraits of Trotsky and Zinoviev and streamers with demagogical slogans like "Open fire on the Rightists," "Open fire on bureaucrats" and "Oppose opportunism," a handful of Trotskyites took to the streets.

They shouted the slogan "Long live world leaders Zinoviev and Trotsky" and openly opposed the C.P.S.U. Central Committee headed by Stalin and opposed Soviet power in a vain attempt to start an open revolt against it by accusations on the streets. This handful of counter-revolutionary Trotskyite demonstrators were crushed and dispersed at one swoop by the huge throngs of revolutionary demonstrators. Their ringleaders, besieged by ring upon ring of revolutionary masses who sharply cursed them, finally fled in great panic.

### Total Failure

This was, as a *Pravda* editorial at the time pointed out, "an anti-October Revolution performance," "an anti-Soviet performance." The revolutionary people could no longer put up with this gang of Trotskyites' continued evil, demanding that those counter-revolutionaries who had violated Party discipline and the law of the state be duly punished. The C.P.S.U. took resolute measures and decided to expel Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev as well as the chief followers of the bloc of Trotskyites and Zinovievites from the Party.

Thus ended in total failure the five-year-long scheme of the Trotskyite gangsters who took advantage of the serious illness and death of the revolutionary leader Lenin to usurp Party and state power.

This struggle against the Trotskyites defended Leninism, brought about unification of the C.P.S.U., strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, ensured the triumphant realization of the industrialization of the country and collectivization of agriculture, and ensured that the Soviet Union could continue to make headway in the socialist direction.

Trotsky's activities to form a gang for selfish ends, to carry out intrigues and conspiracies and to usurp Party and state power are really like a mirror reflecting the image of the "gang of four." We can clearly see in this mirror the ferocious features of the "gang of four," their ugly souls and despicable means; and in the "gang of four," we can see the corpse of Trotsky and his ghost!

# Why Did the "Gang of Four" Wield The Big Stick of the "Theory Of Productive Forces"?

by Chin Yen

THE last few years saw the "gang of four" distorting and tampering with the dialectical relationship between revolution and production. People who worked for socialism with might and main were accused of having followed the "theory of productive forces" — this was how the gang sabotaged revolution and disrupted production.

## A Political Intrigue

The theory of productive forces is a revisionist fallacy that has been repeatedly criticized by Marxists. But the "gang of four," which had its own ax to grind, never really meant to criticize it.

In 1974, Chairman Mao made the call "**Push the national economy forward.**" In January 1975, in line with Chairman Mao's directive, Premier Chou announced in his Report on the Work of the Government to the Fourth National People's Congress that China was to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century. Just when a high tide of working for socialism in a big way was on the rise throughout the country, the "gang of four" waved the big stick of the "theory of productive forces" which came down heavy on the Party and the people. In his attack, Chang Chun-chiao alleged that to "**push the national economy forward**" and accomplish the four modernizations was a manifestation of the "theory of productive forces," and was to "lay the material foundation for capitalism." Yao Wen-yuan passed the word that articles should be organized and published to criticize

the "theory of productive forces." They pointed their attack point-blank at Chairman Mao and Premier Chou.

The First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture was convened in September 1975 under the guidance of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. At the conference, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng delivered on behalf of the Party Central Committee the important report "Mobilize the Whole Party, Make Greater Efforts to Develop Agriculture and Strive to Build Tachai-Type Counties Throughout the Country," which was warmly supported by the people. However, no sooner had he finished his report than the "gang of four" attacked it as "publicizing the theory of productive forces."

In October 1975, the Ministry of Coal Industry called a national conference of coal mining team leaders. The gang slanderously called it "a conference of the theory of productive forces" and the ten advanced units commended by the conference "baleful prototypes of the theory of productive forces."

In May and June 1976, Vice-Premier Chen Yung-kuei was entrusted by the central authorities to relay Chairman Mao's directive on the socialist education movement to two meetings on agricultural production at which he reiterated the need to implement in real earnest the guidelines of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report to the learn-from-Tachai conference. But the "gang of four" vehemently condemned Vice-Premier Chen's talk as an "out-and-out example of the theory of productive forces."

In the said period, the gang also drivelled that the Taching Oilfield and the Tachai Production Brigade, national pace-setters in industry and agriculture respectively, were "models of the theory of productive forces." In short, they called everything a manifestation of the "theory of productive forces," such as grasping socialist production, organizing labour emulation drives, raising labour productivity, perfecting rational rules and regulations, unfolding technical innovations and technical revolution, and even things like acquiring technical skill and reading books for vocational studies. With this big stick in their hands, they just hit out at anyone as they pleased.

The theory of productive forces criticized by Marxism originally was the kind of opportunist theory that worshipped spontaneity and had been preached by revisionist ringleaders of the Second International like Bernstein and Kautsky. Trotsky, Chen Tu-hsiu and Liu Shao-chi too publicized this sort of fallacy in their wake. In the opinion of these revisionist ringleaders, the proletariat is not in a position to seize political power in a country where the forces of production are at a low level; socialism comes naturally to a country where the forces of production are highly developed, so there is no need for the proletariat there to seize power by revolutionary violence. And where the proletariat does seize power, they again oppose socialist transformation and oppose strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat on the ground that the level of the productive forces is low; their stand is for developing capitalism. Liu Shao-chi, who advocated developing the rich-peasant economy and trumpeted the idea of "mechanization first, co-operation later on," was a case in point. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed, the theory of productive forces manifests itself in denying the fact that the principal contradiction in socialist society remains the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist and capitalist roads; it

opposes grasping class struggle and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The theory of productive forces has been a reactionary ideological weapon used by ringleaders of these revisionist lines to oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat; we have criticized it and will continue to criticize it. But the "gang of four's" so-called criticism of the "theory of productive forces" was a political intrigue. What they criticized was not the above-mentioned revisionist fallacy, but socialist production, the revolutionary deeds of the masses who go all out in building socialism, and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Their real aim was to use this big stick to make people give up socialist modernization, strike down the red banners of Taching and Tachai, hit the masses who work energetically for socialism, and overthrow a large number of leading comrades of the central authorities and various localities adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line—all for the purpose of clearing the way for them to usurp Party and state power and restore capitalism.

### **Opposing Policy of "Grasping Revolution, Promoting Production"**

In wielding the big stick of the "theory of productive forces" to oppose developing socialist production, the "gang of four" was directly opposing Chairman Mao's policy of "grasping revolution, promoting production."

This policy of "grasping revolution, promoting production" was worked out on the basis of a scientific analysis of the basic contradictions in socialist society. When the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had in the main been completed, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: "The basic contradictions in socialist society are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base." (*On the Correct*

*Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) These basic contradictions find their concentrated expression in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads. To promote rapid development of the social productive forces, it is, therefore, necessary to persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is necessary to grasp class struggle, adjust and change in good time that part of the relations of production not in harmony with the productive forces and that part of the superstructure not in harmony with the economic base.

This policy correctly explains the dialectical relationship between revolution and production, reflects the objective law of socialist production and shows the way to developing the national economy at top speed in the socialist direction.

This policy tells us that we must at all times give first place to revolution and persist in putting production under its command. Only thus can we ensure that the leadership rests firmly in the hands of Marxists and the labouring masses and that production develops in the socialist direction. Only thus can we strengthen and develop the newly established relations of production and the superstructure, and open the road to rapid development of the productive forces. Only thus is it possible for us to promote the revolutionization of people's thinking and bring their initiative of working energetically for socialism into full play.

Revolution means liberating the productive forces and opening up a broad avenue for the productive forces. The development of the productive forces in turn provides a still better material basis for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidating the socialist system and reinforcing national defence capabilities; it also creates favourable conditions for the gradual improvement of the material and cultural life of the working people. Accordingly, for the sake of furthering the cause of socialism, it is necessary to pay attention to production and

develop it well. As early as in the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37), Chairman Mao already had criticized those holding the view that there should not be economic construction in the midst of a revolutionary war, pointing out that **"they fail to understand that to dispense with economic construction would weaken the war effort rather than subordinate everything to it."** (*Pay Attention to Economic Work.*) In the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War (1945-49), Chairman Mao time and again told cadres to do a good job in directing production, **"otherwise you cannot be called good Marxists."** He further pointed out: **"In every area, as soon as feudalism is wiped out and the land reform is completed, the Party and the democratic government must put forward the task of restoring and developing agricultural production, transfer all available forces in the countryside to this task."** (*Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area.*) He also pointed out: **"From the very first day we take over a city, we should direct our attention to restoring and developing its production."** **"Only when production in the cities is restored and developed, when consumer-cities are transformed into producer-cities, can the people's political power be consolidated."** (*Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.*) After liberation, he immediately noted the need to build up powerful economic strength and in 1958 laid down for our Party the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.** The "gang of four" sang a tune entirely different from Chairman Mao's consistent teaching, making politics and economics, revolution and production oppose each other in an absolute way and shouting: **"Never mind that revolution might affect production," "it is permissible for revolution to upset production," "for the sake of class struggle, it is all right even if there is nothing to reap at harvest time," and "don't produce for the erroneous line."** They

openly incited people to stop work and production, thereby disrupting the socialist economy.

### **Tampering With Fundamental Principles Of Historical Materialism**

Marxism holds that man's activity in production is the most fundamental practical activity. It is only on this base that politics, science, art and other things develop. The decisive factor in the development of history is, in the last analysis, the production and reproduction of material values. Marx said: **"Every child knows that a nation which ceased to work, I will not say for a year, but even for a few weeks, would perish."** (Marx to L. Kugelmann.) Anxious to usurp Party and state power, the "gang of four" actually said that "it is all right to stop production for two years"! This shows they did not even have common sense.

Social production comprises both the productive forces and the relations of production. The former determines the latter; the economic base determines the superstructure. Whatever are the productive forces, in the final analysis, such must be the relations of production. When the productive forces have developed, there will be revolution to destroy the old relations of production and establish new ones. Marx said: **"At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or — what is but a legal expression for the same thing — with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution."** (*Preface to "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy."*) Every revolution, every change, or the coming into being of certain relations of production in history, therefore, is the result of the development of social productive forces. The productive forces comprise two elements: labourers and the instruments of production. The latter are created by the people and operated by them. This is why we always emphasize the role of the human factor and the role of the revolutionization of people's thinking.

The "gang of four" completely denied the aforesaid basic principles of historical materialism; they denied the fact that the productive

forces are the most revolutionary factor and denied the decisive bearing the productive forces have on the relations of production. They confused people's thinking by talking glibly about "revolution" without referring to the need to develop the productive forces.

Take the question of "transition" and "abolishing classes" which the "gang of four" talked about most vociferously. Why is it that in our country at the present stage of socialism there still exist two kinds of ownership of the means of production — socialist ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by working people? Why is it that collective ownership in the rural people's communes generally still takes the form of three-level ownership, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the production team at the basic level and it is impossible to introduce universally and at once the ownership system with the production brigade or the commune as the basic accounting unit? Why is it that distribution of consumer goods to individuals can only follow the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" instead of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"? Why is it that the commodity system, exchange through money and bourgeois right, which reflects the three major differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between manual and mental labour, can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat and cannot be eliminated all at once? All this, in the final analysis, is determined by the present condition of the development of the productive forces.

Therefore, one of the fundamental tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to strive to develop the socialist economy. With the development of the productive forces, it will provide our country with a powerful material basis for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidating the socialist system; it will also create favourable conditions for pushing ahead the cause of socialist revolution, for the future transition of collective ownership to ownership by the whole people and finally the transition from socialism to communism. In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx discerned that one of the important conditions for the realization of the communist principle of

“from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs” was when “all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly.” Engels in *Anti-Duhring* too noted that division into classes “was based upon the insufficiency of production. It will be swept away by the complete development of modern productive forces.” And Lenin in *A Great Beginning* expounded this even more specifically: “Clearly, in order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, not enough to abolish their rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish all private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers. This requires a very long period of time. In order to achieve this an enormous step forward must be taken in developing the productive forces; it is necessary to overcome the resistance (frequently

passive, which is particularly stubborn and particularly difficult to overcome) of the numerous survivals of small production; it is necessary to overcome the enormous force of habit and conservatism which are connected with these survivals.” We must, therefore, persevere in keeping to the socialist orientation and putting proletarian politics in command and, with this as the prerequisite, strive to develop the productive forces, expand the socialist economy and bring about the four modernizations. This has nothing to do with the “theory of productive forces”; on the contrary, it is a major guarantee for the triumph of socialism over capitalism and the ultimate abolition of all classes and the realization of communism. In labelling developing socialist production as a manifestation of the “theory of productive forces,” the “gang of four” wantonly disrupted the productive forces, which was a shameless betrayal of Marxism.

## Steady Progress of China's Physical Culture and Sports

JUNE 10 this year was the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's inscription “Promote physical culture and sports and build up the people's health” written for the All-China Sports Federation. That day, *Renmin Ribao* and other papers in Peking frontpaged a facsimile of the inscription. Physical culture workers and workers, peasants and soldiers held various activities to mark the occasion.

Chairman Mao's inscription has profoundly expounded the proletarian character and tasks of China's physical culture and sports and pointed out their socialist orientation. It embodies the concern shown by the Party for the labouring people's health and has inspired the whole nation to take an active part in sports so as to improve their physique and make greater contributions to building and defending the motherland.

Over the last 25 years China's physical culture and sports have developed vigorously under the guidance of Chairman Mao's instruc-

tions, the abovementioned inscription included. Swimming, running, mountaineering, gymnastics, ball games, *wushu* (Chinese boxing and swordplay) and *tai chi chuan* (slow-motion Chinese boxing) have become favourite sports among the adults and youngsters. All the year round, whether in the cities or in the villages, in the border regions, factories and mining areas, schools or in P.L.A. units, people take part in sports and train for the cause of the revolution. Chairman Mao swam several times in the Yangtze River, which has inspired hundreds of millions of armymen and civilians to take to swimming. An estimate made by a dozen or so provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions last year shows that more than 100 million people have learnt to swim.

Combining physical culture and sports with productive labour, public health campaigns and militia training has played a big role in improving the people's health, heightening their revolutionary enthusiasm and strengthening pre-





Performing wushu for the commune members. Papercut by the Nantung Arts and Crafts Research Institute

paredness against war. In 1956, Chairman Mao pointed out: "China used to be stigmatized as a 'decrepit empire,' 'a sickman of East Asia,' a country with a backward economy and a backward culture, with no hygiene, poor at ball games and swimming"; "but after six years' work of transformation, we have changed the face of China, no one can deny our achievements."

On the basis of popularization of mass sports activities, the standard of sports in China has steadily improved. In the past 20 years or so, Chinese table tennis players have consistently maintained a level that ranks among the world's best. China's mountaineers have twice conquered Qomolangma Feng, the world's highest peak, by ascending from the northern slope. Chinese athletes, swimmers, weightlifters, archers and marksmen have broken world records on many occasions. Fairly good results have also been achieved in badminton, basketball and volleyball, gymnastics, diving and other sports in international competitions. Earnestly following the principle of "friendship first, competition second," put forward by Premier Chou in line with Mao Tsetung Thought, Chinese sportsmen have through international contacts contributed to the promotion of friendship and unity between the Chinese peo-

ple and the people of other countries.

Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and particularly the "gang of four" continually interfered with and sabotaged the orientation and principles laid down by Chairman Mao. The "gang of four" and its followers in the sports circle distorted Chairman Mao's line in physical culture and sports and slanderously alleged that, in the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, the field of physical culture and

sports was dominated by the bourgeoisie. They openly opposed the correct appraisal made in this respect by Premier Chou in 1971 that, despite the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, "generally speaking, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line held a predominant position among the masses and the majority of cadres and the achievements made were primary." Flaunting the banner of making "revolution in physical culture and sports," they banned sports competitions and, when such competitions were held, they forbade keeping scores and listing the winners. Whenever the athletes trained hard and did their best to raise their standard, they were branded as "putting technique in command" and accused of "championitis." Veteran cadres, sportsmen and coaches upholding Chairman Mao's revolutionary line were all attacked and persecuted.

Physical culture workers were greatly elated over the smashing of the "gang of four." The enthusiasm of both coaches and sportsmen in training has tremendously increased. With up-and-coming young people learning eagerly and modestly from veteran athletes who, on their part, set strict demands on the trainees, a vigorous scene with people vying with one another now prevails in physical culture and sports. At the same time more and more people are participating in mass sports activities.

# ROUND THE WORLD

MOZAMBIQUE

## President Samora's Statement

President Samora Machel of Mozambique in a statement issued on June 18 at the Presidential Office before diplomatic envoys to Mozambique, strongly condemned the Smith racist regime for barbarous aggression against Mozambique. He expressed the determination to firmly defend the revolutionary achievements and sovereignty, resolutely support the armed struggle of the Zimbabwean people for national independence, and never submit to threats and aggression.

He said that in the year from March 1976 to March this year, the Smith racist regime committed acts of aggression against Mozambique on 143 occasions. These aggressive acts mean that "the Smith regime is in a state of open war against Mozambique" and that "Smith hopes to internationalize the internal conflict and divert the attention of world public opinion from the central question — the Zimbabwean people's struggle for national liberation."

He said: "Owing to the aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Zambia and the Republic of Botswana by Smith's troops, southern Africa has now become a zone where peace and security are in jeopardy and therefore con-

stitutes a permanent focus of tension."

The President declared: We are determined to put a stop to the crimes against our people and the violations against our sovereignty. He called on the Mozambican people to further strengthen their unity.

He also called on the Mozambican armed forces to carry out in an exemplary manner their mission of defending the people's revolutionary gains, sovereignty and territorial integrity and of guaranteeing the implementation of the country's international duty.

The President declared that his country had requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to convene an urgent meeting of the Security Council to discuss the situation arising from the recent aggression by the illegal Smith regime.

The President appealed for further isolation of the Smith regime by fully applying sanctions against Rhodesia and intensifying support for the Zimbabwean people's armed struggle for liberation.

## FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF SOWETO INCIDENT

### Struggle Goes On

Black students of Soweto, a township of Johannesburg, South Africa, held demonstrations and strikes in the past few days to mark the first an-

niversary of the Soweto incident. Pamphlets were distributed calling for the suspension of all entertainment activities from June 13 to 19. On June 7, over 100 black students attacked an administrative building of the racist authorities and threw a gasoline bomb at it. The struggle is gaining ground in spite of the arrest of 20 black student leaders by the police.

The Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) in a June 14 statement again extended support and solidarity to the black majority of South Africa in their struggle to regain their right to live. It said that it would continue its efforts to mobilize world public opinion against the South African racist regime. It also called on all the supporters of the cause of majority rule in South Africa to continue their material, moral, diplomatic and political backing of the oppressed people.

Representatives of many countries including Chinese Representative Chen Chu, on June 16 gathered at the United Nations headquarters for a commemorative meeting to mark the first anniversary of the Soweto incident in South Africa. In his speech, Medoune Fall, Representative of Senegal and current Chairman of the African Group in the United Nations, said that the murderous reaction of the South African regime to the peaceful demonstrations at Soweto had transformed a local incident into a national uprising. The will of the people would not be stifled, he declared. Speakers from

other third world countries reaffirmed their solidarity with the South African people in their determined fight against imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid.

On June 16 last year, black students in Soweto staged a large-scale demonstration against their racist authorities' decree that only Afrikaans be used in class at the black students' schools. The Vorster regime flagrantly dispatched policemen to crack down on the students' action. Several hundred were killed on the spot or tortured to death after they had been arrested, and over a thousand wounded. This is known as the Soweto massacre. However, the struggle quickly spread to many parts of South Africa in defiance of the sanguinary suppression. And June 16 was declared a memorial day for the Soweto martyrs by the 13th O.A.U. summit conference.

CEAO

### **An Agreement on Non-Aggression and Mutual Assistance**

The Economic Community of West Africa (CEAO) held its third summit conference in Abidjan on June 8 and 9. Attending were heads of states of its six member countries — Mauritania, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger, Senegal and the Ivory Coast. The Togolese Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation also participated as an observer.

The conference decided to establish a fund of solidarity for guaranteed loans of the community which totals 5,000 million CFA francs annually and signed an agreement on non-aggression and mutual assistance. This shows that the CEAO has extended economic co-operation to political and military support in a joint effort to counter imperialist and social-imperialist armed intervention and aggression. It also demonstrates the community's firm determination to defend peace and security in West Africa by relying on their own strength and struggling jointly. The agreement gives expression to genuine unity of struggle, as pointed out by Mauritanian President Daddah. Senegalese President Senghor stressed that the agreement signed by the CEAO member states will be the most effective instrument for their development as far as their security is concerned.

Sharpening rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States in Africa, particularly Soviet intervention in Angola and the invasion of Zaire with Soviet-paid mercenaries, have evoked strong anxiety and opposition among the CEAO member states and other African countries. In April this year, some African countries contemplated pooling their defence capabilities to deal with imperialist aggression and expansion.

The CEAO was set up in May 1970 mainly to strengthen economic co-operation among its member states.

## **News Briefs**

- According to a broadcast by the "Voice of Malayan Revolution" radio, a shock force unit of the Malayan people's armed forces fiercely attacked an enemy battalion barracks in Kelantan State on April 22 and wiped out more than 60 enemy soldiers.

The following day, enemy reinforcements came to carry away the dead and wounded in helicopters and military vehicles. They suffered other serious losses when they touched off land mines laid by fighters of the people's armed forces.

- Alarico Fernandes, Minister of Internal Affairs and Security of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, said in a recent interview that the armed forces led by the Revolutionary Front for Independence of East Timor still control 80 per cent of the country's territory. They have wiped out large numbers of Indonesian troops and are determined to engage in protracted guerrilla warfare.

- Several thousand Panamanian students held a demonstration in the Canal Zone on June 6, demanding restoration of Panama's sovereign rights over the Canal Zone and commemorating the death of a student killed in a 1966 demonstration by the U.S. occupation authorities.

Many students carried placards against the U.S. occupation authorities, saying "Get out right now!" "Enough excuses!" On the Pacific side, they replaced the U.S. Stars and Stripes with the Panamanian flag.

# PEKING REVIEW

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