

I

**BACKGROUND  
TO THE STRUGGLE**



## TEXT 1

### REPORT AT THE CENTRAL STUDY CLASS

*Wang Hung-wen*

I would like to discuss the question of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Some events I have seen recently indicate that some provinces cannot solve many long-standing and thorny problems. The primary reason for this is their failure to take correct lines. In some areas, most of those in leadership positions did not take correct lines chiefly because they did not correctly treat the Great Cultural Revolution, the masses and the campaigns. The initial shocks, such as the one produced by the twelve factories in Szechwan, are an important question, universal to the whole country. It is hoped that the discussion today will cause all of us to review Chairman Mao's instructions issued since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Our comrades have touched upon this question in their study of Chairman Mao's recent five instructions and the New Year's Day joint editorial of the two newspapers and one magazine of the Central Committee. It is very necessary to make some time available to study and discuss the question of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

#### **I. Why Should We Correctly Understand the Significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution?**

The answer to this question is that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great event concerned with consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and prevention of the capitalist restoration. All comrades know that the Great Cultural Revolution was noted in the Political Reports to the Ninth and Tenth National Congresses of the Party and even in the Constitution of the Party. The resolutions adopted by the national congress of the Party should be observed and accomplished by all members of the Party. The new year has begun with excellent conditions at home and abroad. For the revolution, the situation is favorable and generally excellent. We should develop this excellent situation by having our work at home well done and the base areas well built. In order to solve the problems in some provinces and municipalities, we should first of all be able to solve the problem of lines. And, in turn, to correct the problem of lines we should primarily

*Issues and Studies*, February 1975. (Report delivered January 14, 1974.)

solve the problem of how to correctly treat the Great Cultural Revolution. From historical and practical points of view, the Great Cultural Revolution was and is necessary. To protect the Great Cultural Revolution is to protect Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. All of us members of the Communist Party, especially the middle-level cadres, should undertake this responsibility.

To fully understand the great significance of the Great Cultural Revolution, it is necessary first to re-study Chairman Mao's series of important directives concerning the Great Cultural Revolution. These are the key to the understanding of the Great Cultural Revolution. However, some people now have forgotten these directives of Chairman Mao's, and a few areas still are practicing bourgeois dictatorship.

As early as the end of 1965 when the Great Cultural Revolution was just unveiled or when *Hai Jui's Dismissal from Office* was criticized, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The key point of *Hai Jui's Dismissal from Office* is dismissal. Emperor Wan Li dismissed Hai Jui from office; in 1959 we dismissed P'eng Te-huai so that P'eng Te-huai is Hai Jui." This clearly indicated that the Great Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, but by no means a pure academic discussion. In the initial stage of the campaign, some people were misled, thinking that it was an academic discussion; and the whole thing was actually manipulated by Liu Shao-ch'i. Later, P'eng Chen and his entourage jumped up and threw out a revisionist "February Outline," which was in effect designed to protect the rightists and hit the leftists in an attempt to lead the movement toward the bourgeois orbit of pure academic discussion. Chairman Mao resolutely told P'eng Chen and his entourage to stand aside and pointed out that the old Propaganda Department was the court of hell and that we must "overthrow the king of hell and liberate the little ghosts." Chairman Mao said, "We always maintain that whenever the central agencies do bad things, I will call on the local organizations to rebel and attack the central." The "do bad things" here refers to the practice of revisionism. Once Chairman Mao asked Comrade Hsu Shih-yu in Hangchow: "What would you do if revisionism appeared in the Central Committee?" Chairman Mao has repeatedly commented on this question. In May 1966, he personally formulated the "May 16" Notice, a program for the Cultural Revolution, containing many important directives. Chairman Mao stated: "Representatives of the bourgeoisie that sneak into the party, the government, the Army and the cultural circles are a batch of counter-revolutionary revisionists, who will seize political power and turn the proletarian dictatorship into bourgeois dictatorship once the opportunity ripens. Some of these personages have been spotted by us, some have not, and some, like the

type of Khrushchev, are being trusted by us and being cultivated to be our successors and are sleeping beside us. Party committees at various levels should sufficiently notice this point." This directive has been published; it is very important. But some people present at the Ninth Congress and Tenth Congress forgot it, and some people denied the existence of capitalist roaders.

When the broad revolutionary masses responding to the call of Chairman Mao actively threw themselves into the Great Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i and his cohorts were caught in a fright, hurriedly produced the bourgeois reactionary line, and came out to personally repress the revolution. At this juncture, Chairman Mao personally called the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, formulated the Sixteen Articles, and wrote "My Big-character Poster: 'Bombarding the Headquarters.'" The sensational Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was thus unfolded. Chairman Mao rated highly the Great Cultural Revolution movement, considering that this revolution was large in scale and that it mobilized the masses, which was of paramount importance to the revolutionization of the thinking of all people. Chairman Mao urged that, "you should show concern about the major events of the state and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end." He encouraged the revolutionary youth to experience the storms and face the world in the Great Cultural Revolution and temper themselves to become successors to the proletarian revolutionary undertakings in the struggle. In the meantime, Chairman Mao was also very much concerned about the broad masses of cadres. He cordially advised that "you should put politics in command, go into the masses, work together with the masses and carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a better manner." Chairman Mao warmly hoped that we veteran proletarian revolutionaries would keep our revolutionary careers clean in old age and strive for new merits in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Toward the end of 1966, the Great Cultural Revolution emerged in an excellent new situation. As 1967 approached, Chairman Mao delivered the speech on "All-out Development of the Class Struggle in the Whole Country" (Note: There is a sentence here that "The whole country develops it at the same time next year") which can be considered as an attempt to seize power from a handful of the persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road. Early in October 1966, Chairman Mao resolutely supported the workers' movement in Shanghai and supported them to rebel against the bourgeoisie. He was very pleased with the workers' movement. The 16 Articles said, "The youths and teens are fighters of the Great Cultural Revolution; the workers, peasants and soldiers are the main effort of the Great Cultural

Revolution.” At that time, [Chairman Mao] sent a leading comrade (Chang Ch’un-ch’iao) to support the workers’ movement in Shanghai and to handle the Ant’ing Affair. He agreed that workers could set up their own rebel organizations. Chairman Mao directed that he “may execute before reporting.” This is an instance where fact comes before a concept. At the end of 1966, Chairman Mao commented, “Shanghai has great prospects: workers have risen, students have risen and government cadres have risen.” Under the cordial concern of Chairman Mao, the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and the support by the People’s Liberation Army units stationed in Shanghai, the struggle for seizing power from the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party was unveiled.

It was not a matter confined to Shanghai but a matter of the whole country, a power-seizure struggle led by the Central Committee under Chairman Mao. Otherwise, the power could not have been seized. On January 16, 1967, Chairman Mao presided over a Standing Committee meeting and enthusiastically supported the power-seizure struggle that developed from the lower level to the higher level. He gave a very high appraisal of the power-seizure struggle waged by *Wen Hui Pao* and *Liberation Daily*, and pointed out: “It is a great revolution, in which one class overthrows another class; it will have a great effect on the development of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the whole of East China and various provinces and municipalities in the whole country.”

On January 26, Chairman Mao sent another great call to all people: “The People’s Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left.” Personally summarizing the basic experience in the power-seizure struggle, he said, “proletarian revolutionaries [should] unite to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.” He also pointed out, “where there is a need for seizing power, we must practice a three-in-one revolutionary organization to establish a revolutionary, representative and proletariat-authoritative provisional revolutionary organ which should be called ‘revolutionary committee’.”

When the January seizure of power in Shanghai repelled the counter-revolutionary economist evil wind, the Central Committee, the Central Military Affairs Commission, the Central Cultural Revolution Group and the State Council cabled their felicitations, advocating that the fate of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and of the proletarian dictatorship be placed in the hands of the proletariat.

In August-September 1967, Chairman Mao inspected three large areas and gave important instructions on how to further develop the Great Cultural Revolution. In high spirit he reported, “the situation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the whole country is excellent, not just good; the entire situation is better than any time before.”

During the high tide of the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao far-sightedly stated, "The current Great Cultural Revolution is only the first one, and we are to carry out many later ones. The victory of a revolution can only be decided after a long historical period. It is likely that capitalism may be restored any time if we do not have our work done well. Members of the whole Party and people of the whole country should not think that three or four Great Cultural Revolutions are sufficient to bring peace to the nation. You must be always on guard and never for a moment slacken your vigilance."

Comrades, I invite you to reflect upon it. How important this instruction of Chairman Mao is! At that time, we were in the ninth line struggle, which was followed shortly by the tenth struggle. Many of us did not quite grasp the meaning of the instructions when we first studied it, but we gradually learned. Therefore, it is necessary for us to study Chairman's instructions, which are important to heightening our consciousness on class struggle. Recently the Central Committee has prepared to collect in book form Chairman Mao's instructions on the Great Cultural Revolution and have it published and distributed. Only through learning from Chairman Mao's instructions, can we distinguish the Marxist struggle from the revisionist struggle. This will facilitate our struggle against revisionism. Why should I deliberate it as such? It is because some comrades in the Party do not understand it, especially the section I have just mentioned.

## **II. The Great Victory of the Proletariat**

From the series of Chairman Mao's instructions, one can see that Chairman Mao took great resolve to ignite and guide the Great Cultural Revolution. Now the revolution has terminated in a very great victory by first smashing the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i. It was the greatest victory. Besides this, the revolution has trained broad masses of cadres and people, promoted the revolution in the superstructure and the development of industrial and agricultural production, and greatly liberated productivity. Many comrades have seen [these achievements], but some others have not. Very soon, there will appear a mass movement for popularizing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought in the whole country. Now this movement is gradually developing. The practice over the past eight years has sufficiently verified this instruction of Chairman Mao: "This Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is completely necessary and very timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalism from restoration and constructing socialism." Had it not been for this revolution, what would our country have been? Recently the Central

Committee prepared to distribute to the whole Party material for criticism on *Lin Piao and the Doctrine of Confucius and Mencius*. Lin Piao and his wife Yeh Ch'un plus Ch'en Po-ta greatly detested socialism. When I talked about the above-mentioned material to my colleagues in the office, we were all indignant. It is not surprising to see that the class enemies at home and abroad would slander this revolution. Chiang Kai-shek has reproved the Great Cultural Revolution; the Soviet revisionist radios and newspapers have cursed it for seven or eight years. And in his counterrevolutionary program for political coup, "Outline of Project 571," Lin Piao also cursed us with the language of the Soviets. Chairman Mao has told us "What is opposed by the enemy is a good thing, not a bad thing." This proves that our Great Cultural Revolution is correct. As our criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is deeply developed, Chiang Kai-shek, South Korea, South Vietnam and Soviet revisionism all abuse our criticism of Confucius. From the class standpoint it is not strange. The problem is that some comrades in our ranks, including Party and non-Party members, still do not fully understand and do not as seriously and effectively implement the Great Cultural Revolution as they did seven or eight years ago. Some even confound right and wrong and turn things upside down, or even describe the Great Cultural Revolution as a dark night or as a ravaging flood and a savage beast. Still others say that they have their hairs stand on end at hearing of the Great Cultural Revolution. Both the Party Constitution and the resolutions adopted at the Tenth National Congress state that the Great Cultural Revolution will be conducted again several times. But some say the Great Cultural Revolution is [was] completely unnecessary and therefore should not be [have been] conducted any more. In particular, the senior and middle-level cadres speak of the revolution varyingly. Some of them say, "The Great Cultural Revolution has achieved a great victory in the whole country, but we cannot see it here." What they mean is that the victory cannot be seen here and there, and that this being added, it cannot be seen in the whole country. Then why is it necessary? As I mentioned before, the Great Cultural Revolution defeated two bourgeois headquarters, which was the greatest victory. Why cannot they see it? If they said they could not see it, they must have placed themselves outside the Party and all the people. Had Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao come to power, capitalism would have come back, the Chinese society would have returned to a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society or become the colony of the Soviet social-imperialism, and thousands of people would have been beheaded. At that time, would you still say you cannot see it? When we say that the Great Cultural Revolution is necessary and timely for the whole country, we mean that it is necessary and timely for a fac-

tory, a school or a unit. Chairman Mao stated, "Whether the line is correct ideologically and politically decides everything." The line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao has an impact on every unit to a varying degree. In most of the areas, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is dominant, while in some places the revisionist line is rather rampant. For example, the two important departments, namely, the old Central Propaganda Department and Central Organization Department, were not in our hands. Even on the industrial front, the revisionist line had a deep influence, not to mention the cultural front which had been under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie for many years. The situation has greatly improved since the Great Cultural Revolution. Without casting away the administration of factories by experts, control-restriction-pressure and the philosophy of servility to things foreign, how can the working class become the master of the factories? It was exactly because of the interference of the revisionist line, our steel industry has stagnated for ten years. Some enterprises were in our hands nominally but actually were gripped by the proxies of the bourgeoisie and some were even in the hands of the capitalists (some factories in Shanghai actually had capitalists as their production managers). Without such a revolution, what would these units have become? And how could we have leadership moved into the hands of the proletariat? Chairman Mao far-sightedly launched a Great Cultural Revolution and solved this problem. But this revolution alone is not enough. Currently some provinces and municipalities [still have problems], the key to which is leadership. We cannot blame the masses or say that the masses are no good. Neither can we say that all those [who created problems] are bad men, for some of them are good people who are revisionist and capitalist only ideologically and who would correct their mistakes once their problems are identified. Since the Cultural Revolution was started seven or eight years ago, the problems in some places should be dealt with. To solve the problems, we should first locate the causes so that we can apply the right course. Some people handle things indiscriminately; some units impute all the bad things to the Great Cultural Revolution or take them as residuals of the Great Cultural Revolution. This is wrong. For they are residuals of revisionism, how can we take them for residuals of the Great Cultural Revolution? These problems squarely indicated that the Great Cultural Revolution was absolutely necessary. Where the line is incorrect, unity will not exist, and the bad men will have to be singled out by the cadres and masses. In some areas the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is not carried out. Recently we have faced the problems of the twelve factories in Szechwan province. What are their problems? They did not deepen the criticism of Lin Piao, which should be the key. We believe that only if we handle things

in accordance with the spirit of the Great Cultural Revolution, will the problems be solved. The Tatung Tank Factory had been inflicted with problems for eight years, but this time those problems were resolved in two months. The primary cause of those problems was a mistaken line. Certainly we will not deny that in some units the bad men stir up the disturbances. Again it is necessary to mobilize the masses for singling out the bad men. To describe these problems as residuals of the Great Cultural Revolution is in effect to restore the situation before the revolution, only to create more disorder. At a cadre conference in Kiangsi province, there was someone spreading this counter-revolutionary rumor: "Sweep the temple; invite the real god; old marshals must return to their posts; little soldiers must go back to their barracks." He wants to suppress all little soldiers. From a recent telegram, I learn that a group of little soldiers rose up to rebel for two hours, causing a great commotion. They did not yield to suppression and believed what they pursued was the truth. I have told some comrades in Kiangsi that what they were doing was to reverse the verdict of the Great Cultural Revolution. I told them before the Tenth Congress; it was of no use. And again I told them at the Tenth Congress; it was of no use either. But do not worry about this, because the Central Committee knows these things well (Note: there is no respectable cadre at the upper level).

Still others commented that the Great Cultural Revolution was good, but we might not have had to do it that way. In other words, we should not have practiced the "great blooming, great contending, big-character posters and great debate." They do not agree to having millions of revolutionary masses and the united proletarians seize power from those Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road. What they oppose is nothing but this, for if this was negated, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution would be negated. In one of his talks in 1967, Chairman Mao pointed out: "In the past, we engaged in struggles in the countryside, factories and cultural circles, carrying out the socialist education campaign. But we did not succeed in solving the problems. The reason for this was the failure to find a formula or a method to mobilize the masses from the upper level to the lower level, in an open and all-out manner, to expose our dark side. Now we have found the solution: the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." Honestly, without the Great Cultural Revolution, how could we have dug out Liu Shao-ch'i, a traitor who hid himself so deeply? In the past, we could not completely grasp Liu Shao-ch'i's treacherous characteristics, especially pertaining to his history. It was in the Great Cultural Revolution that the Red Guards found them through a thorough investigation. (Of course, we did grasp all the revisionist

stuff that he had published.) Besides, without the formula of the Great Cultural Revolution, how could we have had a series of new-born things such as the revolutionary committees, the May 7th Cadre Schools and rustication of educated youths? It is impossible. Neither would it be possible to have the industrial and agricultural production develop so fast. Without the Great Cultural Revolution, a mass movement so large in scale, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought would not have been popularized. Of course, the Great Cultural Revolution itself, as a new-born thing, has had an ideal process of development. Chairman Mao stated, "historical experience is worth attention; a line and a viewpoint should be regularly and repeatedly explained to all the broad masses, but not only to a few people." Now the instructions from Chairman Mao and the Central Committee are stuck at some places or some individuals who do not transmit them to the masses or transmit indiscriminately without indicating which are from Chairman Mao, which are from the Central Committee and which are from themselves.

Some people "praise" the Great Cultural Revolution, saying that the masses in the revolution were not obedient, wrote big-character posters on impulse and were talkative at meetings. What is wrong with this? Actually this was one of the achievements brought forth by the Great Cultural Revolution.

Chairman Mao has stated many times, "Our work within the Party should be made lively, active and vigorous, not spiritless and languid." Chairman Mao once told Wang Hai-yung that "students should be allowed to sleep and read novels in the class sessions." Some people do not quite understand what this means. My interpretation of it is that we should not make the students too spiritless and that students should be called upon to rebel against revisionism.

The same problem exists in the armed units. Soldiers are told to obey orders unconditionally and absolutely. We must know that they are required to obey your orders conditionally, not unconditionally. They should obey whatever conforms to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and rebel against whatever does not. We all members of the Communist Party execute the instructions of the higher level on the basis of self-consciousness. We should judge the correctness of the line that the orders reflect. We only execute the correct line and correct orders. They will not be implemented if they are not correct. Some people are not used to this style, complaining that enlisted men are difficult to administer and are fond of submitting opinions. This is natural. Many recent political accidents in the military units were caused by rough and cruel administration and failure to do fine political-ideological work, which resulted in stacks of problems and

deteriorating contradiction. The key here again is the question of line, such as how to treat the masses. The situation now has developed to a different level. We must study how to do ideological work. The old style, if completely unchanged, cannot do the job.

This situation is a good thing to us but not for some others. In our country which practices socialism, we must not forget that the workers, peasants and soldiers are the masters. The reports of the Tenth Congress pointed out that we should have the revolutionary spirit of going against the tide. Recently, the newspapers printed reports of two little students, one called Huang Shuai and the other from Kwangtung province. They wrote a letter to *People's Daily*, asking for support. Their letter indicated a high level of culture and was full of sentiment. After reading it, we feel that they should be given support.

Chairman Mao recently enquired, "Why does the buffalo have two horns? It needs them for struggle." These remarks were made first in 1955. He also advised us, "Since we all are members of the Communist Party, why should we hesitate at our speech?" We should boast less and criticize more; we should rely on the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers who have horns on their heads and have the courage to rebel against the revisionist line. Some units are afraid of the "four greats" [great blooming, great contending, great big-character posters and great debates] advocated in the Tenth Congress. They are so scared of the "four greats" that they have not dared to organize the masses for study up to now. We should approve of the masses' practicing "four greats" and going against the tide. Why do we fear them? Only those pursuing revisionism will be afraid of the "four greats," and those pursuing Marxism-Leninism should support the revolutionary rebellious spirit of the revolutionary masses. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We do not even fear imperialism, why shall we fear the people? Those who fear the people or consider that the masses immune to reasoning can only be repressed but not persuaded are not genuine members of the Communist Party or genuine Communists." Some people do not accept this teaching of Chairman Mao. They like repression or resort to arrest if repression does not work.

Someone said, "veteran cadres fought the battles in the north and the south in the past, but struggled in the Great Cultural Revolution randomly." This statement is not correct; neither does it conform to the wish of the veteran cadres. It should be said that veteran cadres are precious treasures of our Party. In fighting the battles in the north and the south in the past, some of them were wounded. But they do not feel that they can divorce themselves from the masses or can put on an air of bureaucracy. Instead they actively participated in the Great Cultural Revolution and criticized themselves once they found in themselves

shortcomings or mistakes. Hence, they achieved merit in the Great Cultural Revolution. There are a great number of such veteran cadres, not one or two. They really represent the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. As to the question whether some [veteran] cadres received more attacks during the Great Cultural Revolution, this needs detailed analysis. Chairman Mao stated in his inspection of three large areas: "Why were some cadres criticized and struggled against by the masses? One reason is their implementation of the reactionary bourgeois line which provoked the masses. The other reason is that they had a conceit of their own importance as they had become high ranking officials with high salaries. As a result, they put on an official air, did not consult with the masses, treated others unequally, ignored democracy, blamed or cursed others and seriously divorced themselves from the masses. These actions invited the criticism of the masses, who did not have the opportunity [to retaliate upon the cadres] at time of peace. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution broke out, the cadres were flung into trouble." Should these individuals referred to by Chairman Mao be criticized? You can blame others. Why can't the masses criticize you? This instruction from Chairman Mao is familiar to everyone, but some people forgot it. The above-mentioned veteran cadres that were flung into trouble can also be divided into two categories: One is those who accepted the experience and lessons from the active side and have become veteran cadres really trusted by the masses. There are many such good cadres. For instance, Comrade Ma Tien-shui of Shanghai who emerged with a new spiritual face after the Great Cultural Revolution, works in the depth of the masses and has had his line corrected. In the other category are those who summarized the experiences and lessons from the passive side, being superficial and hesitant. Actually they have divorced themselves from the masses in a different form.

Still others totally do not think of the success of the Great Cultural Revolution in overthrowing the two bourgeois headquarters, an event that related to the change of color in our country. However, they are deeply occupied with the attacks by the masses. Once liberated and in power, they seek every opportunity to liquidate the masses. That is what the cadres of Kiangsi are doing. The result is that liquidation will come to them instead. Without correcting the three *ch'i* [referring to three undesirable attitudes: grudge, despair, disaffection], one is sure to fall. And without solving this problem, he will be overthrown again even though he is liberated now.

Someone said: "The account will have to be settled on being struggled against during the Great Cultural Revolution. To get even with those who struggled against us without taking the interest should be con-

sidered lenient. What is wrong to vent the spleen?" We must yell our warning to such a comrade: it is too dangerous; what do the masses owe you? Chairman Mao told us: "Who gave us the authority? The working class and poor and lower-middle peasants or the broad masses of laboring people who represent over 90 per cent of the population. The people will support us if we stand for the proletariat and the masses of people and overthrow the enemy of the people. . . The most basic principle of the Communist Party is to place reliance upon the broad masses of the revolutionary people." If you must settle accounts with the masses, they have the right to retrieve power from you.

There is another speculation that considers Lin Piao's revisionist line as the "ultra-left" in essence. In fact his revisionist line is the "ultra-right" in essence, not "ultra-left," and is as right as the right can be. Only recently someone from a certain university said, "While the ultra-left is not criticized, right and wrong are confounded." The biggest proof he offered is that no one has ever evaluated the merits and demerits of the seventeen years [before the Cultural Revolution]. It has been evaluated. The evaluation was done by many big-character posters in the Great Cultural Revolution and in the summary of the Educational Work Conference for Sent-down Youths convened by the Central Committee. The conclusion tells that the education front for seventeen years did not basically carry out Chairman Mao's line but was governed by the dictatorship of the revisionists. In his letter to Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, Chairman Mao pointed out, "Peking University and Tsing Hua University are the wrong knots deeply rooted." Now someone said the "summary" is no longer correct or is a product of the ultra-left. And this remark has been spread everywhere. To some people, the criticism of the ultra-left and Lin Piao is fictitious, while the Great Cultural Revolution is the real target. Our conclusion is: "While the ultra-right is not criticized, right and wrong are confounded." In the current stage, in order to consolidate the results of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is necessary to criticize the ultra-right essence of Lin Piao's revisionist line. Without doing so, it is absolutely impossible to consolidate and develop the great results of the Great Cultural Revolution. Last year, one unit wrote an article, saying that all the youths in that unit were ultra-rightists and describing them as wrong and bad through and through. If that is the case, what is the hope of the Chinese Revolution? Who can we rely on to succeed us? On the request for convening provincial Youth League Congresses, the Central Committee instructed: Most of the youths are good, otherwise our revolution will have no future or a gloomy future. Worthy of note is that in some areas counterrevolutionary rumors are spread, such as "Sweep the temple; invite the real god; old marshals must return to their posts;

little soldiers must go back to their barracks.” Most vicious are the latter two sentences “old marshals must return to their posts; little soldiers must go back to their barracks.” They mean that all those traitors, enemy agents, capitalist roaders including Liu Shao-ch’i will return to their posts and that all the new-born things of the Great Cultural Revolution will be abolished. It is a typical restoration of the old, a counterattack, or a liquidation. This rumor was first started by two high ranking cadres in a military unit. The spread of these things is very harmful. Another instance is that [cadres of] Kiangsi province took Liu Shao-ch’i’s counterrevolutionary rumors for Chairman Mao’s instructions and transmitted them to millions of people at the cadre conferences. However, this was not strange. Some of our cadres have rumor markets in their brains. They sell rumors once they receive the goods. From the class stand point of view, this is not strange.

Some people are not bad but are already disarmed ideologically and deprived of the ability to distinguish sweet flowers from poisonous weeds. Chairman Mao severely criticized this counterrevolutionary rumor and changed it to read: “Sweep the temple; invite the real god; old marshals return to the line; little soldiers are promoted.” Chairman Mao’s instructions sufficiently reflect the revolutionary line, on the question of cadres. It is important that we should exploit the effect of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and, at the same time, make great efforts to train thousands of, not one or two, successors to the proletarian undertakings. It would be a mistake not to exploit the talents of veteran cadres, and it would also be a mistake to determine their position by experience and age regardless of their performance in the realistic class struggle. Their ability to fight in the north and south in the past is important, but we should also see their consciousness and performance in the realistic class struggle. If their thinking is revisionist, can they fight for the proletariat? We believe that especially at this major turning point, the evaluation of cadres should not be based only on history without consideration of the present facts and that primary emphasis should be placed on their consciousness in the line struggle. This should apply to all cadres whether they are local, military, old or new.

For the mistakes committed by the veteran as well as young cadres, the practice of “watch and help” should be adopted and the cadres should be allowed to correct their mistakes. But in some places, veteran cadres who committed mistakes are allowed to correct their mistakes through “watch and help,” while the young cadres, once making mistake, are condemned to death. Why can the erring veteran cadres be educated and young cadres not? It is not fair! It is harmful to the unity of the Party! Chairman Mao criticizes many people for belittling the

Children's Corps, for they commented that "How can you teen-agers and 20-year-olds be so smart?" The young cadres must be humble and prudent and should guard against self-conceit and arrogance, and should respect and learn from the veteran cadres. On the other hand, the veteran cadres should teach, help and lead the young cadres. They should bear in mind the question of teaching, helping and leading in dealing with young cadres.

The cultivation of millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary undertakings is a great strategic measure and a hundred-year, long-range plan. We must grasp this great work and train successors at various levels. The training of successors has encountered few obstacles in local areas but more in the military. I always advocate that we should find several men in their thirties to be the commanders of large military regions.

With respect to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, is it good or bad? This question has been controversial throughout the process of the revolution. P'eng Chen's February Outline and Liu Shao Ch'i's bourgeois reactionary line were all designed to choke the Great Cultural Revolution to death. In essence Lin Piao also engineered a set of revisionist lines identical to those of Liu Shao-ch'i. Before the Ninth Congress, he collaborated with Ch'en Po-ta in making a political report based on the theory of putting productivity first, saying that the primary task after the Ninth Congress should be the development of production in an attempt to counterattack and liquidate the Great Cultural Revolution through a legal approach. Chairman Mao negated this political report and personally formulated a line for the Ninth Congress, which persisted in the continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. After the Ninth Congress, a great victory was achieved in smashing the Lin Piao anti-Party clique under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and the struggle-criticism-transformation campaign was gradually more deeply developed. However, whether the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is very good or very bad is still controversial. Following the Second Plenary Session, there was a rightist tide emerging intermittently here and there. Those associated with this tide were, for example, Lung Shu-chin of Sinkiang, Liang [Liang Hsing-chu] and Ch'en [Chen Jen-ch'i] of Szechwan and cadres from Honan. They tried to shift the general orientation of the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao in an attempt to counterattack and liquidate the Great Cultural Revolution. What they were doing was actually the struggle between two classes and two lines, a continuation of the struggle. This struggle will come up again in the future. Chairman Mao said recently, "On the question of the Great Cultural Revolution, we have to wait and see for another ten years." This was to

remind us that we should be ideologically prepared for long-term struggle. Comrades, you must have read the articles on criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius recently and must have learned that Ch'in Shih Huang was cursed for 2000 years for replacing an exploiting system with another exploiting system. Will our Great Cultural Revolution be cursed? Certainly some people will curse it. And even ten years or several decades later, there will be some people who curse it and come out to reverse the verdict on Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Confucius died several thousand years ago; yet some people still worship him. But Ch'in Shih Huang, who was a revolutionary then, was cursed for 2,000 years.

To oppose the Great Cultural Revolution is to oppose the Ninth and Tenth Congresses but this is not an ordinary question. It is an attempt to restore capitalism and practice revisionism. My understanding is this: those who oppose the Great Cultural Revolution must advocate a capitalist dictatorship. Comrades, we should not think that there are no longer capitalist roaders, or even that there is no need to mention capitalist roaders. Some areas, in discussing revision of the constitutions of the state and Party, did not wish to include the phrase "capitalist roaders." What queer talk! As long as class struggle exists, the bourgeoisie will plant a proxy in our Party and there will be capitalist roaders. If there had been no capitalist roaders, all the campaigns in the past should have been negated. The three-anti and five-anti campaigns, the anti-right campaigns in 1957 and the four-clean-up movement should be all negated. That was the reason for writing them into the Party constitution. These were great events, not small ones. Some individuals committed the mistake of taking the capitalist road, but they have been corrected through our help. The correction is good. However, we cannot say the capitalist roaders no longer exist after the correction. Not only were there capitalist roaders in the past, but there will be in the future. A few men still implement the bourgeois dictatorship over the masses now or even say that there is no good man among the rebels! Their remarks smack of no Communist Party members. "The thousands of principles of Marxism can be summarized in one sentence: To rebel is justified." Our old father Marx led us to rebel. Some people abuse us for rising up in rebellion. What is wrong with rebellion? It was through the rebellion led by Chairman Mao against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism that members of the Communist Party of China achieved the victory of revolution and succeeded in seizing political power. In the Great Cultural Revolution, we rebelled against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is wrong with it? Some people were rebels in the past, but now they swear at the rebels.

This indicates that their thinking has changed and that they have forgotten the past. Was it a rebellion when we liquidated the local gentry and partitioned the land of the landlords in the past? Again was it a rebellion when we fought against Chiang Kai-shek? Some people have forgotten these. Of course, there must have been some fish as well as dragons, mud as well as sands slipping into the Great Cultural Revolution. It is not strange that a few bad men have sneaked in among the rebels. When we first organized the Red Army, was our Army very pure? Impossible! It is an unavoidable phenomenon. How can we say that there is no good man among the rebels? He who says there is no good man among the rebels is in fact negating himself. He has forgotten who led us to rebel and has forgotten the old father of the rebels.

What would a Communist do if he does not rebel against the capitalist roaders? A Communist making such a statement intends to betray Communism. We Communists must rebel against the bourgeoisie and the exploiting classes. Most of the people in question were discovered in our handling the internal problems and analyzing the problems. Through studying Chairman Mao's instructions and the ten great spirits, they may reform themselves. In the meantime, they should also look for the mainsprings from their world outlook and transform their world outlook with Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's thought. A few men may not be transformed. The contradictions may change in two ways: some will change for the better and some for the worse. Some Party members may learn the problem and change for the better or completely change. Thus, some contradictions between the enemy and us may change into those among the people; and some contradictions among the people may change into those between the enemy and us.

In the minds of some comrades, the Great Cultural Revolution is not viewed as a consequence of the class struggle that has been engaged in since the liberation. Instead, it is looked upon as a thunder in the clear sky of an early morning. Some people even described it as a great misunderstanding, very reactionary in nature. They have a saying: "Veteran cadres return to their posts, young cadres return to their offices, and those who support the left return to their units. The Great Cultural Revolution is a great misunderstanding." This deviation is an ideological problem, typically reflecting idealism. As they view the Great Cultural Revolution as a great misunderstanding, they are discontented with everything in existence, anxiously waiting for the situation to get back to normal. Instead of seeing the development as a spiral ascent, they look upon it as a turning movement within a circle. In the factories, they practice control-restriction-pressure; in schools, they put intellectual education in the fore and everything in an old

frame. What is this ideology? It is a typical vulgar theory of evolution. According to Marxist materialist dialectics, everything is moving forward and developing continuously. These people clinging to the old admit the truism of dialectics verbally but oppose the dialectics in deeds. At the mention of business administration, they urge the resumption of old rules and systems which have been discarded by the masses. They are enthusiastic for paying wages by the hour and giving monetary reward by the time, saying that in so doing activity may be promoted. However, they do not reflect what we have relied on for the revolution in the past decades. Did we rely on monetary rewards, wages by the hour or the time? No. We relied on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, millions of revolutionary masses, millet and rifles. Speaking of material incentives, Soviet revisionists have applied them vigorously, but they have rendered their industry stagnated and brought difficulties at home and abroad. If those things had been effective, why did the workers in Leningrad want to rebel? Did the Great Cultural Revolution rely on material incentives or the consciousness of the masses? Didn't it rely on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to mobilize the masses? Certainly we do not mean to neglect the life of the masses. But to take care of the life of the masses is one thing, and to stress material incentives is another. To raise the labor productivity, we should do something on renovation of technology and mechanization. It is necessary to properly elevate the living standard of the masses, but it would be a great insult to the working class, not a benefit to the life of the masses, if we practice what is called wages by the hour and monetary rewards. Our Railroad Corps has built many railroads. Did we rely on the wages by the hour? The enlisted men of the corps receive eight *yuan* per month without any additional monetary reward. We entirely relied on Chairman Mao's thought. These problems do not involve everyone. There are two departments in the Central Committee that pursued this line. They conducted an experiment in Shanghai but were dispelled by the workers. This problem is directly related with the Great Cultural Revolution. Today we discuss it here in the hope that our comrades in the study class, after returning to their units, will observe this problem and dare to engage in struggle, or at least report the situation to the Central Committee. Some areas ask whether they can resume the rules and systems adopted before the Cultural Revolution. At a planning work conference, one worker gave a clear-cut answer: "no." He mentioned three conditions: first, we do not want control-restriction-pressure; second, we oppose full payment of monthly wages; and third, those things correct in the past cannot be adopted intact because now our production has developed just as a grown-up boy can no longer wear his old clothes. This worker is versed in dialectics. He is right:

things have developed and the thinking of leaders should catch up with the new situation. We resolutely oppose retrograde movement. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should strive for discovery, invention, creation and advance. The propositions for standstill, pessimism, arrogance and complacency are all wrong." We must deepen the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, vitalize the movement for criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and integrate the efforts for criticizing Confucius. In order to criticize the pernicious influence of Lin Piao we must overthrow the Confucian shop. Confucius was the first thinker in Chinese history that systematically and totally advocated idealism. All those clinging to the old eulogize him, and Lin Piao was the Confucius of the modern age. Hence, the criticism of Lin Piao and that of Confucius can and must be integrated in order to overthrow the Confucian shop in our mind. Confucius lived in an age of great transition from the slave to feudal system. He hated the change of the social system, desperately defended the slave system and opposed the feudal system in an attempt to stop the rolling wheels of history. Seven days after he became the premier of Lu State, he executed Shao Cheng-mao, a revolutionary. When he found one of his students called Jan Yu cherishing thoughts of renovation, he instigated some other students to attack him. Thus, Chairman Mao said, "Confucius's working style much resembled that of the tyrant and smacked of Fascism." Because of his perverse acts, he stepped down from his position three months after. Though he was not in office, his heart for restoration did not die. He went on to preach his ideas everywhere and cried "The propriety is deteriorating! the music is collapsing!" when ever he saw the situation turning better and was worried about the situation. Yesterday, *People's Daily* published an article by Che Chun. The article was very well written; I hope that all of you will read it carefully.

Some people have no affection towards Marxism-Leninism but hanker after revisionism with tacit affection. They are not accustomed to seeing the new-born things of the Great Cultural Revolution and hanker after the old things.

Chairman Mao said, "Capitalism and the capitalist system 'are in the sunset, breathing their last, and may die at any moment.' On the other hand, Communism and the Communist social system are spreading to the whole world like overwhelming waves and thunders and are in their wonderful prime of life." Why does a Communist Party member with Communism as his aim so hanker after old things? This is a question that deserves careful study by all comrades present today.

Our chief purpose is to urge our comrades to seriously study the series of Chairman Mao's important instructions issued since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, and remember the three principles of

practicing Marxism-Leninism but not revisionism. Only recently Chairman Mao warned us, "Comrades, beware! Revisionism will soon appear in China." He also pointed out that many people criticize politics without knowledge of political situations and that the Military Affairs Commission know neither the military nor the politics. These instructions apply to government workers, soldiers and students in all areas. They tell us to grasp the major events that deserve our study. Revisionism, if it is to appear in the future, will be seen in the superstructure.

Chairman Mao also directed recently that we should all sing the song *Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention*. In the main, he wishes us to remember that only unity can lead to victory. On Chairman Mao's instructions, we must have a correct understanding and comprehension so that the spirit of the "Tenth Congress" may be better carried out and that we may better unite to win still greater victory.

## TEXT 2

# THE LAWS OF CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE SOCIALIST PERIOD

*Chi Ping*

In the historical period of socialism, how do class contradictions and class struggle develop and change? What are their laws?

To master the laws of class struggle in the socialist period, we must first understand the main contradiction in China during this period. As far back as 1949, on the eve of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out at the Second Plenary Session of the C.P.C.'s Seventh Central Committee that, after the seizure of power throughout China and the solution of the land problem, the principal contradiction inside the country is **"the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie."** On many occasions since then, Chairman Mao has pointed out that, throughout the historical period of socialism, there exists the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration.

In 1962, at the 10th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, Chairman Mao put forward even more comprehensively the Party's basic line for the whole historical period of socialism and admonished that we must **"never forget class struggle."** Leading the Chinese people forward in the struggle of socialist revolution and socialist construction, he has employed the stand, viewpoint and method of dialectical and historical materialism to grasp the main contradiction—that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, summed up the experience of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and ceaselessly revealed the laws of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

### Class Struggle Is Inevitable

In 1957, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The class enemies will invariably seek opportunities to assert themselves. They will not resign themselves to the loss of state power and of their property. However much the Communist Party warns its enemies in advance and makes its basic strategic policy known to them, they will still launch attacks.**

*Peking Review* #33, August 18, 1972. (Abridged translation of an article published in *Hongqi [Red Flag]* #8, 1972.)

**Class struggle is an objective reality independent of man's will. That is to say, class struggle is inevitable."**

All class enemies, all ghosts and monsters will, without fail, come out into the open, this is decided by their reactionary nature. There has never been nor will there ever be a single instance in which the overthrown reactionary classes will leave the stage of history of their own accord without organizing resistance. Their reactionary class nature and idealist world outlook invariably mislead them into overestimating themselves and underestimating the forces of revolution. They mistake the absolute superiority of the proletariat for absolute inferiority. Whenever there is a chance, therefore, they cannot help showing themselves off. Despite severe blows and shameful defeats, they will continue to act according to this law.

Practice in the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat over the past 20 years or more has testified to the correctness of Chairman Mao's thesis. In the early period after the founding of New China, when the Chinese people were carrying out the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, unlawful capitalists ruthlessly engaged in bribery of cadres in government offices and enterprises, tax evasion and other illegal activities to undermine socialism and sabotage the state sector of the economy. They launched a frenzied attack against the proletariat by "pulling out our cadres" and "sneaking into our ranks." The Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique vainly attempted to subvert the proletarian power by worming their way into the revolutionary ranks and undermining it from within. In 1955, they came up with a counter-revolutionary "memorandum" running to 300,000 Chinese characters. In 1957, the bourgeois Rightists took advantage of the Party's rectification campaign, which was meant to overcome shortcomings in the Party, to plot its downfall, negate the socialist system and usurp power themselves. All these and other examples show how the class enemies came out to attack us of their own volition, and this is an objective law independent of man's will.

Bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party also will not go against this law. They represent the interests and will of the overthrown exploiting classes and all reactionary forces. They will assert themselves stubbornly. All conspirators and careerists from Kao Kang to Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers, of their own accord, launched attacks against the Party in a vain attempt to usurp Party leadership and seize power and change the Party's line and policies and the socialist system. Their reactionary class nature and double-dealing tactics and their deep-rooted reactionary world outlook determined that they would be enemies to the Party and the people. It is impossible to stop them from doing so, and nobody could have saved them. When

the anti-Party activities of political swindlers like Liu Shao-chi were exposed, out of the largeness of mind of a proletarian revolutionary, Chairman Mao time and again did his best to save them. However, not showing the least repentance, they madly continued their counter-revolutionary crimes and brought about their own destruction. Now, the situation of our socialist revolution and construction is getting better and better, the proletarian dictatorship has become further consolidated and ever fresher fruits have been borne by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on foreign affairs. All this has elated and inspired the people of all nationalities in China.

### International Background

As Lenin pointed out: **“Revisionism is an international phenomenon.”** (*Marxism and Revisionism.*) The fact that chieftains of the revisionist line in the Party will inevitably make a show of themselves has its international roots. To subvert China's proletarian dictatorship, imperialism and social-imperialism will always try to find their agents within our Party. Revisionists and opportunists hidden in our Party, on their part, will always go to them for backing. The anti-Party conspiracies of political swindlers like Liu Shao-chi are not isolated or accidental; they, too, have an international background. The great victory of the movement to criticize revisionism and rectify the style of work has dealt a severe blow to social-imperialism. The facts of class struggle tell us that **“it was a case of reactionaries inside a socialist country, in league with the imperialists, attempting to achieve their conspiratorial aims by taking advantage of contradictions among the people to foment dissension and stir up disorder.”** (Mao Tsetung: *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) Only by using the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint to study class struggles at home in connection with international class struggles can we correctly grasp the laws of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in the socialist period.

### A Major Struggle Every Few Years

There is a law with respect to time governing the development and change of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the period of socialism. Reviewing the history of our country, we can see that there has been a major struggle at intervals of several years. This is true of class struggle in society and of inner-Party struggle between the two lines. In the early years following the birth of New China when socialist revolution and construction had won initial victory and continued to develop in depth, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih rigged up an

anti-Party alliance in a futile attempt to seize power. At the 1959 Lushan Conference, Peng Teh-huai came up with an open letter of challenge, attacking the general line for the building of socialism, the great leap forward and the people's commune in a bid to usurp Party leadership. But his attempt was crushed. Later on, pushing a revisionist line, Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers engaged in intrigue and conspiracy in a big way and set up a bourgeois headquarters in a vain attempt to split our Party and restore capitalism. However, they ended up in even more disastrous defeat.

Why is there a major struggle every few years? This reflects stages of development of the principal contradiction in the socialist period. Chairman Mao has taught us: **“The fundamental contradiction in the process of development of a thing and the essence of the process determined by this fundamental contradiction will not disappear until the process is completed; but in a lengthy process the conditions usually differ at each stage. The reason is that, although the nature of the fundamental contradiction in the process of development of a thing and the essence of the process remain unchanged, the fundamental contradiction becomes more and more intensified as it passes from one stage to another in the lengthy process.”** (*On Contradiction.*) In our country socialist revolution has deepened step by step; the basic completion of the socialist transformation of ownership of means of production was followed by socialist revolution on the ideological and political front. Each step forward and every victory gained by us invariably hurt the bourgeoisie and its agents in the Party and was, therefore, strongly opposed by them. Thus in the long process of contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, specific stages take shape as the socialist revolution deepens step by step. Like the motion of other contradictions, each specific stage takes on two states of motion, that of relative rest and that of conspicuous change. Under given conditions, it transforms itself from the first into the second state, that is, from comparatively moderate to comparatively intense; the contradiction is resolved through the second state and another new specific stage begins. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the socialist period, therefore, sometimes rises high and sometimes subsides like the waves. In terms of time, it finds expression in a major struggle every few years. Of course this is only the general situation. As to each particular major struggle, whether it takes place after a comparatively short or a much longer duration depends on the domestic and international situation and on our work.

After each major struggle, the defeated class enemies are compelled to shift from attack to retreat. Out of their reactionary class nature, however, they cannot be expected to wash their hands and turn over a

new leaf. But it is also impossible for them to make an all-out counter-attack immediately after a defeat. This is because in each major struggle, they are badly battered, their bourgeois headquarters is demolished, their revisionist programme and line as well as all their reactionary fallacies which they use to deceive and dupe the people are thoroughly criticized, while the handful of counter-revolutionary diehard followers they mustered together have fallen apart under our blows and their double-dealing tactics, seen through by the people, no longer work. In a word, they need a breathing-space. In our country, the prestige of the Party is so high, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has taken such deep root in the hearts of the people, the Party, government, army and people are so united and the dictatorship of the proletariat is so rock-firm that the class enemies can only carry out counter-revolutionary preparatory work covertly and clandestinely, and it is very difficult for them to do so. In face of the iron bastion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they require several years to rally their forces again and have another major trial of strength with us. Needless to say, struggles sometimes intertwine. There was such an instance: some of the chieftains of the revisionist line in this struggle are none other than the actual ringleaders or backbone elements who pushed the revisionist line in the last struggle but had escaped undetected. However, no matter what preparations the overthrown reactionary forces may make or when they will jump forth, nothing but utter defeat is in store for them.

When we say that a major struggle takes place every few years, we do not mean that there is peace and tranquillity at other times and we can sit back and relax. That class struggle rises and falls in a wave-like manner is not tantamount to saying that it now appears and now disappears. Each major struggle is a continuation and development of day-to-day struggles—a process of development from quantitative to qualitative change. This is why we must remind ourselves of class struggle every year, every month and every day. Only by retaining a sober understanding of class struggle and its laws can we take the initiative in waging struggles.

### **Upheaval Inevitably Transforms Itself Into Order**

In the socialist period ghosts and monsters constantly make trouble and the proletariat keeps on wiping them out. Order is achieved after a big upheaval. This is yet another law of the development of class struggle.

Dialectical materialism tells us that upheaval and order constitute a unity of opposites. In the absence of upheaval, order is out of the question; upheaval inevitably transforms itself into order. Chairman Mao

has said: **“Disturbances thus have a dual character. Every disturbance can be regarded in this way.”** (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) It is a bad thing that class enemies come out and make trouble, but once they do so, they expose their counter-revolutionary features in broad daylight. As a result, class alignment becomes clearer than before, and the masses of the people can wage struggles against these enemies in a better way and take actions to annihilate these scoundrels, thereby further strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this sense, a bad thing can be turned into a good thing. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, ghosts and monsters came out to make trouble and in some places there was confusion for a time as if things were really getting serious. But what was the result? The handful of class enemies were ferreted out and the masses were tempered in the struggle. Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers who had formerly put on the appearance of men of integrity unmasked themselves and revealed their ferocious true colours once they came out and plotted to usurp Party leadership. The cadres and people then rose in action to expose and criticize their crimes of opposing the Party, and this has immensely enhanced their ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism. Thus it can be seen that the class enemies are approaching their doom once they come on stage to bare their fangs. Over 95 per cent of the people and cadres will never tolerate their perverse acts.

Marxism holds that class struggle is the motive force propelling the advance of history. It is only in the course of class struggle that socialist society develops. Each time ghosts and monsters make trouble and are defeated by the revolutionary people, the forces of the exploiting classes and all reaction are weakened while the dictatorship of the proletariat is further consolidated. With the forces of the reactionary classes becoming weaker and weaker after repeated tests of strength, the proletariat will be able to finally fulfil the great historical mission of eliminating the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Of course, each round of upheaval and order does not simply repeat itself, nor does it move in a cycle mechanically, but it invariably has new content. After each struggle, the people's knowledge is raised to a higher level and the socialist cause takes another victorious step forward. In our country, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been continuously consolidated and the socialist cause has been developing with each passing day precisely because the proletariat has won victory in one struggle after another against the landlord and capitalist classes and against all the reactionary forces and their representatives who constantly made trouble and carried out disruptive activities.

To turn bad things into good things is conditional. Class enemies

would not step down from the stage of history of their own accord; upheaval would not of itself transform into order. **“In given conditions, each of the two opposing aspects of a contradiction invariably transforms itself into its opposite as a result of the struggle between them. Here, the conditions are essential. Without the given conditions, neither of the two contradictory aspects can transform itself into its opposite.”** (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) To transform upheaval into order in our country, it is of key importance to resolutely implement Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, strengthen Party leadership and unite the broad masses of the people. With this condition, in the sharp and complex class struggle and struggle between the two lines, we are able to see clearly the orientation, draw a sharp line of distinction between ourselves and the enemy, correctly distinguish and handle the two types of contradictions and rally all forces that can be united with so as to hit hard at the class enemies and enable the revolution to advance along the correct path. It is precisely because of the wise leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line that the various chieftains of opportunist lines failed to destroy our Party over the past decades. Without this condition, upheaval cannot give way to order. Historical development is after all independent of the will of the reactionaries who will surely be overthrown by the people.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line, we must grasp the laws governing class struggle in the socialist period and step by step carry the proletarian revolution through to the end.

## TEXT 3

# REPORT TO THE TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

*delivered by Chou En-lai\**

Comrades!

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is convened at a time when the Lin Piao anti-Party clique has been smashed, the line of the Party's Ninth National Congress has won great victories and the situation both at home and abroad is excellent.

On behalf of the Central Committee, I am making this report to the Tenth National Congress. The main subjects are: On the line of the Ninth National Congress, on the victory of smashing the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and on the situation and our tasks.

### **On the Line of the Ninth National Congress**

The Party's Ninth Congress was held when great victories had been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao.

In accordance with the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Ninth Congress summed up the experience of history as well as the new experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, criticized Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and reaffirmed the basic line and policies of the Party for the entire historical period of socialism. As comrades may recall, when the Ninth Congress opened on April 1, 1969, Chairman Mao issued the great call, **"Unite to win still greater victories."** At the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee on April 28 of the same year, Chairman Mao once again clearly stated, **"Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat."** **"We must ensure that the people throughout the country are united to win victory under the leadership of the proletariat."** In addition he predicted, **"Probably another revolution will have to be car-**

---

*The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (Documents)* (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1973). (Delivered on August 24 and adopted August 28, 1973.)

\*Although this Report was delivered by Chou En-lai it represents, in the main, the line the Left had been fighting for and that Chou had in fact been opposing. The reader is advised to refer to the Introduction pp. 12-13 for an explanation.

**ried out after several years."** Chairman Mao's speeches and the political report of the Central Committee adopted at the congress formulated a Marxist-Leninist line for our Party.

As we all know, the political report to the Ninth Congress was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance. Prior to the congress, Lin Piao had produced a draft political report in collaboration with Chen Po-ta. They were opposed to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, contending that the main task after the Ninth Congress was to develop production. This was a refurbished version under new conditions of the same revisionist trash that Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta had smuggled into the resolution of the Eighth Congress, which alleged that the major contradiction in our country was not the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but that "between the advanced socialist system and the backward productive forces of society." Naturally, this draft by Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta was rejected by the Central Committee. Lin Piao secretly supported Chen Po-ta in the latter's open opposition to the political report drawn up under Chairman Mao's guidance, and it was only after his attempts were frustrated that Lin Piao grudgingly accepted the political line of the Central Committee and read its political report to the congress. However, during and after the Ninth Congress, Lin Piao continued with his conspiracy and sabotage in spite of the admonishments, rebuffs and efforts to save him by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee. He went further to start a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, which was aborted, at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee in August 1970, then in March 1971 he drew up the plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled *Outline of Project "571,"* and on September 8, he launched the coup in a wild attempt to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao and set up a rival central committee. On September 13, after his conspiracy had collapsed, Lin Piao surreptitiously boarded a plane, fled as a defector to the Soviet revisionists in betrayal of the Party and country and died in a crash at Undur Khan in the People's Republic of Mongolia.

The shattering of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique is our Party's greatest victory since the Ninth Congress and a heavy blow dealt to enemies at home and abroad. After the September 13th incident, the whole Party, the whole Army and the hundreds of millions of people of all nationalities in our country seriously discussed the matter and expressed their intense proletarian indignation at the bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao and his sworn followers, and pledged resolute support for our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee which he headed. A movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work has been

launched throughout the country. The whole Party, Army and people have been conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, conducting revolutionary mass criticism of Lin Piao and other swindlers like him, and settling accounts with the counter-revolutionary crimes of these swindlers ideologically, politically and organizationally, and have raised their own ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. As facts showed, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was only a tiny group which was extremely isolated in the midst of the whole Party, Army and people and could not affect the situation as a whole. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique has not stemmed, nor could it possibly have stemmed the rolling torrent of the Chinese people's revolution. On the contrary, what it did further aroused the whole Party, Army and people to **"unite to win still greater victories."**

Thanks to the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work, the line of the Ninth Congress is more deeply rooted among the people. The line of the Ninth Congress and the proletarian policies of the Party have been implemented better than before. New achievements have been made in struggle-criticism-transformation in all realms of the superstructure. The working style of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line, and the glorious tradition of modesty, prudence and hard work, which were for a-time impaired by Lin Piao, have been further developed. The Chinese People's Liberation Army, which won fresh merit in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has made new contributions in strengthening the preparations against war and in taking part in revolution and construction together with the people. The great revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance is stronger than ever. Having rid itself of the stale and taken in the fresh, our Party, with a membership of 28 million, is now an even more vigorous vanguard of the proletariat.

Spurred by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work, the people of our country overcame the sabotage by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, surmounted serious natural disasters and scored new victories in socialist construction. Our country's industry, agriculture, transportation, finance and trade are doing well. We have neither external nor internal debts. Prices are stable and the market is flourishing. There are many new achievements in culture, education, public health, science and technology.

In the international sphere, our Party and government have firmly implemented the foreign policy laid down by the Ninth Congress. Our revolutionary friendship with fraternal socialist countries and with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations of various countries and our co-operation with friendly countries have been further streng-

thened. Our country has established diplomatic relations with an increasing number of countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The legitimate status of our country in the United Nations has been restored. The policy of isolating China has gone bankrupt; Sino-U.S. relations have been improved to some extent. China and Japan have normalized their relations. Friendly contacts between our people and the people of other countries are more extensive than ever; we assist and support each other, impelling the world situation to continue to develop in the direction favourable to the people of all countries.

Revolutionary practice since the Ninth Congress and chiefly the practice of the struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique have proved that the political and organizational lines of the Ninth Congress are both correct and that the leadership given by the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao is correct.

### **On the Victory of Smashing the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique**

The course of the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the crimes of the clique are already known to the whole Party, Army and people. So, there is no need to dwell on it here.

Marxism-Leninism holds that inner-Party struggle is the reflection within the Party of class struggle in society. The Liu Shao-chi renegade clique collapsed and the Lin Piao anti-Party clique sprang out to continue the trial of strength with the proletariat. This was an acute expression of the intense domestic and international class struggles.

As early as January 13, 1967, when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was at high tide, Brezhnev, the chief of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, frantically attacked China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in his speech at a mass rally in Gorky Region and openly declared that they stood on the side of the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique, saying that the downfall of this clique was "a big tragedy for all real communists in China, and we express our deep sympathy to them." At the same time, Brezhnev publicly announced continuation of the policy of subverting the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and ranted about "struggling . . . for bringing it back to the road of internationalism." (*Pravda*, January 14, 1967) In March 1967 another chief of the Soviet revisionists said even more brazenly at mass rallies in Moscow that "sooner or later the healthy forces expressing the true interests of China will have their decisive say," "and achieve the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideas in their great country." (*Pravda*, March 4 and 10, 1967) What they called "healthy forces" are nothing but the decadent forces representing the interests of social-imperialism

and all the exploiting classes; what they meant by “their decisive say” is the usurpation of the supreme power of the Party and the state; what they meant by “victory of ideas” is the reign of sham Marxism-Leninism and real revisionism over China; and what they meant by the “road of internationalism” is the road of reducing China to a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. The Brezhnev renegade clique has impetuously voiced the common wish of the reactionaries and blurted out the ultra-Rightist nature of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique.

Lin Piao and his handful of sworn followers were a counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique “who never showed up without a copy of *Quotations* in hand and never opened their mouths without shouting ‘Long Live’ and who spoke nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back.” The essence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line they pursued and the criminal aim of the counter-revolutionary armed coup d’etat they launched were to usurp the supreme power of the Party and the state, thoroughly betray the line of the Ninth Congress, radically change the Party’s basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, turn the Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party into a revisionist, fascist Party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Inside China, they wanted to reinstate the landlord and bourgeois classes, which our Party, Army and people had overthrown with their own hands under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and to institute a feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship. Internationally, they wanted to capitulate to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and ally themselves with imperialism, revisionism and reaction to oppose China, communism and revolution.

Lin Piao, this bourgeois careerist, conspirator and double-dealer, engaged in machinations within our Party not just for one decade but for several decades. On his part there was a process of development and self-exposure, and on our part there was also a process of getting to know him. Marx and Engels said in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that **“all previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority.”** Chairman Mao has made **“working for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world”** one of the principal requirements for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, and it has been written into our Party Constitution. To build a party for the interests of the vast majority or for the interests of the minority? This is the watershed between proletarian and bourgeois political parties and the touchstone for distinguishing true Communists from false. Lin Piao joined the Communist Party in the early days of China’s new-democratic revolution.

Even at that time he was pessimistic about the future of the Chinese revolution. Right after the Kutien Meeting [December 1929—*Tr.*], Chairman Mao wrote a long letter *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire* to Lin Piao, trying seriously and patiently to educate him. But, as the facts later proved, Lin Piao's bourgeois idealist world outlook was not at all remoulded. At important junctures of the revolution he invariably committed Right opportunist errors and invariably played double-faced tricks, putting up a false front to deceive the Party and the people. However, as the Chinese revolution developed further and especially when it turned socialist in nature and became more and more thoroughgoing, aiming at the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism, Lin Piao and his like, who were capitalist-roaders in power working only for the interests of the minority and whose ambition grew with the rise of their positions, overestimating their own strength and underestimating the strength of the people, could no longer remain under cover and therefore sprang out for a trial of strength with the proletariat. When under the baton of Soviet revisionism he attempted to have his "decisive say" in order to serve the needs of domestic and foreign class enemies, his exposure and bankruptcy became complete.

Engels rightly said, **"The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles. . . . And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as a class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out. . . ."** (Frederick Engels' letter to August Bebel, October 28, 1882.)

Comrades!

In the last fifty years our Party has gone through ten major struggles between the two lines. The collapse of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique does not mean the end of the two-line struggle within the Party. Enemies at home and abroad all understand that the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. It is much more convenient to have the capitalist-roaders in power who have sneaked into the Party do the job of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat than for the landlords and capitalists to come to the fore themselves; this is especially true when the landlords and capitalists are already quite odious in society. In the future, even after classes have disappeared, there will still be contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces. And there will still be two-line struggles reflecting these contradictions, i.e., struggles

between the advanced and the backward and between the correct and the erroneous. Moreover, socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. For a long time to come, there will still be two-line struggles within the Party, reflecting these contradictions, and such struggles will occur ten, twenty or thirty times. Lin Piaos will appear again and so will persons like Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Teh-huai and Kao Kang. This is something independent of man's will. Therefore, all comrades in our Party must be fully prepared mentally for the struggles in the long years to come and be able to make the best use of the situation and guide the struggle to victory for the proletariat, no matter how the class enemy may change his tactics.

Chairman Mao teaches us that **“the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.”** If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable, even with the control of the central, local and army leadership. If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained. This is borne out by the historical experience of our Party and by that of the international communist movement since the time of Marx. Lin Piao wanted to “have everything under his command and everything at his disposal,” but he ended up in having nothing under his command and nothing at his disposal. The crux of the matter is line. This is an irrefutable truth.

Chairman Mao has laid down for our Party the basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism and also specific lines and policies for specific work. We should attach importance not only to the Party's lines and policies for specific work but, in particular, to its basic line and policies. This is the fundamental guarantee of greater victories for our Party.

Having summed up the experience gained in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party and particularly the experience acquired in the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao calls on the whole Party, **“Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.”** He thus puts forward the criterion for distinguishing the correct line from the erroneous line, and gives the three basic principles every Party member must observe. Every one of our comrades must keep these three principles firmly in mind, uphold them and energetically and correctly carry on the two-line struggle within the Party.

Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: It is imperative to note that

one tendency covers another. The opposition to Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism which advocated "all alliance, no struggle" covered Wang Ming's "Left" opportunism which advocated "all struggle, no alliance." The rectification of Wang Ming's "Left" deviation covered Wang Ming's Right deviation. The struggle against Liu Shao-chi's revisionism covered Lin Piao's revisionism. There were many instances in the past where one tendency covered another and when a tide came, the majority went along with it, while only a few withstood it. Today, in both international and domestic struggles, tendencies may still occur similar to those of the past, namely, when there was an alliance with the bourgeoisie, necessary struggles were forgotten and when there was a split with the bourgeoisie, the possibility of an alliance under given conditions was forgotten. It is required of us to do our best to discern and rectify such tendencies in time. And when a wrong tendency surges towards us like a rising tide, we must not fear isolation and must dare to go against the tide and brave it through. Chairman Mao states, "**Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle.**" In daring to go against the tide and adhere to the correct line in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party, Chairman Mao is our example and teacher. Every one of our comrades should learn well from Chairman Mao and hold to this principle.

Under the guidance of the correct line represented by Chairman Mao, the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has had prolonged trials of strength with the class enemies both inside and outside the Party, at home and abroad, armed and unarmed, overt and covert. Our Party has not been divided or crushed. On the contrary, Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line has further developed and our Party grown ever stronger. Historical experience convinces us that "**this Party of ours has a bright future.**" Just as Chairman Mao predicted in 1966, "**If the Right stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population.**" So long as our whole Party bears in mind historical experience and upholds Chairman Mao's correct line, all the schemes of the bourgeoisie for restoration are bound to fail. No matter how many more major struggles between the two lines may occur, the laws of history will not change, and the revolution in China and the world will eventually triumph.

### **On the Situation and Our Tasks**

Chairman Mao has often taught us: We are still in the era of im-

perialism and the proletarian revolution. On the basis of fundamental Marxist principle, Lenin made a scientific analysis of imperialism and defined **“imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism.”** Lenin pointed out that imperialism is monopolistic capitalism, parasitic or decaying capitalism, moribund capitalism. He also said that imperialism intensifies all the contradictions of capitalism to the extreme. He therefore concluded that **“imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat,”** and put forward the theories and tactics of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism. Stalin said, **“Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.”** This is entirely correct. Since Lenin’s death, the world situation has undergone great changes. But the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated; they remain the theoretical basis guiding our thinking today.

The present international situation is one characterized by great disorder on the earth. “The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains.” This aptly depicts how the basic world contradictions as analysed by Lenin show themselves today. Relaxation is a temporary and superficial phenomenon, and great disorder will continue. Such great disorder is a good thing for the people, not a bad thing. It throws the enemies into confusion and causes division among them, while it arouses and tempers the people, thus helping the international situation develop further in the direction favourable to the people and unfavourable to imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction:

The awakening and growth of the Third World is a major event in contemporary international relations. The Third World has strengthened its unity in the struggle against hegemonism and power politics of the superpowers and is playing an ever more significant role in international affairs. The great victories won by the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation have strongly encouraged the people of the world in their revolutionary struggles against imperialism and colonialism. A new situation has emerged in the Korean people’s struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. The struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against aggression by Israeli Zionism, the African peoples’ struggles against colonialism and racial discrimination and the Latin American peoples’ struggles for maintaining 200-nautical-mile territorial waters or economic zones all continue to forge ahead. The struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to win and defend national independence and safeguard state sovereignty and national resources have further deepened and broadened. The just struggles of the Third World as well as of the people of Europe, North America and Oceania support and encourage each

other. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution—this has become an irresistible historical trend.

Lenin said that **“an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony.”** Today, it is mainly the two nuclear superpowers—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.—that are contending for hegemony. While hawking disarmament, they are actually expanding their armaments every day. Their purpose is to contend for world hegemony. They contend as well as collude with each other. Their collusion serves the purpose of more intensified contention. Contention is absolute and protracted, whereas collusion is relative and temporary. The declaration of this year as the “year of Europe” and the convocation of the European Security Conference indicate that strategically the key point of their contention is Europe. The West always wants to urge the Soviet revisionists eastward to divert the peril towards China, and it would be fine so long as all is quiet in the West. China is an attractive piece of meat coveted by all. But this piece of meat is very tough, and for years no one has been able to bite into it. It is even more difficult now that Lin Piao the “superspy” has fallen. At present, the Soviet revisionists are “making a feint to the east while attacking in the west,” and stepping up their contention in Europe and their expansion in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and every place their hands can reach. The U.S.-Soviet contention for hegemony is the cause of world intranquillity. It cannot be covered up by any false appearances they create and is already perceived by an increasing number of people and countries. It has met with strong resistance from the Third World and has caused resentment on the part of Japan and West European countries. Beset with troubles internally and externally, the two hegemonic powers—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.—find the going tougher and tougher. As the verse goes, “Flowers fall off, do what one may,” they are in a sorry plight indeed. This has been further proved by the U.S.-Soviet talks last June and the subsequent course of events.

**“The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.”** The ambitions of the two hegemonic powers—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.—are one thing, but whether they can achieve them is quite another. They want to devour China, but find it too tough even to bite. Europe and Japan are also hard to bite, not to speak of the vast Third World. U.S. imperialism started to go downhill after its defeat in the war of aggression against Korea. It has openly admitted that it is increasingly on the decline; it could not but pull out of Viet Nam. Over the last two decades, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, from Khrushchov to Brezhnev, has made a socialist country degenerate into a social-imperialist country. Internally, it has restored capitalism, enforced a fascist dictatorship and enslaved the people of all na-

tionalities, thus deepening the political and economic contradictions as well as contradictions among nationalities. Externally, it has invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia, massed its troops along the Chinese border, sent troops into the People's Republic of Mongolia, supported the traitorous Lon Nol clique, suppressed the Polish workers' rebellion, intervened in Egypt, causing the expulsion of the Soviet experts, dismembered Pakistan and carried out subversive activities in many Asian and African countries. This series of facts has profoundly exposed its ugly features as the new Czar and its reactionary nature, namely, **"socialism in words, imperialism in deeds."** The more evil and foul things it does, the sooner the time when Soviet revisionism will be relegated to the historical museum by the people of the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

Recently, the Brezhnev renegade clique has talked a lot of nonsense on Sino-Soviet relations. It alleges that China is against relaxation of world tension and unwilling to improve Sino-Soviet relations, etc. These words are directed to the Soviet people and the people of other countries in a vain attempt to alienate their friendly feelings for the Chinese people and disguise the true features of the new Czar. These words are above all meant for the monopoly capitalists in the hope of getting more money in reward for services in opposing China and communism. This was an old trick of Hitler's, only Brezhnev is playing it more clumsily. If you are so anxious to relax world tension, why don't you show your good faith by doing a thing or two—for instance, withdraw your armed forces from Czechoslovakia or the People's Republic of Mongolia and return the four northern islands to Japan? China has not occupied any foreign countries' territory. Must China give away all the territory north of the Great Wall to the Soviet revisionists in order to show that we favour relaxation of world tension and are willing to improve Sino-Soviet relations? The Chinese people are not to be deceived or cowed. The Sino-Soviet controversy on matters of principle should not hinder the normalization of relations between the two states on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Sino-Soviet boundary question should be settled peacefully through negotiations free from any threat. **"We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack"**—this is our consistent principle. And we mean what we say.

We should point out here that necessary compromises between revolutionary countries and imperialist countries must be distinguished from collusion and compromise between Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism. Lenin put it well, **"There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyse the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise. One must learn to**

distinguish between a man who gave the bandits money and firearms in order to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture and execution, and a man who gives bandits money and firearms in order to share in the loot." (*"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder.*) The Brest-Litovsk Treaty concluded by Lenin with German imperialism comes under the former category; and the doings of Khrushchov and Brezhnev, both betrayers of Lenin, fall under the latter.

Lenin pointed out repeatedly that imperialism means aggression and war. Chairman Mao pointed out in his statement of May 20, 1970, **"The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."** It will be possible to prevent such a war, so long as the peoples, who are becoming more and more awakened, keep the orientation clearly in sight, heighten their vigilance, strengthen unity and persevere in struggle. Should the imperialists be bent on unleashing such a war, it will inevitably give rise to greater revolutions on a worldwide scale and hasten their doom.

In the excellent situation now prevailing at home and abroad, it is most important for us to run China's affairs well. Therefore, on the international front, our Party must uphold proletarian internationalism, uphold the Party's consistent policies, strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and with all countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and in particular, against the hegemonism of the two superpowers—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over, and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end. On the domestic front, we must pursue our Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, unite with all the forces that can be united and work hard to build our country into a powerful socialist state, so as to make a greater contribution to mankind.

We must uphold Chairman Mao's teachings that we should **"be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"** and should **"dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony,"** maintain high vigilance and be fully prepared against any war of aggression that imperialism may launch and particularly against surprise attack on our country by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Our heroic People's Liberation Army and our vast militia must be prepared at all times to wipe out any enemy that may invade.

Taiwan Province is our motherland's sacred territory, and the people in Taiwan are our kith and kin. We have infinite concern for our compatriots in Taiwan, who love and long for the motherland. Our compatriots in Taiwan can have a bright future only by returning to the embrace of the motherland. Taiwan must be liberated. Our great motherland must be unified. This is the common aspiration and sacred duty of the people of all nationalities of the country, including our compatriots in Taiwan. Let us strive together to attain this goal.

Comrades!

We must be aware that although we have achieved great successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction, we are always lagging behind the needs of the objective situation. We still face very heavy tasks in our socialist revolution. The tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution need to be carried on in a thoroughgoing way on all fronts. More efforts are required to overcome the shortcomings, mistakes and certain unhealthy tendencies in our work. Our whole Party must make good use of the present opportune time to consolidate and carry forward the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and work well in all fields.

First of all, we should continue to do a good job of criticizing Lin Biao and rectifying style of work. We should make full use of that teacher by negative example, the Lin Biao anti-Party clique, to educate the whole Party, Army and the people of all nationalities of our country in class struggle and two-line struggle, and criticize revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook so that the masses will be able to draw on the historical experience of the ten struggles between the two lines in our Party, acquire a deeper understanding of the characteristics and laws of class struggle and two-line struggle in the period of socialist revolution in our country and raise their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism.

All Party members should conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, adhere to dialectical materialism and historical materialism, combat idealism and metaphysics and remould their world outlook. Senior cadres, in particular, should make greater efforts to **“read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism,”** try their best to master the basic theories of Marxism, learn the history of the struggles of Marxism against old and new revisionism and opportunism of all descriptions, and understand how Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the course of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution. We hope that through sustained efforts **“the vast numbers of our cadres and the people will be able to arm themselves with the basic theories of Marxism.”**

We should attach importance to the class struggle in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, transform all parts of the superstructure which do not conform to the economic base. We should handle correctly the two types of contradictions of different nature. We should continue to carry out in earnest all of Chairman Mao's proletarian policies. We should continue to carry out well the revolution in literature and art, the revolution in education and the revolution in public health, and the work with regard to the educated youth who go to mountainous and other rural areas, run the May 7th cadres schools well and support all the newly emerging things of socialism.

Economically ours is still a poor and developing country. We should thoroughly carry out the general line of **“going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism,”** and grasp revolution and promote production. We should continue to implement the principle of **“taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor”** and the series of policies of walking on two legs, and build our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift. Marx pointed out that **“the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself.”** One basic experience from our socialist construction over more than two decades is to rely on the masses. In order to learn from Taching in industry and to learn from Tachai in agriculture, we must persist in putting proletarian politics in command, vigorously launch mass movements and give full scope to the enthusiasm, wisdom and creativeness of the masses. On this basis, planning and coordination must be strengthened, rational rules and regulations improved and both central and local initiative further brought into full play. Party organizations should pay close attention to questions of economic policy, concern themselves with the well-being of the masses, do a good job of investigation and study, and strive effectively to fulfil or overfulfil the state plans for developing the national economy so that our socialist economy will make still greater progress.

We should further strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party. **“Of the seven sectors—industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the Army, the government and the Party—it is the Party that exercises overall leadership.”** Party committees at all levels should study *On Strengthening the Party Committee System, Methods of Work of Party Committees* and other writings by Chairman Mao, sum up their experience and further strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party ideologically, organizationally as well as through rules and regulations. At the same time the role of revolutionary committees and mass organizations should be brought into full play. We should strengthen the leadership given to primary organizations in order to en-

sure that leadership there is truly in the hands of Marxists and in the hands of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other working people, and that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled in every primary organization. Party committees at all levels should apply democratic centralism better and improve their art of leadership. It should be emphatically pointed out that quite a few Party committees are engrossed in daily routines and minor matters, paying no attention to major issues. This is very dangerous. If they do not change, they will inevitably step on to the road of revisionism. It is hoped that comrades throughout the Party, leading comrades in particular, will guard against such a tendency and earnestly change such a style of work.

The experience with regard to combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in the leadership, which the masses created during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has provided us with favourable conditions for training millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in accordance with the five requirements put forward by Chairman Mao. Party organizations at all levels should keep on the agenda this fundamental task which is crucial for generations to come. Chairman Mao says, **“Revolutionary successors of the proletariat are invariably brought up in great storms.”** They must be tempered in class struggle and two-line struggle and educated by both positive and negative experience. Therefore, a genuine Communist must be ready to accept a higher or lower post and be able to stand the test of going up or stepping down many times. All cadres, veteran and new alike, must maintain close ties with the masses, be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and impetuosity, go to any post as required by the Party and the people and firmly carry out Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and policies under every circumstance.

Comrades! The Tenth National Congress of the Party will have a far-reaching influence on the course of our Party’s development. We will soon convene the Fourth National People’s Congress. Our people and the revolutionary people of all countries place great hopes on our Party and our country. We are confident that our Party, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, will uphold his proletarian revolutionary line, do our work well and live up to the expectations of our people and the people throughout the world!

**“The future is bright; the road is tortuous.”** Let our whole Party unite, let our people of all nationalities unite, **“be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!”**

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!  
Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!  
Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

## TEXT 4

# REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE PARTY CONSTITUTION

*delivered by Wang Hung-wen*

Comrades!

As entrusted by the Central Committee of the Party, I will now give a brief explanation of the revision of our Party's Constitution.

In accordance with the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee concerning the revision of the Party Constitution, a working conference of the Central Committee which was convened last May discussed the question of revising the Party Constitution adopted at the Ninth National Congress. After that conference, the Party committees of the provinces, the municipalities directly under the central authority, and the autonomous regions, the Party committees of the greater military commands and the Party organizations directly under the Central Committee all set up groups for the revision of the Party Constitution, extensively consulted the masses inside and outside the Party and formally submitted forty-one drafts to the Central Committee. At the same time, the masses inside and outside the Party in various places directly mailed in many suggestions for revision. The draft of the revised Constitution now submitted to the congress for discussion was drawn up according to Chairman Mao's specific proposals for the revision and on the basis of serious study of all the drafts and suggestions sent in.

In the discussion on the revision, all Party comrades were of the view that since the Party's Ninth National Congress, the whole Party, Army and people, guided by the line of that congress, which was formulated under the personal direction of Chairman Mao, have done the work of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a deep-going way, smashed the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and won great victories in all aspects of the domestic and international struggles. Practice over the past four years and more has fully proved that both the political line and organizational line of the Ninth Congress are correct. The Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress upholds our Party's consistent and fundamental principles, reflects the new experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolu-

---

*The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (Documents)* (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1973). (Delivered August 24 and adopted August 28, 1973.)

tion and has played a positive part in the political life of our whole Party, Army and people. The stipulations in the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress regarding the nature, guiding ideology, basic programme and basic line of our Party have been retained in the general programme of the present draft. Some adjustments have been made in the structure and content. There are not many changes in the articles. The number of words has been slightly reduced. The paragraph concerning Lin Piao in the general programme of the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress was completely deleted. This was the unanimous demand of the whole Party, Army and people. It was also the inevitable result of Lin Piao's betrayal of the Party and the country and his own final rejection of the Party and people.

Compared with the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress, the present draft is mainly characterized by its richer content with regard to the experience of the struggle between the two lines. This was a common feature of all the drafts sent in. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party has been victorious in the ten major struggles between the two lines and accumulated rich experience of defeating Right and "Left" opportunist lines, which is most valuable to the whole Party. Chairman Mao says, "**To lead the revolution to victory, a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidity of its own organization.**" All the comrades of our Party must pay close attention to the question of line, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthen our Party building and ensure that the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism is carried through.

What has been added in the draft in this respect?

One. Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and it is also a deep-going Party consolidation movement. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the whole Party, Army and people, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, have smashed the two bourgeois headquarters, the one headed by Liu Shao-chi and the other by Lin Piao, thus striking a hard blow at all domestic and international reactionary forces. "**The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.**" The draft fully affirms the great victories and the tremendous significance of this revolution and has the following statement explicitly written into it: "Revolutions like this will have to be carried out many times in the future." Historical experience tells us that not only will the struggle be-

tween the two classes and the two roads in society at home inevitably find expression in our Party, but imperialism and social-imperialism abroad will inevitably recruit agents from within our Party in order to carry out aggression and subversion against us. In 1966 when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was just rising, Chairman Mao already pointed out, **“Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And so once again every seven or eight years. Monsters and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out.”** The living reality of class struggle has confirmed and will continue to confirm this objective law as revealed by Chairman Mao. We must heighten our vigilance and understand the protractedness and complexity of this struggle. In order to constantly consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and seize new victories for the socialist cause, it is necessary to deepen the socialist revolution in the ideological, political and economic spheres, to transform all those parts of the superstructure that do not conform to the socialist economic base and carry out many great political revolutions such as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Two. Adherence to the principles: **“Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don’t split; be open and aboveboard, and don’t intrigue and conspire.”** Of these three principles—“the three dos and three don’ts”—put forward by Chairman Mao, the most fundamental is to practise Marxism and not revisionism. If one practises Marxism and wholeheartedly serves the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world, one is obliged to work for unity and be open and aboveboard; if one practises revisionism and exclusively serves the small number of exploiting class elements, one will inevitably go in for splits, intrigues and conspiracy. Revisionism is an international bourgeois ideological trend. Revisionists are agents whom the bourgeoisie, and imperialism, revisionism and reaction plant in our Party by means of sending them in or recruiting them from our ranks. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and similar careerists, conspirators, double-dealers and absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders, though they manifested themselves in somewhat different ways, were all essentially the same; they were all chieftains in practising revisionism and thoroughly turned bourgeois ideologically, politically and in their way of life. They were rotten to the core! Chairman Mao says, **“The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie.”** This is absolutely true. The principles of “the three dos and three don’ts” have been entered into the general programme of the draft in accordance with suggestions sent in. In Point (1) under Article 3 concerning the requirements for Party members and in Point (1) under Article 12 concerning the tasks of the primary Party organizations, the words

“criticize revisionism” have been added in accordance with the views expressed by the worker, peasant and soldier comrades at the forum held by the Peking Municipal Party Committee on the revision of the Party Constitution as well as suggestions from some provinces and municipalities. Revisionism remains the main danger today. To study Marxism and criticize revisionism is our long-term task for strengthening the building of our Party ideologically.

Three. We must have the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide. Chairman Mao pointed out: **“Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle.”** During the discussions on the revision of the Party Constitution, many comrades, reviewing the Party’s history and their own experiences, held that this was most important in the two-line struggle within the Party. In the early period of the democratic revolution, there were several occasions when wrong lines held sway in our Party. In the later period of the democratic revolution and in the period of socialist revolution, when the correct line represented by Chairman Mao has been predominant, there have also been lessons in that certain wrong lines or wrong views were taken as correct for a time by many people and supported as such. The correct line represented by Chairman Mao has waged resolute struggles against those errors and won out. When confronted with issues that concern the line and the overall situation, a true Communist must act without any selfish considerations and dare to go against the tide, fearing neither removal from his post, expulsion from the Party, imprisonment, divorce nor guillotine.

Of course, in the face of an erroneous trend there is not only the question of whether one dares go against it but also that of whether one is able to distinguish it. Class struggle and the two-line struggle in the historical period of socialism are extremely complex. When one tendency is covered by another, many comrades often fail to note it. Moreover, those who intrigue and conspire deliberately put up false fronts, which makes it all the more difficult to discern. Through discussion, many comrades have come to realize that according to the dialectic materialist point of view, all objective things are knowable. **“The naked eye is not enough, we must have the aid of the telescope and the microscope. The Marxist method is our telescope and microscope in political and military matters.”** So long as one diligently studies the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and those of Chairman Mao, takes an active part in the actual struggle and works hard to remould one’s world outlook, one can constantly raise the ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism and differentiate between correct and wrong lines and views.

In waging struggle, we must study Chairman Mao’s theory concerning the struggle between the two lines and learn from his practice; we

must not only be firm in principle, but also carry out correct policies, draw a clear distinction between the two types of contradictions of different nature, make sure to unite with the vast majority and observe Party discipline.

Four. We must train millions of successors for the cause of the proletarian revolution in the course of mass struggles. Chairman Mao said, **“In order to guarantee that our party and country do not change their colour, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution.”** As stated above, those to be trained are not just one or two persons, but millions. Such a task cannot be fulfilled unless the whole Party attaches importance to it. In discussing the revision of the Party Constitution, many elder comrades expressed the strong desire that we must further improve the work of training successors, so that the cause of our proletarian revolution initiated by the Party under the leadership of Chairman Mao will be carried forward by an endless flow of successors. Many young comrades on their part warmly pledged to learn modestly from the strong points of veteran cadres who have been tempered through long years of revolutionary war and revolutionary struggle and have rich experience, to be strict with themselves and to do their best to carry on the revolution. Both veteran and new cadres expressed their determination to learn each other’s strong points and overcome their own shortcomings. In the light of the views expressed, a sentence about the necessity of training successors has been added to the general programme of the draft, and another sentence about the application of the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading bodies at all levels has been added to the articles. We must, in accordance with the five requirements Chairman Mao has laid down for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, lay stress on selecting outstanding persons from among the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants and placing them in leading posts at all levels. Attention must also be paid to training women cadres and minority nationality cadres.

Five. We must strengthen the Party’s centralized leadership and promote the Party’s traditional style of work. The political party of the proletariat is the highest form of the organization of the proletariat, and the Party must exercise leadership in everything; this is an important Marxist principle. The draft has incorporated suggestions from various units on strengthening the Party’s centralized leadership. It is laid down in the articles that state organs, the People’s Liberation Army and revolutionary mass organizations “must all accept the centralized leadership of the Party.” Organizationally, the Party’s centralized leadership should be given expression in two respects: First, as

regards the relationship between various organizations at the same level, **“Of the seven sectors—industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the Army, the government and the Party—it is the Party that exercises overall leadership”**; the Party is not parallel to the others and still less is it under the leadership of any other. Second, as regards the relationship between higher and lower levels, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee. This has long been a rule in our Party and it must be adhered to. We must strengthen the Party’s centralized leadership, and a Party committee’s leadership must not be replaced by a “joint conference” of several sectors. But at the same time, it is necessary to give full play to the role of the revolutionary committees, the other sectors and organizations at all levels. The Party committee must practise democratic centralism and strengthen its collective leadership. It must unite people “from all corners of the country” and not practise mountain-stronghold sectionalism. It must “let all people have their say” and not “let one person alone have the say.” The most essential thing about the Party’s centralized leadership is leadership through a correct ideological and political line. Party committees at all levels must, on the basis of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, achieve **“unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action.”**

The style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism has been written into the general programme of the draft. Communists of the older generations are familiar with this fine tradition of our Party as cultivated by Chairman Mao; however, they still face the question of how to carry it forward under new historical conditions, whereas for the many new Party members, there is the question of learning, inheriting and carrying it forward. Chairman Mao often educates us with accounts of the Party’s activities in its years of bitter struggle, asking us to share the same lot, rough or smooth, with the broad masses. We must beware of the inroads of bourgeois ideology and the attacks by sugar-coated bullets; we must be modest and prudent, work hard and lead a plain life, resolutely oppose privilege and earnestly overcome all such unhealthy tendencies as “going in by the back door.”

Now, I would like to discuss with special emphasis the question of accepting criticism and supervision from the masses. Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of working people are the masters of our country. They have the right to exercise revolutionary supervision over cadres of all ranks of our Party and state organs. This concept has taken deeper root throughout the Party, thanks to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, there

are still a small number of cadres, especially some leading cadres, who will not tolerate differing views of the masses inside or outside the Party. They even suppress criticism and retaliate, and it is quite serious in some individual cases. In handling problems among the people, Party discipline absolutely forbids such wrong practices as resorting to “suppression if unable to persuade, and arrest if unable to suppress.” In the draft, the sentence that “it is absolutely impermissible to suppress criticism and to retaliate” has been added to the articles. We should approach this question from the high plane of two-line struggle to understand it, and resolutely fight against such violations of Party discipline. We must have faith in the masses, rely on them, constantly use the weapons of arousing the masses to air their views freely, write big-character posters and hold great debates and strive **“to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, so as to facilitate our socialist revolution and socialist construction, make it easier to overcome difficulties, enable our country to build a modern industry and modern agriculture at a fairly rapid pace, consolidate our Party and state and make them better able to weather storm and stress.”**

Six. It is our Party’s consistent principle to uphold proletarian internationalism. This time we have further included “Oppose great-power chauvinism” in the draft. We will forever stand together with the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world to oppose imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, and at present to oppose especially the hegemonism of the two superpowers—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The danger of a new world war still exists. We must, without fail, prepare well against any war of aggression and guard against surprise attack by imperialism and social-imperialism.

Chairman Mao says, **“In our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.”** Our country has a large population, vast territory and abundant resources. We must make our country prosperous and strong and we are fully capable of doing it. However, we must persist in the principle of **“never seek hegemony”** and must never be a superpower under any circumstances. All Party comrades must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao’s teachings that we must never be conceited, not even after a hundred years, and never be cocky, not even after the 21st century. At home, too, we must oppose every manifestation of “great-power” chauvinism, and further strengthen the revolutionary unity of the whole Party, the whole Army and the people of all the nationalities of the country to speed up our socialist revolution and socialist construction and strive to fulfil our due internationalist obligations.

Comrades! Ours is a great, glorious and correct Party. We are confident that the whole Party, acting according to the political line defined by the Tenth Congress and the new Party Constitution adopted by it, can surely build our Party into a stronger and more vigorous one. Let us, under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, **“Unite to win still greater victories!”**