

The Crux of "Gang of Four's" Crimes Is to Usurp Party and State Power

THE crux of all the counter-revolutionary crimes committed by the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party "gang of four" is their complete betrayal of Chairman Mao's three basic principles "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," their practice of revisionism, their creation of splits and their intrigues and conspiracies in a vain attempt to usurp supreme Party and state power, establish a fascist dictatorial regime and achieve their ultimate aim of restoring capitalism.

Our struggle against the "gang of four" is a life-and-death struggle between the two classes, the two lines and the two roads. The essence of the struggle is which class should wield power in our Party and state and which road our country should take.

With the insight of a proletarian revolutionary, the great leader Chairman Mao had long seen through the wild ambitions of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power and had foreseen that they would make trouble after his death. Chairman Mao pointed out in 1974: "Chiang Ching has wild ambitions. She wants Wang Hung-wen to be Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and herself to be Chairman of the Party Central Committee." He said to Chiang Ching: "It's hard for you, too, to mend your ways." In 1975, Chairman Mao again pointed out: "After I die, she will make trouble." First, Chiang Ching has "wild ambitions," second, "it's hard" for her "to mend" her ways, and third, "she will make trouble." This incisively shows that the "gang of four" was not content with that portion of Party and state power it had already grabbed, but wanted to

seize the entire Party, government and army power. They wanted to be the heads of the State Council, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Chairman Mao's words were meant to alert the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country to be vigilant against the overweening ambitions of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power, and to guard against a counter-revolutionary coup by this gang.

With the utmost patience and magnanimity, Chairman Mao had exposed, criticized, educated and struggled against the "gang of four," hoping that they would call it quits before it was too late. Taking the attitude of counter-revolutionary double-dealers, however, the gang feigned compliance while covertly opposing Chairman Mao's criticism and did not mend their ways in the least. They continued to collude and stepped up their conspiratorial activities to usurp Party and state power with mounting intensity. They obdurately opposed Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and alienated themselves from the Party and the people till they were thoroughly defeated.

While Chairman Mao was alive, the "gang of four" pretended to support him because he enjoyed high prestige among the people of the whole country, but actually they racked their brains to subvert Chairman Mao's leadership. They directed the spearhead of their attack against Premier Chou En-lai, Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms, and other leading comrades of the central authorities in an attempt to cut Chairman Mao off from what was going on.

When preparations were being made for the Fourth National People's Congress in 1974, they sent Wang Hung-wen to Chairman Mao to frame charges against Premier Chou and ask for permission for them to form a "cabinet," openly showing their eagerness to usurp power. For decades, Premier Chou dedicated all his energy to resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and had Chairman Mao's immense trust. In wildly opposing Premier Chou, the gang resorted to the counter-revolutionary tactics of "removing the ministers from the emperor's side*." Their aim was to oppose Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line. Chiang Ching said outright: "The aim of 'removing the ministers from the emperor's side' lies in the 'emperor.'" This short remark completely exposed their criminal intent. The "gang of four's" vicious plan to replace Premier Chou was sharply criticized by Chairman Mao and was shattered.

After the passing of Premier Chou at the beginning of 1976, the gang revealed their ambitions even more openly. With great vision and farsightedness, Chairman Mao took one effective measure after another to counter the wolfish ambitions of the "gang of four." In January 1976 he personally proposed that Comrade Hua Kuo-feng be appointed Acting Premier of the State Council and put in charge of the work of the Political Bureau; in April he decided that Comrade Hua Kuo-feng be appointed First Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Premier of the State Council. The post of First Vice-Chairman had never before existed in the history of our Party. By breaking with this convention, Chairman Mao explicitly designated Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as his successor. Chairman Mao also issued the instruction: "It is necessary to do propaganda and give publicity to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to make him known to the people of the whole country step by step." Later, Chairman Mao wrote down for Comrade Hua Kuo-feng in his presence: "With you in charge, I'm at ease." These wise decisions were mortal blows directed against the ambitions of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power as well as an important strategic plan for the whole Party and the people of the whole country to defeat the "gang of four." The hatred of the "gang of four" for Chairman Mao's arrangement con-

cerning his successor went to such extremes that Chang Chun-chiao wrote his "Thoughts on February 3, 1976"*** in which he cursed Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's becoming Acting Premier of the State Council as: "Moving up so fast and so menacingly spells a downfall that will be just as rapid." This revealed the gang's inveterate hatred for Chairman Mao in appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as his successor and also exposed their villainous motive to oust Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. Using all manner of insidious tricks, they launched unbridled attacks against Comrade Hua Kuo-feng again and again. These expert mudslingers instructed their henchmen to cook up an article in which, on the pretext of criticizing Confucius (541-479 B.C.), they attacked Comrade Hua Kuo-feng by innuendo with such remarks as Confucius "at 56 was promoted from the post of minister of crime (namely, minister of public security) to the acting premiership of the State of Lu" and Confucius pretended to know about farming and "show concern for the livelihood and well-being of the people." Last May the "gang of four" told its trusted followers to make anti-Party speeches openly in which they clamoured for "liquidating" "other people in command." At a conference discussing planning work called by the Party Central Committee last July they instructed their hench-

* This tactic was first brought into play by Prince Liu Pi in 154 B.C. in the early Western Han Dynasty. He led his troops in revolt against the central authorities and demanded, in the name of "removing the minister from the emperor's side," that Emperor Ching Ti have his chief councillor, Minister Chao Tso, murdered. Later, this practice was followed by many careerists. The "gang of four" also used this counter-revolutionary tactic in order to usurp supreme Party and state leadership. In wildly opposing Premier Chou En-lai and other leading comrades of the central authorities, their aim was to oppose Chairman Mao.

** On February 3, 1976 the C.P.C. Central Committee issued Document No. 1 which relayed the Party Central Committee's important decision: In accordance with Chairman Mao's proposal, the Political Bureau unanimously adopted the resolution to appoint Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as Acting Premier of the State Council. Long anxious for the premiership, Chang Chun-chiao that day wrote his "Thoughts on February 3, 1976," viciously attacking Chairman Mao's wise decision and slandering Comrade Hua Kuo-feng.

men to launch an attack, howling that the State Council was the "source of the Right deviationist wind" and assailing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as a "capitalist-roader still on the capitalist road." In opposing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng so blatantly, the "gang of four" was actually trying to annul Chairman Mao's arrangement concerning his successor and seize supreme Party and state leadership.

"Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom." That is the logic of all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause. The "gang of four" would not go against this logic. The whole nation was in deep mourning after Chairman Mao's passing, but the "gang of four" went into raptures over it. Thinking the time was ripe, they were impatient to realize their plot to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state. They were ready to take action and make trouble. On the day Chairman Mao died, they appropriated the name of the General Office of the Party Central Committee and issued a notice to various places throughout the country demanding that all major questions must be reported to them for instruction. By doing so, they tried to sever communications between the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions so that they themselves could issue orders and command the whole nation. They went around making speeches and creating counter-revolutionary opinion. They had standard portraits taken of a member of the "gang of four" and instigated units under their control to write "oaths of fealty" in preparing for their coming to power. The "gang of four" attacked Comrade Hua Kuo-feng from all sides and pressed him to hand over power. They fabricated the so-called "last words" of Chairman Mao, "act according to the principles laid down." Then they wrote an article viciously attacking Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as "the revisionist chieftain" who had "tampered with Chairman Mao's principles laid down." This was an open signal to seize power. (For details see "A Desperate Move Before Destruction" in our issue No. 52, 1976.) They even hatched an armed rebellion and frenziedly howled about "being prepared to shed blood and be beheaded." They

were busy making preparations and rattling their sabres. The counter-revolutionary coup hatched by the "gang of four" to overthrow the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng was like an arrow in the bow and could be unleashed at any time. Our Party and our state were in a critical moment.

Our Party has a history of more than half a century and has experienced many tempestuous storms. On many occasions there have been people who intended to crush our Party from within only to end in self-destruction. The "gang of four" tried the same trick by taking advantage of the passing of Chairman Mao, and they too did not come to a better end. At the crucial moment when the gang came out to create disturbances, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, carrying out Chairman Mao's behests and representing the aspirations of the people in their hundreds of millions, made a prompt decision and at one stroke smashed the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power, thus saving the revolution and the Party. The whole Party, the whole army and people of all nationalities throughout the country will for ever remember Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's magnificent contributions in leading our Party to achieve the great victory of smashing the "gang of four." Comrade Hua Kuo-feng showed his high proletarian revolutionary mettle and political farsightedness, and demonstrated his rich experience in struggle and exceptional organizational talent. He is the worthy wise leader of our Party and of the people of our country.

Practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in intrigues and conspiracies to usurp Party and state power are the characteristics of all bourgeois careerists and conspirators hidden in the Party during the historical period of socialism. This is true in the Soviet Union as well as in China. Khrushchov, who represented the interests of the new and old bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union, staged a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat after Stalin's death, seized Party and state power and changed the political colour of the Soviet Union. In China, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih set up an underground headquarters and engaged in reshuffling the Party Central Committee behind the back of Chairman Mao; Peng Teh-huai pulled

together a "military club" and threw down the gauntlet to Chairman Mao; Liu Shao-chi recruited deserters and renegades to form a bourgeois headquarters; Lin Piao cooked up the *Outline of Project "571"* to stage a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état. All were aimed at overthrowing the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and replacing it by themselves. The "gang of four" carried out the same counter-revolutionary intrigues and went even further than their predecessors. Donning the cloak of Marxism, they frenziedly sabotaged the revolution and production, persecuted the cadres and suppressed the masses, and were dead-set on throwing the whole country into chaos so that they could usurp Party and state power in the confusion. They are outright bourgeois careerists and conspirators. Chairman Mao warned us long ago: **"Especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level."** In hailing the great victory of smashing the "gang of four," this teaching of Chairman Mao's means more than ever before to the whole Party, the whole army and people of all nationalities in the country.

Just what's this "gang of four"? It is a bunch of counter-revolutionaries who sneaked into our revolutionary ranks. They are active counter-revolutionaries and some are even old-line counter-revolutionaries. Our struggle against the "gang of four" is a continuation of the protracted struggle which, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the revolutionary people waged against the Kuo-mintang reactionaries and a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. After usurping a portion of Party and state power, the "gang of four" flagrantly distorted and tampered with Chairman Mao's directives, interfered with and undermined Chairman Mao's strategic plans, pushed their ultra-Right counter-revolutionary revisionist line and stopped at nothing to wreck the country and bring ruin to the people. As a result, the country was not tranquil. If they had succeeded in usurping supreme Party and state power, the victories won over the past decades by the Chinese people under Chairman Mao's leadership in the new-democratic revolution, in the socialist revolution and construction and

during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution would all be gone with the wind. **"The Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour."** — This dangerous situation would have confronted us just as Chairman Mao warned us. Our people would then suffer hell on earth, and countless people would starve, be thrown into prison or even be killed. China has averted a big retrogression in her history with the great victory of smashing the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power. This has further consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and ensured that we can continue our triumphant advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. When we think of all this, we have a deeper understanding of the great significance of this victory, hate the "gang of four" more, cherish still greater love for Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and the Party Central Committee headed by him, and are filled with greater confidence in carrying through to the end the cause of proletarian revolution in China pioneered by Chairman Mao.

While exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," the revolutionary masses in the Tachai Production Brigade said: The crux of the crimes of the "gang of four" is practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in intrigues and conspiracies in a vain attempt to usurp Party and state leadership and restore capitalism in China. Whatever the gang did was for this express purpose. A mass movement thoroughly exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" is now surging forward. The contradiction between ourselves and the anti-Party "gang of four" is one between ourselves and the enemy. We should by no means be lenient with them. Their plot to usurp Party and state power has been smashed and we have won a great victory. An excellent situation now prevails throughout the country. The whole country's armymen and civilians must continue the triumphant advance, display the spirit of relentlessly beating the dog in the water and carry the great political revolution of exposing and criticizing the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique through to the end.

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