

RED FLAG ARTICLES LAUD HUA, ATTACK 'GANG'

Hua Leadership Hailed

Peking Domestic Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 10 Dec 76 OW

[Article by Chin Hung: "Chairman Hua's Wise Leadership Is a Reliable Guarantee for the Victory of the Revolution"--published in RED FLAG no 12, 1976]

[Text] The party Central Committee's decision to appoint Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as chairman of the CCP Central Committee and its Military Commission has won the most enthusiastic support of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. The 800 million Chinese people are highly delighted that our party again has its own wise leader in Chairman Hua. Under the wise leadership of Chairman Hua, the people of all nationalities of our country have a reliable guarantee for continuing to advance victoriously along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The revolutionary people of all countries throughout the world have also expressed joy from the bottom of their hearts that the Chinese people again have their own leader and that new China will continue to thrive and flourish.

Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, a great victory has been won in smashing the plot of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao antiparty clique to usurp party and state power. The situation is excellent throughout the country. Just as Chairman Hua has pointed out, the main indication of the excellent situation is that the hundreds of millions of soldiers and people throughout the country are greatly elated, filled with high spirits, have a strong fighting will and are confident of victory.

At present, the masses of party members, cadres and people have greatly enhanced their consciousness in reading and studying. A new upsurge in assiduously studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works is being whipped up throughout the country. The struggle to thoroughly expose and criticize the towering crimes of the antiparty clique is deepening. The "gang of four" is engulfed by the condemnations of the people throughout the country. A new high tide of grasping revolution, promoting production, and accelerating the development of the national economy is taking shape rapidly. With their minds at ease, the party members, cadres and masses have shown great enthusiasm for socialism. This inspiring scene fully shows that the hearts of the people and the party and those of the party members are turned toward Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua.

History is created by the masses. The creation of history by the masses includes the great role played by revolutionary leaders who represent the interests and will of the masses and who lead them to advance forward. Lenin pointed out that the masses are divided into classes. He also pointed out that classes are generally led by political parties and that political parties are generally formed by those most prestigious, most influential and most experienced leaders who have been selected to shoulder the most important tasks and are run by comparatively stable groups. Lenin's implicit exposition clearly explains the relationship between a leader and a political party, a class and the masses, and expounds the important position and leading role of a revolutionary leader.

The proletarian revolution is an unprecedentedly great and arduous revolution in the history of mankind. The proletariat strives not only for its own emancipation, but also for the emancipation of all mankind. It wants to thoroughly eliminate the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, eliminate the system of man exploiting man, and realize communism on earth.

To fulfill this noble historical mission and overcome perils, difficulties and twists and turns on the way of advance, the proletariat must not only have its own political party, but also must have its wise leader. Without a wise leader it is impossible for the proletariat to win victory in revolution. Without a wise leader it is also impossible for the proletariat to consolidate the victory it has won.

The leader of the proletariat is a reliable guarantee for the victory of the revolution. This is strongly exemplified by the fact that at the turning-point of the revolution and at its critical moment of fierce class and two-line struggle, the revolutionary leader has penetrating insight into everything and displays scientific precognition and revolutionary firmness in leading the masses to surmount perils and difficulties and to guide the revolutionary ship so as to avoid hidden reefs, thus saving the revolution from danger and winning one victory after another.

In expounding the great role of Lenin, Stalin pointed out that at the turning-point of the revolution, Lenin had penetrating insight into everything, foresaw the actions of the various classes and possible twists and turns in the revolutionary path, and knew these things like the fingers of his hands. We can more clearly understand the great roles of revolutionary leaders if we review our party's history.

In the course of China's revolution, at every critical moment when the party and the revolutionary cause were seriously endangered by the "left" and right deviationist opportunist lines, it was possible to overcome danger and obstacles because the great leader Chairman Mao was the helmsman who successfully guided the revolutionary ship toward its destination.

After the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao died, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" vainly attempted to deny Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, the successor whom Chairman Mao personally selected, and to usurp the supreme leadership of the party and the state. At that time the sky above China was heavily overcast. The supreme leadership of the party and the state faced the real danger of being usurped by the counter-revolutionary revisionists; the Marxist Chinese Communist Party founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao faced the real danger of being turned into a revisionist party; the Red socialist state won with flesh and blood by numerous revolutionary martyrs faced the real danger of changing color; China's workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other sections of the laboring masses faced the real danger of returning to the abyss of misery. It was at such a critical moment that Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, with the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, carried out Chairman Mao's behests and led our party to smash with one stroke the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp party and state power and win the decisive victory in smashing the attacks launched by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, thereby saving the party and the revolution. In this fierce struggle for the proletariat to triumph over the bourgeoisie and for Marxism to triumph over revisionism, Chairman Hua has performed great services for the party, the state and the people and has won the warm support of the people throughout the country and of the revolutionary people throughout the world.

With noble aspiration and firm resolve, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng fully displayed the noble character of a wise leader of the proletariat at the turning-point of the revolution. This eloquently shows the great role played by a proletarian leader in determining the future and destiny of the party and the revolutionary cause.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. Proletarian leaders are the militant standard bearers of Marxism-Leninism. They succeed in integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of revolution and, during the various stages of development of the revolution, in indicating the orientation of struggle and formulating and implementing a correct line, correct principles, policies and tactics. Chairman Hua, whom the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao personally trained, selected and arranged to succeed him, is precisely such an outstanding representative who is good at integrating Marxism with the concrete practice of the revolution and at upholding the correct revolutionary line. In the party's fierce two-line struggle, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng persistently stood on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. During the periods of the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng underwent the rigorous tests of protracted and complex class and line struggle in his posts as leader at the county, prefectural, provincial and central authority levels. He has gained abundant experience and possesses outstanding ability in implementing and defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies. Especially during the period when Comrade Hua Kuo-feng assumed the posts of first vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee and premier of the State Council, the two-line struggle within the party was very fierce and natural disasters were extremely serious. At that most dangerous and difficult moment, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng faithfully implemented Chairman Mao's instructions, upheld the three basic principles "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard and don't intrigue and conspire"; boldly defended the purity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought; led the whole party to smash the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp party and state power and restore capitalism; overcame untold difficulties, dispersed the rolling black clouds, and brought about an excellent situation throughout the country in which the masses are rejoicing and high-spirited and a thriving scene prevails everywhere.

All this shows that under the wise leadership of Chairman Hua a reliable guarantee exists for our party to carry out Chairman Mao's behests, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, uphold the party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold proletarian internationalism, implement the series of principles and policies formulated by Chairman Mao for our party, win continuous victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China, and build China into a strong socialist state in a rather short period of time.

Proletarian leaders are one with the masses of people and represent the basic interests and revolutionary aspirations of the proletariat and the masses. Leaders of the proletariat emerge in the course of mass struggle; they are not self-appointed. They always stand in the vanguard of mass movements, serving as their road guides. For this reason they are recognized and supported by hundreds of millions of people. With its wise leaders, the proletariat will be able to bring into full play the socialist enthusiasm of the masses and their power of creating history, thus guaranteeing the victory of the revolutionary cause.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng has shown his utmost concern for the masses and knows them extremely well because he comes from among the masses of people and from the grassroots units. During the period of the democratic revolution and socialist revolution, he fought alongside the masses while leading them to advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

After the earthquake hit the Tangshan-Fengnan area, on behalf of Chairman Mao, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng made a personal inspection tour of the seriously afflicted places, heading the delegation of the central authorities and defying the danger of aftershocks. He visited factories, mines and temporary living quarters, spent days and nights working diligently and neglected his sleep and meals. He brought with him profound proletarian affection for the disaster victims while inquiring about their needs and showed loving care and solicitude for them. This vividly reflected that Chairman Hua is the intimate friend of the people.

After our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao died, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua promptly made wise decisions on the establishment of a memorial hall for Chairman Mao and on the publication of the "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" and preparations for the publication of the "Collected Works of Mao Tsetung." Chairman Hua also attended the cornerstone-laying ceremony for the memorial hall for Chairman Mao and delivered an important speech on this occasion. At the ceremony he filled in earth around the cornerstone for the memorial hall. All these things express the common aspirations of the millions of people. The great struggle to smash the conspiracy of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao antiparty clique to usurp party and state power concisely shows that Chairman Hua is the most capable representative of the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the working people as well as of their revolutionary will. The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng has rid the party of a hidden danger and rid the people a big bane, thus removing a heavy stone from the people of the whole country, a stone which once weighed down on their backs. The result is an unprecedented enthusiasm for socialism displayed by the people throughout the country. It is true that revolution is surging forward and production is going up everywhere, ranging from east to west China, from south to north China and from urban to rural China. The proletariat usually definitely affirms the position and role of revolutionary leaders from the historical materialist viewpoint. It always regards the leaders as the most outstanding representatives of any given class as a whole and its political party, and a symbol of victory.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng is the reliable successor to Chairman Mao and our party's worthy leader in whom the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have boundless faith and whom they all deeply love and esteem. With the socialist revolution developing in depth, the people will continue with each passing day to deepen their understanding that Chairman Hua's rise as our party's leader is of great current and far-reaching historical significance. In order to carry out Chairman Mao's behests and carry the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by him through to the end, we must resolutely support and boundlessly trust in Chairman Hua and love him from the bottom of our hearts in accordance with Lenin's teaching on defending the leaders of the party. While doing so, we must fully demonstrate profound militant proletarian feelings for him. We must rally most closely around the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, obey its orders in all our actions, and march in step in order to strive for still greater victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

'Gang' Undermined Modernization

Nanchang Kiangsi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Dec 76 OW

[Text of article by the State Planning Commission mass criticism group: "The 'Gang of Four' Are the Chief Culprits in Undermining Socialist Modernization in the Four Fields," published in RED FLAG No 12, 1976]

[Text] Should we build our state into one with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology?

On this question which affects the future and destiny of our state, our party has waged a sharp and fierce struggle against the antiparty clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. To continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and build our state into a modernized powerful socialist state is a magnificent goal of the present period in socialist revolution and construction.

The "gang of four" set revolution against construction. Flaunting the banner of "revolution," they undermined socialist revolution while opposing socialist construction and the realization of the four modernizations. They labeled those who attempted to realize socialist modernization in the four fields as persons who "use production to suppress revolution and try to restore capitalism." They regarded efforts to build socialism as a crime and efforts to undermine socialism as a merit.

The perverted actions of the "gang of four" seriously damaged socialist revolution and construction in our country. To thoroughly settle accounts with their crimes in undermining socialist modernization in the four fields, eliminate their pernicious influence and strive to build China into a modernized state of socialism under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is an important task facing the whole party and the people throughout the country.

Basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution, summing up the positive as well as the negative experience of the international communist movement, and inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao laid down the party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. To persist in taking class struggle as the key link, uphold the party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism is our basic task in the entire historical period of socialism. Under the guidance of the party's basic line, to correctly handle the relations between politics and economy, between revolution and production and between class and production struggles, to conscientiously implement the principles of grasping revolution and promoting production, and to build China into a modernized powerful state of socialism within this century is the great goal set for us by Chairman Mao.

In 1949 Chairman Mao pointed out at the second plenary session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee: "After the victory of the democratic revolution we must step-by-step change China from an agricultural state into an industrial state, and build China into a great socialist nation." After generally completing the socialist transformation of the ownership system in 1957, Chairman Mao further pointed out: "In China the struggle to consolidate the socialist system, the struggle to decide whether socialism or capitalism will prevail, will still take a long historical period. But we should all realize that the new system of socialism will unquestionably be consolidated. We can assuredly build a socialist state with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture."

At the party's 10th national congress and in line with Chairman Mao's instructions, Comrade Chou En-lai in his political report said: "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 with and work hard to build our country into a powerful socialist state so as to make a greater contribution to mankind."

After the earthquake hit the Tangshan-Fengnan area, on behalf of Chairman Mao, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng made a personal inspection tour of the seriously afflicted places, heading the delegation of the central authorities and defying the danger of aftershocks. He visited factories, mines and temporary living quarters, spent days and nights working diligently and neglected his sleep and meals. He brought with him profound proletarian affection for the disaster victims while inquiring about their needs and showed loving care and solicitude for them. This vividly reflected that Chairman Hua is the intimate friend of the people.

After our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao died, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua promptly made wise decisions on the establishment of a memorial hall for Chairman Mao and on the publication of the "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" and preparations for the publication of the "Collected Works of Mao Tsetung." Chairman Hua also attended the cornerstone-laying ceremony for the memorial hall for Chairman Mao and delivered an important speech on this occasion. At the ceremony he filled in earth around the cornerstone for the memorial hall. All these things express the common aspirations of the millions of people. The great struggle to smash the conspiracy of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao antiparty clique to usurp party and state power concisely shows that Chairman Hua is the most capable representative of the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the working people as well as of their revolutionary will. The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng has rid the party of a hidden danger and rid the people a big bane, thus removing a heavy stone from the people of the whole country, a stone which once weighed down on their backs. The result is an unprecedented enthusiasm for socialism displayed by the people throughout the country. It is true that revolution is surging forward and production is going up everywhere, ranging from east to west China, from south to north China and from urban to rural China. The proletariat usually definitely affirms the position and role of revolutionary leaders from the historical materialist viewpoint. It always regards the leaders as the most outstanding representatives of any given class as a whole and its political party, and a symbol of victory.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng is the reliable successor to Chairman Mao and our party's worthy leader in whom the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have boundless faith and whom they all deeply love and esteem. With the socialist revolution developing in depth, the people will continue with each passing day to deepen their understanding that Chairman Hua's rise as our party's leader is of great current and far-reaching historical significance. In order to carry out Chairman Mao's behests and carry the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by him through to the end, we must resolutely support and boundlessly trust in Chairman Hua and love him from the bottom of our hearts in accordance with Lenin's teaching on defending the leaders of the party. While doing so, we must fully demonstrate profound militant proletarian feelings for him. We must rally most closely around the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, obey its orders in all our actions, and march in step in order to strive for still greater victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

'Gang' Undermined Modernization

Nanchang Kiangsi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Dec 76 OW

[Text of article by the State Planning Commission mass criticism group: "The 'Gang of Four' Are the Chief Culprits in Undermining Socialist Modernization in the Four Fields," published in RED FLAG No 12, 1976]

[Text] Should we build our state into one with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology?

On this question which affects the future and destiny of our state, our party has waged a sharp and fierce struggle against the antiparty clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. To continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and build our state into a modernized powerful socialist state is a magnificent goal of the present period in socialist revolution and construction.

The "gang of four" set revolution against construction. Flaunting the banner of "revolution," they undermined socialist revolution while opposing socialist construction and the realization of the four modernizations. They labeled those who attempted to realize socialist modernization in the four fields as persons who "use production to suppress revolution and try to restore capitalism." They regarded efforts to build socialism as a crime and efforts to undermine socialism as a merit.

The perverted actions of the "gang of four" seriously damaged socialist revolution and construction in our country. To thoroughly settle accounts with their crimes in undermining socialist modernization in the four fields, eliminate their pernicious influence and strive to build China into a modernized state of socialism under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is an important task facing the whole party and the people throughout the country.

Basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution, summing up the positive as well as the negative experience of the international communist movement, and inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao laid down the party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. To persist in taking class struggle as the key link, uphold the party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism is our basic task in the entire historical period of socialism. Under the guidance of the party's basic line, to correctly handle the relations between politics and economy, between revolution and production and between class and production struggles, to conscientiously implement the principles of grasping revolution and promoting production, and to build China into a modernized powerful state of socialism within this century is the great goal set for us by Chairman Mao.

In 1949 Chairman Mao pointed out at the second plenary session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee: "After the victory of the democratic revolution we must step-by-step change China from an agricultural state into an industrial state, and build China into a great socialist nation." After generally completing the socialist transformation of the ownership system in 1957, Chairman Mao further pointed out: "In China the struggle to consolidate the socialist system, the struggle to decide whether socialism or capitalism will prevail, will still take a long historical period. But we should all realize that the new system of socialism will unquestionably be consolidated. We can assuredly build a socialist state with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture."

At the party's 10th national congress and in line with Chairman Mao's instructions, Comrade Chou En-lai in his political report said: "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 with and work hard to build our country into a powerful socialist state so as to make a greater contribution to mankind."

At the Fourth National People's Congress, Premier Chou pointed out the tasks for winning new victory in the socialist revolution and reaffirmed the two magnificent goals put forward by Chairman Mao for the development of the national economy: The first stage is to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system before 1980; the second stage is to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology before the end of the century so that our national economy will advance in the front ranks of the world.

Striving to fulfill this great task repeatedly put forward to us by Chairman Mao is an important step toward realizing the party's basic program and the ultimate realization of communism. It has long been the common aspiration of the Chinese people. It is also the ardent expectation of the revolutionary people of the whole world.

The "gang of four" resisted Chairman Mao's great call, betrayed the resolutions of the 10th CCP National Congress and the Fourth National People's Congress, ran counter to the fundamental interests and common aspiration of the people of the whole country, sabotaged the socialist revolution, opposed socialist construction, opposed the "four modernizations," and opposed building our country into a powerful, modern, socialist country. They either willfully distorted or immediately struck down the fighting calls of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee for developing social productive forces and carrying out the "four modernizations." They rejected "achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results," the two red (?banners), pushing the national economy forward, being "both Red and expert," the adoption of as much advanced technology as necessary, and that all our leading organs should become "socialism-promotion committees." They babbled: "The four modernizations envision only such things as 'several thousand catties of grain' or 'a few dozen million tons of steel.'" They slandered us by saying that when the four modernizations were realized, the red flag would fall to the ground and capitalism would be restored. This is indeed reactionary and absurd.

After the proletariat seized political power in our country, the development of social productive forces and realization of the "four modernizations" under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to produce more grain, steel and industrial and agricultural products is not only an economic but also a political task. It is highly significant for consolidating and developing the socialist economic system, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidating national defense.

Lenin pointed out: "The only material foundation of socialism is the heavy machinery industry which can transform agriculture at the same time. Only with such big industry can the proletariat consolidate its own dictatorship."

Chairman Mao also pointed out: "Only by developing the social productive forces rather fully will our socialist economic and political system have a relatively adequate material foundation of its own."

It is very clear that only by first grasping socialist revolution well while working vigorously to speed up the modernization of industrial and agricultural production and science and technology can we raise labor productivity several, more than ten, and even dozens of times; concentrate on production in breadth and depth; create more and more social wealth; and do a better job in implementing the strategic principle "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people." Only in this way can we provide a solid material foundation for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the proletariat to triumph over the bourgeoisie, for the socialist system to triumph over the capitalist system, and for the transition to communism in the future.

The "gang of four" talked glibly about consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, abolishing bourgeois rights and carrying out the two transitions in the system of collective ownership in the rural areas. Yet they did everything in their power to oppose the creation of the necessary material conditions for achieving these goals. Without the "four modernizations" and without the development of the social productive forces, how can we gradually raise the level of socialization of the system of collective ownership? How can we achieve the gradual transition from the two kinds of public ownership to the single system of ownership by the whole people? How can we gradually narrow and ultimately eliminate the three major differences? How can we at the present stage gradually increase the factor of "to each according to his needs" and in the future achieve the transition from the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" to the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"? They opposed the "four modernizations" and the development of social production. Weren't their talks about abolishing bourgeois rights and realizing communism a pack of idealist lies? In doing all this how could they be trying to strengthen the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat? Obviously they tried to wreck the socialist economy and destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As to the fact that the red flag has fallen to the ground in the Soviet Union, it is because the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has usurped the supreme party and state leadership and pushed a counterrevolutionary revisionist line. If we follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, keep to the socialist road and criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie, we will be able to keep the red flag flying and send satellites up into the sky and build our country into a powerful, modern, socialist country. The "gang of four" tried their utmost to oppose the socialist "four modernizations" and sabotaged the socialist revolution and construction. If their conspiracy had succeeded, capitalism indeed would have been restored.

To sabotage the "four modernizations," the "gang of four" also spread all kinds of fallacies, opposed Chairman Mao's great principle of "grasping revolution, promoting production," dealt blows at the socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and masses, and tried their utmost to hamper the development of socialist production and sabotage socialist construction.

"You are practicing the theory of productive forces." This was a big stick they brandished. If anyone persisted in grasping revolution and promoting production, they dealt a direct blow to him.

What is the theory of productive forces? The theory of productive forces is a revisionist fallacy that one-sidedly exaggerates the role of the productive forces, regards the productive forces as the sole decisive factor of social development, negates the reactions of the relations of production and of the superstructure, attempts to eliminate class struggle, and opposes the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Politics is the commander, the soul in everything." "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work."

To build our country into a powerful, modern, socialist country, we must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, insist on putting proletarian politics in command, persist in the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie, particularly the bourgeoisie inside the party, persevere in the socialist revolution in the superstructure and the relations of production, put revolution in command of production, and put politics in command of economics. We must not waver at any time.

But our opposition to the theory of productive forces can in no way be construed as opposition to promoting production and the "four modernizations." Historical materialism has fully affirmed the reaction of the superstructure on the economic base and the reaction of production relations on the productive forces and the principle and decisive role they play under specific conditions. At the same time, it has always been maintained that the productive forces and the economic base generally play the principle and decisive role with regard to production relations and the superstructure respectively.

The logic is very simple. Man must eat, drink, and have clothing and shelter. He must first of all engage in productive activity before he can engage in political, scientific, artistic and other activities. Man's productive activity is the most fundamental practical activity; it (precedes) all other activities. Striving to do a good job in socialist production is one of the basic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the glorious and sacred duty of the working class and the other laboring masses. The more and faster the development of socialist production, the better.

The "gang of four" indiscriminately regarded promoting production as practicing the theory of productive forces. They were deliberately creating confusion and sabotaging the "four modernizations," maliciously distorting the principle of "grasping revolution, promoting production," and openly betraying historical materialism.

"When revolution is carried out well, it is all right if production goes down." This is another fallacy of theirs to sabotage the principle of "grasping revolution, promoting production." They babbled: "We would rather grow socialist weeds than capitalist crops. We would rather have socialist low speed than capitalist high speed." They even brayed: "So long as class struggle is grasped well, it does not matter if the factories produce no goods and the farms grow no grain." What kind of logic is this?

When revolution is carried out well, how can production go down? When we keep to the socialist road, how can we grow weeds and how can our speed be low? You people who claim to be consistently correct leftists, why do you associate such things as "crops" and "high speed" with capitalism, but "weeds," "low speed," and so forth with socialism? Aren't you the same as the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, the way you vilify socialism and glorify capitalism?

Revolution means liberation of the productive forces. In the past and the present there has been no genuine revolution that has failed to give powerful impetus to the development of the social productive forces. The socialist revolution is the most profound and extensive revolution in history and opens up a broad road for the development of the productive forces. Since liberation, spurred on by the socialist revolution, the social productive forces have developed very speedily and remarkable achievements have been made in the "four modernizations" in our country. Aren't these the most convincing proof? The same truth applies to any area or unit. Wherever revolution is carried out well, production will surely grow rapidly too. Wherever production is a mess, there must be problems in revolution.

The "gang of four" babbled: "When revolution is carried out well, it is all right if production goes down." We would like to ask: If factories produce no goods and farms grow no grain, what kind of socialist enterprises are they? If all enterprises cease to produce, how will people solve the problems of clothing, food and shelter? If you had your way, not only would the revolution have been forfeited, even society would have been doomed.

Chairman Mao's consistent principle is "grasping revolution, promoting production." During the movement of agricultural cooperation, the movement of socialist education, the Great Cultural Revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius and the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, Chairman Mao always stressed that it was necessary to do a good job in revolution and increase production at the same time, (?pushing forward both) revolution and production.

The "gang of four" resisted Chairman Mao's consistent teaching and preached that "revolution can disrupt production." Their so-called revolution was in fact counterrevolution that brought calamity to the country and the people.

"Do not produce for the erroneous line. Do not produce for the capitalist roaders." This was the slogan of the "gang of four" to openly instigate people to stop production and work. The "gang of four" and their followers brayed: "If the question of the line is not solved, no matter how much is produced, it is only to lay the foundation for the restoration of capitalism. To increase production is to prettify the capitalist roaders." (?How) reactionary and absurd!

Since liberation, under Chairman Mao's leadership, our party crushed the interferences and sabotage by all the (?revisionist) chieftains, and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line always (?prevailed) throughout the country. Our party is a great, glorious and correct Marxist party. Our country is a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our economic system is a socialist (?economic system) based on the system of public ownership. The "gang of four" shouted, "Do not produce for the erroneous line and do not produce for the capitalist roaders." Wasn't this openly negating the predominant position of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line? Wasn't this a vicious slander of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in our country?

It should be pointed out: There really are very few units and places where capitalist roaders have usurped leadership and pushed a revisionist line. The masses of the people in these units and places should all the more adhere to the principle of "grasping revolution, promoting production" and rise up in rebellion against the capitalist roaders, resist and criticize their revisionist line, and do a good job in production according to the socialist principle and the unified state plan. Social production is a unified entity. If one unit stops production, it (?will inevitably affect) other units. Every enterprise, if it produces according to state plans, is producing for socialism, for the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the interests of the masses of the people. How can anyone say that it is laying the foundation for the restoration of capitalism and prettifying the capitalist roaders?

The "gang of four" (?drew a demarcation line of their own). Whoever resisted and opposed them was slandered as following the erroneous line. What they meant by "Do not produce for the erroneous line" was not to produce for socialism and for the revolution. The "gang of four" frantically sabotaged the "four modernizations" and sabotaged socialist production. Their criminal purpose was to usurp party and state power and restore capitalism. The "gang of four" had nothing to do with production themselves, yet they tried their utmost to sabotage production and slandered anyone who grasped revolution and promoted production and anyone who promoted the "four modernizations" as practicing the theory of productive forces and trying to restore capitalism. Their vicious purpose was to resist Chairman Mao, oppose the respected and beloved Premier Chou, and label a large number of responsible comrades at the central and local levels, who had followed Chairman Mao in making revolution and resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, as revisionists and capitalist roaders.

At the national discussion meeting on planning work held in (?July) this year, their reactionary performance was quite obvious. At this meeting, the "gang of four" secretly conspired, stirred up troubles, fabricated rumors under the signboard of revolution, confused and poisoned people's minds, slandered the meeting called by the State Council to study long-range planning on developing the national economy as the source of the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and viciously attacked the leading comrades of the party Central Committee and the State Council. This fully exposed their wolfish ambitions to usurp party and state power.

In attempting to usurp party and state power, the "gang of four" used disruption of production as a major means of undermining the revolution. Where the revolution and production were carried out well, the gang stirred up trouble. Angriily gnashing their teeth, the "gang of four" and its pawns said privately: "Where chimneys smoke, we should rush there to disrupt production in order to keep them at bay. Disrupting production in a factory amounts to putting a noose around the necks of those in power. The loss will be suffered by the state, the responsibility will be borne by those in power, and the power will be in our hands."

This fully shows their ferocious features as counterrevolutionaries. Such tactics used by the "gang of four" are extremely heinous and vicious. When one undertook production, the "gang of four" accused him of suppressing the revolution with production. When the gang disrupted production it then blamed others for undermining the revolution by disrupting production. By so doing the gang confused people. In a word, the "gang of four" tried by hook or by crook to brand people as followers of an erroneous line and "capitalist roaders" and to strike them down with one single blow so that the members of the gang could take the places of those people.

The "gang of four" is a bunch of out-and-out counterrevolutionary doubledealers. The "class struggle" they constantly clamored for means a fanatical attack by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat; the "revolution" they always talked about means overthrowing the Red political power of the proletariat. Since they were only worried that there wouldn't be any trouble on the earth, they instigated people to create chaos everywhere. They reversed right and wrong and called black white in an attempt to confuse people's minds, to disrupt the party organization, to disorganize the revolutionary ranks and to throw the normal socialist production order into confusion so that they could benefit from confusion, usurp power amid chaos and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the socialist economy into a capitalist economy and independent socialist China into a colony or semicolon of imperialism and social-imperialism.

They are the chief culprits in undermining the socialist revolution and construction, typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the party and capitalist roaders still traveling on the capitalist road. They did what the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists as well as the imperialists and social-imperialists wanted to do but were unable to do. We must completely tear off their masks and expose their antiparty, antisocialist and antipeople ultrarightist features to bright daylight.

Carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua smashed the antiparty "gang of four" with one blow, thus removing a big obstacle on our road of advance. The hundreds of millions of people are now high in spirits; their socialist enthusiasm which was suppressed by the "gang of four" is erupting like a volcano. Our cause is full of prospects and our future is very bright. Under the wise leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we should follow the party's basic line, carry the struggle against the "gang of four" through to the end, consolidate and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, conscientiously implement the series of principles and policies laid down by Chairman Mao and deepen the mass movements to learn from Taching in industry and from Tachai in agriculture.

"We should maintain the same vigor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring, death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war, and carry on our revolutionary work to the end." We must vigorously grasp revolution and promote production. As long as we do so, we can certainly recoup the losses caused by the "gang of four," build our country into a modern, powerful socialist state before the end of this century and promote the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao.

PEOPLE'S DAILY: CHIANG CHING WANTED TO BE EMPRESS

Peking PEOPLE'S DAILY in Chinese 6 Dec 76 p 3 WA

[Article by Chen Sung of the Institute of Contemporary History, Philosophy and Social Science Department: "Chiang Ching's Ambition and Killing Motive"]

[Excerpts] In trying her utmost to extol empresses throughout history, Chiang betrayed her ambition to usurp party and state power. It was a self-flattering measure for the "gang of four" to promote a counterrevolutionary public opinion to enthrone Chiang Ching. Under the personal direction of Chiang Ching, the media controlled by the "gang" first played a concerted orchestra in praise of Queen Lu and Empress Wu Tse-tien. "Liang Hsiao," the official writer of the "gang," then came forward with nine successive articles--six on Queen Lu and three on Empress Wu Tse-tien.

One of Liang Hsiao's articles, "Wu Tse-tien, a Resourceful Stateswoman," was published in the August issue of a certain college journal. Quoting historical works out of context and fabricating historical facts as he did ever so often, Liang Hsiao nonsensically remarked that Wu Tse-tien held the same "important ideological view" as Emperor Tang Kao-tsung against Confucianism. But there was no historical evidence to prove it. Liang Hsiao obviously had an ulterior motive in making that unfounded assertion. Chiang Ching had often presented herself as Chairman Mao's representative to fool others. That had long been exposed by Chairman Mao himself. She could not in the least represent Chairman Mao. She could only represent herself. Yet the shameless Chiang Ching still continued to present herself as Chairman Mao's representative, and did so with fanfare. That was one of the most important masks she used for usurping party and state power. No wonder Liang Hsiao and his ilk considered it the most important task for them to do a good job in painting that mask.

In the aforementioned article, Liang Hsiao tried his utmost to play up the theme that Wu Tse-tien "stepped onto the political stage in tremendous strides" in the course of a "stormy struggle." What "stormy struggle"? According to Liang Hsiao, it was the struggle for and against continuing the line of Emperor Tang Tai-tsung [Wu Tse-tien's husband and Emperor Tang Kao-tsung's father] after Tang Tai-tsung died. Yet, instead of analyzing and proving what measure adopted by Wu Tse-tien were in keeping with Emperor Tang Tai-tsung's line, Liang Hsiao asserted that the dispute around "whether or not to enthrone the queen" was the "first major struggle" between "the progressive and conservative political groups." But on this question he failed to cite any credible historical facts to show how one political group was progressive and the other conservative. From his narrative one can only draw this conclusion: The group that supported Wu Tse-tien was progressive; the one that opposed her was conservative. Such logic in making judgment is very similar to the counterrevolutionary organizational line of the "gang": "Those who support us will prosper, and those against us, perish." Could this similarity be a mere coincidence?