

RED FLAG ARTICLE STRESSES PARTY'S BASIC LINE

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[Text of article published in RED FLAG No 1 and reprinted in PEOPLE'S DAILY on 8 January by Cheng Yush (4453 6390): "Uphold Party's Basic Line--A Study of 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People!'"]

[Text] Chairman Mao's great work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" is a strong ideological weapon which guides the proletariat and revolutionary people in socialist revolution and construction, in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and in preventing capitalist restoration. In this work, Chairman Mao presents a penetrating analysis of the fundamental contradictions of the socialist society and points out that after basic victory in the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production there still exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and also the two different types of contradictions--those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves. In this work he also puts forward a complete theory, principles and policies on the correct handling of these contradictions.

In the current movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, restudying this brilliant work of Chairman Mao in the light of the actual struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines is of great immediate significance for thoroughly criticizing the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao, for raising our consciousness in implementing the party's basic line and for persevering in taking class struggle as the key link to insure satisfactory completion of all work.

Chairman Mao points out in "On Contradictions": "There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing, and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction the existence and development of which determine or influence the existence and development of the other contradictions." Whether in the process of leading the new democratic revolution or the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao repeatedly instructs the whole party to recognize correctly and solve the principal contradiction existing during this stage of revolution.

As early as March 1949, Chairman Mao pointed out at the second plenum of the 7th CCP Central Committee that, after the proletariat has seized political power throughout the country, the principal contradiction in China will be the one between the working class and the bourgeoisie. After a penetrating analysis of the content and form of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao set down a complete line and policies for our party to transform the new democratic revolution into the socialist revolution. Proceeding from this principal contradiction in the stage of socialist revolution, Chairman Mao personally formulated the party's general line for the transition period. Illuminated by this general line, we have won in a relatively few years great nationwide victories in the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist industry and commerce, thereby transforming the individual economy into a collective economy and capitalist private ownership into socialist public ownership.

After the basic victory in the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country face a new problem:

What is now the principal contradiction in our country? Do class contradictions and class struggle still exist? Is it necessary to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and continue socialist revolution? This is a problem of great importance which concerns the future of revolution and the fate of our country.

Based on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in China, Chairman Mao has thoroughly summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat on both the positive and negative sides and for the first time gave scientific and systematic answers to these questions. Chairman Mao points out in this brilliant work: "In China, although socialist transformation has been for the most part completed with respect to the system of ownership, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remolding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just begun. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous, and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will triumph, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled." This tells us very clearly that those who believe that classes will be eliminated when the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production is victorious are entirely wrong. In the historical stage of socialism, classes, class contradictions and class struggle remain, and the contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie is still the principal contradiction in socialist society. The fact of class struggle in our country and the fact of capitalist restoration by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in the Soviet Union eloquently prove that these theses by Chairman Mao are indeed wise.

Chairman Mao made his analysis of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the socialist society on the basis of fundamental theories of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. He points out in this work: "The basic contradictions in socialist society are still those relations between production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Socialist production relations have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and this imperfection stands in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces. Apart from harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the developing productive forces, there is harmony as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base. We must continue to resolve all such contradictions in the light of our specific conditions."

Here Chairman Mao clearly indicates that the law of the unity of opposites is not only the fundamental law which operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society or in man's thinking, but also the fundamental law of socialist society. This idea fundamentally negates the erroneous viewpoint that there is complete harmony without any contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in socialist society.

It fundamentally negates the erroneous viewpoint which denies the need to continue revolution in the relations of production and the superstructure after basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and holds that the major task is to develop productive forces. It also negates the erroneous viewpoint which denies that class struggle is the strong and immense motive force that pushes the socialist society forward. These scientific theses by Chairman Mao illuminate the broad road of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat by the proletariat and revolutionary people.

This brilliant work by Chairman Mao further lays the theoretical foundation for the party's basic line. In 1962, Chairman Mao again mentioned the question of class struggle and elaborated more completely the basic line for our party during the entire historical period of socialism. He pointed out: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise, a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line."

The party's basic line is the lifeline of our party and our country, and we will advance from victory to victory as long as we march along this line. Marxism has developed amidst struggle. The theory of classes, class struggle and of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the historical period of socialism put forward by Chairman Mao has grown amidst protracted struggle with revisionist theories and the "theory of productive forces" and the "theory of the dying out of class struggle" advocated by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao. Liu Shao-chi peddled the fallacy of "mechanization before collectivization of agriculture" prior to the fundamental completion of the socialist transformation of the means of production in a vain attempt to resist the arrival of the surging high tide of the socialist transformation of agriculture. After the fundamental completion of the socialist transformation, both Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao opposed Chairman Mao's thesis that classes, class contradictions and class struggle exist in socialist society and stood in opposition to the party's basic line for the historical period of socialism and in opposition to continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1956 when the world was being flooded by revisionism and class struggle in our country was acute, Liu Shao-chi, joining Chen Po-ta, openly opposed Chairman Mao's instructions at the second plenum of the party's 9th Central Committee. They described the principal contradiction at home as a contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces. They also included this revisionist fallacy in the resolution of the 8th CCP National Congress behind Chairman Mao's back. Chairman Mao immediately and sternly pointed out at that time: "This view is wrong and is anti-Marxist."

Marxism holds that in the development of the productive forces, relations of production that do not correspond to the interests of the productive forces will change sooner or later. This is a basic principle. Marx pointed out: "When the material productive forces of the society develop to a definite stage, they will come into conflict with the currently existing relations of production and property--legal terms of the relations of production--which have been continuously active among them. These relations will change themselves from the forms of the development of the relations of production into shackles on the productive forces. By then, the age of social revolution will have arrived." Engels pointed out: "Liberation of the means of production from these shackles is the only prerequisite for continuous acceleration of the development of the productive forces."

The socialist revolution in our country is nothing more than the changing of the old relations of production that seriously obstruct the development of the productive forces into socialist relations of production which correspond to the development of the productive forces, thus liberating the productive forces.

The contradiction between the backward productive forces and the advanced productive forces as fabricated by Liu Shao-chi and his company is nothing but a copy of such fallacies as "mechanization before collectivization of agriculture." According to their fallacies, couldn't we just as well say that the speed of making socialist revolution has been too fast and that we should go back to capitalism? It can be seen that their aim is to create public opinion for restoring capitalism.

Although the revisionist fallacies of Liu Shao-chi were criticized, the two-line struggle between Marxism and revisionism has not ended. In 1969, before the 9th CCP National Congress, Lin Piao, uniting with Chen Po-ta, concocted a political report reiterating the theory of "the dying out of class struggle." They claimed that the main task after the 9th CCP National Congress was to develop production. This revisionist report received severe criticism by Chairman Mao and was negated by Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee. The purpose of this report was also to trumpet "the theory of productive forces" and the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" and to oppose the party's basic line in the historic period of socialism. Did not Lin Piao allege that revisionism no longer exists in our country? This being the case, the tasks of combatting and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration will certainly be written off with one stroke, and the only remaining task would be the development of production.

"The theory of productive forces" has always been a shop-worn weapon of the new and the old revisionists to oppose the socialist revolution. Bernstein, the old revisionist of the Second International, once said that if only the productive forces were highly developed, capitalism could walk into socialism peacefully, and that resorting to a violent revolution would be meaningless. Later on, the renegade Kautsky also alleged that only by relying on the large-scale development of the productive forces brought about by capitalism could the socialist and the general well-being under the modern civilization become possible. Therefore, they frantically opposed the Great Russian October Socialist Revolution and blustered that the productive forces in Russia had not developed to the level where socialism could be realized. In refuting this fallacy, Lenin bluntly pointed out: "You said that civilization is needed to build socialism. That is very good! Why then can we not first create the premise for such civilization in our country; for example, by expelling the landlords and the capitalists in Russia before walking toward socialism?"

It is apparent that the purpose of their publicizing the "theory of productive forces" was to oppose the proletariat in seizing political power. Inheriting the mantle of the old revisionists, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique also looked upon such trash as treasure by clamoring that the important things are the economy and production and that under the conditions of socialism the economy comes under politics and so forth. Is it true? No! They are the ones who place counterrevolutionary politics above everything else. Their real purpose is to replace Marxist theory on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat with the "theory of productive forces." They want to numb the fighting determination of revolutionary people and cover up their crimes of bringing about an all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Publicizing the "theory of productive forces" repeatedly, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao attempted to lead China toward the capitalist road. To take the socialist road or the capitalist road was the fundamental question in the struggle between the two lines within the party after our country achieved victory in the democratic revolution. It is obvious that the bourgeoisie wanted to take the capitalist road. We, the party, wanted to take the socialist road. However, some people held that China was a very poor country where conditions were not ready for developing socialism. Therefore, it had to take the capitalist road. Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao were the representatives of that revisionist line.

Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao publicized the "theory of productive forces" and the "theory of dying out of class struggle." Did class struggle die as they believed it would? No, it did not: Gathering up a group of renegades and diehards, Liu Shao-chi set up a bourgeois headquarters to promote the revisionist line in an attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. He frenziedly engaged in class struggle against the proletariat. Where is the proof that class struggle had died?

Lin Piao and company declared that the main task following the 9th CCP Congress was to develop production. However, they made it their main task following the 9th CCP Congress not to develop production but to overthrow the proletariat. Between October 1969 and January 1970, Lin Piao and his diehards wrote: "Of all things, this is the most important" and "restrict oneself and restore the rites." They could hardly wait to alter the party's basic line and restore capitalism, which to them was "the most important thing."

Pursuing this reactionary political program, they staged a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat at the second plenum of the 9th CCP Central Committee in an attempt to usurp supreme power of the party and state and restore capitalism. After their plot was smashed, they drew up a plan for an armed counterrevolutionary coup d'etat entitled "Outline of Project 571" and set 8 September 1971 as the day the armed counterrevolutionary coup would be launched in a wild attempt to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao and set up a rival central committee. When that failed, they fled in panic to seek the patronage of the Soviet revisionists. They betrayed the party and the state and ended up in self-destruction.

When did they carry out production as the main task? Had Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao succeeded in their plots, a great retrogression would have taken place without parallel in the history of our country. Our country would have degenerated into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Socialist production would have been seriously damaged, and the working class would have been hurled back into misery. Under such circumstances, how could we even think of developing production?

In semicolonial and semifeudal old China, many people found their dreams of developing industry vanish like bubbles in the intervening years. Without bringing about political changes, all productive forces would have faced destruction. This was true as far as agriculture and industry were concerned. The productive forces were finally liberated after the proletariat seized political power and after our party led the peasants to effect land reform and nationalized industry and collectivized agriculture.

Under the socialist system, the contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and the contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base are still the basic contradictions which collectively reflect the contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. If the proletariat fails to grasp class struggle and continue the revolution in the relations between production and the superstructure, it will not be able to further consolidate the economic base of socialism and quickly develop the productive forces. On the contrary, the relations between production in harmony with the productive forces and the superstructure in harmony with the economic base which have already been established will be broken up and destroyed. Therefore, Chairman Mao has consistently stressed: "Grasp revolution and promote production." This principle gives a correct answer to the question of the relationship between revolution and production, between spirit and material, between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces, which stands in direct opposition to the "theory of productive forces" and the "theory of the dying out of class struggle" advocated by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao.

No sooner had the "theory of productive forces" of the revisionists of the Second International negating violent revolution emerged, than it has refuted by Engels who said: "Based on the materialist conception of history, the decisive factors in the process of history are, in the final analysis, production and reproduction in the living reality. Both Marx and I have never affirmed more than this. If somebody makes a distortion here by saying that economic factors are the only decisive ones, his statement is tantamount to turning this subject into an abstract, absurd and empty phraseology without any content." Engels further said: "If political power can do nothing in the economy, then why do we struggle for the political dictatorship of the proletariat?" Later on, in criticizing Bukharin's fallacy of putting politics on a par with economics Lenin pointed out more precisely that politics, when compared to economics, can only be placed first and that failure to affirm this point constitutes a negation of the most basic common knowledge of Marxism. He also said: "All problems lie, and can only lie from a Marxist viewpoint due to the fact that if a class fails to correctly handle its political problems, it will be unable to maintain its domination and thus be unable to solve its production tasks." Inheriting and developing the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, Chairman Mao has constantly taught us that a Marxist-Leninist party should pay attention to grasping the superstructure and the line, pointing out: "Politics is the commander, the soul of everything," "political work is the lifeblood of all economic work," and "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." This has thoroughly refuted the revisionist fallacies in both a theoretical and practical sense.

We criticize the "theory of productive forces" for the very purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and effecting a quicker development of agriculture, industry and the entire national economy of our country along the socialist road. Any view holding that criticism of the "theory of productive forces" will adversely affect the growth of production is at best a misunderstanding.

Comrades holding this view have not yet drawn a clear demarcation line between Marxism and revisionism and have failed to achieve a clear understanding of the reactionary nature of the "theory of productive forces." Therefore, it is quite necessary to increase awareness and distinguish between right and wrong through criticism of the "theory of productive forces."

In a class society, class struggle is the immense motivating power that pushes society as well as the development of production forward. Under socialism, the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is the mighty force that pushes the development of socialist production forward. It is precisely because we have criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, upheld the party's basic line and persisted in taking class struggle as the key link under the leadership of Chairman Mao that we have now won splendid victories in our socialist construction efforts. On the other hand, if we fail to firmly grasp class struggle as the key link and depart from the party's basic line, production will be devoid of a correct orientation and will be unable to make real progress. This point has already been established by large number of both positive and negative experiences.

The history of the 20 years since the founding of the nation is one of grasping revolution and promoting production. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee, we have developed a series of political movements, consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, and fostered and incessantly improved the relations of production and the superstructure of the proletariat. We have criticized the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, transformed the part of the superstructure unsuited to the socialist economic base, and brought into full play the masses' enthusiasm for socialism. Matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter. Our efforts in grasping revolution have brought about rapid developments in production and construction.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution carried out on the basis of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and in line with the party's basic line. This great revolution has destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao; criticized their revisionist line; and transformed the part of the superstructure unsuited to the socialist economic base such as in the realms of literature, art and education. At the same time, it has adjusted the relations between men and consolidated and developed the socialist economic base.

All of the socialist new things that have emerged in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are compatible with the development of the productive forces and the needs of the socialist economic base whether they involve the relations of production or are part of the superstructure. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has given great impetus to China's socialist construction. This once again proves that revolution is the motive force of history.

There are few units which fail to do a good job in production. This is not because they have only criticized the theory of productive forces and the theory of the dying out of class struggle. On the contrary, it is because they have not grasped the class struggle well and done a good job in making revolution. It is also because the leadership is not in the hands of the Marxists, workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, and because bourgeois trends are extremely rampant in these units.

"Grasp class struggle and all problems can be solved." As soon as these units have grasped the struggle between the two classes, the two lines and the two roads, followed the correct ideological and political line, and vigorously criticized revisionism and capitalism, they will soon effect changes and raise production. The change of many backward units, both in industry and agriculture, into advanced ones has fully proven this point.

In line with Chairman Mao's instructions, the documents of the 10th CCP National Congress have pointed out the danger of ignoring the major issues and have stressed that "if this situation is not changed, we will inevitably take the road of revisionism." To pay attention to major issues means to firmly follow the party's basic line, grasp the class struggle as the key link, and completely wipe out the pernicious influence of the theory of productive forces and the theory of the dying out of class struggle. We must conscientiously sum up our experience in correctly handling the relations between revolution and production and between politics and economics, unswervingly adhere to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production, and criticize revisionism to further develop socialist agriculture and industry and the entire national economy.

To unswervingly adhere to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production, we must place revolution in command of production and make use of revolution to promote and stimulate production. To set revolution against production or undermine the revolution by undermining production is tantamount to the popularization of the theory of productive forces which is used by the bourgeoisie to wage the class struggle against the proletariat. For this reason, we must heighten our vigilance.

The new year has just begun. We must continue to conscientiously deepen our study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to have a deep understanding of the character, task, target and prospects of the socialist revolution, to criticize the reactionary thinking of negating the Great Cultural Revolution, to enthusiastically support the new emerging things of socialism, and develop the consolidate the fruits of the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" is our powerful weapon in criticizing revisionism in light of theory and the line. We must firmly and incessantly grasp the class struggle as the key link, pay full attention to this key link to make sure that everything will fall into place, further promote stability and unity, develop the national economy, and strive to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat with indomitable persistence.

RED FLAG CARRIES CRITIQUE OF NEW MAO POEMS

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[RED FLAG issue No 1 article by (Yen Shui-Kai): "The Splendid Poems that Inspire Us in Our Struggle--A Study of the Two Poems by Chairman Mao"]

[Text] Chairman Mao's two poems "Chingkangshan Revisited" and "Two Birds: A Dialog" were published at a time when the people throughout the country were ushering in another militant new year with revolutionary pride. This is not only a happy event for the cultural circle but also a great political event for the people throughout the country. Here I will discuss what I have gained after studying the two poems, and I welcome readers to correct me if I am wrong.

Using poetic language, Chairman Mao has provided a vivid image of the excellent situation of the Chinese and world revolutions, lauded the dauntless revolutionary spirit of China's proletariat and revolutionary people, and eloquently pointed out the truth that Marxism will surely triumph over revisionism and that the revolutionary people will certainly wipe out all vermin. These two splendid poems are a combination of lyric and epic, a victorious song and a call for continuing the revolution. They will greatly inspire the people of China to rally around the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, to take class struggle as the key link, to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to make continuous efforts to consolidate and develop the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, to oppose capitalist restoration and retrogression, to build China into a strong and modern socialist state, and to devote themselves to the great cause of communism.

The two poems are an excellent example of the combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism. Although they praise the people and scorn the enemy, their main theme is that, strategically, the enemy is nothing, difficulties are nothing, winds and storms are nothing to fear--human society has developed in winds and storms-- and that the revolutionary masses armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will triumph over everything, turn the old world upside down and scale the great heights of the great proletarian revolutionary cause.

"Chingkangshan Revisited" vividly describes the present-day outlook of Chingkangshan, the cradle of the Chinese revolution, and praises the socialist revolution and construction in the old revolutionary base. The dark history of old China is transformed, and today we see 'orioles sing, swallows swirl, streams purl everywhere and the road mounts skyward." Is this not a brief description of our socialist motherland's new outlook. We intimately feel that our great leader Chairman Mao, amid the stark realities, was filled with great joy when he revisited the old base 38 years later. "And the road mounts skyward" describes the scenery. The description fills our minds with thoughts: It is the revolutionary road of Chingkangshan that enabled the Chinese people to enjoy liberation, it transformed past scenes into new scenes, victory has been won under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the correct line exists and has been developed in the course of continuous struggle with the erroneous line. Chairman Mao revisited Chingkangshan in 1965 after an absence of 38 years.

Following the failure of the great revolution in 1927, Chairman Mao liquidated the right-deviationist opportunist line of Chen Tu-hsiu, decided to take the road of agrarian revolution and armed struggle, and saved the Chinese revolution from the predicament created by the capitulationists. Armed workers and peasants, holding high the red banner of armed independent regimes of workers and peasants, moved into Chingkangshan. Following this, Chairman Mao struggled against the "left" putschist tendency represented by Chu Chiu-pai and the capitulationist concept of Lin Piao, who became pessimistic and despondent about the revolution. Chairman Mao repulsed the enemy's suppression campaigns one after another and established the first consolidated rural revolutionary base. Chingkangshan is an important starting point of the Chinese revolution. The Chingkangshan road is the road that led the Chinese revolution to victory. The integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, which Chairman Mao has directed, is the guarantee of victory in the revolution.

"Once Huangyangchieh is passed no other perilous place calls for a glance" also describes a scene. Nevertheless, there is deep feeling mingled with the scene. The language is simple, yet the meaning is deep. The poem "Ching kangshan," which Chairman Mao wrote more than 30 years ago, sings praises of the Huangyangchieh battle. After more than 30 years have elapsed, Chairman Mao again mentions Huangyangchieh in his new poem "Ching kangshan Revisited." This means that Chairman Mao reemphasizes the historical importance of the battle to defend Huangyangchieh. In the autumn of 1928, the Kuomintang reactionaries made an attempt to smash the Ching kangshan revolutionary base with one stroke. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the worker-peasant Red Army, while still in its infancy and with a force of less than battalion size, repulsed the enemy's pincer attack from Hunan and Kiangsi, thus performing a miracle in which the inferior in number and strength defeated the enemy who was strong and numerically superior.

"No other perilous place calls for a glance"--this line not only means that Huangyangchieh is the most perilous of the five major passes at Ching kangshan and that after passing Huangyangchieh it is not necessary to look at the rest, but it also means that China's proletariat and revolutionary people, after undergoing the rigorous test at the battle of Huangyangchieh and tempering themselves in the revolutionary storms of past decades, are not to be cowed by any difficulties and perils. This magnificent line shows the proletariat's revolutionary spirit of optimism which despises difficulties and the enemy and their heroic spirit of determination to vanquish all enemies and never yield.

"Wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners are flying wherever men live." Upon reaching the peak of the (Lohsiao) mountain range, one could see flags and banners everywhere and wind and thunder stirring. The strength of the Ching kangshan Red Army was less than four regiments then, and the local population was only 2,000. The contrast was clear: The enemy was strong and the Red Army was weak. But the newly emerging revolutionary forces representing the orientation China is now following cannot be crushed by any reactionaries because they have great vitality. A single spark can start a prairie fire. The revolution finally emerged victorious. "Thirty-eight years pass with a mere snap of the fingers." Although 38 years are a short period in the history of mankind, once the revolutionary people grasp the truth of Marxism and follow the correct line, they can perform miracles. The history of the revolution--from the establishment of the first revolutionary base at Ching kangshan to the founding of the PRC and from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution--testifies to this great truth.

"We can clasp the moon in the ninth heaven and seize turtles deep down in the five seas." With a magnificent comparison, Chairman Mao describes the noble aspirations of China's proletariat. Over the past 20 years since the founding of the state, we have smashed the blockade and subversive schemes of imperialism and social imperialism, undergone four major line struggles, and turned a poor and backward country into a socialist country which has taken its first steps on the road to prosperity. In the next 20 years, we will certainly be able to defeat the resistance and sabotage of any enemy, triumph over revisionism, build our country into a modern and strong socialist country and advance on the road of continuing the revolution.

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights"--this concluding line of the poem, like a magnificent piece of music, has given us great encouragement and strength. Although the Chinese revolution has won a great victory, the road lying ahead of us is longer and the future tasks are more arduous but greater. As long as we follow the party's basic line, display a dauntless spirit, and dare to struggle and struggle well against the class enemies at home and abroad, we will certainly be able to overcome all difficulties and interference and continuously advance the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

"Two Birds: A Dialog" was written in the autumn of 1965, 1 year after the collapse of Khrushchev. His successors, Brezhnev and company, have continued to follow and develop Khrushchev's revisionist line. At the critical moment when it was necessary for the international communist movement to persevere in the struggle against revisionism, Chairman Mao in this poem made a unique artistic generalization of the contemporary polemics between Marxism and revisionism, and, using imagery, summarized these polemics. He fully exposed the feeble nature of modern revisionism and, using imagery, depicted the new tsars as mere paper tigers. The poem is easy to understand and is humorous. Just as Engels pointed out: "Polemicalizing with humor is the best proof of one's full confidence in one's cause and of one's understanding of one's superiority."

The dialog between the roc and the sparrow is a story carried in a chapter entitled "Hsiao Yao Yu" ["A Carefree Journey"] of the "Chuang-Tzu." Chairman Mao has changed this ancient fable and added important content to it. He has added the current struggle against revisionism. In the poem, the roc represents the Marxists while the sparrow portrays the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. The first half of the poem describes the entirely different views of the roc and the sparrow on world reality. The contrast between the two typical images is in fact the contrast between the two classes, the two lines and the two different world outlooks.

"The roc wings farwise soaring 90 thousand li and rousing a raging cyclone." This sentence depicts the militant and gallant act of the roc flying in the storm in a very lively fashion. "The blue sky on his back, he looks down to survey man's world with its towns and cities. The four seas are rising and the five continents are rocking." The people's revolutions and the national liberation wars come one after another and respond to each other. The world situation is indeed excellent. Nevertheless, the sparrow is scared and panicked by the excellent situation of the revolution in which "gunfire licks the heaven and shells pit the earth." For the people, the revolution is the most gala ceremony, while to revisionist squires, it is a calamity and "one hell of a mess." This thoroughly exposes the fragility and the reactionary stand of those who fear the people's revolution and the national liberation war and who are hostile to both.

The second half of the poem exposes the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's deception in advertising "a world without arms, troops and war" and sham communism. The sparrow cries that he wants "to flit and fly away," but to where? He wants to fly "to a jewelled palace in elfland's hills." He has been told that it is a wonderland where arms, troops and war are nonexistent. This is sheer deceit.

"Don't you know a triple pact was signed under the bright autumn moon 2 years ago?" This sentence denotes the so-called partial nuclear test ban treaty concluded in 1963 by Soviet revisionism, Britain and the United States. The treaty is a fraud of Soviet revisionism which betrays the interests of the Soviet people and the people of the world. It is also a manifestation of the mutual deception and blackmail and the overt and covert contentions between Soviet revisionism and the imperialists. While continuously talking about disarmament, they are actually engaged in continuous arms expansion. The nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States has intensified despite the fact that the triple pact has been followed by the conclusion of more agreements between the two countries on limiting nuclear arms. During the race, one constantly strives to undermine the other. The lie about the world without arms, troops and war cannot hide the essence of Soviet revisionist expansionism. Soviet revisionism creates illusions of lasting peace in order to contend for world hegemony and establish a new tsarist colonialist empire. As for the fine course of beef and potato goulash advertised by Khrushchev, it is nothing but a bad check designed to fool the people. This historic joke still has some current significance, although Khrushchev's promise has long been broken.

Brezhnev is even worse than his predecessor. Under his management, the economic situation is a mess, the agricultural crisis is worsening, and consecutive bad harvests have been reported. The average urban office worker and students faced with difficult conditions, have to go to the countryside to pick tiny potatoes. Children are also driven to the field to pick up loose grains from the ground. At the same time, a handful of bourgeois elements are wallowing in luxury and dissipation. Of course, they have a surplus of beef, while the people living in misery, do not even have potatoes to eat. The current polarization of the poor and the rich in the Soviet Union shows that the advertisement about goulash communism is in essence designed to conceal the bloody fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. "And then he heard accounts of an enchanted isle at sea, a part of the intangible and incorporeal world" [a verse from "Three Hundred Poems of the Tang Dynasty"]. The so-called "world without arms, troops and war" and Goulash communism are all trash.

Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: "We are still in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution." The world is being turned upside down, countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution--this has become an irresistible historical trend. The factors for both revolution and war are visibly increasing. Whether war leads to revolution or revolution prevents war, the international situation will develop in a direction favorable to the people. The people of world, including the Soviet people, profoundly understand that the essence of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is social imperialism. In appearance, they are strong, big and arrogant. In fact, they are strong without and feeble within, beset with crises and are having a very hard time. Going against the tide of history and violating the objective law of social development, they have placed themselves in opposition to the people of the world and the Soviet people themselves. They can never escape the fate of being buried by the people.

The two poems recently published by Chairman Mao, like the 37 poems previously published, profoundly reflect the great changes in the historic courses of the Chinese and world revolutions. "Ching Kangshan Revisited" and "Two Birds: A Dialog" were written on the eve of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the light of the situation of the class struggles at home and abroad.

Their publication has made us understand their profound political and immediate significance. Chairman Mao, basing himself on the practice of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution, has summed up the experience and lessons of the international communist movement, particularly the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, and pointed to the orientation of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Soon after Chairman Mao wrote the two poems, he initiated and led the movement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with a great revolutionary spirit. It was a great revolution to combat and prevent revisionism, a great practice of the ideas of the poem "Ching Kangshan Revisited." Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the people of the country displayed indomitable revolutionary spirit and finally destroyed the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi after repeated tests of class strength. Then, they struggled against the Lin Piao anti-party clique and completely frustrated the schemes of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, Khrushchev and Brezhnev to restore capitalism in China. "Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." This is Chairman Mao's conclusion about the Chinese people's protracted revolutionary struggle, as well as his kind encouragement for the whole party and the people of the country to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He encourages us to continue to advance from one summit to another.

The clearing away of three big mountains requires an indomitable revolutionary spirit. The carrying out of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution requires a dauntless revolutionary spirit. Today, we also need to maintain and strive to further the same indomitable revolutionary spirit in order to defend, consolidate and enhance the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The future is bright, but the road is tortuous. Let us constantly advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, steadily scale new heights and win one new victory after another in the course of socialist revolution and construction. We must attain our goal and we certainly can attain it.

PEOPLE'S DAILY LAUDS YOUNG CADRES PERFORMANCE

Peking Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 5 Jan 76 OW

[Excerpts of PEOPLE'S DAILY 6 January newsletter: "Train Large Numbers of Young Cadres From Among Workers--Fast Maturing of Young Cadres as Shown by Two Units at Taching"]

[Text] In the past 16 years, Taching has sent tens of thousands of cadres and workers to fraternal oilfields. At the same time, Taching itself has made rapid progress in training young cadres. Group after group has matured rapidly. This has been the case particularly since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Since then, party organizations at Taching have more consciously acted in line with the five requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause to enthusiastically train and select cadres from the young by implementing the three-in-one combination of old, middle-aged and young. Young cadres constitute more than 60 percent of the more than 7,000 cadres who have been selected in recent years. There are more than 15,000 workers and staff under the well-drilling command, an old and large unit of Taching oilfield established 15 years ago when the joint battle to build the oilfield was launched. But this unit's leading group is very young. Its party committee secretary, (Chang Lien-chung), is 31. The average age of the four deputy secretaries is 36 and that of the more than 750 basic-level cadres is 35.