

RED FLAG ON OPPOSING COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES

Peking Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 1 Jun 76 OW

[Text of article by Pan Feng: "We Must Not Be Academic--Study of Preface and Introductory Note to 'Material on the Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique'"--published in RED FLAG No 6 and reprinted in the 2 June PEOPLE'S DAILY]

[Text] Under our great leader Chairman Mao's leadership, we waged a struggle against the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique in 1955. It was a soul-stirring class struggle after the founding of the PRC. The members of the Hu Feng clique, a counterrevolutionary political clique under the signboard of literature and art, sneaked into the revolutionary ranks to carry out counterrevolutionary activities by resorting to heinous doubledealing tactics in an attempt to overthrow socialist new China.

In this struggle, Chairman Mao personally wrote the preface and the main note to the "Material on the Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique." In them, he incisively analyzed the law and characteristics of class struggle in the period of socialism, systematically laid bare the despicable and vicious counterrevolutionary tactics and tricks of the class enemies and expounded the line, principles and policies concerning the work of suppressing counterrevolutionaries. Thus, they are sharp ideological weapons with which we can consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Amid the upsurge in the deepening struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping, beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and track down counterrevolutionaries, it is of great instructional significance for us to restudy the preface and the introductory note written by Chairman Mao himself and to review the series of his teachings on how to struggle against the covert counterrevolutionaries.

As early as the eve of nationwide liberation, Chairman Mao wisely predicted: "After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly." In the struggle to smash the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique, Chairman Mao emphatically pointed out: "If it can be said that there are still representatives of the royalists in the bourgeois French National Assembly, there may well be representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek dynasty carrying out activities in various localities years after the complete elimination of all exploiting classes from the earth. The diehards among them will never admit their defeat." These theses of Chairman Mao incisively explain the protracted nature of class struggle in the period of socialism.

The socialist revolution is the first revolution in the history of mankind which is aimed at eliminating all systems of exploitation and finally abolishing all classes. It is bound to meet with ferocious resistance from the overthrown reactionary classes. Our struggle against them will be protracted and tortuous. In the past 20 years and more, we have seen clearly that the struggle between the revolutionaries and the counterrevolutionaries has never ceased. First, the diehards of the old counterrevolutionary elements, who refuse to admit their defeat, make trouble and carry out sabotage activities whenever an opportunity is available. Second, when the old counterrevolutionary elements are suppressed, it is still possible for some new counterrevolutionary elements to appear. The emergence of new counterrevolutionary elements is not accidental. There are still imperialism and social imperialism in the world, and there exist classes and class struggle as well as bourgeois rights and the ideologies of various exploiting classes at home--these are class and social origins giving rise to new counterrevolutionary elements.

The newly engendered counterrevolutionary elements and the old ones have a common class nature--they are all very hostile to the Communist Party and the socialist system; they go all-out to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and to oppose continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; they oppose and sabotage the socialist cause; and they frantically work for a capitalist restoration. With the reactionary, declining and decadent features of both the old and the new bourgeoisie, they are extremely frenzied and destructive in nature. If we should only notice the existence of the old counterrevolutionary elements but fail to see the engendering of new counterrevolutionary elements and their reactionary nature, we would not be able to really grasp the law and characteristics of class struggle in the period of socialism and to effectively work for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As the socialist revolution deepens, the sabotage activities of the counterrevolutionary elements are closely connected with the effort by the bourgeoisie inside the party to restore capitalism. This salient feature has come out more and more clearly. Chairman Mao pointed out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." The bourgeoisie in the party is the main target of the socialist revolution. In pushing the revisionist line, the criminal aim of the party persons in power taking the capitalist road is to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism. They want to do away not only with the achievements of the socialist revolution but with those of the democratic revolution in an attempt to turn China back to the old semicolonial and semifeudal society. Therefore, the capitalist roaders represent in a concentrated way the interests and desire of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the party and of the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists. They have become the latter's political representatives and commanders and have been supported by the latter.

Practicing revisionism and taking perverted action, the capitalist roaders go against the will of the people. They need the handful of counterrevolutionary elements as their social basis. The overthrown exploiting classes try by hook or by crook to put up resistance through their counterrevolutionary political parties, cliques or some individuals. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao, Teng Hsiao-ping and other capitalist roaders like them have actually played the role of chieftains of the old and new bourgeoisie. All class enemies pin their hopes for a comeback on the capitalist roaders. The criminal activities by the counterrevolutionary elements are instigated and supported by the capitalist roaders. As the worker-peasant-soldier masses said figuratively, "The capitalist roaders in the party are still raising a hue and cry, and the counterrevolutionary elements are still jumping. When the former catch cold, so do the latter."

The handful of counterrevolutionary elements who made trouble at the Tienanmen Square were precisely instigated by Teng Hsiao-ping and his revisionist line. They manhandled people, set a fire and did everything evil, thus exposing their extremely ferocious and violent features. From this it can be seen that the capitalist roaders and the counterrevolutionary elements wallow in the mire and work hand in glove with one another. As a result, the struggle between the revolutionaries and the counterrevolutionaries has become ever more acute and complicated. When the counterrevolutionary elements suffer defeat and wage a desperate struggle, there may appear such forms of violent struggle as counterrevolutionary violence.

The counterrevolutionary elements are the most decadent and reactionary section of the exploiting classes. They resort to all possible means to oppose the people's revolutionary cause. It was true of the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique. Chairman Mao pointed out: "They are experienced in protracted class struggle and can wage various forms of struggle, both legal and illegal struggles. As members of a revolutionary party, we must be alert to their tricks and study their tactics in order to defeat them. We must not be academic and oversimplify the complex class struggle." What merits our attention is that some despicable and vicious counterrevolutionary tricks adopted by the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique are now used by the chieftain of the revisionist line and the handful of class enemies. They make something out of nothing and fabricate rumors. Hu Feng and his company fabricated many political rumors to viciously attack and slander Chairman Mao's line, principles and policies on literature and art and to attack and slander the CCP. In the period from last summer to the counterrevolutionary political incident, a host of reactionary political rumors were spread in society, with the spearhead of attack directed at Chairman Mao, at the party Central Committee headed by him and at his revolutionary line. The source was Teng's rumor-mongering company.

The chieftains of revisionist lines and the counterrevolutionary elements attach great importance to the role of reactionary political rumors because they have neither the truth nor the masses on their side. Hence, they wantonly use reactionary political rumors as a cheap, crooked weapon to cover up their own reactionary features, to deceive the masses and to confuse and poison people. Counterrevolutionary political rumors are always used to prepare public opinion for a counterrevolutionary restoration. Thus, fabricating rumors has become an indispensable aspect of counterrevolutionary activities. Where class enemies carry out restorationist activities, there are strange rumors. However, rumors go against the objective reality and thus do not hold water. Before people with a high political consciousness, rumor mongers invariably fall and court self-destruction.

"It is requested that Chao Tso be killed in order to purify the ranks around the emperor." The Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique adopted this tactic to attack a few people in order to attack Chairman Mao and the CCP. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Since Liu Pi, prince of the Wu state, invented the famous tactic of calling for the killing of Chao Tso, chief strategist of Emperor Ching of the Han Dynasty, to purify the ranks around the emperor, many careerists regard it as a priceless treasure. The Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique has also taken over this mantle." Likewise, Teng Hsiao-ping and the handful of counterrevolutionary elements have also taken over this mantle. They have gone so far as to resort to various despicable means, such as trumping up charges, shifting the blame onto others, etc., to make false accusations against leading comrades who have resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and to split the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. The counterrevolutionary tactic of calling for "purifying the ranks around the emperor" resorted to by them is an important measure taken by them in attempting to usurp the leadership of the party and the state and to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"They seize on some pretext or other in order to open a breach." The Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique used this tactic to oppose the party and the people. Under the smokescreen of helping with the rectification campaign, the clique launched a ferocious attack against Chairman Mao's line on literature and art and against the CCP and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It plotted to open a breach here in order to seize the leadership of the party.

"The handful of counterrevolutionary elements who started a counterrevolutionary riot at Tienanmen Square also resorted to this tactic. They seized on some pretext or other to viciously attack the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, to denounce the struggle against the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and to make bitter complaints on behalf of the arch unrepentant party capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping. In so doing, they attempted to open a breach here in order to change the socialist orientation and to restore capitalism.

"The counterrevolutionaries are not that clumsy." Following the development and changing in the situation of class struggle, they have also unceasingly summed up their counterrevolutionary experience, changed their struggle strategy and adopted new methods of counterattack. "They are always considering what tactics to use against us and 'spying out the land' in order to achieve their end. Sometimes they play 'possum' waiting for the chance to 'counterattack.'" We must remain sober-minded at all times, closely watch the new trends of class struggle, conscientiously study the new characteristics of counterrevolutionary activities and expeditiously expose the new tricks of class enemies in order to prevent them from carrying out all of their intrigues and conspiracies.

Although the counterrevolutionaries are very notorious and full of tricks, yet they will never be able to escape the doom of destruction under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is because they belong to the reactionary class which is approaching its destruction, and they are only a tiny handful of persons who account for a very small portion of the population. Since they have taken a stand against the historical current and set themselves against the people they will definitely encounter resolute repulsion and indignant condemnation by the broad masses of people. As a result, they are extremely isolated and weak. Confronted with the iron bastion of the people any disturbance and sabotage by the counterrevolutionaries can only end in shameful defeat.

To expose and smash all intrigues and schemes of the class enemy in good time, the key lies in our efforts to utilize Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to raise still higher the consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines on the part of the vast numbers of cadres and the people. By achieving clarity on major issues of right and wrong in the struggle between the two lines, we will be able to take a firm stand on the same side as Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, expose all sinister counterrevolutionary tricks and wage a struggle against the class enemies with a clear-cut stand. During the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, many comrades were on the alert from the very beginning when they realized the different political atmosphere. Following the development of this incident, the vast numbers of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have come to know profoundly that this incident mirrors a frenzied attack by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the party and a handful of counterrevolutionaries, and thus have taken a firm stand in the struggle against them. Thanks to the valiant counterattack by the worker-militia in the capital, this counterrevolutionary disturbance was smashed to pieces in no time. If we cannot distinguish right from wrong in the struggle between the two lines, then we will definitely fail to see clearly the reactionary nature of the counterrevolutionaries, and will accordingly take an erroneous stand. While exposing the plots of the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique to drag someone from within ourselves into the mire, Chairman Mao pointed out acutely: "When all Communist Party members who have committed errors ideologically and politically receive criticism, what kind of attitude should they have? There are two roads for them to choose: one is to correct the mistakes and be a good party member; the other one is to fall continuously, or even sink into the counterrevolutionary quagmire.

"There is indeed such a second road, and it is possible that the counterrevolutionaries are waving their hands to us." Today, 20 years afterwards, when we review this counsel of Chairman Mao, it is still very sincere. Some comrades were criticized during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; have they established a correct attitude toward the Great Cultural Revolution, toward the masses of the people, and toward themselves? This is extremely important. If they are in conflict and dissatisfied with the Great Cultural Revolution and want to settle scores and reverse verdicts on the Great Cultural Revolution, then the counterrevolutionaries would wave their hands to them. Therefore, we must earnestly study the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, strive to transform our world outlook with still greater efforts, raise our consciousness of the struggle between the two lines, maintain a high degree of revolutionary vigilance and wage a resolute struggle against the class enemies.

When the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique was first exposed, Chairman Mao pointed out: "If someone asks what positive things have we learned from the Hu Feng clique, it can be said that thanks to this soul-stirring struggle, we have raised our political consciousness and acumen to a much higher level and resolutely suppressed all counterrevolutionaries, and further consolidated our revolutionary dictatorship to carry to the end the revolution and achieve the goal of building a great socialist country." The struggle to smash the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique has realized the prediction and demand of Chairman Mao. Over the past 20 years and more, we have resolutely persisted in implementing Chairman Mao's correct policy that "counterrevolutionaries must be suppressed wherever found, mistakes must be corrected wherever discovered." This policy has played a tremendous role in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, in accelerating the development of socialist revolution and construction and in educating as well as tempering the masses of the people. Suppressing the counterrevolutionaries' undermining activities is a fundamental task of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin said: "The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat represents in itself a state power obtained and maintained by the proletariat through the methods of violence in dealing with the bourgeoisie. This state power is not subject to any legal restriction."

We should never deal with the handful of class enemies mercifully. It is necessary to utilize the iron fist of proletarian dictatorship to suppress any counterrevolutionary activities and deprive the counterrevolutionaries of their freedom in speech and action. It is a criminal act to let the counterrevolutionaries have their own way. Counterrevolutionary disturbance must be resolutely smashed wherever found. In order to deal steady, accurate and hand blows at the counterrevolutionaries, with the emphasis on accuracy, we must strictly distinguish and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions and deal telling blows to those who fabricate counterrevolutionary political rumors and who engineer counterrevolutionary sabotage. With regard to those who spread and believe in rumors, and others who have made some mistakes as a result of being deceived, greater efforts should be made to conduct ideological education among them and sum up experiences and lessons as well. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Those with a rightist way of thinking make no distinction between ourselves and the enemy and take the enemy for our own people. They regard as friends the very persons whom the broad masses regard as enemies. Those with a 'left' way of thinking magnify contradictions between ourselves and the enemy to such an extent that they take certain contradictions among the people for contradictions with the enemy and regard as counterrevolutionaries persons who are not really counterrevolutionaries." We must bear in mind this instruction by Chairman Mao.

... tottering foe and not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame." We must fully arouse and rely on the broad masses, resolutely suppress the counterrevolutionaries, consolidate and press forward the victorious achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

RED FLAG: CULTURAL REVOLUTION BOOSTS INDUSTRY

Peking Domestic Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 2 Jun 76 OW

[Excerpts of article by Hsiang Chi-wei published in RED FLAG No 6: "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Industrial Development"]

[Text] The 10 years following the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has seen great changes on the industrial front in China. During these years, the socialist industry of China has developed rapidly. The industry and communications front, like all other fronts, is a picture of "orioles singing and swallows swirling," of prosperity and vigor. The Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company has been more effectively carried out. The mass movement to learn from Taching in industry has developed with vigor. The party's basic line has become more deeply rooted in the public mind. The new socialist things have burgeoned. The workers have showed spirit in studying the theory, adhering to the line, having a grasp of the issues that matter, and in proving to be masters of their enterprises. Many modern industrial complexes have been built. Numerous medium-sized and small enterprises have sprung up in both urban and rural areas like pretty mountain flowers. The speed of industrial development in the 10 years after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution far exceeds that in the 17 years before it. This is another eloquent testimonial to the fact that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a mighty driving force behind to development of socialist productivity in China.

Where there is no struggle, there is no progress. This is Marxist-Leninist truth. If there had not been the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution--a great, penetrating class struggle--there would not be today's prosperity on the industry and communications front. The working class and the revolutionary people tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are warmly hailing the historical merit of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and lauding its role in bringing such immense changes to the industry and communications front.

At cross purposes with the revolutionary people, Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the party, feared and hated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. He represented the interests of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the party and fanned up the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. In blatant disregard for truth, Teng Hsiao-ping painted a gloomy picture of the excellent situation of the industry and communications front after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and blurted out: "The present is not as good as the past." He revealed his hand as a verdict reverser and a restorationist hostile to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

How could the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution bring such immense changes to the industry and communications front? Why did Teng Hsiao-ping want to discredit and oppose such changes? In short, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes and a massive political revolution against the bourgeoisie in the party.

In the course of this great struggle, the question of which was the ruling class, what line to follow and what road to take was solved for the industry and communications front. Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, despite the revolution to restructure industrial ownership, the control of the majority of factories and enterprises still did not rest in the hands of true Marxists and workers, due to the promotion by Liu Shao-chi and his ilk of a revisionist line on the industry and communications front emphasizing "material incentive" and "profit in command" and misguiding the people onto the capitalist road. The socialist economic foundation was still insecure in China. Vestiges of revisionism and capitalism were holding back the surge of socialist enthusiasm of the workers and the development of industrial productivity.

In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao were smashed and their revisionist line was criticized. Workers carried out a struggle of criticism in light of realities as they existed on the industry and communications front and regained the authority once usurped by capitalist roaders. As on other fronts, leadership bodies comprising the old, the middle-aged and the young were formed in all factories and enterprises and a large number of new forces that surfaced during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were selected according to Chairman Mao's five requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause to fill leadership positions at all levels.

As a result of their tempering in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the majority of the veteran cadres corrected their ideological and political line and regained their revolutionary youthfulness; the workers raised their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in the course of struggle and became better able to tell genuine from sham Marxism. Vestiges of capitalism that lingered in the superstructure and in the relations of production were severely dented. New socialist things were growing quickly. All this is favorable to the consolidation and strengthening of the leadership of the proletariat and to the development of China's industry along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

The reason Teng Hsiao-ping wanted to negate the excellent situation on the industry and communications front since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was that he wanted to negate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, to negate the struggle and criticism of the proletariat and revolutionary people against the bourgeoisie and capitalist roaders within the party, to promote the revisionist line, and to take the capitalist road.

The experiences from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution tell us that only by relying on the working class, persisting in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the party, and penetratingly criticizing the revisionist line can we make sure that the leadership of factories and enterprises rests in the hands of true Marxists and workers, that we will adhere to the socialist road, build a strong socialist industry, and lay a solid material foundation for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao points out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." The appearance of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping one after another is proof that "the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road" is a durable phenomenon during the period of socialism.

The main contradiction on the industry and communications front is still the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. If an enterprise fails to adhere to the party's basic line, to take class struggle as the key link, to criticize revisionism, or to struggle against the bourgeoisie and the capitalist roaders within the party, the leadership of that enterprise will fall into the hands of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist roaders will seek to alter the socialist character of that enterprise through altering the line and to restore capitalism. In the Soviet Union, didn't the Khrushchev and Brezhnev renegade cliques usurp the party and state leadership, promote revisionism at every level of society, and fully restore capitalism? Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, didn't Liu Shao-chi and his ilk promote revisionism and partly change the character of our enterprises? Teng Hsiao-ping wanted to reverse verdicts on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, to revive "profit in command" and "material incentive" in factories and enterprises, and to restore the sinister revisionist practices which had been criticized during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. His objective was to change the character of the socialist ownership system and to turn the socialist industry into an instrument for restoring capitalism.

Chairman Mao says: "Class struggle is the key link, everything else hinges on it." If we have a grasp of the main contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and persist in our struggle against the bourgeoisie within the party and the revisionist line, we can bring the productive forces into full play and fully develop productivity. The question of what orientation to follow, what road to take, and what line to adhere to runs through all the productive activities of an enterprises, such as the formulation of production and construction plans, the tackling of technical problems involving raw material and equipment, sales and enterprise management. Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, many enterprises have raised their consciousness of solving all industrial problems, including all production and technical problems, by the approach of taking class struggle as the key link in the course of their criticism of the theories "only productivity counts" and "class struggle is dying out." As a result, revolution has developed vigorously and production has been on a steady increase. This is in drastic contrast with the situation of failing to grasp class struggle and of grasping production for its own sake, thus causing the political disorientation and production slumps before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Facts convincingly refute Teng Hsiao-ping's fallacy that criticism of the theory of productive forces hindered development of production. Positive and negative experiences have repeatedly proved that only by taking class struggle as the key link, insisting on putting proletarian politics in command, putting politics in command of economics and using revolution to promote production will it be possible to correctly handle the various internal and external relations of enterprises, properly solve the various contradictions in the production process, constantly improve the socialist relations of production, bring into full play the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses, and insure that industrial construction will forge ahead along the socialist orientation with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a great revolutionary struggle in which hundreds of millions of people directly took part under the leadership of the working class.

In this struggle, our party directly kept the working class and the broad masses informed of the line and policies, mobilized the masses to expose our dark aspects openly, in an all-round way and from below; waged tit-for-tat struggles against bourgeois representatives like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, and in the light of realities criticized their revisionist line. This has aroused the latent socialist enthusiasm of the masses in unprecedented breadth and depth. In the course of struggle, the masses of workers have raised their consciousness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, actively participated in the leadership and management of enterprises, grasped the line and orientation, persisted in taking the socialist road, and brought into full play the leading and supervisory role of the working class. This is a tremendous change the great Cultural Revolution has brought to the industrial and transport front.

Since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, many factories and enterprises have conscientiously implemented the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," created a whole set of new experiences in relying on the masses to run enterprises, and seen many revolutionary new things emerge. All this has had an important bearing on adhering to the party's basic line, restricting bourgeois rights, readjusting and improving the relations between the leadership and the masses and between technical personnel and workers, establishing and asserting the masses of workers as masters of the country, and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing industrial production.

Before the Great Cultural Revolution, the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi and company absolutely denied the working class as masters of the country and the enterprises. They did not trust and rely on the masses and failed to bring into play the masses' great creative power. They opposed the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and advocated the rules and regulations of the Magnitogorsk iron and steel combine of the Soviet Union. They advocated in factories and enterprises such fallacies as "the plant manager in command and the four chiefs in control," "the specialists make rules, the technical personnel enforce rules, and the workers follow rules," etc., and controlled, checked and suppressed the masses of workers.

Since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, the revisionist line has been criticized, and, through studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and criticizing and discarding ideas of bourgeois rights, vast numbers of cadres have consciously gone to the masses and to the forefront of class struggle and the struggle for production, studied, criticized and worked together with the masses, discussed problems with the masses, summed up the masses' advanced experiences, made a point of consciously accepting the masses' supervision, and enhanced relations between cadres and the masses. Many enterprises have thus taken on a new outlook.

Teng Hsiao-ping, who had always opposed the masses, naturally was unhappy about such changes. He never talked about the mass movement, never regarded the workers as masters of enterprises, and never mentioned the great historical mission of the working class. He vilified the workers, alleging that by acting as masters and making decisions the workers had made a mess of the enterprises, and that it is difficult to get rid of old habits. This exactly proves by negative example that the Great Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary. With the masses aroused, Teng Hsiao-ping could only get himself battered and bruised in attempting to restore the practices of the revisionist line of before the Great Cultural Revolution.

Chairman Mao has always advocated giving play to the initiatives of both the central and local authorities. He said: "It is far better for the initiative to come from two sources than from only one." "Let the localities undertake more work under unified central planning." The series of "walking on two legs" policies laid down by Chairman Mao--the simultaneous development of national and local industries, of large enterprises and medium-sized and small enterprises; the simultaneous use of modern and indigenous methods of production--are based on trusting in and relying on the initiative of the masses of people.

Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping all tried their utmost to oppose the correct policies formulated for us by Chairman Mao. In their eyes, the working class and the masses of the people were absolutely of no consequence. They advocated the slavish comprador philosophy and the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" and fettered the initiative of the localities and the masses to run industries. In their view, our country cannot develop industry without foreigners, foreign equipment and foreign methods, and we must put the stress on the big, foreign and all-inclusive and not on small enterprises and indigenous production methods, thus completely negating the wisdom and ability of the laboring masses.

The Great Cultural Revolution has repudiated the revisionist line and emancipated people's thinking. Chairman Mao's instructions on bringing into play the initiatives of both the central and local authorities have been better implemented. Under unified central planning and the centralized leadership of party committees at various levels, a mass movement to run industries is surging forward rapidly. According to the specific conditions and different circumstances of different localities, industries are being developed not only by the provinces, prefectures and counties but by the communes and production brigades. Many things formerly thought impossible have now been accomplished. Many things that were thought impossible to do without foreign equipment have been accomplished with remarkable success by the masses through hard work and self-reliance. Take the chemical fertilizer and power industries for example. Influenced by the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" and the idea of stressing things big and foreign, their development in the past was slow. Since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, these shackles have been broken. Relying on the masses and on their own efforts, the localities have broken the boundaries between different industries, organized cooperation and coordination, and launched campaigns. Small chemical fertilizer plants and power stations have grown out of nothing and from a few to a great many.

Comparing the changed conditions before and after the Great Cultural Revolution, the cadres and the masses in many localities have come to understand deeply that the slavish comprador philosophy causes only harm and that the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" does not work. Only by bringing into full play the initiative of the broad masses, adhering to the series of "walking on two legs" policies--the simultaneous development of national and local industries of large enterprises and medium-sized and small enterprises; the simultaneous use of modern and indigenous methods of production--maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands, relying on our own efforts and taking our own road toward industrial development can we rapidly develop our country's socialist industry.

In the current struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's series of important instructions, penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line and program and the whole set of revisionist fallacies he spread on the industrial and transport front; use Chairman Mao's instructions as our weapon; conscientiously sum up the new experiences in industrial development and construction we have gained since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution consolidate and develop the fruits of victory of the Great Cultural Revolution; and push our country's industry forward continuously in broad strides along the socialist road.

NCNA: RED GUARDS MATURE IN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Peking NCNA in English 0820 GMT 2 Jun 76 OW

[Excerpts] Peking, June 2, 1976 (HSINHUA)--The young Red Guards who emerged to fight courageously in the struggle against the party persons in power taking the capitalist road in the earlier stages of the Great Proletarian Revolution made tremendous contributions then and have now become worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat on various fronts.

A great number of these Red Guards who are daring in thought and action have become a fresh fighting force in the working class. They constitute the majority of the increasing number of young workers in China's factories and enterprises, many of whom have been promoted to leading posts. An even greater number of Red Guards have settled in the countryside or in border areas as a vigorous revolutionary force in building the new socialist countryside. Many of them act as commune and brigade leaders and are advancing courageously with other commune members along the socialist road.

Many have joined the People's Liberation Army and distinguished themselves in fulfilling political and military tasks. A great number of Red Guards working in the cultural, educational, health and other fields of the superstructure remain staunch revolutionary fighters sticking to the socialist road.

At the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao ten years ago, millions of young people respond to his call and, in the name of the Red Guards, rebelled against the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its chieftain. Chairman Mao firmly supported and warmly encouraged the Red Guards in their staunch revolutionary action and wrote to the Red Guards of the Tsinghua University middle school, where this young people's organization had originated. In his letter, Chairman Mao pointed out that the Red Guards' revolutionary actions "express your wrath against and your denunciation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs, all of whom exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups. They show that it is right to rebel against reactionaries.

When the first great waves of Cultural Revolution were sweeping over the country, Chairman Mao reviewed 13 million Red Guards and other revolutionary people on eight occasions at Tienanmen Square in the capital.