

TEXT 31

CRITICISM OF SELECTED PASSAGES OF “CERTAIN QUESTIONS ON ACCELERATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY”

“Certain Questions on Accelerating the Development of Industry” (hereafter “20 Points” for short), cooked up by order of the unrepentant capitalist roader, Teng Hsiao-ping, is a sinister banner for capitalist restoration on the industrial front. It fanatically trumpets the theory of productive forces and the theory of the dying out of class struggle; energetically peddles material incentives, putting profit in command, dictatorship by stereotype, management of factories by specialists and the slavish comprador philosophy that have been totally discredited and repudiated by us workers; and opposes putting proletarian politics in command, wholehearted reliance on the working class, the policy of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our hands and regeneration through self-reliance, developing the initiative of both central and local authorities, and the “Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company.” The “20 Points” is a product of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Teng Hsiao-ping. Under the excellent situation marked by the victoriously developing struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we must fully utilize this teaching material by negative example to further expose Teng’s reactionary features in opposing the great leader Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line.

The So-Called “Foreword”

The “20 Points” pretentiously begins with an extract from Premier Chou En-lai’s “Report on the Work of the Government” delivered at the 4th National People’s Congress that deals with the realization of the four modernizations. In that report Premier Chou stressed: “Socialist revolution is the powerful engine for developing the social productive forces,” “While tackling economic tasks, our leading comrades at all levels must pay close attention to the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure and keep a firm grasp on class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Only when we do well in revolution is it possi-

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ble to do well in production.” These most important words, however, were all dropped. By the tactic of chopping the head and keeping the tail, the “20 Points” publicizes revisionist contraband with stolen revolutionary phrases. Recently, criticizing the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping, Chairman Mao pointed out: **“This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of ‘white cat, black cat,’ making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism.”** What kind of stuff are the “modernizations” Teng Hsiao-ping vowed to promote at all costs? The answer was given by a band of counter-revolutionaries who engineered the recent counter-revolutionary incident at Tienanmen Square. The “day when the four modernizations are achieved,” a day of which they dreamed, was no more than the day when capitalism was restored. By a concrete analysis of the “20 Points,” we may see clearly that Teng Hsiao-ping’s claim to promote modernization is false while his opposition to revolution is real, and that his pledge to push production forward is false while his intention to pull down the red flag is genuine.

The So-Called “General Program of Work”

(Text) “Chairman Mao’s directives concerning the study of theory, combating and preventing revisionism, stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward constitute a general program for all work of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation. This key link must be firmly grasped if we are to accelerate the development of industry.”

(Criticism) Behind the back of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping put forward the revisionist program of “taking the three directives as the key link” in an attempt to confuse the primary and secondary issues and replace the primary issue with the secondary. He tried to alter the Party’s basic line by the abominable tactic of covering up the real facts. Between May and July last year, he described the “three directives” as “the key link for a period.” A month later, in August, he described them as “the key link for all work.” Then, between August and September the “20 Points” which he had concocted became the “General Program for All Work of the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the Whole Nation.” It follows that Teng’s “three directives as the key link” was not an accidental matter of “improper formulation,” but a planned and organized action for restoration.

Chairman Mao points out: **“What! ‘Take the three directives as the key link’! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.”** Recently,

through the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind, we workers of Shanghai further raised our consciousness of class and line struggle and of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This has given a strong boost to production. In the first quarter of this year, output in the light industry, chemical, instrument, electric power and other industries showed increases over the corresponding period of last year. When the key link is grasped, the situation will improve and production will rise step by step. This is powerful criticism of "taking the three directives as the key link" and a strong head-on blow to the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

So-Called "Importing Advanced Technology"

(Text) "It is necessary to stick to the policy of combining study with independent creation. It is imperative to study with an open mind all advanced and superior things from abroad, to import foreign advanced technology in a planned and appropriate manner and put it to our use in order to speed up the development of the national economy. We must insist on maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our hands and regeneration through self-reliance, and oppose the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of crawling behind others at a snail's pace. However, under no circumstances must we become cocky, close our doors and refuse to learn from the good things of other countries.

"It is necessary to combat not only the practice of copying things from others wholesale but also the practice of changing them and acting recklessly without learning to master them."

(Criticism) Chairman Mao teaches us: "**Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary.**" It is necessary to import some advanced technology from abroad, but the keynote in doing so must be regeneration through self-reliance. Countries which develop their economies by relying on others cannot possibly hold their fate in their own hands. As a socialist country, we must have an independent economic system and can only take our own road of industrial development. Innumerable facts prove that the Chinese people are entirely capable of catching up with and surpassing the world's advanced standards in the field of science and technology. However, the "20 Points" lauds foreign technology as having "much higher efficiency," consistently stressing the need to "study the good things of other countries" "as soon as possible," "with an open mind," and "swiftly." Please look at the facts: "building 10,000-ton freighters with 10,000 tons of effort," we have built an increasing number of ships and with increasingly better results. Yet they insisted on spending

up to a million U.S. dollars on importing a “scrap ship” discarded by the foreign capitalists. We built long ago such advanced equipment as turbo-generators with inner water-cool rotor and stator, yet they still wanted to accept out-dated generators produced by the Soviet revisionists in the 1940’s and 1950’s. They always fixed their eyes on other countries, stretched out their hands abroad, and begged from foreign bigshots such things as “advanced technology.” Wasn’t this an attempt to tie the fate of our industry to the belts of foreign capitalists?

Chairman Mao says: **“Learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously, and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it.”** Foreign technology must be divided into two. Technical designs of capitalist countries serve the pursuit of the highest profits by the monopoly bourgeoisie and bear a clearcut class coat of arms. How can we use them without distinguishing the “white cat and black cat”? In Teng Hsiao-ping’s eyes, all foreign things are “good things.” He would angrily denounce anyone who criticizes and transforms the irrational elements of foreign things as being “cocky, and closing the doors,” and would issue the order to prohibit “reckless changing and doing.” This fully reveals his reactionary features as a slavish comprador.

So-Called “Stepping Up the Export of Industrial and Mineral Products”

(Text) “In order to accelerate the exploration of our country’s coal and petroleum resources, we may—on condition of equality and mutual benefit and according to such generally accepted practices as deferred payments and installment payments in international trade—sign long-term contracts with other countries, fix a few production points to which they will supply whole sets of suitable modern equipment, and then pay them with the coal and crude oil we produce.”

(Criticism) To beg “advanced technology” and equipment from foreign capitalists, the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping did not even scruple to pledge our country’s precious natural resources as security. Falling to his knees, he did not hesitate to sell out our state sovereignty and national dignity. This cannot but anger us workers. As we find out, not long ago the Soviet revisionist *Pravda* also advocated: “We must make fuller use of our country’s natural resources and, to this end, we must absorb foreign capital and experience so that we may in the future pay back our loans with a part of the products produced by our construction projects.” It is no wonder that this “major policy” advertised by Teng Hsiao-ping was “imported” from the Soviet revisionists!

According to this “major policy,” we should import without restriction those things which we can produce and step up at all costs the export of those things which we need badly. If this state of affairs were allowed to continue, wouldn’t our country turn into a market for the imperialists to dump their goods, into a raw material base, a repair and assembly workshop and an investment ground? Wouldn’t we workers become wage laborers for foreign capitalists? To use our country’s mineral reserves and labor with technology and equipment provided by foreign capitalists and let foreign bosses reap a huge fortune—such things had been done before, by Li Hung-chang, Yuan Shih-kai, and the enemy of the people Chiang Kai-shek. We will never forget those days when foreign bosses were fattened by the blood and sweat of Chinese workers. If economic independence is lost, it will also be impossible to maintain political independence. By setting forth that “major policy,” Teng Hsiao-ping in fact wanted to capitulate to imperialism and social-imperialism, to auction off our state sovereignty. This will never be tolerated by us workers!

So-Called “Adjusting Enterprise Management”

(Text) “Indiscriminate opposition to enterprise management is bound to cause anarchy.”

(Criticism) Enterprise management has a class character. In a class society, there has never been any above-class enterprise management. We oppose not only anarchism but also imposing on the worker masses bourgeois dictatorship in the form of “control, checks and coercion.” By fabricating the rumor of “indiscriminate opposition to enterprise management,” the “20 Points” merely resorts to the dirty tactics of **“imposing on the enemy in a polemic the apparently foolish ideas and then refuting them.”** (Lenin, “The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky”) And its aim is to negate the achievements of struggle-criticism-transformation since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution and to reverse the verdict passed on the revisionist line on running enterprises.

Since the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution, we have, in accordance with Chairman Mao’s directive concerning doing a serious job of struggle-criticism-transformation, criticized the revisionist line on running enterprises and further confirmed the role of workers as masters of factories. Within enterprises the relations between people have undergone impressive changes. In Shanghai alone, the worker masses have created many forms of participation by workers in management in accordance with the fundamental principles of the “Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company” and have moreover

institutionalized them. We warmly hail such revolutionary order! Taking the reactionary bourgeois stand, the "20 Points" smears our struggle-criticism-transformation as "indiscriminate opposition to enterprise management" and causing "management chaos," and submits that "it is necessary to readjust enterprise management and raise the management level." In reality it seeks to restore that kind of package consisting of "control, checks and coercion" before the Great Cultural Revolution, and engages in the dirty deal of restoring capitalism by hoisting the banner of opposing "anarchy."

(Text) "(It is necessary to) set up, under the unified leadership of Party committees, production management command systems which are effective and capable of operating independently to take charge of the day-to-day production activities in managing and directing enterprises, to handle promptly problems arising from production, and to assure the normal progress of production. Party committees should not be asked to handle directly all big and small matters, so that they will not be interfered with in attending to major issues and grasping ideological-political work."

(Criticism) Chairman Mao points out: "**In industry, agriculture, commerce, education, the army, government and the Party—in these seven sectors the Party must exercise leadership in everything.**" In factories and enterprises, it is only when we take class struggle as the key link and adhere to the Party's basic line under the centralized leadership of the Party that we can make the enterprises keep to the socialist orientation and fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grass-roots level. The revolutionary committees established during the Great Cultural Revolution represent a creation by the worker masses. But the "20 Points" makes no reference to the need to fully develop the role of revolutionary committees and instead, calls for setting up a "production management command system operating independently," and this is aimed at negating the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and socialist new things. They stress "independence" of Party leadership in "handling problems arising from production"; this in effect is to prohibit Party committees from handling problems that relate to the line, principles and policies in the sphere of production, to form their own system and a separate center, to put the Party committees aside, to separate the Party from government, to practice the revisionist "one chief system" to usurp the leadership of enterprises and to turn socialist enterprises into capitalist ones.

(Text) "The system of responsibility is the core of the rules and regulations of an enterprise. Without a strict system of responsibility, production can only be carried out in a chaotic manner. It is hence necessary to set up a system of responsibility as a vital step of readjusting enterprise

management. The responsibility must be clearly defined for each job and each post; every cadre, every worker, every technician must have a clearly defined responsibility.”

(Criticism) What does a socialist enterprise mainly rely on in carrying out production and management successfully? To rely on the system of responsibility or on man’s consciousness? In carrying out socialist large-scale production, we must of course have the necessary system of responsibility, but the more important thing is to conduct socialist education among cadres and workers, to continuously raise the political consciousness of workers and staff and to establish newtype socialist relations. “Any system must benefit the masses.” The workers are the masters of socialist enterprises. We are in favor of relying on the worker masses in setting up rules and regulations conducive to the development of the socialist economy. If an enterprise does not rely on the worker masses in management, even rational rules and regulations may be used to impose “control, checks and coercion” on workers. By elevating the system of responsibility to the position of the “core,” the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping wanted nothing other than to reject the leading position of the working class and attempt to lure workers into only doing “one job” well and sticking to “one post,” engrossing themselves in production without bothering about politics and submitting to the revisionist line they push.

After comparing the changes in enterprise management before and after the Great Cultural Revolution, we deeply feel that if we do not talk about the line and the communist style of work but only about the system of responsibility, then such system of responsibility would even have the effect of disrupting production. In some industries, for instance, it was clearly stipulated in the past that production workers and repairmen should not step out of the bounds of their duties. As a result, when machines broke down, the production workers who were able to put them back to work had to stop their work and wait for the repairmen to arrive and put things right for them. This practically throttled the initiative of workers within the framework of division of work and turned them into slaves of division of work. Since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, the worker masses have said: “Though we do different jobs, we are all masters.” We not only practice rational division of work and a necessary system of responsibility at individual posts but also break down the past narrow confines of division of work which stifled the initiative of the workers. Campaigns in various forms and activities of “specializing in one thing and capable of doing many other things” have developed flourishingly. Many of us workers have gone beyond the system of responsibility at individual posts and the demands we imposed on ourselves. By hurling the false accusation at us

that we now are “without a system of responsibility” and “carry out production in a chaotic manner,” doesn’t Teng want us to go back to the old road? We must tell him bluntly: You can’t do that!

So-Called “Two Kinds of Initiative”

(Text) “As for dual leadership bearing on the overall national economic situation, the central departments concerned should not only take care of the principles, policies and unified planning for large enterprises of mainly local nature, but should also take care of the allocation of products produced by these enterprises and handle the problems of major material supplies which localities are unable to solve.”

(Criticism) In accordance with Chairman Mao’s directive “**Having two kinds of initiative is much better than having only one kind of initiative**” and “**localities should be encouraged to do more things under central unified planning,**” we criticized the dictatorship by stereotype and conducted positive reform of the industrial administrative system during the Great Cultural Revolution. This is an important achievement of the Great Cultural Revolution.

But the “20 Points,” leaving no stone unturned in spreading slander, makes ten charges such as “wilful,” “violation,” “unauthorized,” and “indiscriminate allocation and use” to negate the excellent situation that has appeared on the industrial front since an overwhelming majority of enterprises have been handed over to local management after the start of the Great Cultural Revolution. Saying that enterprises handed over to local management “must not be left without control,” it tries by every possible means to stifle the local initiative, to reverse the verdict passed on “the dictatorship by stereotype” promoted by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and company, launch a counter-attack in revenge and seeks restoration and regression on the industrial front. Under the pretext of “concentration” and “centralization,” they call for “control” and “resumption” in an attempt to “rigidly control” those enterprises that have been handed over to local management as well as national economic plans so as to hold the local initiative “in check.” They vainly try to “centralize” enterprises that have been handed over to local management and bring them onto the road of capitalist restoration and to “concentrate” the power of decentralization in the hands of the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping so as to turn socialist ownership by the whole people into ownership by capitalist roaders.

(Text) “From each according to his ability and to each according to his work is a socialist principle. In the socialist period this principle must be resolutely enforced since it basically meets the demands of the developing productive forces. Practicing egalitarian distribution without regard

to the nature of work, the physical capacity of people and the amount of contribution made would dampen the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses.”

(Criticism) From each according to his ability and to each according to his work is a socialist principle of distribution. Lenin said, **“In the sense that products are distributed ‘according to work,’ ‘bourgeois rights’ still hold the dominating position.”** (“The State and Revolution”) From each according to his ability is the premise of distribution according to work. Only when everyone does his best, promotes the communist spirit of labor and criticizes bourgeois rights is it possible to correctly handle and carry out distribution according to work. The worker comrades say rightly: “To make contribution to the best of one’s ability, one must not bother solely with distribution according to work.”

Not only must we see the necessity of practicing distribution according to work in socialist society, but we must also see the necessity of restricting bourgeois rights manifested in the course of distribution according to work. The “20 Points” mentions only the aspect of “basically meeting the demands of the developing productive forces,” but not the other aspect of incompatibility, thus essentially denying the existence of bourgeois rights in the field of distribution in a vain attempt to protect and extend the soil engendering capitalism and new bourgeois elements and undermine the socialist economic base.

To advocate that distribution should be carried out according to “the physical capacity of people and the amount of contribution made” is to openly preach the virtue of working for money, that whoever works better makes more money. This is material incentive, pure and simple. Enthusiasm “stimulated” in this way can never be socialist enthusiasm but bourgeois individualist “enthusiasm.” We workers still remember vividly the harm done by the practice of material incentives before the Great Cultural Revolution. In those days, work performance was assessed and bonuses were given every month and with “increasing rigidity,” thereby seriously corroding the workers’ ranks. Didn’t the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping cry aloud that he himself “had done hard work if he had won no merit, or even if he had done no hard work, he had done tiresome work”? Since he himself made the “greatest contribution,” it was only logical that he should “receive” the most. In the final analysis, “to reward according to merit” was intended to protect the interests of the revisionist big officials.

(Text) “Bourgeois rights must not be restricted in isolation from material and spiritual conditions at the present stage. Under no circumstances must we reject distribution according to work, refuse to recognize the necessary differences and instead practice egalitarianism.”

(Criticism) It is utterly nonsense to make the false accusation that bourgeois rights are criticized and restricted “in isolation from the material and spiritual conditions at the present stage.” Talking about conditions, the most important one is the communist consciousness on the part of the broad masses of workers. In 1958, we workers voluntarily proposed the abolition of piece-work wages, thus effectively pounding at bourgeois rights in the sphere of distribution. Do you still remember this? During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, criticism of the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao resulted in the appearance of large groups of socialist new things and the continuous emergence of heart-stirring deeds reflecting the communist spirit. Have you forgotten that? It is our belief that only by persistently criticizing and restricting bourgeois rights is it possible to gradually create conditions for the elimination of bourgeois rights and, failing that, bourgeois rights will prepare the conditions for capitalist restoration. Bourgeois rights are the root of life for capitalist roaders, and no wonder that they resent and are hurt by our criticism of bourgeois rights.

Chairman Mao says: **“Even now China still practices the eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs little from the old society.”** It should be seen that the main tendency we must prevent and combat in the field of distribution at present is not toward “egalitarianism” but toward expansion of differences between grades. Even in the case of so-called “egalitarianism,” what we oppose is “absolute” egalitarianism, and we are in favor of general equality and common affluence. In opposing “practice of egalitarianism,” the “20 Points” actually counters Chairman Mao’s important directive on the question of theory and paves the way for the extension of bourgeois rights and the enforcement of the revisionist line of material incentives and putting banknotes in command.

(Text) “It is necessary to introduce a normal system of promotion. According to the attitude of the workers and staff toward labor, the rise in their technical capability and performance in labor and work . . . each year the wages of a number of workers and staff should be increased.”

(Criticism) Here the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping smilingly made out a check: “Increase the wages each year.” It sounds very nice indeed, but on a close examination, it isn’t right. Only “a number” will see their wages increased. Which “a number”? Here there are three criteria, which are concerned only with labor and not with putting proletarian politics in command, and only with techniques and not with revolution. In other words, you must honestly toe his revisionist line and become his docile tool, and he will give you a reward. If you criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie, he will give you hardship.

Such a “system of promotion” is one of “carrot” and “stick” by means of which he imposes bourgeois dictatorship over the workers. Buying off workers and suppressing them was what capitalists had done in the past. If his “system of promotion” were followed, “a number” of workers who were so “promoted” would become worker aristocrats and betraying the working class, while the vast majority of workers who persevere in revolution not only would not be “promoted” but would be “degraded” and “reduced” into wage laborers to be exploited by a handful of capitalist roaders. Nothing can be more vicious than this method, but we workers will never fall into the trap.

So-Called “Concern for the Livelihood of Workers and Staff”

(Text) “It is basically wrong to adopt an indifferent attitude toward the difficulties in the livelihood of the masses.”

(Criticism) Our Party has always shown concern for the livelihood of the masses. It is an undeniable fact that since the Great Cultural Revolution began and in the wake of continuous development of the national economy, the livelihood of the masses of people has further improved. But the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping, hoisting the signboard of “pleading for the people,” gives the expression that he alone understands the sufferings of the people most and is most concerned about their livelihood. His “concern” actually harbors a sinister motive. He alleges: “Without vegetables and without meat, how can we develop industry well?” This is a malicious vilification of the excellent situation of the national economy, a shameless slander against the working class, and a vicious provocation aimed at driving a wedge between the Party and the masses. The workers of Taching opened up the Taching Oilfield at a high speed and with satisfactory results by sheer hard work on a barren plain. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai transformed nature and reaped bumper harvest on barren hills short of water and under harsh circumstances where crops failed in nine years out of ten. Can it be that this was achieved through “stimulation” by “pork”? Such socialist enthusiasm is generated only if we arm ourselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. Teng Hsiao-ping’s fallacies are no better than a reprint of Lin Piao’s “inducements in the form of official appointments, high emoluments and favors,” and are sugar-coated poison.

So-Called “Red and Expert”

(Text) “To create an atmosphere where everyone strives to study

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and at the same time delves into technical and vocational studies, it is particularly necessary to pay heed to making the two mutually coordinated and not antagonistic to each other. It is necessary to positively create conditions for the broad masses of workers and staff to become both Red and expert.”

(Criticism) Chairman Mao has always encouraged everyone to be Red and expert. Since the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution, mass movements to study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao’s works have flourished in factories and enterprises. Socialist new things—such as workers’ theoretical contingents, July 21 workers’ universities, mass scientific research activities, and “three-in-one” technical innovations and new product experiments—have sprung up endlessly like bamboo shoots after rain, and large groups of both Red and expert personnel have grown up rapidly.

But the “20 Points” charges us with making Red and expert “antagonistic to each other,” while at the same time resorting to eclectic tactics, it puts “study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought” and “technical vocational studies” on an equal footing with a view to emasculating the role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in guiding technical and vocation work in order to achieve the criminal goal of transposing the relationship between Red and expert and publicizing the white and expert road. They negate the Party’s policy of uniting, educating and transforming intellectuals, accuse the Party of being unconcerned about intellectuals, and do everything they could to advocate that “white and expert is good for the Chinese People’s Republic” and “should be cherished and praised.” In the light of their absurd arguments spread everywhere to incite people to stir up the “vocational typhoon” and “economic typhoon,” and “if the 8th-grade typhoon is not strong enough, blow the 12th-grade typhoon,” it is not difficult to see that while hoisting the banner of “creating conditions for the broad masses of workers and staff to become both Red and expert,” the “20 Points” actually encourages some people to take the white and expert road and train “talent” for capitalist restoration.

So-Called ‘Methods of Work and Style of Work’

In its last two sections, the “20 Points” pretentiously deals at length with “promoting materialist dialectics” for the purpose of attaching the “materialist dialectic” label to these regulations.

What is false is false, and the mask should be taken off. What does the “20 Points” promote after all: dialectics or passing off eclecticism for dialectics? As the “general program” for industrial development, the revisionist program of “taking the three directives as the key link”

puts the primary and secondary issues on an equal footing and confuses them altogether. It exemplifies eclecticism of confounding the primary with secondary issues. Take another instance. On the question of relationship between revolution and production, they say, on the one hand, that "it is quite wrong" to fail to pay attention to continuing the revolution in the superstructure and the economic base. On the other hand, they say that "it is quite wrong" to fail to pay attention to production and make no effort to carry on production successfully. On the question of Party leadership, they talk about "unified leadership by Party committees" on the one hand and, on the other hand, they talk at length about "setting up production management systems which are effective and capable of operating independently." And so on and so forth. In all this, they make no distinction between the principal and secondary contradictions and confuse the principal and secondary aspects of a contradiction. **"Judging by the philosophical source of this phenomenon, this is to secretly replace dialectics with eclecticism and sophistry."** (Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*) In talking big about "dialectics," the "20 Points" is intended entirely to hoodwink people.

However, when we analyze and criticize the "20 Points" with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the weapon, we will unmask the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping as a man who pretends to follow dialectics, catch his black hand attacking the proletariat, and grasp his fox tail in restoring capitalism. It is precisely they who "affirm everything or negate everything without making any differentiation." In the "20 Points," without making the slightest differentiation, they negate and condemn all the great achievements made and all the new socialist things that appeared on the industrial front since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, they laud to the skies that revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. The "20 Points" is filled with nothing but revisionist sinister stuff such as the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces which Liu Shao-chi trumpeted for 17 years and Lin Piao vainly attempted to inject into his report at the 9th Party Congress. If the proposals contained in the "20 Points" were implemented, that would lead to general restoration of capitalism on the entire industrial front.

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The working class is the main force in repulsing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. We firmly support the CCP Central Committee's resolution on appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to be the First Vice Chairman of the CCP Central Committee and Premier of the

State Council of the Chinese People's Republic and the resolution dismissing Teng Hsiao-ping from all his posts both inside and outside the Party. We wrathfully condemn the counter-revolutionary political incident which took place at Tienanmen Square in the capital. We must take concrete action to protect Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. **“Oppose the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, carry on both revolution and production”**—this is the common resolve of the broad masses of workers. We must unite around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, thoroughly criticize the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and make greater contributions to defending and developing the grand achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, speeding up the pace of socialist construction and further strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(This article was based on collective discussion conducted at a study class attended by a number of worker theoretical backbone elements.)