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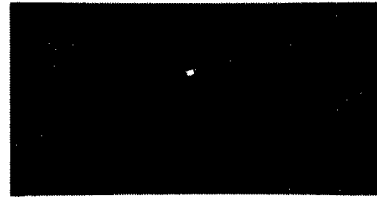
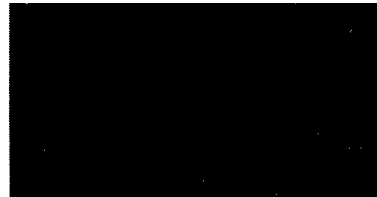
No. 10, 8 OCTOBER 1977

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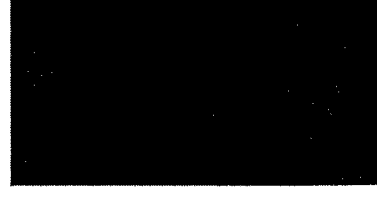
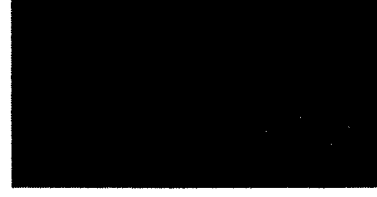
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TRANSLATIONS FROM RED FLAG

No. 10, 8 OCTOBER 1977

Complete translation of the monthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Peking.

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STRIVE TO LEARN FROM EACH OTHER AND DON'T STICK TO THE BEATEN TRACK AND BE COMPLACENT

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 3-4

[Mao Tse-tung 13 December 1963 article]

[Text] Here is a report prepared by Comrades Li Jui-shan and Hua Kuo-feng of the Hunan provincial party committee on 6 November 1973 on their visit to Kwangtung to look at the progress of its agricultural production. Attached to the report are instructions written by the Hunan provincial party committee dated 7 December 1963. You are requested to study them. The Central Committee considers that this attitude and method of learning modestly from the good experience of other provinces, municipalities and districts is fine and constitutes an important way of promoting our economic, political, ideological, cultural, military and party work. Some comrades stick to the beaten track, are conceited and complacent, do not take an analytical approach toward the work in their own area in accordance with Marxist dialectics (i.e., one dividing into two, into shortcomings and mistakes as well as achievements), but notice only achievements and not shortcomings and mistakes. They welcome praise but not criticism. They take little interest in arranging for competent high- and middle-ranking cadres to study modestly and earnestly what is being done in other provinces, municipalities, districts or units in order to introduce improvements by applying the findings to their own province, municipality, district or unit. They confine their vision always to the small world of their own area or unit, but fail to see beyond it and to notice any world other than their own, which is sheer parochial arrogance. They show to foreign visitors, comrades from other parts of the country or comrades sent by the central authorities to their area only what is good and not what is bad.

They tell these visitors only the achievements, and not the shortcomings and mistakes which, if taken up at all, will not be gone into at any great length but dismissed perfunctorily in a few words. The Central Committee has called all comrades' attention to this problem time and again, maintaining that a communist must acquire the Marxist dialectical concept of one dividing into two with regard to achievements and shortcomings, truth and falsehood. Without exception everything (economy, politics, ideology,

culture, military and party work, etc.) develops as a process. And every process develops through the interconnection and mutual struggle of its two contradictory aspects. This should be ABC for a Marxist. However, many comrades at the central and local levels seldom think and work conscientiously in accordance with this viewpoint. They find it difficult to shake off their customary metaphysical way of thinking. By metaphysics is meant the denial of the unity of opposites and the struggle of opposites in things (the method of one dividing into two), the denial of the truth that under given conditions two contradictory things that stand in opposition transform themselves into each other and turn into their opposite. Metaphysics also finds expression in the following--to stick to the beaten track, to be conceited and complacent, to notice only achievements and not shortcomings, to welcome praise and not criticism; to be unwilling to criticize oneself (to apply the method of one dividing into two to oneself) and, worse still, to be afraid of being criticized by others. Among the dozens of ministries under the central government there are obviously several which have done better and have a better style of work, for instance, the Ministry of Petroleum Industry.

Yet other ministries simply pay no attention and have never bothered to visit them, study their experience and learn from them. Of the various units under a ministry, there are obviously many factories and mines, enterprises, undertakings and scientific research institutions, together with their personnel, that have done well. Yet its leadership, through its ignorance, is in no position to encourage people to learn from them. Comrades, when the Central Committee here speaks about comrades committing errors in succumbing to metaphysics, this refers only to some comrades, not to all. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that large numbers of fine comrades are frustrated by those comrades who are highly placed with fat emoluments and live in style, who are conceited and complacent and are only too glad to stick to the beaten track, and who are addicted to bourgeois metaphysics; in other words, these fine comrades are frustrated by the bureaucrats. This situation must be changed right now. To any comrade who rejects the dialectical and analytical method of Marxism and doesn't modestly and conscientiously analyze either his own locality, his own unit and himself or other localities, other units and other people, we must give comradely advice and criticism, so as to bring about a change in this undesirable state of affairs. We must make it a practice to learn from the good experience, good style and good methods of other departments, provinces, municipalities, districts and units. This is an important question and you are requested to discuss it. Later on, the Central Committee will also take it up at its working conferences and plenary sessions. For quite some time the Hunan provincial party committee made no attempt at investigation and study and issued a spate of subjectivist directives to the lower levels, ramming things down their throats without receiving much factual information in return, and thus alienating itself from the masses and bringing tremendous difficulties upon itself. From 1961 onward, a change came over its work and things rapidly looked up.



Nevertheless, it felt that it was still lagging far behind Kwangtung and Shanghai. Therefore, it organized two survey teams composed of large numbers of cadres at the provincial, prefectural and county levels, and cadres from the province and its cities, and sent them on study tours to Kwangtung and Shanghai. Please try to see if you can do likewise. The Central Committee holds that it can and must be done. If you think otherwise, please transmit your views.

(Note: This is an inner-party directive drafted on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.)

ON THE QUESTION OF WHETHER IMPERIALISM AND ALL REACTIONARIES ARE REAL TIGERS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 5-7

[Mao Tse-tung 1 December 1958 article]

[Text] Here I would like to answer the question of whether imperialism and all reactionaries are real tigers. The answer is that they are at once real tigers and paper tigers; they are in the process of being changed from real into paper tigers. Change means transformation. Real tigers are transformed into paper tigers, into their opposite. This is true of all things, and not just social phenomena. I answered this question several years ago: Despise the enemy strategically and take full account of him tactically. But why take full account of him if he is not a real tiger? Apparently there are still people around who do not get the point, so we must do some more explaining.

Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature (this is the law of the unity of opposites), so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature--they are at the same time real tigers and paper tigers. In the past, before they won state power and for some time afterward, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time, because their opposites--the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat--gradually grew in strength and struggled against them ever more fiercely, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown, or will be overthrown, by the people. The reactionary, backward, decaying classes retained this dual nature even in the face of the people's final decisive struggle against them. On the one hand, they were real tigers, they devoured people, devoured people by the millions and tens of millions. The cause of the people's struggle went through times of difficulty and hardship, and along the path there were many twists and turns. The destruction of the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China took the Chinese people more than a hundred years and cost them tens of millions of lives before victory in 1949. Look! Weren't they living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers? On the

other hand, they eventually changed into paper tigers, dead tigers, beancurd tigers. These are historical facts. Haven't people seen or heard about these facts? There have been thousands and tens of thousands of them! Thousands and tens of thousands! Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are--paper tigers. On this we should build our strategic thinking. But they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers, they can devour people. On this we should build our tactical thinking. This holds true of the struggle against nature as well as against the class enemy.

Both the 12-year, 40-article program for agricultural development and the 12-year program for the development of science which we published in 1956 proposed from this basic concept of Marxism, the concept of the unity of opposites, that is, the concept of the dual nature of the development of the universe, the concept of the dual nature of the development of things, the concept that a thing invariably manifests itself in a process and that every process without exception has a dual nature. On the one hand, we should take these struggles lightly, they are easy to handle, they are not much of a problem, there is nothing to worry about, and we shall certainly achieve success and be victorious. On the other hand, we should take them seriously, they are not so easy to handle, they present quite a problem and must not be treated casually, and we cannot be victorious without hard work and arduous struggle. Fear and fearlessness fall under the law of the unity of opposites. There is no such thing in this world as an absolutely fearless person, a carefree type without a single worry. Worry attends men from their birth. Students are worried about exams and children about their parents' partiality for their brothers or sisters. Besides, there are numerous adversities and calamities, infirmities and diseases, running a fever of 41 degrees and other mishaps, as expressed in the saying, "In nature there are unexpected storms and in life unpredictable vicissitudes," and so on and so forth. The difficulties we encounter in class struggle and the struggle against nature are far greater in number. But except for cowards and the opportunist gentlemen, most people, and primarily the proletariat and the communists, invariably put optimism and contempt for difficulties first. And only then do they take full account of things, of every piece of work of scientific research, analyze each contradictory aspect of things, dig into them and come to understand the laws of motion of nature and society. It will then be possible to grasp these laws and become relatively free to apply them to successively solving the problems facing us, to handling contradictions and accomplishing our tasks so that hard going can be transformed into easy going, real tigers into paper tigers, the lower stage of a revolution into its higher stage, the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, socialist ownership by the collective into socialist ownership by the whole people, socialist ownership by the whole people into communist ownership by the whole people, an annual production of several million tons of steel into one of tens of millions of tons or even several hundred million tons of steel, and an output of over a hundred catties or several hundred catties of

grain per mou into one of several thousand or even tens of thousands of catties of grain per mou.

Comrades, it is our task to bring about these transformations. Comrades, possibility and reality are two things, and they are two opposites of a single unity. Spurious possibility and genuine possibility are again two things and two opposites of a single unity. We should keep our heads cool and our heads hot, which are also two opposites of a single unity. Soaring enthusiasm means hotheadedness and scientific analysis coolheadedness. Some people in our country are a bit too hotheaded at present. They are in no mood to allow a cooling-off period, unwilling to make an analysis, and all for hotheadedness. Comrades, such an attitude is not good for people in positions of leadership, and they may trip and fall. These persons should make a point of cooling off their heads.

Some others prefer coolheadedness to hotheadedness. They do not like some of the things that are going on and cannot keep pace with them. Those who take a wait-and-see attitude and those who want to eventually settle accounts with their opponents belong to this category. In regard to these people, we must gradually make their heads hotter.

Wuchang, 1 December 1958

CHAIRMAN HUA'S SPEECH AT THE MEETING CEREMONIOUSLY MARKING THE FIRST  
ANNIVERSARY OF THE PASSING OF THE GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER CHAIRMAN MAO  
AND THE INAUGURATION OF CHAIRMAN MAO MEMORIAL HALL

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 8-10

[Chairman Hua Kuo-feng speech of 9 September 1977]

[Text] Comrades:

A full year has passed since Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the founder of our party, our army and our People's Republic, the great leader and teacher of the proletariat and the people of all nationalities in our country, and the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era, departed from us.

Today, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council and the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee are holding a grand rally here before the magnificent Chairman Mao Memorial Hall in solemn commemoration of the first anniversary of the death of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and to mark the opening of the hall. At this moment, our hearts are filled with emotion and we cherish all the more the memory of our great leader Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao will always be with us; he will always live in the hearts of all our comrades and friends and in the hearts of the Chinese people and revolutionary people the world over.

In commemorating Marx, Engels said: "It is through him that we all are what we are; and it is through his theoretical and practical activity that the movement is what it is today; without him we would still be plunged in confusion." We, the communists and people of China, have the same affection for Chairman Mao. The victories of the Chinese Revolution should all be credited to his theoretical and practical activity. Like a great beacon, Mao Tsetung Thought has shone through the darkness and lit up the path of the Chinese revolution, as it will do forever in the years to come.

Our party and state in the past year has gone through a historic, decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In this critical

period, we have felt deeply the grave difficulties of being bereft of our great leader Chairman Mao. But we have lived up to the expectations of Chairman Mao who nurtured us; we have stood the severe test.

Holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao and carrying out his behests, the party Central Committee in the past year smashed the anti-party "gang of four"--Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan--at one stroke and has led the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities of the country forward in the great political revolution to expose and criticize the gang, thus winning great victory in the eleventh major two-line struggle in the history of our party and ushering in a new period of development in our socialist revolution and construction.

Volume V of the "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," which was published shortly after the "gang of four" was smashed, incisively expounds the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has become our powerful ideological weapon in deepening the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and in carrying out the socialist revolution and construction.

The great struggle to smash the "gang of four" has brought about profound and tremendous changes in China's political situation. The proletariat has won momentous victories on all fronts. The whole party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities are so inspired, militant, daring and vigorous that they are working hard to carry out the strategic decision adopted by the party Central Committee. The confusion created by the "gang of four" on questions of right and wrong in political line are being cleared away. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies are being implemented comprehensively and correctly on all fronts.

On the economic front, the mass movements to learn from Ta-ch'ing in industry and from Ta-chai in agriculture are developing vigorously. A new leap forward is taking shape in the national economy.

On the scientific, technological, educational, cultural and public health fronts, the proletarian revolutionary mass movement is pressing ahead vigorously.

On the military front, important progress has been made in the revolutionization of the People's Liberation Army and in getting prepared against war. Our militia work has taken on a new look.

People's democracy is flourishing in our country. The unity of our people of various nationalities has been greatly consolidated and our dictatorship over the class enemy greatly strengthened.

In international struggle, we are firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs in accordance with his strategic concept

differentiating the three worlds and have made new contributions to developing the international situation in a direction favorable to the people of China and the world.

After a year's efforts, through the Central Committee's working conference of last March, the third plenary session of the Tenth Central Committee and the 11th national congress, our party has revived and carried forward the fine traditions and fine style of work which Chairman Mao fostered in the party. The party has become even more united, unified and stronger.

All this forcefully testifies to the complete correctness of the strategic decision adopted by the party Central Committee to grasp the key link of running the country well and the complete correctness of the political and organizational line of the party Central Committee.

We may now assure our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao that our whole party, army and people of all nationalities, under the leadership of the party Central Committee, are making big strides forward, confidently and unswervingly, in keeping with the party's basic line and along the road of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as Chairman Mao taught.

All attempts by class enemies at home and abroad to make our party change its Marxist-Leninist line, which was formulated by Chairman Mao, are no more than reactionary daydreaming.

We must honor the great banner of Chairman Mao as our precious heritage and hand it on from generation to generation. The memorial hall for Chairman Mao that stands majestically in Tienanmen Square is a great and sublime symbol of this rock-firm determination and sacred vow of ours.

We are now at an important juncture in history in carrying forward the revolutionary tradition we have inherited and forging ahead into the future.

In continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the task is arduous and the road long.

We have won important victories. We still have to fight energetically to overcome the difficulties on our way forward.

Holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhering to the party's basic line for the historical period of socialism, grasping the key link, continuing the revolution and striving to make China a powerful and modern socialist country--this is the line of the 11th party congress.

Let us carry out Chairman Mao's behests, adhere to the line of the 11th party congress and unite to win still greater victories!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT WILL SHINE FOREVER

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 11-13

[PEOPLE'S DAILY, RED FLAG and LIBERATION ARMY DAILY 10 September 1977 editorial]

[Text] It is a full year since our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao departed from us.

The day of 9 September 1976 was an unforgettable one for us. The hearts of the revolutionary people were weighed down with grief and worry. The "gang of four" were sharpening their knives, and the sky was blotted out by dark clouds. Now the sun shines brightly and the firmament is crystal-clear. The newly completed hall in memory of Chairman Mao stands solemn and magnificent in Tienanmen Square. As we come to the memorial hall to pay our respect to Chairman Mao and gaze at his serene countenance, we are filled with emotion, and a thousand thoughts come to mind. How great the changes over the past year! Some of Chairman Mao's behests have been fulfilled and the others are in the process of being carried out. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is being implemented fully and correctly. The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua is holding aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao under which the people in their hundreds of millions are advancing boldly.

Though Chairman Mao is dead, he seems to be with us still, continuing to lead us. Although he has departed from us, he has left us a great party, a great army, a great People's Republic and a huge contingent of cadres he nurtured. Especially important is the precious ideological asset he bequeathed to us--Mao Tsetung Thought, which is our inexhaustible theoretical treasure house and the beacon that will always light our triumphant way forward.

Mao Tsetung Thought came into being and was developed in protracted struggles against enemies at home and abroad and against "left" and right opportunist lines within our party. It is a scientific summing-up of the party's revolutionary practice over the past half century and more and the brilliant crystallization of the application of the universal truth of



Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

During the period of the new democratic revolution, Chairman Mao made the creative contribution by laying down the general line and general policy for the new democratic revolution and provided correct answers to a series of questions pertaining to the new democratic revolution. During the period of the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao summed up both the positive and negative experience in class struggles at home and in the international communist movement, made a penetrating analysis of the contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society, set forth the law of development of socialist society and created the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao Tsetung Thought is an integrated scientific body and a continuation and development of Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao developed Marxism-Leninism in all fields and not just in one or another field. It consists of complete sets of concepts in philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism and on party building, army building, literature and art, science and education. Chairman Mao was the greatest Marxist of our time. Mao Tsetung Thought, which represents a great and invincible force, is of enormous significance for building the Chinese revolution and the international communist movement.

The might of Mao Tsetung Thought has evoked fear and hatred among class enemies at home and abroad. They either openly oppose and viciously vilify it or try to curtail, distort and doctor it. In opposing Mao Tsetung Thought, Lin Piao replaced it as a body of thought with the "three constantly read articles" and "five constantly read articles," and severed it from Marxism-Leninism. Resorting to pragmatic tricks, the "gang of four" quoted Chairman Mao's works out of context and distorted them at will to serve the needs of their counterrevolutionary purposes, thus reducing Mao Tsetung Thought to bits and pieces beyond recognition. They went so far as to forge directives of Chairman Mao. They clamored in words for the study of Mao Tsetung Thought, but in fact every "study" movement they launched was a major attempt by them to distort, sabotage, tamper with and betray Mao Tsetung Thought. They appropriated for their own ends every directive by Chairman Mao--on the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat or the comment on the novel "Water Margin"--distorted it and made it serve their purposes. Hence, the materialist conception of history that the slaves are the makers of history was replaced by their idealist conception of history--"the legalist school is the maker of history." Opposition to revisionism was replaced by their formulation--"opposition to empiricism as the key link." They discarded Chairman Mao's comprehensive thesis on classes and class contradictions in the historical period of socialism and put forth their counterrevolutionary political program which equated veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist roaders." They alleged that there existed a "bourgeois class" within the party.

Contradicting the principles of dialectical materialism and historical materialism which Chairman Mao stressed repeatedly in his writings, the gang practiced idealism and metaphysics on a big scale in dealing with questions of the superstructure and the economic base, the relations of production and the productive forces, and consciousness and matter. They created confusion on many basic theoretical questions, spreading their pernicious influence and causing damage on a scale with few precedents in the annals of our party.

At present, while we honor the memory of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and hold aloft his great banner, the most important thing is to study Mao Tsetung Thought diligently and use it to guide our action.

This is the great and arduous task we face. On the question of studying Marxist-Leninist theory, Chairman Mao said: "The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. We should regard it not as a dogma, but as a guide to action. Studying it is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases but of learning Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution. It is not just a matter of understanding the general laws derived by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin from their extensive study of real life and revolutionary experience, but studying their standpoint and method of examining and solving problems." Chairman Mao criticized certain people who "regard odd quotations from Marxist-Leninist works as a ready-made panacea which, once acquired, can easily cure all maladies. These people show childish ignorance, and we should enlighten them." These words are applicable as well to our current study of Mao Tsetung Thought. We should respond to Chairman Hua's call made in his political report to the 11th national party congress: "We must diligently study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and have a comprehensive and accurate grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought as a system." This means that we must not mechanically apply stray quotations from Chairman Mao's works in disregard of the concrete time, place and circumstances, but must have a true grasp of the essence of his works as a whole.

Chairman Mao's statement on a particular question at a given time and in given circumstances is correct, as is his statement on the same question at another time and in other circumstances. But statements made on a particular question at different times and in different circumstances may sometimes differ in the degrees and points of emphasis and even in formulation. That is why when we deal with problems of a given aspect or in a given field, we must strive to understand correctly the entire body of Mao Tsetung Thought. All party members and cadres should study Chairman Mao's writings in this fashion. Middle and high-ranking cadres, in particular, must systematically study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as an entity and not piecemeal. They must grasp its stand, viewpoint and method and achieve a thorough understanding of it.

Integration of theory with practice is a fundamental principle of Marxism and the good style of study for our party that Chairman Mao always

advocated. Chairman Mao always urged us to proceed from actual conditions, appropriate the material in detail and, guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, draw from the facts the laws governing them as our guide to action. We should follow Chairman Mao's consistent teachings and make constant efforts to improve our study. It is imperative to organize the cadres and masses on a wide scale to read and study conscientiously in relation to their work, criticize the "gang of four" and all their revisionist fallacies, analyze questions in their own work concerning line, principles and policies, sum up experience, raise their ideological level and improve their style of work in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. This is a method of study in our party that has always proved effective.

In order to raise the party's level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, we should run party schools at all levels well and send cadres by stages and in groups according to plan to read some works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao in a fairly systematic way for a certain period of time. We must make determined long-time efforts to bring up a powerful contingent of Marxist theoreticians. We encourage the hard study of the works as a whole, take self-study as the main form, think things out for ourselves, probe into the subjects under study and strive for a good grasp and thorough understanding.

Party organizations at all levels should strengthen their leadership over study and guard against a laissez-faire policy. We should aim at real results in study and oppose formalism.

Our wise leader Chairman Hua has set a splendid example in studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought correctly in its entirety. Loyal to Mao Tsetung Thought, he has been studying and applying it well. Chairman Mao wrote the inscription "With you in charge, I'm at ease" and chose Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as his successor. During the year since Chairman Mao's death, Chairman Hua, holding aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao, smashed the "gang of four" at one blow, set forth the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and run the country well and is leading our party, army and country toward great order. The important speech made by Chairman Hua at the National Conference on Learning From Ta-chai in Agriculture, the important article he wrote for the publication of Volume 5 of the "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung" and especially the political report he delivered at the 11th national congress of the party constitute major documents illuminated by Mao Tsetung Thought. We must follow the example of Chairman Hua and learn to apply Mao Tsetung Thought in handling correctly new problems that keep coming up in our revolutionary practice at present and in the future.

We are in a new historical period, carrying forward the revolutionary traditions and forging ahead into the future. We aim to modernize agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology and build

China into a powerful socialist country before the end of this century so as to make greater contributions to humanity. This is the cause Chairman Mao left unfulfilled and the great and arduous fighting task he bequeathed to us. Our struggles require Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought. Let us start an all-party emulation in studying Chairman Mao's works, especially his great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, an emulation that will show who has learned more and better, and push our socialist revolution and socialist construction steadily ahead!

Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao will always live in our hearts!

Invincible Mao Tsetung Thought will shine forever!

THE TOAST BY HUA KUO-FENG, CHAIRMAN OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND  
PREMIER OF THE STATE COUNCIL, AT THE RECEPTION MARKING THE 28TH NATIONAL  
DAY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 14-16

[Chairman Hua Kuo-feng toast at Peking reception on 30 September 1977]

[Text] Distinguished guests, friends and comrades:

It is with elation and great joy that we celebrate today the 28th anniversary of the birth of the People's Republic of China. On this glorious occasion, I wish to extend warm congratulations and cordial greetings on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council to our people of various nationalities working on all fronts of endeavor in our motherland, to workers, peasants, PLA commanders and fighters, cadres and intellectuals as well as all patriots.

Together with us here on this happy occasion are many friends and comrades from the five continents and friends and comrades who are helping us with our construction work. We are particularly honored by the presence of the comrades on the delegation of the Khmer Communist Party [KCP] and the government of Democratic Cambodia led by Comrade Pol Pot, secretary of the Central Committee of the KCP and prime minister of the government of Democratic Cambodia, who join us in celebrating the festival. We express warm welcome to the distinguished Cambodian guests and to all the other distinguished foreign guests present at this reception.

The great leader Chairman Mao led our party, army and people in establishing our People's Republic. In the 28 years since then, great successes have been achieved in our socialist revolution and socialist construction, transforming old China, which was a poor, backward semicolonial and semi-feudal country, into a new socialist state with the beginnings of prosperity. Every success of our people is due to the wise leadership of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, to invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and to his proletarian revolutionary line.

This year 1 October is the first National Day since we smashed the anti-party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and

Yao Wen-yuan. This time a year ago, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung, our respected and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Te of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress had departed from us. Our party and state were in the midst of a decisive, historic battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and our people were undergoing a most rigorous test. The outcome of that struggle was a victory for the proletariat and the people. Our party proved to be truly a great, glorious and correct party founded by Chairman Mao. Our army proved to be truly a heroic army nurtured by him. Our people proved to be truly a great people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought.

Great and profound changes have taken place in our domestic situation since we smashed the "gang of four." A new period of development in our socialist revolution and socialist construction has been ushered in. The entire Chinese people are working hard to implement the line of the party's 11th national congress and to fulfill the fighting tasks in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land.

The great political revolution to thoroughly expose and criticize the "gang of four" continues to develop triumphantly on all fronts. The political awareness of the people of all nationalities in China has never been higher, their enthusiasm for socialism has risen steadily, and their revolutionary unity has been further strengthened. "A political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness" has begun to appear before us. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is more consolidated than ever.

A new leap forward in China's national economy is taking shape. Because we have taken a series of effective measures to overcome the difficulties created by the "gang of four," it is expected that the national economic plan for 1977 will be fulfilled successfully or overfulfilled.

On the fronts of science and technology, education, culture and public health, the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" is being eliminated, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad mass of intellectuals is being brought into greater play, and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is being implemented in a comprehensive and correct way.

The broad range of the PLA commanders and fighters, who are redoubling their efforts to revolutionize and modernize the army and stepping up preparations against war, have played a greater role as the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. New and important successes have also been scored in our work to build up the national defense and the militia.

The united front led by the working class, based on the worker-peasant alliance and including the patriotic democratic parties, democratic personages, compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and our countrymen overseas, is developing and growing in strength.

All this demonstrates convincingly that the party Central Committee's requirement of achieving initial success this year in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land can very well be met, and the situation is even better than we anticipated. The goal of achieving marked success within 3 years will certainly be realized, too. We have the resolve and the confidence to turn China into a great, powerful and modern socialist country by the end of this century.

We are determined to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the great task of unifying the motherland.

The international situation is now excellent, too. Our country enjoys an ever-growing international prestige, and we have friends all over the world. In all our external work, we are continuing steadfastly to implement the line, principles and policies laid down by Chairman Mao personally and to further move the international situation in a direction favorable to the people of China and the world. We firmly support the people of the world in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, support the people of all countries in their opposition to the super-powers' policies of aggression and war and support all revolutionary and progressive causes. We are sincerely grateful to the fraternal socialist countries, to the Third World countries and other friendly countries and to the people of the whole world for the support they have given us.

We are determined to hold high forever the great banner of Chairman Mao, carry out his behests, persist in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, resolutely implement the line of the 11th party congress and carry through to the end our proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao. This is the unshakable resolve of our entire party, army and people. There will still be difficulties of one kind or another on our road of advance, but we are convinced that no difficulties can block us Chinese people from marching toward our set goal, for we have a correct line, we have a great party, a great army and a great people fighting in unity, and we enjoy extensive international support.

Our cause must win. Our cause will unquestionably be victorious.

Now I propose a toast:

To the 28th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China;

To the great unity of the people of all nationalities throughout our country;

To the great unity of the people of the world;

To the health of Comrade Pol Pot;

To the health of all our distinguished guests, friends and comrades present here!

STRIVE TO BUILD A POWERFUL MODERN SOCIALIST COUNTRY--WARMLY CELEBRATING  
THE 28TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PRC

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 17-19

[PEOPLE'S DAILY, RED FLAG and LIBERATION ARMY DAILY 1 October 1977 editorial]

[Text] The People's Republic of China founded by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao has traversed the great road of socialism for 28 glorious years.

As we celebrate the first National Day after the smashing of the "gang of four," the sun is resplendent across the land and the people in their hundreds of millions are beaming with joy. We are keenly conscious of the rapid and profound changes that have taken place in the past year. Holding aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao, our wise leader Chairman Hua led the whole party in smashing the "gang of four" and, immediately after this, made and put into effect the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land, thus creating a new situation for China's socialist revolution and construction. Gone is the oppressive atmosphere created by the "gang of four" in which "ten thousand horses stand mute," and now the masses of people are in high spirits. The confusion caused by the "gang of four" on questions of right and wrong in line and ideology is being cleared up; Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies are being carried out comprehensively and correctly. All spheres of work are lively and active. The state of agriculture is good; news of one success after another is coming in from industry and transportation; state revenue has grown by a fairly big margin; market supplies have increased and prices are stable. A new leap in the national economy is taking shape. The mass movements to learn from Ta-ch'ing in industry and from Ta-chai in agriculture are advancing vigorously on an unprecedented scale. The revolutionary socialist emulation drive is going ahead full steam. The great revolutionary mass movement to modernize science and technology is rapidly gaining momentum. The people of all nationalities, united as never before, are determined to make greater contributions to the construction of our dear motherland.



Chairman Hua pointed out: "Holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhering to the party's basic line for the historical period of socialism, grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, continuing the revolution and striving to make China a powerful and modern socialist country--this is the line of the 11th party congress." This line embodies Chairman Mao's behests and represents the basic interests and common desire of the people of the whole country. It is the beacon for the new period of developing our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. The whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country should conscientiously study the documents of the 11th party congress, firmly carry out its line, simultaneously grasp the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, work for the fulfillment of the eight fighting tasks put forward at the 11th congress and for the achievement of some initial successes in the first year and marked success within 3 years in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, and strive to build China into a powerful and modern socialist country before the end of this century.

Our goals are lofty, but the tasks are difficult and time is pressing. We should see that whether for the cause of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism or for the cause of world class struggle, we must speed up the tempo of construction and run the country well. On all work fronts we must race against time and go all out to fulfill and surpass production plans. Quantitative quotas must be fulfilled, but insuring quality is even more important in achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results.

In carrying out this task, we must first firmly grasp and deepen the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," mobilizing the masses more fully to criticize the gang not only as regards its political line and organizational line but to criticize its counterrevolutionary revisionist line and its manifestations in various fields at the level of theory in order to thoroughly clear away its poisonous influence. All trades and professions should sum up the positive as well as the negative side of their experience, work out specific policies, methods and systems, carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in every respect and mobilize all positive factors fully to help build up the motherland at high speed.

In order to carry out the arduous task of modernizing our agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology, we must continue the fine tradition of hard struggle that Chairman Mao fostered in our party. Revolutionary enthusiasm and all-out exertion are the class character of the proletariat and other laboring people of China and an important weapon helping us overcome difficulties and reach our revolutionary goals in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Chairman Mao always taught us: "We should maintain the same vigor, the same revolutionary

enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war, and carry on our revolutionary work to the end." The history of our revolution has fully proved that with this death-defying spirit we can be all-triumphant. Comrades working on all fronts should act like the "Iron Man" Comrade Wang Chin-hsi and the people's good cadre Comrade Chiao Yu-lu, display the revolutionary spirit of whole-hearted service to the people, have less empty talk, make more exertions and work hard in a down-to-earth way, never letting go until the goal is reached. We must implement the mass line, do things consciously in accordance with materialist dialectics and combine soaring revolutionary enthusiasm with a strict scientific approach. The Chinese people are industrious and courageous and have shown tremendous enthusiasm for socialism in the struggle to eliminate the "four pests." Such political enthusiasm should be directed through organization toward energetically building socialism. Leading comrades of the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemical Industries recently led office cadres to the front-line of the three great revolutionary movements. They share weal and woe with the masses, listen to their opinions, conduct investigations and study and help solve problems. This has fired the masses with tremendous revolutionary enthusiasm and helped the comrades sum up new experience. This is welcomed and praised by the workers and staff. We must advocate and carry forward this spirit and style of work. In the great struggle to bring about great order across the land by grasping the key link of class struggle, we must restore fully and carry forward the fine traditions and style of work nurtured in our party by Chairman Mao.

The arduous task of building a powerful modern socialist country means that we must study with a will and work hard to become both Red and expert. We must make a systematic study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and works by Chairman Mao, gain a comprehensive and accurate grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought as a whole and, in particular, study well Chairman Mao's great theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so as to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line still better. We must also study science conscientiously, learn technique and acquire vocational proficiency and grasp the laws governing these matters. There are many questions involved in socialist construction, particularly the four modernizations, that we still do not fully understand, and on very many questions we are still in the realm of necessity.

We must have the spirit of "storming the gate," fear no hardship, dare to make innovations, seize the fortresses of the four modernizations one by one, and make a leap forward into the realm of freedom. The Ta-ch'ing oil-field and the Ta-chai production brigade have both accumulated extensive experience, and many advanced units in the country have achieved considerable success. We must learn with an open mind from the good experience, good style of work and good methods of other provinces, municipalities, regions and units. We are relatively backward in natural science and must learn what is advanced in foreign countries. Only when we are good

at learning from the advanced can we catch up with and surpass them and make greater progress along our own road in developing science and technology. We must study with enthusiasm and honesty what we do not know. If we dig into the matter for some months, for a year or two, or three or five, we will finally acquire the knowledge of it. Cadres at all levels, particularly leading cadres, must study well. Chairman Mao pointed out more than 20 years ago: "We are now confronted with new problems, socialist industrialization, socialist transformation, a new defense system and other new fields of work. It is our task to adapt ourselves to this new situation, dig into our jobs and become experts. It is therefore necessary to educate those who have failed to dig into their jobs and remained on the surface, so that they will all turn into experts." We must follow Chairman Mao's teaching and work hard to make ourselves proficient and expert on the basis of a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism. This will greatly enhance our working ability and enable us to advance at a greater speed in all fields of work.

We should be fully aware that building China into a powerful modern socialist country is an arduous task and that the road is long and we will encounter many difficulties. But we have very favorable conditions. Chairman Mao taught us: "The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome." We have the correct leadership of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, the revolutionary line Chairman Mao formulated, the superiority of the socialist system and 800 million people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. Provided we work hard and fight on tenaciously, it is certain that we can overcome all difficulties and accomplish the glorious historic mission that Chairman Mao bequeathed to us.

In joyously celebrating National Day, our thoughts go out to our compatriots in Taiwan Province with particular affection. We are determined to liberate our sacred territory of Taiwan to complete the great cause of reunifying our motherland.

The current international situation is very good. The two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are beset with difficulties at home and abroad, and things are getting harder for them. We are determined to follow Chairman Mao's strategic thesis differentiating the three worlds, firmly carry out his revolutionary line in foreign affairs and continue to advance the international situation in a direction favorable to the people of China and the rest of the world.

Let us hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and, united as one under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and under the guidance of the great line of the 11th party congress, work hard, run affairs in China well and strive to make a greater contribution to humanity!

CARRY THROUGH TO THE END THE GREAT STRUGGLE TO EXPOSE AND CRITICIZE THE  
'GANG OF FOUR'

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 20-22

[PEOPLE'S DAILY, RED FLAG and LIBERATION ARMY DAILY 6 October 1977  
editorial]

[Text] One year ago today the wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, carrying out Chairman Mao's behest, led us in smashing the "gang of four" composed of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, thus thwarting the plot of the old and new bourgeoisie represented by the gang to turn the revolution off course and pushing the wheel of the socialist revolution and construction ahead on its vigorous advance. The dark clouds obscuring the sky have been dispelled once and for all, and our motherland is again bathed in glorious sunshine. Contrasting the present with the past, we become more keenly aware of the tremendous importance and far-reaching influence of this victorious struggle with regard to our party and country.

Momentous changes have taken place in the past year. In response to Chairman Hua's call to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land, the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in the country have launched a vigorous mass movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four." In the course of this struggle, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is being popularized more than ever before, people's political consciousness is rising to a new high, a lively political situation is beginning to appear, once-stifled enthusiasm for socialism is erupting like a volcano, and both revolution and production are taking on a new look. The developments of the situation are better than anticipated, and this is proof that the great class struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is the fundamental motive force promoting the advance of our work in all fields.

In his political report to the 11th national congress of the party, Chairman Hua pointed out: "This struggle is now the pivot of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads and will be so for some time to come. Grasping it means grasping the key link." To expose and criticize

the "gang of four" comes on top of our eight fighting tasks for grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land. Party committees at all levels must have a very clear idea about it, make a determined effort, take this great struggle as the pivot of their work, and lose no time in deepening this movement and carrying it to complete success.

Close attention must be paid to the work of investigation. The bourgeois factional setup of the "gang of four" and their followers must be completely destroyed, and the individuals involved and the incidents connected with the conspiracy of the "gang of four" to usurp party and state power must be brought to light. By firmly carrying out party policy, relying on the masses, isolating the "gang of four" and the handful of their sworn followers and concentrating our blows on them, we have achieved tremendous successes in the work of investigation. But, the tasks in this respect have not been completed. In a few places and departments the leadership still lags behind the masses, and the movement is going slow; this situation must be speedily changed.

Even in those units where the movement has been going on fairly well, steps should be taken to carry the investigation to greater depth and thoroughness. It is essential to pay attention to party policy, strictly distinguish between the two types of contradictions of different nature and handle them correctly. Those who committed mistakes of a general character should be cleared in good time after their problems have been thoroughly investigated. With regard to those who have erred but who can be won over, we should help them change over ideologically through education. Only in this way is it possible to further arouse the masses, isolate the most diehard elements to the maximum and concentrate our blows on them, and bring to light the most deep-hidden class enemies and their counterrevolutionary crimes. The work of investigation has a direct bearing on the purity and consolidation of our party and our revolutionary ranks organizationally. Only with complete success of the investigation is it possible to win complete victory not only politically but also organizationally in the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and insure the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. We must grasp this issue firmly and must not slacken our efforts, give it up halfway or move sluggishly.

Still closer attention must be paid to criticism. The fact that whether one is merciful and lenient toward the "gang of four" is shown not only by whether one takes a firm grasp of the investigation but also by whether one takes a firm grasp of criticism. The "gang of four" would not fall if we did not hit them, and, though they have fallen, their poisonous influence will not vanish of itself if we do not criticize it. Unless they are thoroughly criticized, the counterrevolutionary ideology and line of the gang might be rekindled from the embers when the time and conditions are suitable; persons like Ma Tien-shui, Yu Hui-yung, Chih Chun, Chang Tieh-sheng, Weng Sen-ho and Chen Ah-ta might appear and "earthquakes" might

occur again. Therefore, it is imperative to carry on mass criticism well, penetratingly exposing and repudiating the "gang of four" in line and in theory and thoroughly eliminating their evil influence. It is a task more arduous and of a longer duration than that of investigation. This is why our work of "removing the four pests" is not just about finished but far from it, and greater effort has to be made.

Two campaigns have been fought in exposing and criticizing the "gang of four." We must advance from victory to victory and make the third campaign a success. We must act in response to Chairman Hua's call: "Follow up the struggle to expose and condemn the conspiracy of the 'gang of four' to usurp party and state power and their criminal counterrevolutionary history by intensifying our mobilization of the masses and vigorously waging a people's war to thoroughly expose and criticize the ultra-right essence of the gang's counterrevolutionary revisionist line in all its manifestations." We must make earnest efforts to fight this battle well.

To adhere to Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat or to tamper with it--this is an important feature of the struggle between our party and the "gang of four." The gang totally adulterated the party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism.

They totally negated Chairman Mao's scientific analysis of the classes in Chinese society, completely reversed the relationship of the people to the enemy in the historical period of socialism, fabricated what they called "new changes in class relations," dished up a counterrevolutionary political program which equated all veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist roaders," and spread the nonsense that there is a bourgeois class inside the party and the army. These sinister wares of the "gang of four" are utterly reactionary politically and absolutely preposterous theoretically. Their purpose was to usurp our party leadership, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, and overthrow leading cadres of the party, government and army who adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This is a concentrated manifestation of the ultra-right essence of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four." We must have a sufficient estimate of the poisonous influence of the absurdities spread by the gang. We must hold high and defend Chairman Mao's great banner and, with Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as our weapon, focus our exposure and criticism on this counterrevolutionary political program of the "gang of four" politically and ideologically, and thoroughly expose their counterrevolutionary and vicious motives and detrimental effects on the Chinese revolution.

The reactionary world outlook of the "gang of four" and the theoretical basis of their counterrevolutionary revisionist line are idealism and metaphysics. They did whatever they liked and claimed as truth whatever was useful to them. On the pretext of opposing eclecticism, they used the

formula of "rather...than..." to oppose dialectics. All this directly served their counterrevolutionary political purpose to usurp party and state power. The gang went wildly in for metaphysics and idealism, causing much confusion in the people's thinking. To make the third campaign a success, we must study hard Chairman Mao's philosophic works, grasp dialectics, explode the idealistic and metaphysical rubbish spread by the gang and persevere in acting in accordance with materialist dialectics.

The poisonous influence of the revisionist line of the "gang of four" manifests itself in economic, political, ideological, cultural, military and party affairs and all other fields and aspects. We must expose and criticize the "gang of four" in connection with the realities in each specific area, department and unit and set right one by one all those points the gang turned upside down with regard to questions of right and wrong in line, ideology and theory. An education known as "ten should's or shouldn't's" is underway throughout the army; the economic departments are engaged in a discussion about "ten do's or don't's"; the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemical Industries and many of its affiliated units are listing the harms done by the gang to the party and the country, to each department or unit and to each individual. These are good methods for linking criticism with reality. Every unit should analyze the manifestations there of the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" and fully mobilize the masses to criticize and eliminate them. One criterion for judging whether the poisonous influence of the "gang of four" is eliminated is to see whether the confused thinking in a given unit has been straightened out, whether there is a clear idea about the specific line in work and specific principles, policies and methods, whether the party's fine tradition and style of following the mass line and seeking truth from facts have been restored and carried forward, whether the initiative and creativeness of the cadres and masses have been called forth, and whether a lively political situation has taken shape.

Marxism develops in the course of struggle. To expose and criticize the "gang of four" is a great political revolution with hundreds of millions of people taking part. It will not only sweep away the dirt and filth left by the "gang of four" but also help popularize and develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Only by studying Marxism in the course of struggle can we gain greater and better results and come to an accurate and comprehensive understanding and grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought as an integral whole. The "gang of four" and Lin Piao are targets of our struggle and our extremely good teachers by negative example. We should make full use of them and, through deepgoing criticism, greatly raise our understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, enhance our proletarian consciousness, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, transform the great moral strength into mighty material strength, and speed up the modernization of industry, agriculture, science and technology and national defense.

"With power to spare we must pursue the tottering foe." Workers, peasants, commanders and fighters of the Liberation Army, cadres and intellectuals as well as all patriots throughout the country, let's go into action and do the cleaning, making a clean sweep of the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" from every nook and cranny, and carry the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end.



CARRY OUT FARMLAND CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION AS A GREAT SOCIALIST UNDERTAKING

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 23-30

[Article by Chen Yung-kuei, member of the CCP Politburo]

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has put forward the strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well. Chairman Hua has called for efforts to achieve initial success this year and great success within 3 years in realizing the four modernizations before the end of the century and in building China into a modern, powerful and socialist nation.

One of the four modernizations is the modernization of agriculture. Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. Agriculture must be pushed forward in order to vigorously develop the national economy. Otherwise, we will encounter difficulties in providing people with food and in providing raw materials to industry. Lack of progress in agriculture will prevent the national economy from forging ahead, prevent us from doing a good job in making preparations against war and natural disasters and hinder the development of the four modernizations. Therefore, the question of whether or not we can push agriculture forward affects the total situation. It is a major question that the whole party must tackle.

To vigorously push agriculture forward it is necessary to pay great attention to farmland capital construction with the spirit of "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains in Transforming China," as recommended by Chairman Mao. Chairman Hua has already issued a call to the whole country to vigorously grasp farmland capital construction this winter and next spring. In the movement to enthusiastically develop agriculture and build Ta-chai-type counties throughout the country, we must whip up an upsurge in transforming mountains, taming rivers and carrying out soil improvement work and fight a sustained people's war in doing so.

Farmland capital construction is the foundation for the vigorous development of agriculture, a major part of the movement to learn from Ta-chai and greet socialist undertakings. We cannot separate ourselves from

farmland capital construction when developing farm mechanization and water conservancy projects or when implementing the /Eight-Point Charter for Agriculture/ as put forward by Chairman Mao. It can also be said that farmland capital construction represents the basic task in agricultural production. If we do not conscientiously grasp farmland capital construction and work hard, it will be impossible for us to push agriculture forward rapidly. Therefore, whether or not we develop farmland capital construction and work hard is not a minor question. It is a key issue in determining whether or not we are genuinely learning from Ta-chai or only making believe that we are learning or halfheartedly learning.

The experience of Ta-chai, Hsi-yang, and all the advanced units in learning from Ta-chai throughout the country have proven that farmland capital construction plays an important role in determining whether or not we can push agriculture forward.

If we vigorously develop farmland capital construction, we will be able to raise soil fertility and improve our ability to combat natural disasters. Our resistance to disease will be great if we keep fit and eat nutritious food at all times. If we raise soil fertility and improve our ability to combat natural disasters, we will be able to produce high and stable yields.

On occasion, in some localities seedlings have grown well in the spring, and in the summer a bumper harvest was expected. But when autumn came, a little drought or waterlogging caused serious damage. Why did this happen? One of the important reasons was that farmland capital construction was not carried out well. Thus, fundamental changes in production conditions were not brought about. When the climate was favorable and some chemical fertilizer applied, production was normal. But when the climate was unfavorable and there were some natural disasters, production dropped. Naturally these yields will not be high and stable. A high and stable yield means a high yield in normal times and a stable yield even if there are some natural disasters. Some people like to produce high and stable yields, but they do not care about making changes in production conditions. How can they achieve stable yields? To develop agriculture we must carry out farmland capital construction and change production conditions.

Why is it that since cooperativization Ta-chai has always achieved bumper harvests, whether there were natural disasters or not? Why has such a small mountainous village like Ta-chai been able to boost grain production from some 100 catties per mou to as high as over 1,100 catties? It is precisely because this production brigade understands the importance of farmland capital construction and has emphasized construction year after year. As a result of the brigade's efforts to transform the croplands that often lost soil, water and manure into good croplands that retain these three essential elements, the previously meager tracts where drought and waterlogging were frequent are now fertile lands capable of withstanding

drought and waterlogging. Dry lands are now transformed into rice paddies and hillsides into garden plots and plains. In addition, the brigade has transformed the odds and ends of lands not suitable for farm machinery utilization into large tracts that can be tilled by machines. Improvements have also been made on the arable lands to strengthen their ability to withstand natural disasters.

Prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, most of the arable lands of Hsi-yang County, including the slope and alluvial lands, could not retain soil, water and manure. Crop seedlings would wither in 3 sunny days, and soil would be washed away from the lands by a brief rush of torrential rain. The county's grain production was low even in a good harvest year, not to mention a calamity-laden year. This situation was mainly attributable to the adverse effects of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line. This line has been criticized since the Great Cultural Revolution. At the start of this revolution, Hsi-yang County began to take great strides in its efforts to learn from Ta-chai and mapped out plans for immediate action to serve this purpose. To dredge the rivers, fill the gullies and improve the alluvial and slope lands, the county has, since then, completed more than 8,900 construction projects which involved at least 130 million cubic meters of masonry and earthwork. The projects consisted of building embankments of more than 2,000 li, removing over 1,200 hilltops, installing 170 li of culverts and cutting through mountains to divert the course of the river at 350 places. In addition, the county expanded its arable lands by more than 60,000 mou, built 320,000 mou of Ta-chai-type fields and increased rice paddies elevenfold. Its achievements were tremendous. The changes in its lands have brought a big change in production. The per-mou yield of grain has increased from 200 catties to more than 830 catties. The county's total grain output has shot up 100 percent in 3 years, 200 percent in 5 years and 300 percent in 9 years, reaching the mark of over 300 million catties in 1976. The total amount of 100 million catties of commercial grain turned in to the state by the county last year represented an increase of 25 percent of the county's total grain production in 1966.

Also noteworthy are the big-margin increases in agricultural production in Chi-ning Prefecture of Shantung. The success was also due to the prefecture's all-out efforts in carrying out farmland capital construction to bring about big changes in the land. Courageous in thought and action, the people of Chi-ning Prefecture and Tung-p'ing County [in T'ai-an Prefecture of Shantung] fought joint battles in carrying out farmland capital construction. Their coordinated strenuous efforts were concentrated on a comprehensive project to remove mountains, build water conservancy works, level the land, carry out afforestation and build or improve the roads on the 60-li plains or in the 70-li hilly areas. The leveled land with its thick tillable layer made irrigation and use of farm machines possible, which, in turn, made production increases possible.

Pretending to learn from Ta-chai, some localities have not made any real efforts to carry out construction. Yet they have labeled their fields as "Ta-chai-type farmlands" from which the harvest reaped can in no way match that of Ta-chai Brigade. This is a slander to the good name of Ta-chai.

Farmland capital construction has great potential. It is a big task which is worthy of our efforts. The cultivated area of the country presently comprises only a little over 10 percent of the total. Can it be 20 percent? In a country with such a large area, terraced fields can be built near the mountains, and land by rivers and by the sea can be reclaimed by building dikes and embankments. All gullies can become usable land if they are filled. The point at issue is whether or not we will do it. Some localities have no new projects ready and are reluctant to improve their original arable lands. There is much to be done in some other localities in the next few years or decades as far as farmland capital construction is concerned. The vast expanse of Heilungkiang is fertile but still remains to be fully developed, reclaimed and utilized. If it can be reclaimed and utilized, there will be a significant increase in our grain production.

We should simultaneously grasp class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiments which are the three great revolutionary tasks put forward to us by Chairman Mao. We should struggle against the landlords and rich peasants who have engaged in sabotage activities. We should criticize capitalist tendencies. While we carry out the struggle and conduct criticism, we must also strive to overcome nature. If we fail to do so, our land will remain unchanged, our production will not go up and the livelihood of commune members cannot be improved. Also, the superiority of socialism cannot be fully demonstrated. If this is the case, can capitalism be thoroughly defeated? Can the fond dream of class enemies to restore capitalism be totally smashed? Can the old forces be eliminated and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses be enhanced? Of course not.

We must, therefore, persistently adhere to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production. Over the past few years, the "gang of four" have seriously damaged production and the movement to learn from Ta-chai, sabotaging both industry and agriculture. Brandishing cudgels and labeling people, they opposed going all out to criticize revisionism and capitalism and to build socialism while vigorously trying to uproot the red flag of Ta-chai. They charged anyone who wanted to grasp production and learn from Ta-chai as "democrats," "capitalist roaders," "members of the grain party" and "members of the production party." They clamored that it would not matter if one failed to reap even a single piece of grain provided he was good at making revolution. This is sheer nonsense. Can they keep themselves alive by consuming no grain but the "northwest winds"?

The gang wanted to undermine the revolution and sabotage socialist production and wanted to make grain unavailable to the people and fodder unavailable to the livestock, thus creating a great upheaval across the land with a view to seizing power amid chaos.

Did this mean class struggle or the struggle for production? None of the three great revolutionary tasks can be separated from each other. After the smashing of the "gang of four," we have endeavored to grasp the key link in running the country well. This calls on us to simultaneously grasp the three great revolutionary tasks. We should honestly learn from Ta-chai, grasp class struggle and the struggle for production and scientific experiments. We must act like the Ta-chai people in waging arduous struggles and carrying them through to the end until we have transformed our lands and overcome nature. If we fail to do so, there is no way to promote farmland capital construction and change the features of land. Being unable to withstand drought or waterlogging, the farmlands' crop yield will decrease when hit by natural disasters. With our grain production decreased, our distribution and accumulation will likewise decrease and so will our contributions to the state. People will ask: What is the superiority of the socialist collective economy?

We often say it is necessary to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism. We must persistently put proletarian politics in command and place Mao Tsetung Thought in the fore. We must vigorously expose and seethingly criticize the "gang of four" with a view to organizing the masses to exert their utmost efforts in farmland capital construction by arousing their enthusiasm for socialism. If utmost efforts are put on capital construction on farmlands, the farmland acreage will expand year by year, and production conditions will also be gradually changed. Our production can be increased yearly. People will thus be able to perceive the advantages of socialism and the bright future of communism, and their enthusiasm will soar high.

All of our cadres and the masses would like to increase grain production, to accumulate more, to increase income and to make greater contributions to the state. All of them would like to develop the collective economy. When the collective economy advances and production increases, all of us will say that socialism is good. But if we fail to block the capitalist road, socialism cannot advance. This also applies to farmland capital construction.

At present we must continue to penetratingly expose and criticize the crimes of the "gang of four," who opposed going all out to criticize revisionism and capitalism and building socialism in an attempt to pull down the red banner of Ta-chai. The sabotage activities of the "gang of four" against the movement to learn from Ta-chai and against farmland capital construction are serious, and their pernicious influence is deep and widespread. We must not underestimate them. Nor should we think that our exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" are just about finished.

We must grasp the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as a movement and carry it out in close connection with the movement to learn from Ta-chai in agriculture and carry out farmland capital construction.

In recent years the "gang of four" promoted revisionism, opposed criticizing capitalism, brought about the revival of the capitalist trends in the countryside and caused damage of varying degrees to the collective economy. In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" we should, at the proper time and on a grand scale, mobilize the masses to deal resolute blows to the elements engaged in embezzlement, theft, speculation and profiteering and to various capitalistic and illegal activities and firmly stop acts which undermine the state plan. It is necessary to strike at the class enemies' restorationist activities and resolve the issue concerning capitalist tendencies among the masses.

We must take class struggle as the key link. We must grasp firmly, vigorously and in a down-to-earth manner the people's war to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and to repudiate capitalism. We must not feel softhearted. If we win victories in this war, we will be able to unify our ideas and achieve a unity of will, to truly learn from Ta-chai and to vigorously carry out farmland capital construction.

Last year the people in Chi-ning Prefecture of Shantung did an excellent job in waging struggle. When the "gang of four" suppressed them, they stood firmly and waged a resolute struggle against the gang. At that time the comrades in Chi-ning said well: We will be toppled anyway, whether we carry out farmland capital construction or not. It is better to be toppled when we are vigorously carrying out farmland capital construction than to be toppled when we are not doing anything. That was when the "gang of four" were in power. Now the "gang of four" has been smashed. With the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, we should even more penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," clean up the mire left by the gang and completely discredit capitalism. Only by doing so will it be possible for us to achieve initial success this year and great success within 3 years. To push agriculture forward, we must fight well the battle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." To carry out farmland capital construction well, we must also do a good job in fighting this battle to expose and criticize the "gang of four."

Can we vigorously develop farmland capital construction without demonstrating the superiority of the socialist collective economy? Can we go it alone? Of course not! However, we still need a correct line even if we have a well-developed socialist collective economy. The leadership at all levels, including the provincial CCP committee, prefectural CCP committees and county CCP committees, must also foster the lofty goal to transform mountains and tame rivers. If the leading comrades have no lofty goals, dare not think and take action, fear this and that and are worried about this and that, they will never achieve anything. Ta-chai

had more than 80 households and a population of over 400 people. It had not only to transform the tiger-head mountain, but also to rebuild the seven gullies, eight ridges and the mountain slope. It had not only to remove hilltops to fill gullies to build a plain but also to build a new village of socialism. Could Ta-chai have achieved this if its party branch had no lofty goals? Hsi-yang has learned from Ta-chai and vigorously carried out farmland capital construction for 10 years and done many things. Could Hsi-yang have achieved this if its county party committee had no lofty ideals and ambitious goals?

In Shansi there is a P'ing-ting County. In the early years the county party committee simply put fear before everything else and failed to conscientiously learn from Ta-chai, go all out for socialism and change conditions for production. As a result, the hills remained the forefathers' hills, the land remained the forefathers' land, and the output also remained the forefathers' output. Socialism has been practiced for more than 20 years, yet you are still walking at your forefathers' pace. Can you imagine that? After the First National Conference on Learning From Ta-chai in Agriculture, the leading group of the county party committee, through consolidation, became a group which had the courage to think and act. It had the courage to cherish great aspirations and do great work and feared nothing. As a result, the hills and the land and the features of agricultural production changed tremendously in a matter of 2 years.

There are also many other places, such as Chi-ning Prefecture of Shantung, Hui County of Honan and T'ao-yuan County of Hunan, cherishing lofty ideals and ambitious goals. What lofty ideals and ambitious goals? The lofty ideals and ambitious goals of learning from Ta-chai, of going all out for socialism, of transforming old hills and rivers and of building modern socialist agriculture. When we have lofty ideals and ambitious goals, we can do the work easily and rapidly transform the features of the hills and the land. Carrying out farmland capital construction in a big way to develop agricultural production with the greatest urgency is the demand of the broad masses and is expected by all people except for class enemies and the "gang of four." At present the most important thing is to link what we think with what we do. We must not just think but fail to act; nor can we merely say something but fail to carry it out. We must conduct investigation and study, go ahead with our work after we plan it well and carry out what we promise.

If we fail to resolutely make up our minds, we can only be touched by what we see and excited by what we hear about learning from Ta-chai but fail to do it in our own unit. Then, going all out will be out of the question, and any big change is, of course, impossible. It is false to say one is "touched" and "excited." Whether we learn from Ta-chai or not and whether we carry out farmland capital construction depend on the masses' efforts. The key lies in leadership. The provincial, prefectural and county party committees must all grasp it as a great socialist undertaking.

To go all out for farmland capital construction, we must have overall planning and know what we are talking about. We must not spend our efforts here and there without preparation and planning. We must cooperate and coordinate well. We must not devote more efforts to the more profitable work, less efforts to the less profitable work and no efforts to the unprofitable work. We must coordinate all the activities of the province and the county as in a chess game. Chairman Mao said: "Overall planning and strengthened leadership--this is our policy." Chairman Hua has instructed that it is imperative to draw up plans for carrying out farmland capital construction. "The provinces, prefectures, counties and communes must draw up plans. It is very important to have overall planning." The party Central Committee has pointed out that by 1980 the task of building farmland which gives high, stable yields, irrespective of drought or waterlogging, per mou per capita must be fulfilled. This applies to the whole country. When applied to each province, each prefecture and each county, it must have its own planning and adapt itself to local conditions. In some places, 1 mou has been built. In some other places, 1.5 mou or 2 mou have been built. In some places, only 1 mou or even less than 1 mou of farmland which gives high, stable yields has been built per capita.

We must therefore devote our efforts to intensive and meticulous farming and seek the way out in scientific farming and other ways. Potentials are everywhere. There are many winds and sands in Inner Mongolia. These winds and sands must be harnessed for farmland capital construction. As for Hunan, there is the Hunan method. Hunan is largely mountainous. Throughout the province, mountains account for 70 percent; rivers and lakes, 10 percent; and fields, 20 percent. There they link farmland capital construction with afforestation and have achieved good results. In many places all you can see is leveled land and blue mountains and "granaries in rivers and banks in mountains." There, rainwater from 70 mm of rainfall will usually remain in the mountains. In northern China, even rainfall less than 20 mm will cause rainwater to flow into gullies, let alone 70 mm of rainfall. In short, due to different situations and characteristics in different places, the main direction of attack of farmland capital construction cannot be the same throughout the country. However, whether we are in the south or north, whether we are in the mountainous area or in the plains, one thing is certain: we must all draw up plans and carry out farmland capital construction in a big way. There are no exceptions. We must draw up long-range plans as well as short-range plans. Long-range plans mean a large, general idea, a general arrangement; short-term plans mean what is to be done in the same year. Short-term plans must be drawn up early and carried out early. They must be specific. Because there is a difference between removing earth and removing stone, and because there are differences between the earth in the south and that in the north, specific details must be given regarding each operation. Once the weather turns cold in the north, all earth becomes frozen like a rock. Therefore, concrete details must be given on how much work to do, how much earth and stone to remove and how



many man-days to spend before the earth is frozen solid and after it freezes. If this is not done, there will be idleness after work has begun.

In carrying out farmland capital construction, we must adhere to the policy of plain living and hard struggle and of relying on our own efforts. This is also easy to say but difficult to do.

In some places, state funds are applied for whenever farmland capital construction is mentioned. Some simply will not pitch in until they know how much they can get. Now, with the fall of the "gang of four," we have gotten rid of their interference. We have better conditions. The state will extend increasingly more support each year. However, Ta-chai-type counties must not be bought at a high price. To carry out farmland capital construction, we must not rely only on the state. We must first of all rely on the correct ideological and political line, on the superiority of the collective economy and on the broad masses' spirit of plain living and hard work.

In a country as large as ours, what can be done without relying on our own efforts? Ta-chai is a very small hilly village. For more than 20 years it has carried out large-scale farmland capital construction. It has done so without requesting any loan--not even a penny--from the outside, not to mention aid from the state. After the big calamity in 1963, Ta-chai not only rebuilt its arable land and homestead, but also refused relief grain, relief funds and relief materials, and tried to maintain the level of its grain output, its brigade members' food grain, seeds and fodder and its contributions to the state.

In its 10 years of learning from Ta-chai, Hsi-yang first learned from Ta-chai's plain living and hard work and its relying on its own efforts, and opposed waiting for, relying upon, and applying for state funds. And have not the results been very good? During the past 10 years, Hsi-yang invested more than 140 million yuan in farmland capital construction, more than 90 percent of which was raised by the county itself, its communes and brigades. This is an investment which promises an increase in the commune members' incomes. The funds they collected themselves reached an average of 630 yuan per capita. In order to carry out farmland capital construction throughout the country, what can we do if we do not follow suit? If you busy yourselves with accounts, calculating your labor force, dynamite, steel bars and this and that, you can calculate your head off and accomplish nothing.

Of course, we cannot oppose accounts. We want accounts, but we want living ones. We want the accounts of the masses' enthusiasm, the accounts of the superiority of a collective economy, the accounts of the communist style and particularly the accounts of people's potential and the labor force which was wasted in the past. These accounts can give us confidence and determination and vigor. They are never dead accounts. For instance,

there is a Hung-shui commune in Hsi-yang. This commune has a river called the Hung-shui-ch'uan, which is 30 li long and which was filled with pebbles and rocks. In 1967, the first year of learning from Ta-chai, while the whole county was working hard, Hung-shui commune was calculating. It wanted to know how many man-days were needed, how much money was needed and whether benefits could be received the same year. It did a lot of calculating and decided to do nothing. In the second year, while other communes were working vigorously, it kept waiting. First it waited for state funds, then for the county to finance the project, and finally for assistance and support from fraternal communes, and again decided to do nothing. In the third year, while other communes were achieving fruitful results, it was still watching. It wanted to see whether or not the state paid for the projects built by other communes, how the other communes collected their funds and whether or not benefits were received, and still decided to do nothing yet. In the fourth year, the conference on agriculture in the northern region opened, and other communes changed the features of the people, the land and their output. Then, Hung-shui commune made up its mind to act on its own. It was determined to spend no money and asked for no aid. It worked 1 year by relying on its own efforts. As a result, it built 4,800 dams and leveled 1,700 mou of good land.

Similar things occurred in Hsi-yang and in many other places throughout the country. In some places, the state offered nothing. Fruitful results were achieved in those places after the people there relied on their own labor and their own hands, figured out their own methods, made their own tools, and cut and used local stone. They did very well.

Therefore, relying on one's own efforts is really good and can produce quick results. On the contrary, waiting for, relying upon, and applying for state funds not only erodes people ideologically but also gets no projects built and changes no features.

To increase farmland capital construction, we must also have leaders, that is, cadres who will lead people to work even harder. Chairman Mao said long ago that cadres' participation in work is important to combat and guard against revisionism. At the Ta-chai and Ta-ch'ing conferences, and in his political report made at the 11th National CCP Congress, our Chairman Hua mentioned this issue and paid great attention to it. In theory, there should be no problems regarding this issue. In practice, however, there are still problems. In movements to learn from Ta-chai and catch up with Hsi-yang, we have heard sayings like this: "Ta-chai's experiences are fine; what is intolerable is cadres' participation in work." This is wrong. How can people be considered cadres if they don't work? How can cadres who are divorced from work and from the masses not become revisionist?

In Hsi-yang, there is a 1-2-3 system governing its cadres' work. Under this system, county office cadres, commune cadres and brigade cadres will have to work 100 days, 200 days and 300 days a year, respectively. Some

people are scared by this system. Others have expressed doubts. They ask: "Can this target be reached?" They also find all sorts of reasons to resist this experience. In learning from Ta-chai, who is going to take the initiative in learning if not the cadres? And what is to be learned first if it is not work? If a cadre refuses to learn this, or even opposes this, he is not really learning from Ta-chai.

Ta-chai's experiences cannot be learned easily. Backwardness cannot be eliminated by working casually. In learning from Ta-chai, cadres must take the initiative. No satisfactory results will be achieved if the cadres only know how to urge the masses to work and they themselves do not take part. In all energetic campaigns, cadres' persistent work is indispensable.

In Yu-tai County, Shantung, the masses' drive in learning from Ta-chai is great, because its cadres have been working persistently. In Yu County, Hunan, you can hardly find a cadre in the county party committee office, because all the cadres are working with the masses in the fields, bare-foot and shirtless. While the cadres of the county party committee work this way, the cadres of the communes and the brigades also work like this. Their efforts have resulted in our farmland capital construction, and in our socialism. Isn't it possible that socialism will drop from the sky if we only pay it lipservice? In building socialism, no results can be achieved if the cadres and the leading cadres at all levels do not take the initiative.

We must educate the cadres and help them understand that, in learning from Ta-chai, cadres' work is a good thing. Even if the work is hard, it must be realized that it is not as hard as life during the war years. In those days a march meant miles of walking, and a battle meant blood, sacrifices and sometimes hunger. Why, then, when the older generation was willing to shed blood and sacrifice for the sake of revolution, we are not willing to toil and sweat a little? If we are afraid of hardship and fatigue, then we have to give up building socialism and stop serving the people and let the people serve us. In short, we must make sure that cadres work. Only by doing this will our farmland capital construction be successful.

There is another problem that must be resolved with determination. In production brigades, the number of people who have been disengaged from production is great, the amount of subsidiary work points is high and cases of unreasonable demands are many.

This is a problem that merits great attention from all party committees. If this problem remains unresolved, learning from Ta-chai will not be successful.

During the period of agricultural collectivization, there were only three cadres in one village. They worked like everybody else and earned their work points by their labor. No subsidiary work points were given to them.

Today there are as many as a dozen cadres in some brigades. If barefoot doctors, teachers, broadcasters and members of quasi-full-time theatrical groups and so forth are also included, the number of nonproductive personnel is even bigger. When a production brigade has this many nonproductive personnel and all these people are to get subsidiary work points, how can the masses' enthusiasm not be affected? How can production be properly carried out? This problem must be resolved with determination. Of course, we must mainly rely on education. But we must also have necessary regulations and rules. We must resolutely reduce the number of unnecessary nonproductive personnel. People who should not disengage themselves from production will not be allowed to do so. All those who can be assembled will be assembled to go to the forefront of production and to the work-sites of farmland capital construction.

Great efforts must be made to develop farmland capital construction. Each county or commune must work on several major projects in this field simultaneously. A people's war must be fought to get them done. Work forces must be mobilized to carry out large-scale battles which call for concerted actions affecting adjoining communes and brigades. In this connection, we may face some policy problems which must be resolved by correct decisions. Once a decision is made, the policies must be resolutely executed.

For example, the work force must be properly and proportionally mobilized from various sources to meet its year-to-year and long-term needs for production and construction. Consideration must be given to the need for manpower in each farming season. In short, plans must be made to mobilize the necessary manpower to engage in large-scale farmland capital construction according to the principle that it will not adversely affect production.

In Hsi-yang, construction was launched immediately after a discussion. At first, some 4.5 percent of its work force was mobilized. This drew immediate protests from some people, who called this action a "communist wind." But the county party committee said: This was not a "communist wind" but a revolutionary work style, because we followed the correct orientation in building socialism to the satisfaction of the masses.

Later, the mobilization of another 10 percent of the work force astonished some brigades involved in construction. Necessary measures were taken to restrict such excessive manpower mobilization and to encourage people to generate greater enthusiasm for work. As a result, more work was done with less manpower, and production was improved. In this way, they suddenly realized that matter can be transformed into consciousness and vice versa. After noting the superiority of the collective economy, the more the masses did, the more they wanted to do, the more daring they became, and the greater contributions they made to construction.

In carrying out large-scale farmland capital construction, it is necessary to integrate the implementation of policy with the display of the communist work style. Only in this way can cadres at brigade, commune and county levels do everything for their long-term interests, take into consideration the situation as a whole, remember the public interest instead of the private interest, finish work today to be better off tomorrow, and build socialism for the realization of communism.

Farmland capital construction must be carried out according to the principle of voluntary and mutual aid and exchange at equal value. But we should not act like capitalists who give first consideration to narrow personal gains and losses in business transactions. If we follow their example, we will achieve nothing. As a matter of fact, their accounting methods are so scholastic and so divorced from reality that they are simply not feasible. Some people even worry too much, and are fearful of everything they do. They fear that time is running short and manpower cannot be mobilized quickly. They have many fears. But, ironically, they are not concerned with whether or not farmland capital construction can be further carried out and socialism can be successfully developed. Certainly, they are not people of great enterprise.

Therefore, we believe that we have nothing to worry about as long as we do not turn our large-scale projects into mere slogans. Once a decision is made, we should get things done, and we should show a willingness to do everything. We may make some mistakes. But it does not matter if we know how to correct them. Like a pupil, we must learn to correct mistakes. Of course, by showing a willingness to do everything in a big way, it does not mean that we will do so recklessly. We hate to see people doing things recklessly. Farmland capital construction must be carried out to increase production and not to reduce it after it has begun. Everything must be done to achieve this. We must begin with those projects which call for the least investment in funds and manpower and which have potentials of great financial gains and increases in production. After this is done, the livelihood of commune members will improve and more public funds will be accumulated. At that time we can move ahead with other large-scale projects which call for huge investments in funds and manpower.

The 11th party congress was successfully concluded in the wake of the smashing of the "gang of four." Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and under the guidance of the correct line of the 11th party congress, the whole party and the people of the whole country must mobilize to launch an emulation drive in response to Chairman Hua's call. Great efforts must be made to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and deepen the movement to learn from Ta-chai in agriculture.

In the coming winter and spring, efforts must be made to do everything in a big way. The people in the country ranging from north to south China, from the hilly areas to the plains and from the interior to the frontier

regions must turn their areas into battlefields for farmland capital construction. A people's war must be fought to reshape our mountains and rivers. Particular efforts must be made by the people in the frontier regions to grasp this task well. With the necessary aid from the state, they can quickly push agricultural production upward. Everybody in the country should contribute as much as possible to modernizing agriculture and transforming China into a powerful, modern and socialist country.

DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE RIGHT AND WRONG IN THE LINE AND ACTIVELY DEVELOP  
SOCIALIST FOREIGN TRADE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 31-38

[Article by Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang]

[Text] The Chinese people are joyously celebrating the 28th anniversary of the founding of the PRC amid the excellent situation in which the 11th national congress of the party has been victoriously held. Looking back at the past and forward to the future, we are full of confidence in our victory.

Chairman Hua said: "At present and for some time to come, the struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' will still be the focus of the two-class, two-road struggle. To grasp this struggle is to grasp the key link." Judging by the foreign trade front, despite the efforts made by the vast number of cadres and masses to resist and struggle against the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four," their pernicious influence and effects have not been small and must under no circumstances be underestimated. In accordance with Chairman Hua's instructions, we must carry out the great struggle to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee and the party committees at various levels, we must continue to fight campaign by campaign and set right one by one the things reversed by the "gang of four" in regard to the line so that we will thoroughly eliminate their pernicious influence and effects. On the economic front, we must solve the "10 ifs," i.e., if it is necessary to uphold the party's basic line, to have party leadership, to rely on the working class wholeheartedly, to make a success of production, to institute rules and regulations, to have socialist accumulation of funds, to enforce the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," to have proletarian experts, to import new technology and to have a planned economy. This will provide us with a clear orientation with which to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four" with Mao Tsetung Thought as the weapon, to distinguish between right and wrong in line and to eradicate their pernicious influence and effects. This is completely applicable to foreign trade work. We must first of all solve

these general problems. At the same time, we must come to grips with a number of problems in foreign trade work, which the "gang of four" disrupted and which was more seriously affected by their pernicious influence, conduct revolutionary mass criticism and distinguish between right and wrong in line.

#### I. Is It Necessary To Develop Socialist Foreign Trade?

On this question, great teachers Lenin and Chairman Mao gave positive answers both in theory and in practice. Lenin said: "...It is absolutely necessary for us to trade with capitalist countries (so long as they have not completely collapsed)." ("On the Internal and External Situation of the Soviet Republic," from the "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 184) Chairman Mao said: "The Chinese people are willing to carry out friendly cooperation with the people of all countries in the world in restoring and developing international commerce in order to facilitate the development of production and a flourishing economy." However, the "gang of four" openly defied the teachings of the great teachers. They maligned foreign trade, attacking imports as "worshipping things foreign and fawning on foreigners" and exports as "capitulation and national betrayal," these counterrevolutionary outcries become quite frantic at one time and caused considerable confusion.

Chairman Mao taught us: "On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts." Under Chairman Mao's leadership and by relying on our own efforts, we toppled the three big mountains and established the PRC. By relying on our own strength, in just 20 years or so we built a poor and backward old China, semicolonial and semifeudal in nature, into a socialist new China with the beginnings of prosperity. In the next 23 years, in fulfilling Chairman Mao's behests, we shall build China into a modern and powerful socialist country--also by relying on our own efforts. Many facts prove that what the Western bourgeoisie can do, the Eastern proletarian can do, too, and with better results. We must forever adhere to the policy of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and achieving regeneration through self-reliance. This is beyond doubt.

Chairman Mao also pointed out: "As for doing business with foreigners, there is no question; wherever there is business to be done, we shall do it." "Our policy is to learn from the strong points of all nations and all countries, learn all that is genuinely good in the political, economic, scientific and technological fields and in literature and art." The "gang of four" set maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and achieving regeneration through self-reliance in metaphysical opposition to learning from foreign countries and developing foreign trade. This was downright willful distortion of the policy of independence and self-reliance. "Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary." "Rely mainly on the home market



while making the external market subsidiary." Here the primary and subsidiary things are defined, and not whether or not something is absolutely essential. As Chairman Hua has pointed out: "'Independence and self-reliance' does not mean that we shall close our doors to the outside world. We must develop trade with friendly countries, learn the advanced experiences and advanced techniques of other countries, and import the needed advanced technology and equipment." This is a forceful rebuttal of the "gang of four."

The importing, on the premise of self-reliance, of some necessary advanced technology and equipment in order to make foreign things serve China will help shorten the process of our groping in the dark and enhance China's ability to achieve regeneration through its own efforts and to catch up with and surpass the world's advanced levels in the shortest possible time. Taking the scientific attitude of one dividing into two, Premier Chou put forward the revolutionary principle of "first, use; second, criticize; third, transform; and fourth, innovate" in regard to importing technology and equipment. To learn is to improve, and to import is to innovate. Only when we are good at learning and continue to forge ahead can we overtake from behind. If we refuse to learn the advanced experiences and advanced techniques of other countries and instead start everything from scratch, that is bound to affect the pace of development of some of our industrial technologies, which in turn will truly give meaning to the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace.

Foreign trade means international exchanges of commodities. To import, we must export a corresponding amount of goods. This is commonsense. When we conduct exchanges of commodities with the outside world on the basis of the principle of equality and mutual benefit, the question of territory or of sovereignty does not arise at all. Then how can we be accused of selling out our country? When we export some oil, coal and other materials in accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit and of exchanging what one has for what one does not have, we not only obtain in return materials our country needs for construction but also enhance friendship with the people of various countries and promote the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. This is not only not "national betrayal" but, on the contrary, the combination of patriotism and internationalism. The "gang of four's" malicious accusations only served to further expose the baseness of their means and of course aroused the extremely great indignation of the people of the whole country.

The "gang of four" were opposed to the slogan of learning from other countries put forward by Chairman Mao, to exchanges between China and the outside world and to the importation of advanced technology and equipment. Their criminal aim was to retard the development of our country's science and technology and sabotage our country's socialist construction in coordination with the policies of blockade, embargo, restriction and discrimination applied by the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries

against our country. We must expose their scheme, criticize their fallacies, unswervingly follow the correct line, principles and policies laid down by Chairman Mao, and actively develop socialist foreign trade.

## II. Is It Necessary To Stick to the Policy of Controlling Foreign Trade?

On the eve of the founding of the PRC, Chairman Mao dwelt in depth on the importance of controlling foreign trade. He explicitly pointed out: "The two basic policies of the state in the economic struggle will be regulation of capital at home and control of foreign trade. Whoever overlooks or belittles this point will commit extremely serious mistakes." In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, in the initial period of the People's Republic, while destroying all sorts of privileges which the imperialists enjoyed in old China, we immediately imposed control over foreign trade, reformed the customs system, set up state-owned foreign trade enterprises, carried out systematic socialist transformation of private import and export businesses and introduced and maintained the policy of controlling foreign trade. In 1958 the party Central Committee made the decision to enforce unified standards in dealing with the outside world in foreign trade. The policy of controlling foreign trade and the principle of unified standards in dealing with the outside world are manifestations of China's proletarian dictatorship in its external economic struggle.

The "gang of four" opposed the policy of controlling foreign trade and the principle of unified standards in dealing with the outside world. They accused the foreign trade departments of practicing "monopoly," clamoring for "a revolution against monopoly." What did they want to do? This gang of careerists and conspirators wanted to monopolize foreign trade for themselves, turn proletarian monopoly into bourgeois monopoly and restore capitalism. This was a stark manifestation on the foreign trade front of the ultrarightist essence of the "gang of four's" counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

We must continue to adhere to the policy of controlling foreign trade and the principle of unified standards in dealing with the outside world. At the same time, we must follow the teaching given by Chairman Mao in "On the Ten Major Relationships" on the correct handling of the relationship between the central and the local authorities. Provided that the unified leadership of the central authorities is consolidated, we must give free rein to the initiative of the local authorities and allow them to do more things. We must continue to improve the administrative structure of foreign trade in accordance with the principle of facilitating the application of unified standards in dealing with the outside world, facilitating the development of the two sources of initiative and facilitating the improvement of operational management. We must continue to adhere to and promote the practice of consulting with local authorities in doing things. Regarding all those things that concern the local authorities, we must first consult with them and proceed with work only after proper consultations have been held.

### III. Is It Necessary To Implement Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line in Foreign Affairs According to His Strategic Three Worlds Concept?

Chairman Mao's great strategic three worlds concept is the basis for distinguishing between enemies and friends in international struggles and the basis for establishing the broadest united front. Ours is a socialist country. Foreign trade should not only serve socialist revolution and construction and preparedness against war, but also Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. Our foreign trade work must be in line with Chairman Mao's great strategic concept, adhere to his revolutionary line in foreign affairs, unite all forces that can be united, oppose the superpowers' hegemony and strike blows at the principal enemy.

The "gang of four" consistently interfered with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies on foreign affairs. They published lengthy sinister articles attacking foreign trade in the mass media and opposed the implementation of China's policy on foreign trade in a vain attempt to turn socialist foreign trade into capitalist foreign trade. In order to conceal the ultrarightist nature of their counterrevolutionary revisionist line and confuse people's thinking, they also used the counterrevolutionary tactic of waving a red flag to oppose the red flag. For instance, they babbled: "We are not interested in the Third World at all." "We are only interested in the Second World." They did this to spread rumors and hurl accusations so that they could make trouble and create disorder.

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs over the past 20 years or so, we have established economic and trade links with a large number of Third World countries. We have exerted great efforts to develop trade with Third World countries for the purpose of supporting each other in the struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemony, and so as to promote each other's self-reliance. In trading with Third World countries we adhere to the principles of equality, mutual benefit, supplying each other's needs and supporting each other. Increased economic and trade exchanges have promoted the development of friendly relations between China and Third World countries. As far as our means allow, we have given aid to a number of Third World countries, with aid in the form of goods and materials of a general nature channeled through foreign trade. The Third World countries have supported us. Totally disregarding facts, the "gang of four" babbled about our "lack of interest in the Third World." This was purely a fabrication.

In accord with the principles of equality and mutual benefit, we have also actively promoted trade with Second World countries, using our products in exchange for advanced technology, equipment and materials that are needed in socialist construction in our country. This is in line with Chairman Mao's strategic concept and contributes to broadening the international antihegemony united front. Our relationship with these countries is one of unity and struggle. Chairman Mao taught us: "The united front

policy is a class policy, the two are inseparable. If this is not made clear, many problems will remain unclear." In viciously vilifying and hampering our country from trading with Second World countries, the "gang of four" betrayed Chairman Mao's great strategic three worlds concept, interfering with and undermining the great struggle to oppose the two superpowers, the USSR and the United States, particularly Soviet social imperialism.

#### IV. Is It Necessary To Implement the Principle of "Developing the Economy and Insuring Supplies"--the General Principle for Financial and Economic Work--and To Set Up Production Bases for Export Commodities?

As early as the war of resistance against Japan, Chairman Mao said: "Developing the economy and insuring supplies is the general principle for our economic and financial work." Premier Chou said: "Foreign trade must promote domestic trade and production. It must have a foothold in the country and combine production, use and scientific research in promoting the development of production in the country." Whether in terms of exports or imports, in foreign trade we must implement the general principle for financial and economic work of "developing the economy and insuring supplies" and carry out Premier Chou's instructions. Production is the foundation of foreign trade. Only with the development of production and an abundance of commodities can we have an adequate supply of goods for export and broaden our exchanges with foreign countries. At the same time, making a success of foreign trade work will stimulate the development of production, while making a mess of it will hamper the development of production. Therefore, foreign trade departments must not confine themselves to the circulation channels. They must care about production, take part in it and organize and promote it.

In counseling party committees and implementing the general principle for financial and economic work of "developing the economy and insuring supplies," foreign trade departments in various localities must closely coordinate with relevant departments in going deep into the spheres of production, in maintaining contacts with the masses, in conducting investigation and study, in participating in production, in doing a great amount of work, and in acquiring abundant experiences. For instance, on the basis of international market requirements, they should outline export categories, assist production departments and rural communes and teams to organize and promote production and handle procurement work well. They should acquaint the masses with certain processing techniques, introduce fine seeds and improve varieties. They should bring in equipment for key projects and explain samples and their production techniques, giving necessary economic assistance in accordance with the stipulations set by the state, etc. From now on we must commend achievements and overcome shortcomings so we can do better in this field.

The supply of goods for export in foreign trade relies mainly on supplies furnished according to state plans by various departments, provinces,

municipalities and autonomous regions. This procedure will be followed in the future. Led by local party committees, bases for producing export commodities, plants and workshops for turning out industrial goods for export at selected points should also be set up, for this will go a long way toward increasing the supply of export items. Premier Chou said in 1960, "It is quite imperative for the Ministry of Foreign Trade to set up bases for producing export commodities and to undertake capital construction." He again remarked in April 1972, "Why can't we let plants with better facilities produce export items?" Practice has shown that doing so will facilitate meeting the requirements of the international market, promoting the sales of commodities of high quality and well-known brands, and stabilizing the supply of export items on a regular basis according to fixed schedules and established norms for quality and quantity. This will also promote the development of production, raise the level of production techniques, promote the growth of the collective economy, increase the incomes of the communes, brigades and the masses, increase the accumulation of capital for the mechanization of agriculture and promote a flourishing domestic market.

Brandishing their big stick of the "theory of productive forces," the "gang of four" disrupted agriculture, industry, communications and transport, thus wrecking the foundations of domestic commerce and foreign trade. In the name of criticizing "the set of stringent rules and regulations drawn up by the ministry concerned," they also used the mass media under their control to attack the establishment of bases for producing export goods as "forming a separate system and rejecting the centralized leadership of local party committees" and "disrupting the socialist economy." This was an out-and-out attempt to confuse right and wrong. In fact, the initially successful operation of bases for producing export goods over the past years has been due to the centralized leadership of local party committees and the result of bringing into play both the central and local initiatives.

In order to meet the needs of the developing situation, we must further unify our understanding and make a success of setting up bases for producing export goods in selected areas. In this regard, the bases for this purpose may take different forms, such as joint operations by several departments, division of work on the basis of product categories, or separate operations under a zoning system. Together with relevant departments under the centralized leadership and unified planning of party committees at all levels, we must unite, support each other and cooperate in the division of work according to local conditions and product classifications in a common effort to develop the economy, insure supplies and increase the production of export goods.

V. Is It Necessary To Uphold the Policy of "Overall Planning and Proper Arrangement" and Correctly Handle the Relationship Between Domestic and Foreign Marketing So As To Set Aside a Portion of Commodities for Exports?

As two closely related segments in the sphere of circulation, the relationship between external and internal trade, like other things, is also a dialectical relationship of both unity and contradiction. On the basis of Chairman Mao's policy of "overall planning and proper arrangement" and Premier Chou's instructions, we have always followed these three principles in handling the relationship between external and internal marketings. First, the export of essential supplies having a bearing on the rational economy and people's livelihood is to be limited. Second, actively develop the production of those commodities in short supply and earmarked for the domestic market and for export purposes, and set aside a portion for export. Third, commodities that are insignificant in the domestic market may largely be used for export. Implementing this three-point principle calls for "setting aside" a portion of commodities for export on the basis of developing production. Chairman Mao often pointed out: "The domestic market is the main thing, with the foreign market subsidiary." "The overseas market, however, is very important. We must not overlook it nor treat it lightly." "We must economize on food and clothing to insure export; otherwise, what little extra we have may be consumed by our 650 million population." Practice over the years has shown that making proper arrangements can produce more things for export without affecting the domestic market. The "gang of four" attacked exporting as "unlimited export" and as "exporting even those things badly needed in the country." They did so to deliberately drive a wedge between the party and the masses, a downright act of inciting and misleading the public.

The comrades engaged in foreign trade must strengthen their concept of the overall situation. They must understand all the aspects of the national economy and the party's economic policies, taking the initiative in making a success of uniting and in cooperating with various quarters. They should avoid judging foreign trade work from a single aspect. In striving to do export work well, they should also show concern for and support the domestic market.

VI. Is It Necessary To Adhere to the Principle of Equality and Mutual Benefit in Foreign Trade?

The great leader Chairman Mao and esteemed and beloved Premier Chou often declared that equality and mutual benefit is an important principle in our foreign policy and one which we must follow in conducting foreign trade. The principle means exchanging what one has for what one lacks. It is in opposition to the imperialist policy of monopoly and dumping and opposes imperialism, especially the superpowers, seeking economic and political privileges.

The "gang of four" frenziedly attacked and sabotaged our foreign trade principle of equality and mutual benefit. They fabricated many charges against our foreign trade departments. When our exports met the demand of the foreign market, they attacked us for "making the foreign bourgeoisie comfortable by serving them" and for "being led around by the nose by imperialism." When we sold our goods at international market prices, they cursed us for "simply giving away the blood and sweat of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers to the foreign capitalists." Even when we were working in accord with Premier Chou's instructions, adhering to contracts and acting in good faith, they maligned us as "rightist concessionists." We must thoroughly criticize the many fallacies of the "gang of four" and conscientiously implement the foreign trade principle of equality and mutual benefit.

In order to adhere to the principle of equality and mutual benefit in foreign trade work, extensive consideration of politics and economics is necessary. They are not to be considered separately. First, we should put politics in command and resolutely implement our foreign policy. Be it in exporting or importing, any unequal or unreasonable conditions cannot be attached. Of course, we never impose unequal conditions on or make unreasonable requests of others. At the same time, the import and export commodities must meet each other's needs. Reasonable prices must be set by mutual consent. We oppose the raising or holding down of prices by taking advantage of monopoly positions. We should mutually adhere to contracts, act in good faith and meet the deadline, quality and quantity set down in contracts. We will continue to keep in step with the Third World countries in opposing and in striving to smash the control and monopoly of imperialism, especially the superpowers, over the prices of raw materials and primary products that we and the Third World countries export so that they can be sold at appropriate prices.

#### VII. Is It Necessary To Do Business With Flexibility?

Chairman Mao taught us: "We should be firm in principle; we should also have all the flexibility permissible and necessary for implementing our principles." In order to develop foreign trade, it is necessary to make appropriate use of accepted practices in international trade under the premise of upholding socialist principles. Whether we do business flexibly is a vital business question and also a question of whether we are going to struggle against the imperialist blockade, embargo, restriction and discrimination. Under the premise of adhering to principles, we adopted some flexible practices. The "gang of four" slandered these practices as "rightist capitulation" and "humiliating the nation and forfeiting its sovereignty." These slanders were intended to confuse right and wrong. Acting according to their practices would only benefit imperialism, revisionism and reaction, but not our socialist motherland.

Lenin said, "We hope to do business which is beneficial to us and they hope to do business beneficial to them. How the struggle evolves depends

on the tact of our diplomatic personnel." ("The 11th Congress of the RCP (B)," from the "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 231) A lot can be said about how to do business with flexibility in international trade. Although we have adopted some flexible trade practices, on the whole our business has not been done with sufficient flexibility. Chairman Mao pointed out: "We must firmly reject and criticize all the decadent bourgeois systems, ideologies and ways of life of foreign countries. But this should in no way prevent us from learning the advanced sciences and technologies of capitalist countries and whatever is scientific in the management of their enterprises. In the industrially developed countries they run their enterprises with fewer people and greater efficiency and they know how to do business. All this should be learned well in accordance with our own principles in order to improve our work." We must conscientiously sum up the rich experiences of socialist foreign trade gained over the past 20 years or so. In addition, we have to learn from foreign experiences, strengthen our investigation and studies on the international market and continue to make an effort to learn to do business. We must be good at using different products, times and markets in importing and exporting and flexibly use all trading methods under various complicated conditions. Doing business with flexibility is not only the task of the people engaged in foreign affairs but a task shared by various quarters concerned with foreign trade. We must give full rein to the superiority of our socialist system and make an effort to meet Premier Chou's demand to "do every business transaction well."

#### VIII. Is It Necessary To Keep Hong Kong and Macao Properly Supplied?

Hong Kong and Macao are China's territory. Over 98 percent of the inhabitants there are our compatriots. The question of Hong Kong and Macao is left over from history and will be settled in an appropriate way when conditions are ripe. Under the present circumstances, the export of supplies to Hong Kong and Macao is a special problem of China's foreign trade.

Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee have always paid serious attention to and expressed extreme concern about the question of Hong Kong and Macao, and set down correct principles and policies regarding them. With regard to the supply of commodities, Premier Chou directed: "Those areas that are able to do so must share in the burden of keeping Hong Kong and Macao supplied; they are not allowed to step back." This is not only an economic question but also a political issue.

The political and economic conditions of Hong Kong are complex; the competition in the marketplace is extremely acute. We must consolidate and expand the patriotic, antihegemonic united front there, and unite with all patriotic compatriots in waging a struggle against the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries. We must correctly carry out the policies and actively do a good job of supplying Hong Kong and Macao. Wang Hung-wen cried out: "Why should we guarantee supplies to Hong Kong?" "Just supply it with whatever we have." He even threatened to find out who set down the



policy toward Hong Kong and Macao. Their criminal aim was to sabotage the principle and policy of the central authorities toward Hong Kong and Macao and to undermine the relations between the mother country and the compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao. This fully exposed the hideous features of this gang of renegades, enemy agents, and counterrevolutionaries.

On the whole, our job of keeping Hong Kong and Macao supplied has been done well. Both areas adjacent to Hong Kong and Macao and remote provinces have committed themselves, as a bounden obligation, to supplying Hong Kong and Macao. The compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao have regarded the supplies of the mother country as an expression of its concern for them, and as an expression of the flesh-and-blood relationship the people of the mother country cherish for their compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao. At one time in the past the supply of some commodities to Hong Kong and Macao was quite abnormal, a result of the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four." We must do the work well and actively increase supplies to Hong Kong and Macao.

In summary, the above eight questions boil down to whether it is necessary to thoroughly implement the basic policy laid down by Chairman Mao in the splendid work "On the Ten Major Relationships." It is this: "We must do our best to mobilize all positive factors, both inside and outside the party, both at home and abroad, both direct and indirect, and make China a powerful socialist country."

In the great struggle to realize the four modernizations and to build a powerful socialist country, the foreign trade front is charged with an important task. In the wake of the development of industrial and agricultural production and the expansion of foreign relations, there should and can be a substantial development of China's foreign trade. Actively developing socialist foreign trade is as justified, meritorious and glorious as practicing socialism in a big way on other fronts. We must further whip up a new upsurge in studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, and we must understand and implement in an all-round and correct manner Chairman Mao's thought and line. We must further develop the mass movement to learn from Ta-ch'ing and Ta-chai in the field of foreign trade, properly solve the problem of the line and the problems of the leading group and the building of the ranks, and run foreign trade in the spirit of Ta-ch'ing and Ta-chai. We must firmly carry out the line of the party's 11th congress, hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, follow the party's basic line for the historical period of socialism, grasp the key link in running the country well, continue the revolution and strive to build a modern and powerful socialist country!

ADHERE TO MATERIALIST DIALECTICS AND MODESTLY LEARN FROM EXPERIENCES IN OTHER PLACES

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 39-43

[Article by Li Jui-shan, first secretary of the Shensi Provincial CCP Committee]

[Text] During these days of solemnly commemorating the first anniversary of the passing of great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, I am filled with great emotion and cherish deep memories of him when I restudy his brilliant work "Strive To Learn From Each Other and Don't Stick to the Beaten Track and Be Complacent," look back on the years in which I worked in Hunan and received his close concern and education, and recall the tremendous contributions he made to the Chinese and world revolutions.

In 1963 the whole party and the people of the whole country, inspired by the spirit of the 10th plenum of the 8th party Central Committee, steadfastly implemented the party's basic line. China had already overcome the sabotage of the Soviet revisionists and the interference of Liu Shao-chi's counterrevolutionary revisionist line, and had overcome 3 years of temporary difficulties caused by natural calamities. The situation had taken a turn for the better. Relatively great progress was also made in the work of Hunan, where in that year a serious drought was overcome and a good harvest was reaped. However, the development of agriculture was still sluggish, and fields with steady and high yields were relatively few. There was great fluctuation in grain output. In order to develop the excellent situation, further change the conditions of agricultural production and overcome the conceit and complacency that began to grow among some comrades, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, who was then working in Hunan, led a group of cadres at provincial, prefectural and municipal levels on a study tour of Kwangtung. While in Kwangtung we placed emphasis on visiting the four counties of Nan-hai, Hsin-hui, Shun-te and Hua, seven communes and other advanced units. We were immensely educated and enlightened. Our viewpoint was broadened, our thinking liberated and our drive increased.

While in Kwangtung, our thoughts returned to Hunan. While modestly studying the experience of Kwangtung, we seriously examined our work, found

shortcomings and devised measures to improve our work. We produced "A Subjective Report on the Conditions of Agricultural Production in Kwangtung." Great leader and teacher Chairman Mao was always very concerned about work in Hunan and, busy as he was, he read the report. Afterward he immediately issued a very important directive and had it distributed throughout the party. It was called "Strive To Learn From Each Other and Don't Stick to the Beaten Track and Be Complacent," which we read today. This splendid directive greatly inspired and spurred us. Applying the viewpoint of one dividing into two, we further summed up our work and launched an ideological struggle against sticking to the beaten track and being conceited and complacent. Drawing on Kwangtung's advanced experience, taking account of the reality of agricultural production in Hunan and persisting in self-reliance, plain living and hard struggle, we extensively mobilized the masses to wage a big campaign to develop agriculture. For instance, by mobilizing the masses to concentrate their strength to fight a battle of annihilation, we built a power-driven irrigation and drainage project in the Tung-t'ing Lake area capable of irrigating and draining 4 million mou of land. Then we completed the magnificent Shao-shan diversion project and other small and medium-sized water conservation works. Vigorous and hard working, the masses and cadres surmounted one difficulty after another and finally brought about great changes in the outlook of agricultural production in Hunan Province. This resulted in bumper harvests year after year. These were the solid fruits born under the illumination of Mao Tsetung Thought and also victories won in applying materialist dialectics to practical work.

Wise leader Chairman Hua set a typical example of implementing Chairman Mao's important directive and of modestly learning from the experiences of other places--a brilliant example for us to follow. I worked in Hunan for more than a decade, and every word and deed of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng profoundly impressed. Infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao, the party and the people, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng highly regarded materialism and dialectics. He attached prime importance to investigation and study, to studying the advanced experiences of other areas and summing up those of our own area, and to guiding work with typical examples. The first red banner of learning from Ta-chai in agriculture in Hunan Province--Mao-t'ien District of Yueh-yang County--was discovered and intensively fostered by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng himself. While learning from the experiences of other areas, he emphasized the need not only to grasp the orientation and line but also to study the concrete experiences of the three major revolutionary movements so that revolution might be integrated with production and politics with vocational work. After repeatedly and seriously studying Kwangtung's advanced experiences, he compared them with those of Hunan and then analyzed them. He applied the valuable experiences of others to solving the problems of his own area. Compared with Kwangtung, in those days Hunan was still relatively weak in its efforts to build water conservation projects, produce fertilizers and improve seeds. Therefore, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng firmly resolved to tackle these things. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he personally organized cadres at all levels--

several tens of thousands--and sent them on a study tour of Ta-chai and Hsi-yang in separate groups and in stages. As a result, Ta-chai's red flowers blossomed throughout Hunan.

On the occasion of the first anniversary of Chairman Mao's death, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua publicized his splendid work "Strive To Learn From Each Other and Don't Stick to the Beaten Track and Be Complacent." This is another important manifestation of holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao. A serious study of this work is of extremely vital significance for us in learning to apply Marxist dialectical thought to practical work, in thoroughly implementing the line of the 11th party congress, in fulfilling the eight combat tasks of grasping the key link in running the country well, in penetratingly exposing and criticizing the ultraright nature of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line and its various manifestations, and in making a success of socialist revolution and construction.

Applying the materialist-dialectical viewpoint, in this brilliant work Chairman Mao profoundly dealt with the tremendous significance of modestly learning from the good experiences of other provinces, municipalities and districts, pointing out that this "constitutes an important way of promoting our economic, political, ideological, cultural, military and party work." Marxists hold that the law of the unity of opposites is the most fundamental law of materialist dialectics. Changes in nature and in society derive largely from the struggle between its internal contradictions. As a Marxist, one must be good at observing and analyzing the contradictory movement of various things and, on the basis of such analysis, provide solutions to these contradictions. Contradictions continuously appear and are continuously solved, and this pushes things forward. In view of the fact that some comrades did not think of things dialectically, Chairman Mao said meaningfully: "The Central Committee has called our comrades' attention to this problem time and again, maintaining that a communist must acquire the Marxist dialectical concept of one dividing into two with regard to achievements and shortcomings, truth and falsehood. Without exception, everything (economics, politics, ideology, culture, military and party work, etc.) develops as a process. And every process develops through the interconnection and mutual struggles of its two contradictory aspects. This should be ABC's of a Marxist." No place can claim perfection in its work. Every area, every department and every unit has its achievements and experiences as well as its shortcomings and lessons. Development varies from place to place, from department to department and from unit to unit. There is always the situation of work being relatively good in some areas and bad in other areas. Such achievements and shortcomings, experiences and lessons, and good and bad results are the two contradictory aspects of things. Learning from each other means comparing the two contradictory aspects, setting them up as opposites and causing the opposites to struggle against each other and thus become transformed. By modestly learning from the experiences of other places and drawing on the strong points of others to make up for our

own shortcomings, we will be able to promote the advanced things, overcome the backward things, make the advanced more advanced, transform the intermediary into the advanced, and enable the backward to catch up with the advanced.

Over the past years the "gang of four" ran amuck with idealism and metaphysics, madly opposing Chairman Mao's thinking and line. Their landlord-bourgeois nature made it impossible for them to proceed from reality. Unable to make a concrete analysis of things, they relied entirely on their subjective imagination, either affirming everything or negating everything. They practiced the "one-point theory" of metaphysics and opposed the "two-point theory" of dialectics. When they said a certain person was good, they would not allow others to disagree with them. When they said a certain person was bad, they also would not allow others to raise a different opinion about him. They forbade learning all the good things in our country and in other countries. They deeply hated the two red banners--Ta-ch'ing and Ta-chai--set up by Chairman Mao and used all kinds of dirty tactics to undermine the mass movements to "learn from Ta-ch'ing in industry" and to "learn from Ta-chai in agriculture." They picked up a counterrevolutionary club and struck down many advanced units one by one. As for the so-called "typical models" they carefully rigged up, they used the power they had usurped and the mass media under their control and exaggerated them out of all proportion. All of this served their bid to usurp party and state power. Some of our comrades described themselves as perfect men without the least flaw; they presented the work in their own area or unit as being free of fault, work that hardly needed any improvement. These persons who embraced the "one-point theory" and "know only one and not the other" were influenced by the idealism and metaphysics practiced by the "gang of four." While penetratingly exposing and criticizing the ultraright nature of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line, we must dig up its idealist and metaphysical ideological basis, vigorously publicize materialism and dialectics, explain the contradictions in things and their transformation, and continuously advance the socialist cause.

In the course of implementing Chairman Mao's brilliant directive, we deeply realized that when we directed work with Marxist dialectical concepts and modestly learned from the advanced experiences of other places, our work yielded good results; otherwise, it stagnated or was plagued by this or that mistake. Although definite achievements were made in industrial and agricultural production in Shensi Province under the impetus of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and through the hard work of vast numbers of cadres and the masses, the gap remained wide in comparison with some fraternal provinces and municipalities. With a view to boosting agricultural production, we twice invited the comrades of Ta-chai and Hsi-yang to our province to give us the benefit of their experience. In the winter of 1974 we organized the leading cadres at the provincial, prefectural and county levels to make a study visit to Ta-chai and Hsi-yang, with the emphasis on solving the basic problems of learning from

Ta-chai. In the meantime, we turned our attention to identifying and summing up the advanced experience of our province, successively established a number of advanced counties in learning from Ta-chai, such as Wu-pao, Chen-an, Ta-li, Chih-tan, and Lu, as well as a number of advanced communes and brigades in learning from Ta-chai, and popularized their advanced experience throughout the province. In 1975 we assembled, in separate groups and in stages, the principal members of the leading groups of the more than 350 advanced brigades in the province at the two advanced units in learning from Ta-chai in agriculture in our province-- the Lei-pei brigade of Ta-li County and the Feng-huo brigade of Li-ch'uan County. There they attended classes in which they studied the advanced experience of Lei-pei and Feng-huo brigades in learning from Ta-chai, discovered their shortcomings, exposed their contradictions, launched an active ideological struggle and solved the problems of advanced brigades in continuing the revolution.

All of this yielded relatively good results, promoting the penetrating development of the movement to learn from Ta-chai in agriculture throughout the province. However, the provincial party committee, and myself in particular, did not study and comprehend Chairman Mao's brilliant directive well enough, nor did we make enough effort to seriously study and positively popularize the advanced experiences of other places. In this respect, we felt that an outstanding problem was how to make the experiences of other areas take root, blossom and bear fruit in our own areas. Although some of our comrades regularly made study visits to other places and indeed had seen many advanced units, they made little progress in their work. Apart from the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four," the reason was that some comrades only talked and wrote about the advanced experiences. They did nothing to implement them in practice. As far as our leadership was concerned, advanced experiences were only popularized in a general way and no hard, practical work was carried out to put them into practice. There was no regular checkup or supervision. Lacking was the determination to take on a job and thoroughly do it. In the light of the actual conditions of our work, we restudied Chairman Mao's brilliant directive. This enabled us to further realize how important it was to be free of metaphysical shackles, to make an effort to learn to do things according to materialist dialectics, and to constantly and modestly learn from the experiences of other places in order to do our own work well.

In order to master the advanced experiences of other places, we must combat metaphysical ideas such as sticking to the beaten track, conceit and complacency. "Humility makes one progress, and conceit makes one regress." A person's experience is always limited, but the practice of the masses is extremely broad in scope and extremely rich in content. Every unit and every area has its strong points and will continue to produce new experiences. By going out more often to look at things, to keep in touch with the masses and actual conditions and by learning from them modestly, one will keep one's thinking active, broaden one's viewpoint and come up with

more methods. We often come across this situation: Whoever is good at becoming a pupil and learning from the strong points of others to make up for one's shortcomings will be able to do one's work with better results. Those who have the idea of sticking to the beaten track and are complacent will always be metaphysical in their thinking and fail to make a Marxist analysis of their own work. They see only their achievements and not their shortcomings and mistakes, always thinking they are good in everything. They shake their head at the work of other areas and units, believing that it is always bad--to say nothing of learning from it with an open mind. They listen only to praise, but not criticism. They allow others to look only at the good things and not the bad. Sometimes such people blow their own horn and think they know best. As a matter of fact, they are no more than frogs at the bottom of a well. Their viewpoint is pitifully narrow. They assume that the sky is as big as the mouth of a well without knowing that not only is the sky bigger than the mouth of a well, but above the sky there is space. Chairman Mao once described these people by citing an anecdote in which the king of Yehlang asked the envoy of Han which was bigger, the Han empire or the tiny state of Yehlang, and the moral is indeed extremely profound. Every cadre should guard against such megalomania and resolutely overcome the idea of sticking to the beaten track, conceit and complacency. He should cultivate a good work style of modestly learning from others and seriously mastering the good experience, good style and good methods of others so that he will continue to improve his work and make new achievements.

The experience of other places must be studied in connection with the actual conditions of one's own area. Every experience is produced in a certain time, at a certain location and under certain conditions, having both universality and particularity. As far as its universality is concerned, it serves as a general guide; as for its particularity, it has its special features. Therefore, it won't do to copy the experience of other places mechanically. A very important problem here is that, in studying the experience of other places, it is first of all essential to grasp the fundamental point and thoroughly master it. Second, we must seriously analyze the actual conditions of our own areas and units, determine the main problems and study with these problems in mind. We can never learn well by separating the experience of other places from the actual conditions of our own areas. Since the experience of other places is summed up by others, it will have to be made to take root in our own area through our own practice. Leading cadres must personally conduct such experiments at selected spots in order to gain the experience and popularize it step by step. This is a proven good method.

The studying of the advanced experience of other places must be combined with the summing up of the experience of our own area. There are always some units in every area and department which are relatively good in work, ideology and work style. We must be good at discovering and summing up their experiences. Greater results will follow from popularizing the experiences of other places and our own areas together. Some of our

leading cadres do not keep in touch with actual conditions or the masses and do not carry out investigations and study; they turn a blind eye and a deaf ear to the fresh experiences of the masses in their own areas and departments. This is an intolerable bureaucratic work style. As Chairman Mao incisively pointed out: "Large numbers of fine comrades are frustrated by those comrades who are highly placed with fat emoluments and live in style, who are conceited and complacent and are only too glad to stick to the beaten track, and who are addicted to bourgeois metaphysics; in other words, these fine comrades are frustrated by the bureaucrats. This situation must be changed right now." Such a situation against which Chairman Mao had cautioned should arouse our vigilance. The experiences of those units in our own areas and departments which have done well should be seriously summed up and vigorously popularized, and everyone should be called on to learn from them. This will give further play to the positive factors of various quarters so that our work will be done with still better results.

In the final analysis, whether or not the experiences of other places can be genuinely mastered is determined by our practical work. The purpose of learning from the experiences of other places is to promote the work of our own areas and to change the features of our own areas.

The experiences of other places add to our wisdom in changing the features of our own areas and broaden our viewpoint. But to turn them into our own, we must work pragmatically. Inasmuch as the experiences of other places are external factors in promoting a change in the features of our own areas, they operate only through internal factors. This means that only by relying on the hard practical work of the local cadres and masses can we promote the transformation of contradictions in a favorable direction. When we learn something and use it, that is a true way of learning things; when we learn something but do not use it, that is not a true way of learning things.

The masses put it well: "In a nutshell, to change the features we must work." Experiences of other places and our own areas that have been proved through practice to be good must be resolutely and vigorously popularized. This will require us to arouse the masses to work with all their zeal in a great, hard and death-defying way. We must work with genuine enthusiasm, not with false enthusiasm. We must work hard and realistically, without saying boastful or empty words, let alone telling lies. It is only in this way that the experiences of other places can blossom and bear fruit in our own areas.

At present a socialist emulation drive of comparing with each other, learning from each other, helping each other and overtaking each other is developing rapidly throughout the country under the leadership of wise leader Chairman Hua and the guidance of the line of the 11th party congress. In this mass movement we must seriously study and firmly implement Chairman Mao's important directive on striving to learn from each other



and refusing to stick to the beaten track and be complacent. We must guide revolutionary drive with the Marxist dialectical concept so that it will develop vigorously and realistically. We must strive to execute wise leader Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well, to "produce initial results this year and great results within 3 years." We must fight to build a modern and powerful socialist state!

## SPEED UP THE MODERNIZATION OF POSTAL-TELECOMMUNICATIONS WORK

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 44-46

[Article by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications]

[Text] Wise leader Chairman Hua recently wrote an inscription for the postal and telecommunications front: "Maintain the orientation of people's postal and telecommunications work, carry forward the revolutionary spirit of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, and strive to modernize postal and telecommunications facilities." Chairman Hua's inscription points out the road for the modernization of our postal and telecommunications facilities. It greatly inspires and encourages the masses of postal and telecommunications workers.

The modernization of postal and telecommunications facilities has always been a matter of great concern for great leader Chairman Mao and esteemed and beloved Premier Chou. As early as during the period of the revolutionary civil war, Chairman Mao often pointed out the great importance of strengthening and developing postal and telecommunications work in regard to winning victory in the revolutionary war. He said: "Restore and develop postal and telecommunications facilities in the war zones." He also encouraged the telecommunications fighters, saying: "You may be likened to scientific instruments best able to see and hear." On the eve of the founding of the PRC, Chairman Mao wrote the brilliant inscription "The People's Postal and Telecommunications Facilities," clearly pointing out the nature and orientation of our postal and telecommunications work and the relevant tasks. After the founding of the state, Chairman Mao showed great concern for postal and telecommunications facilities. In 1956 he listened to a report by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications and gave instructions on the building of more postal and telecommunications facilities. In 1965 he pointed out that ours was still a backward postal and telecommunications network which was 20 years behind. We must catch up, he said. Based on Chairman Mao's instructions, esteemed and beloved Premier Chou gave a number of important instructions on accelerating the building and modernization of our postal and telecommunications facilities. Very concerned, he said he had great hopes. Guided by wise

leader Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well, we have the determination and confidence to turn great leader Chairman Mao's and esteemed and beloved Premier Chou's ardent hopes into reality.

Postal and telecommunications facilities are an inseparable and indispensable part of our great cause of socialist revolution and construction and an important tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out: "Socialism is nothing but empty talk without postal and telecommunications facilities and without machinery." ("A Conference of the All-Russian Central Executive Council," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 285) Leadership, direction and organization by the party and the state call for modernized postal and telecommunications facilities; the building of national defense and preparations against war call for modernized postal and telecommunications facilities; the development of the various sectors of the national economy, the flourishing of culture, education and science and technology, the improvement of the people's livelihood and friendly exchanges with the peoples of all countries of the world call for modernized postal and telecommunications facilities. At present, inspired by the spirit of the 11th National CCP Congress, all fronts throughout the country are penetratingly exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and extensively launching a mass movement to learn from Ta-ch'ing in industry and from Ta-chai in agriculture. They have whipped up a new big-leap upsurge in revolution and production. With an upsurge in economic construction, a mass movement to develop science and technology and enliven culture and education is reaching a new height. The building of postal and telecommunications facilities must keep pace with the rapid development of the national economy and lead the way in modernizing agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology. Earlier and quicker modernization of postal and telecommunications facilities must be effected. Chairman Hua pointed out: "The pace of construction is not purely an economic problem. It is a political problem. Especially within the context of international class struggle, the political nature of this problem is even more obvious." The world of today is not very peaceful. The Soviet and U.S. superpowers are in an ever more acute power struggle everywhere in the world and may come to blows sooner or later. Soviet revisionism is bent on destroying us. Accelerated modernization of postal and telecommunications facilities is of great political significance. We must strive to realize within the shortest possible period the glorious tasks with which our postal and telecommunications workers are charged by the party and the people.

Since the founding of the state, under the leadership of the party, our postal and telecommunications undertakings have been completely in accord with Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, doggedly adhered to the orientation of the people's postal and telecommunications work and achieved great progress both in scope and in the level of technical equipment through the energetic efforts of the masses of postal and telecommunications workers. Especially since the Great Proletarian Cultural

Revolution, the criticism and elimination of Liu Shao-chi's and Lin Piao's counterrevolutionary revisionist lines and the sweeping mass movement to learn from Ta-ch'ing in industry, the masses of postal and telecommunications workers have resolutely resisted the perverted actions of the "gang of four," grasped revolution, promoted production and strived for national prosperity through self-reliance, scoring marked achievements in modernizing postal and telecommunications facilities. The 1,800-channel coaxial cable communications equipment and the 960-channel microwave communications equipment of an advanced modern technical level were both successfully manufactured and put into operation, and trunk lines have been set up. Yen-shou County, the Mou-tan-chiang District and other municipalities and counties have basically achieved the four "transformations" (i.e., automated telephone systems in county seats, cable communication and facsimile transmission from counties to communes, and motorization of delivery in rural areas where conditions permit). Typical advanced examples were cited. A sound foundation was laid for further modernizing postal and telecommunications facilities in an overall manner and catching up with and surpassing advanced world levels. Practice shows that so long as we hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, carry forward the revolutionary spirit of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, cherish great ambitions, come down to earth and work hard, the pace of modernizing postal and telecommunications facilities can be accelerated.

In modernizing postal and telecommunications facilities we must adhere to the orientation of people's postal and telecommunications work. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, postal and telecommunications undertakings must be in accord with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, facilitate the smooth flow of communications, serve the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, serve socialist revolution and construction and serve the Chinese people and the people of the world.

To meet these demands, we must seriously study the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, seriously study the important speeches of Chairman Hua and other leading comrades of the party Central Committee and arm the masses of postal and telecommunications cadres and workers with the concept of wholeheartedly serving the people and the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must grasp well the key link of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four." Penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four's" crimes in usurping party and state power and restoring capitalism, expose the ultrarightist essence of their counterrevolutionary revisionist line and all its manifestations and eliminate its remnant poison. We must thoroughly investigate the "gang of four's" conspiratorial and sabotage activities in postal and telecommunications departments and the events and people connected with them and smash the bourgeois factional network of the "gang of four" and their remnants. We must deal sure, accurate and telling blows at the

criminal elements involved in corruption and theft, speculation and manipulation, and disruption of postal and telecommunications facilities, with emphasis on accuracy, and resolutely repulse the attack of capitalist forces. We must reorganize postal and telecommunications enterprises and strengthen the building of leadership groups and the ranks of workers. We must establish and improve regulations and systems and strengthen political and ideological work so that the masses of postal and telecommunications workers can consciously observe discipline and resolutely follow unified commands and unified transfer arrangements. We must stress and improve the quality of postal and telecommunications work and continuously improve our service attitude and the means of communication so that we can truly achieve the aim of making postal and telecommunications facilities "hear and see" and better meet the needs of the party and the people.

In order to modernize postal and telecommunications facilities we must adhere to the guideline of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, and follow our own road in developing postal and telecommunications facilities. Ours is a great socialist state. We cannot and should never rely on others in modernizing our postal and telecommunications facilities. Of course, this does not mean that we may stay in a rut and refuse to acquire the experiences of other countries, experiences involving success or failure. We must take maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our efforts as our foundation. Chairman Mao taught us: "The Chinese people are ambitious and capable, and must catch up with and surpass advanced world levels in the not too distant future." So long as we do away with all fetishes and superstitions, liberate our thinking, arouse the activism of people at the central and local levels, use both indigenous and modern methods, effect the three-in-one combination of leading cadres, professional scientists and technicians and the worker masses and the three-in-one combination of scientific research, production and consumer units, fight amid hardship and combine revolution with all-out effort, we can overcome any difficulties and attain our goals. For instance, our 1,800-channel coaxial cable communications equipment took only 5 years or so from conception to production to operation. The masses of workers of the Postal and Telecommunications Bureau of Yen-shou County, Heilungkiang Province, learned Ta-ch'ing's experience of "advancing when conditions exist and creating conditions when they do not exist" and carried forward the revolutionary spirit of "waiting for nothing, relying on no one, asking nothing from the upper level and changing the outlook with one's own hands." Breaking down the convention of taking postal and telecommunications departments as consumer units uninvolved in production, they used indigenous methods to make modern communication equipment. In a few years they eliminated "old-fashioned" telephones and achieved the "four transformations" of postal and telecommunications facilities. Over 30 years ago, great leader and teacher Chairman Mao wrote an inscription for the Yen-an telecommunications facilities factory: "Develop our creative power and we can overcome all difficulties. A case in point is the manufacture of our own telecommunications facilities." The practice of the

Postal and Telecommunications Bureau of Yen-shou County once again points to the unqualified correctness and wisdom of Chairman Mao's teachings. Typical examples are a source of great strength. The Mou-tan-chiang District seriously learned the experiences of the Postal and Telecommunications Bureau of Yen-shou County and imitated their revolutionary spirit and drive. They very rapidly achieved the "four transformations" of postal and telecommunications facilities in eight counties and two cities of the district, which became the first advanced area in the whole country to have effected the "four transformations." Now, like Yen-shou and Mou-tan-chiang, a number of counties, cities and districts throughout the country are striving for national prosperity through self-reliance and contributing toward the transformation of the backward state of postal and telecommunications work. Other areas should also adopt concrete measures, raise their spirits, go all out and lose no time in catching up. We must adhere to the orientation of people's postal and telecommunications work, seriously implement the various demands put forward in the "directive by the CCP Central Committee on convening a national science conference," give full play to the activism of the masses of postal and telecommunications workers and scientists and technicians, carry forward the revolutionary spirit of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, and whip up a new upsurge in the mass movement to learn from Ta-ch'ing, catch up with Yen-shou and surpass Mou-tan-chiang. Under the leadership of the party committees at various levels, we must strive to build Ta-ch'ing-type enterprises on the postal and telecommunications front, achieve the high-speed modernization of postal and telecommunications facilities and catch up with and surpass advanced world levels.

CARRY ON THE HERITAGE, PAVE THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS, AND BRAVELY  
SCALE THE HEIGHTS--STRIVING TO TRAIN MORE AND BETTER SCIENTISTS AND  
TECHNICIANS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 47-50

[Article by the theoretical group of the Chinese Science and Technology  
University]

[Text] The party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua has decided to hold a national conference on science and technology. It issued a mobilization order for marching toward the modernization of science and technology, explicitly pointing out: "Education is the foundation for the training of scientists." It placed on us the glorious task of running schools successfully and training more and better scientists and technicians. We must deeply expose and criticize the "gang of four," distinguish between right and wrong in line, promote teaching and research in basic theory, raise the quality of teaching, turn the schools into bases in which teaching and scientific research are conducted independently and at a high level, and make every effort to speed up the training of Red and expert scientists and technicians.

I. Distinguish Between Right and Wrong in Line, Persistently Adhere to  
the Training Objectives of Science and Engineering Universities

Chairman Mao pointed out: /"Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture."/ ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") This is a correct policy that all schools must follow. Under this general demand, schools of all types must train talented people for the state in accordance with their own specific tasks and the given goal of training.

Ours is a science and engineering university which combines science and engineering and offers a variety of courses with the main emphasis on science subjects. It was established in the Great Leap Forward year of 1958 with the personal attention of our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou to meet the needs of the 12-year plan for the development of science and

technology drafted by our country in 1956. For the past 19 years, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we have persistently trained both Red and expert scientists and technicians to work on basic sciences and advanced technology, and we have scored definite results. The overwhelming majority of graduates were assigned to scientific research departments, and many of them have already become part of the backbone force on the scientific and technological front, contributing their strength to the development of China's basic sciences and industrial and agricultural production and to the modernization of national defense.

However, there has always been an acute struggle between the two lines on the question of the goal of training.

In 1968, in view of the sabotage activities of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" to slash institutions of higher education, Chairman Mao firmly pointed out: /"It is still necessary to run universities."/ In September 1975, at a meeting of the leading comrades of the State Council to hear a work report of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping instructed that efforts must be made to speed up the development of science and technology and to build up the ranks of scientists and technicians. In addition, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping noted the need to run the Science and Technology University well. Therefore, the Chinese Academy of Sciences "Outline Report" contained sections on successfully managing the Science and Technology University and entrusted our university with drafting on its behalf "A Report on Several Questions Concerning the Chinese Science and Technology University--With a Request for Instructions" ("Entrusted Draft" for short). Both reaffirmed the need to persevere in training Red and expert scientists and technicians and proposed concrete measures for improving the quality of teaching. This was completely necessary for continuing to successfully operate the Science and Technology University and for expediting the training of urgently needed scientific and technological personnel for the state.

However, in early 1976 the "gang of four" pounced on us, laying a counter-revolutionary siege against the "Outline Report" and also denouncing the "Entrusted Draft." The "gang of four" and their followers maligned the "Entrusted Draft" as "opening a gap" regarding the goal of training and "comprehensively restoring the revisionist line on education." They reviled the "'Outline Report'-'Entrusted Draft' as black melons on a vine." They threatened to "get the melons by tracing the vine." They framed and attacked the leading comrades of the central authorities in a vain attempt to attain their criminal aim of usurping party and state power.

Going all out to oppose the correct training objectives proposed in the "Entrusted Draft," the "gang of four" always wanted to turn schools into instruments to serve the establishment of the "gang world." They nonsensically alleged that the university "has only one speciality, and that is the speciality of fighting against the capitalist roaders." To usurp



party and state power, they wanted to turn out fighters and pawns "with horns and thorns." Their perverse acts once disrupted the teaching and scientific research work of our university. The masses sardonically said: "Whether or not you study, you must go to school; whether or not you take the examination, you will be fine; whether or not you are qualified, you will be assigned." It was even advocated that university students "can identify themselves with the workers and peasants" only by returning to the countryside. The teachers, students and staff members of our university resisted and struggled against these reactionary acts of wilfully tampering with Chairman Mao's educational policy and undermining the socialist education cause in a hundred and one ways. By persistently training Red and expert scientists and technicians, we were far from "comprehensively restoring the revisionist line on education" as the "gang of four" charged. We were implementing Chairman Mao's educational policy to the letter, striving to /"form a contingent of working class experts with Marxist ideology."/ ("Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution")

## II. Raise the Quality of Teaching, Lay a Solid Foundation in the Natural Sciences

Since the task of science and engineering universities is to train qualified scientists and technicians, it is essential to make an effort to improve the quality of teaching, promote the teaching of basic theories and basic experimental techniques and lay a solid foundation in the natural sciences.

There has also been a sharp struggle on the question of whether to strengthen or weaken teaching and research on basic theories.

In the early days of the university we paid relatively more attention to teaching basic theories. Many noted scientists came to the university to teach higher mathematics, physics, chemistry and other related subjects. This had an excellent effect on raising the quality of teaching and training young teachers. In those days, in a 5-year program, 3 to 3 1/2 years were devoted to laying a foundation; this included basic theory and experimental techniques and the cultivation of the student's ability to read at least one foreign language. It was generally reported that graduates had a relatively good foundation and a stronger ability to do research. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the erroneous tendency to divorce theory from practice was criticized, and this profoundly educated the masses of teachers and students. However, the "gang of four" used this as a pretext to totally negate basic theories and to sabotage teaching and scientific research. In view of this, in 1972 Premier Chou called for efforts to strengthen teaching and research on basic theories. In accordance with this instruction, we required that the teaching of basic subjects should take up two-thirds of the overall teaching time. But then the "gang of four" attacked this as "blowing the theoretical wind" and as the "resurgence of the revisionist line on

education." After many years of teaching experience, we were deeply aware that laying a good foundation was a key factor in improving the quality of teaching, so we committed ourselves to the execution of the original teaching plan. For instance, teachers of the chemistry and physics specialities insisted that a success be made of teaching basic theories to enable the students to make more rapid progress and to have a definite ability to analyze and solve problems before graduating. Some students with a stronger ability to work independently were able to achieve something in scientific research under the guidance of their teachers; and some, after graduation, were able to undertake research projects independently.

However, after 1974 the "gang of four" became even more rabid in undermining the revolution in education and in opposing teaching and research on basic theories. Negating the system of teaching basic theories, they proposed that teachers and students take the task assigned to them as their major endeavor. They said, "Adapt what you learn to what you do, and learn something to make up for what you lack." This caused the knowledge acquired by the students to be fragmentary, not systematic. Actually, this caused the students to "forget what you learn for what you do, and find nothing to make up for what you lack." They disrupted the normal teaching organization, dissolved the seminars on basic subjects and completely abolished division of work. The result was that "while what the teachers teach becomes broader and broader, what the students learn becomes narrower and narrower." Physics teachers of some specialities had to start with middle school physics and concurrently teach mathematical subjects ranging from algebra, geometry and trigonometry to calculus, spending all day long on new subjects and having no time to study the content of teaching or to improve the methods of teaching. This made it impossible to raise the quality of teaching. Meanwhile, laboratories for basic subjects were seriously sabotaged, making it impossible for students to verify through experimentation the many scientific principles they had learned. This greatly weakened training in the methods of scientific experimentation and made it difficult to cope with the demands of scientific research work.

Summing up both the positive and negative experiences made us further recognize the urgency of promoting teaching in the basic subjects. Basic theories generalize the fundamental laws governing the motion of certain natural matter. After mastering these fundamental laws, we can use them as a guide in a penetrating study of individual things and ascertain the specific laws. "The height of the wall depends on the depth of the foundation." If one's foundation is improperly laid, one can hardly be creative in one's scientific research. As the history of modern science shows, natural science develops in the course of continuous division and synthesis. The interrelation of various academic subjects has already become an important characteristic of modern science. The development of modern physics and advanced technologies has promoted chemistry to advance from macroscopic, qualitative descriptions to the level of microscopic quantized,

quantitative study. The interrelation of biology and modern physics, mathematics and high-level techniques produced such brand new academic subjects as molecular biology and quantum biology. A new major breakthrough is taking place in contemporary natural science. Only by laying a solid scientific foundation can we quickly advance to the frontline of research work in various academic subjects, explore new paths and overtake from behind. Otherwise, it will be impossible to overcome the gap, to say nothing of surpassing the advanced world standards.

To step up teaching and research in basic theories it is also necessary to pay adequate attention to scientific experimentation. Modern science is based on scientific experimentation with modern equipment. It is only through scientific experimentation that we can obtain first-hand research data, discover new phenomena, and verify, supplement and revise existing scientific theories all the way to establishing new theories. For this reason, it is essential that students be given rigorous training in experimental techniques and in practical work so that they may learn to apply scientific methods to evolve concrete experimental formulas, make use of various relevant means of scientific experimentation, and cultivate a prudent style of work and a strict scientific attitude. In this way they will be able to accurately conduct scientific experiments and achieve effective results.

To grasp this important link of teaching well, we are now rebuilding and augmenting the seminars on basic subjects, transferring teachers with a higher level and definite teaching experience to teach basic subjects and providing them with better working conditions while giving them adequate time to prepare their lessons. We organize teachers to study foreign teaching materials and reform existing teaching materials so that the latest scientific achievements will be reflected. This will provide our teaching materials with China's own special features and make them suit the needs of catching up with and surpassing advanced world standards.

In the general course of teaching it is imperative to ardently encourage and help the teachers and students to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to use dialectical materialism to guide teaching and scientific research, to take the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, to seriously transform their world outlook and to strive to become both Red and expert.

### III. Combine Teaching With Scientific Research and Produce Both Talented People and Achievements

Science and engineering universities are a vital base for training talented scientists and technicians and are also an important vanguard in scientific research. Institutions of higher education not only concentrate a large number of fine professional personnel who constitute a backbone force for scientific research work, but also have a large group of senior students who have mastered certain scientific theories and who are rich in creative

spirit after their basic training in scientific experimentation. By giving full play to their positive roles and by closely integrating teaching with scientific research, it will be possible not only to make important scientific achievements but also to cultivate talented scientists and technicians. In this way, we already have a head start in developing China's scientific cause.

Positively promoting the characteristics and favorable conditions of a comprehensive science and engineering university, we have built according to plan a number of relatively advanced laboratories and school-operated factories. We have thus initially formed a base integrating teaching, scientific research and production, developed scientific research in a variety of academic subjects and obtained gratifying results. Some talented people have also emerged in the process. For instance, teachers of the theoretical physics speciality took part in the work of the basic particles group in Peking. Guided by Chairman Mao's thinking that basic particles are infinitely divisible, they participated in the formulation of the Straton model of basic particles in 1966, ushering China into the advanced ranks of the world. After making their contribution to the exploration of the field of strong action and ultrastrong action, in recent years they have completed more than 20 academic papers which were favorably commented upon at specialized academic conferences. With their scientific level raised, teachers will be able to bring new scientific knowledge into teaching, which will markedly enhance the quality of teaching. "When the water level rises the boat rises"--this is a truism. Take another case. Projects such as the design of transformers were required for the students' graduation. Under their teachers' guidance, they put forward independent views and wrote academic papers which had a definite value both in theory and in practice. In the course of scientific research they were able not only to deepen their understanding and application through practice of the knowledge they acquired, but also to create something new. This fully shows that students' participation in scientific research is not only possible but necessary for training scientists and technicians.

The policy "The university must be run by the entire academy, and institutes and departments must be integrated," which the Chinese Academy of Sciences laid down for our university, is conducive to the combination of scientific research and teaching, to raising the quality of teaching and to training scientific and technical personnel with greater, faster, better and more economical results. For many years our university has maintained close ties with the related institutes of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and made use of the modern experimental apparatus of its institutes in developing scientific research and various academic activities. Researchers of scientific research units come to the university to teach on a part-time basis or are transferred to the university to become full-time teachers. This has made it possible not only to reinforce the ranks of teachers and raise them to a higher level, but also to enable students to acquaint themselves early with the latest

research achievements and the development trends of related academic subjects. At the same time, scientific research units may also obtain the university's cooperation and assistance in carrying out their work. Moreover, new forces of the university which have acquired specialized skills and are dynamic may be selected to join the scientific research units, so that the ranks of researchers may be continually reinforced. In this way, with mutual exchanges and vigorous cooperation between scientific research and education, it will be possible to produce more and better talented people and results.

To speed up the training of Red and expert scientists and technicians and closely integrate teaching with scientific research, we are prepared, with the complete support of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and related quarters and on the existing basis, to gradually establish a number of research rooms which in time will develop into a number of research institutes. Meanwhile, we have established an institute for postgraduates and have begun to enroll postgraduates this year. The number of postgraduates to be enrolled will increase year after year. We are striving to quickly build our university into a high-level scientific research base with modern experimental equipment and a contingent of Red and expert researchers, whose mainstay will be the teachers, and capable of undertaking major research projects in the basic sciences and advanced technologies. We will strive to produce results as quickly as possible so as to contribute to accelerating the pace of modernizing science and technology.

At present our university is far from meeting the requirement of producing a large group of talented people for building a modern, powerful socialist country. The gap in various types of work is considerable, and problems are many and will have to be solved seriously and realistically. Just as Vice Chairman Yeh has taught us, "In attacking a city we must not be afraid of fortified positions; in reading books we must not be afraid of difficulties. There are dangers and obstacles in science, but we will pass the test if we fight hard." Under the guidance of the line of the 11th party congress, we are resolved to grasp the key link in running the university well, carry on the heritage and pave the way for future generations, bravely scale the heights of science and greet the opening of the national science conference with practical action.

## CHAIRMAN MAO'S PHILOSOPHICAL THINKING GUIDES US IN SINKING ULTRADEEP WELLS

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[Article by the CCP Committee of the Szechwan Provincial Petroleum Administration Bureau]

[Text] Guided by great leader Chairman Mao's instruction on the need to sink ultradeep wells, which was twice transmitted by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, inspired by the spirit of the National Conference on Learning From Ta-ch'ing in Industry and with the all-out support of many fraternal units, Drilling Team No 7001 of our bureau successfully drilled an ultradeep well to a depth of 7,058 meters earlier this year. This came after China's first ultradeep well of 6,011 meters sunk by Drilling Team No 7002 last year. It thus made a new contribution to oil prospecting and the study of geological science in our country.

The drilling of this ultradeep well was carried out amid the struggle against the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four" and their henchmen in Szechwan. Resisting the adverse current stirred up by the "gang of four" against the effort to grasp revolution and promote production, the comrades of Drilling Team No 7001 determinedly erected a towering rig at the site of the well and set their sight on the depth of 7,000 meters. After the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua smashed the "gang of four" with one blow, all the members of the team were at ease and filled with great zeal. They overcame one difficulty after another and performed one miracle after another. The outstanding results in well drilling demonstrated the great creative power of China's oil workers, scientists and technicians.

The course of drilling this ultradeep well is also a course in which the comrades of Drilling Team No 7001 applied themselves to studying and implementing Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical concept. Persistently acting in accordance with materialist dialectics in the production struggle and in scientific and technical work, they overcame the interference of the "gang of four," who ran wild with idealism and metaphysics. They overcame one obstacle after another and won one victory after another. What the drilling team relies on is the guidance of Chairman Mao's

philosophical concept, and the road it takes is that of Ta-ch'ing, which "owes its success to two essays."

#### Take 7,000 Meters Lightly But 1 Centimeter Seriously

This well is located along the transitional belt of two different geological structures. It is not only a regional exploratory well of vital strategic significance but also a political, honor-winning well that will enable us to catch up with and surpass the advanced world level. Around the time drilling began, the "gang of four" were at their height of arrogance, wielding the club of the "theory of productive forces" and striking people everywhere. A small number of comrades became confused and lost their courage. Although the majority of comrades felt the task was a glorious one, they had no experience. As to whether they could sink such an ultradeep well, they believed the difficulties were many and were not sure of overcoming them.

Are there difficulties in sinking an ultradeep well? Yes, there are. But, how should we correctly deal with such difficulties? The party branch of Drilling Team No 7001 led the members of the team in studying Chairman Mao's splendid philosophical thought and his theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This led to the realization that, like all other things, difficulties have a dual nature. While despising difficulties strategically, we must take them seriously in the tactical sense. We must not only have sky-rocketing zeal but also the spirit of scientific analysis. Everyone was energetic. They could trample any difficulties, however serious, underfoot.

In the light of reality, they put forward the fighting slogan "Take 7,000 meters lightly but 1 centimeter seriously." They stressed: Whether we dare to take 7,000 meters lightly is in essence a question of whether we believe that we oil workers have high aspirations and the ability to catch up with and surpass advanced world levels; and whether we take 1 centimeter seriously is a question of whether we have a scientific attitude and a strict and prudent style of work. A well 7,000 meters deep is drilled by the centimeter. Without the scientific attitude of taking 1 centimeter seriously, one cannot drill to a depth of 7,000 meters. On the other hand, without the determination to take 7,000 meters lightly and to scale the world's heights, one cannot speak of success in sinking an ultradeep well. Now that they all were clear about the vital significance of sinking this well and clear about the dialectical relationship between taking 7,000 meters lightly and taking 1 centimeter seriously, they increased their confidence in overcoming the difficulties and opened up the path for doing so.

In addition, in view of different conditions of well drilling at various stages, the party branch promptly set the fighting slogan "Take 7,000 meters lightly and 1 centimeter seriously" in concrete terms. As high quality was demanded of surface layer drilling, the party branch proposed:

"Just as a tall building is built from the ground, the quality of a deep well depends on the surface layer." An effort was made to prevent the erroneous tendency to pursue progress at the expense of quality. Although the angle of the well in the surface layer conformed with the design, the workers were not satisfied. On their own initiative they began to carefully "correct the angle" so that the quality of the well as a whole surpassed the standard set by the state. As the drilling continued, complex layers continued to appear, and there was the danger of gushing, the drill breaking down, and cave-in. So the party branch cautioned: "Despite the thousand difficulties and ten thousand dangers; you must pay serious attention to safety in operation."

A violent storm struck one night. The engine room collapsed; the wires and the gas pipes were broken. The group which kept watch over the drill was unperturbed in the face of the danger and stuck to its post. The rest of the workers and their dependents rushed to the scene, braving the strong wind. By turns, the several dozen people used chain pincers to turn the drill, which weighed over a hundred tons, below the shaft to prevent it from getting stuck. After more than 4 hours of violent combat, they finally eliminated the danger and resumed normal drilling.

When the well was drilled to its ultradepth, high temperature, high pressure and high-salt-content substances appeared in the well, necessitating the use of high-gravity fluid. Thereupon, the party branch pointed out: We must not only despise the "four highs" but also take them seriously and make "serious" efforts toward this end. It stressed the need to learn from Ta-ch'ing's "three honests" and "four stricts" style of work and to criticize anarchism spread by the "gang of four" in the name of opposing "control, checks and suppression." It emphasized the need to seriously analyze the characteristics of sinking an ultradeep well and to strengthen the system of personal responsibility. It placed the need to guarantee safety below the shaft in the primary position. It emphasized the need to carefully examine and repeatedly test the drill and other gear before they were placed in the well.

Once, when drilling was about to start, the workers on duty carefully inspected the several dozen drill bits. They discovered that an oil drop the size of a needle point leaked from a bit when it was attached to the drill. When they dismantled the bit, they found no flaw in it. But the workers did not take chances. They had to find the reason for that oil drop. After repeated examination involving "three assemblings and three dismantlings," they finally saw, with a magnifying glass, that there was a hidden sand hole even smaller than a needle point. The bit was replaced and the potential trouble eliminated. They proudly indicated: We would rather suffer and perspire than see this honor-winning well catch a little "cold" or "influenza."

As operations proceeded through various stages, the party branch of Team No 7001 kept raising new issues in regard to "taking lightly" and "taking



seriously." In this way the fighting slogan--"Take 7,000 meters lightly but 1 centimeter seriously"--pervaded the whole process of sinking the ultradeep well. This brought about the integration of ideopolitical work with the various links of production and techniques, giving full play to the role of proletarian politics as commander and promoter.

#### Grasp the Crucial Factor and Beat the High Temperature and High Pressure

There are many problems in sinking an ultradeep well, but what are the main ones? The workers, technicians and cadres doing the drilling, pouring the fluid and working down the shaft have this common understanding: "High temperature and high pressure are the No 1 enemies in sinking an ultradeep well. Only by concentrating forces to grasp and defeat the enemy can we achieve success in completing the whole well." Controlling the high temperature and high pressure in sinking an ultradeep well may be likened to controlling the main sluice gate in running a dam. In the process of sinking an ultradeep well, if we seriously handle the various effects of high temperature and high pressure, all the other problems can be solved satisfactorily.

The deeper the well, the higher the temperature and the greater the pressure down the shaft. The survey, fluid, drill, other equipment and consolidation of a deep well are all subject to the stern test of high temperature and high pressure. The conquest of high temperature and high pressure will assure success; otherwise, the test will not be passed. For this reason, overcoming high temperature and high pressure is a crucial problem in completing an ultradeep well.

Take the well survey, for example. When trial surveys were carried out for the first several times with instruments used for general deep well surveys, either the outer shell could not resist the high pressure or the inner mechanism failed to withstand the high temperature. Not only did the instruments fail to bring up any data, but some were so crushed that they became flat in shape. However, the comrades of our well surveying team and the instruments manufacturing plant firmly pledged: "There may be 99 difficulties, but they cannot bind the hands of the oil workers. We will work hard to win honor for the country and won't rest until we overcome the high temperature and high pressure!" They seriously summed up the lessons of failure. Trying a thousand and one ways, they successfully manufactured or converted a whole set of instruments resistant to high temperature and high pressure. Several well surveys were then successfully carried out. Recently they obtained a great deal of data up to 7,058 meters, reaching a new level in well surveying in our country.

In most circumstances, these No 1 enemies--high temperature and high pressure--disguise and hide themselves. They cannot be grasped easily. For instance, after the well was drilled to a depth of 6,000 meters, there appeared a brine stratum, a gypsum stratum and a mud-stone stratum, and the temperature and pressure rose drastically. This damaged the

drilling fluid and caused it to thicken and degenerate. The fluid is the "blood" for sinking wells, and if it thickens and degenerates, the well cannot be sunk. What were we to do? Chairman Mao said: /"There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing, and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of other contradictions."/ The brine, the gypsum, the mud-stone, the high temperature and the high pressure all caused the thickening of the fluid. But what was the main cause?

All of us seriously analyzed and studied the various factors behind the thickening and degeneration of the fluid. We came to the conclusion that high temperature and high pressure were the principal enemies causing damage to the fluid used for sinking an ultradeep well. The comrades of the fluid problem-solving group gave a graphic analogy: When we cook soup, we put water, rice and green beans in the pot. Without a definite temperature, the water, the rice and the green beans would still be there and we could in no way have soup. We can have it only by increasing the temperature to a certain extent. To be sure, pouring fluid into an ultradeep well was much more complicated than preparing soup, for in the former case there is not only physical but also chemical changes. But so far as their relationship to temperature was concerned, the two were similar.

In keeping with this analogy, when studying the formula for making fluid the fluid problem-solving group always took resistance to high temperature as the chief target. After repeated experimentation, they finally produced a better formula, which made the properties of the fluid completely adaptable to the complex conditions down the well for a relatively long period.

However, when the depth of the well approached 7,000 meters, the amount of salt substances in the well increased drastically, while the temperature of the well continued to rise. As this formula lost its effect, the fluid thickened rapidly. At this moment, some people believed the main factor affecting the quality of the fluid was the high salt content and not the high temperature. A simulated test proved: the high salt content did have a damaging effect on the fluid. However, after making an analysis, the comrades of the fluid problem-solving group concluded that the damaging effect of the high salt content on the fluid was still based on the high temperature. They believed that without the high temperature the damaging effect of the high salt content would not have been so serious.

A further test was conducted. As expected, the properties of the fluid became far more stable after the temperature was lowered. The facts thus showed: the No 1 enemy of the fluid was still the high temperature, but under the new conditions it exerted its damaging effect through the high salt content. Attention was thus again focused on the formula. The comrades of the fluid problem-solving group, relying on the chemicals our

country tested and produced, made a series of 1,300 experiments and obtained more than 9,100 pieces of data. With the emphasis on resistance to high temperature, they continued to improve and defend the formula. Step by step they finally made the properties of the fluid resistant not only to high temperature but also to high salt content, thereby insuring the smooth drilling of the ultradeep well.

#### Different Contradictions Are Resolved by Different Methods

Sinking an ultradeep well is a rather complicated process and inevitably encounters all sorts of contradictions. To resolve them, we place our firm faith in this fundamental principle: /"Different contradictions can only be resolved by different methods."/ As the workers say: "A particular key opens a particular lock." Just as people have different tempers, so wells have different characteristics. An ultradeep well has vastly different characteristics than those of ordinary wells. Problems of a general nature frequently encountered in ordinary wells become not so general when they appear in an ultradeep well, and if general methods are used to solve them, they often cannot be solved well. We can have the anticipated results only when we "use changes to cope with changes" and apply particular methods. For instance, when brine gushes into an ordinary well, the usual practice is to pressurize the well by positive cycle. However, Team No 7001 encountered "well gushing" when the well was drilled to a depth of 6,000 meters. In about an hour more than 50 cubic meters of brine accumulated in the well. As the well was very deep, if the usual method of pressurizing the well by positive cycle was used, not only would the brine not be stopped but there might also be an accident. In view of this change, the comrades of the team boldly used the method of pressurizing the well by negative cycle. The result was that the "gushing" was quickly brought under control, the more than 50 cubic meters of brine that had gushed in was sent back into the strata and the dangerous situation was reversed.

It is necessary to persist in using different methods to resolve different contradictions, and the results shown in the technical process of consolidating the well at a depth of 7,000 meters are especially outstanding. In consolidating the well at that particular time, apart from devoting full attention to solving the main problem of high temperature and high pressure, it was necessary to simultaneously solve the problem of normal temperature and normal pressure, the problem of the gas stratum and the problem of the water stratum. In the conventional method of well consolidation, injecting the cement all at once requires a fairly long time for the pulp to travel down, and while this accommodates high temperature and high pressure, it cannot accommodate normal temperature and normal pressure. On the other hand, if normal temperature and normal pressure are accommodated, it would be impossible to accommodate high temperature and high pressure. The well consolidation leadership group made a concrete analysis of these conditions. It decided to adopt the well consolidation technique of injecting cement in two stages, carrying out separate sealing

and consolidation of the well section characterized by high temperature and high pressure and the section characterized by normal temperature and normal pressure. This was the method of divide and conquer. However, at the higher and lower ends of the section with high temperature and pressure the differences in temperature and pressure were great, and, in addition, there was the gas stratum and the water stratum. They then sought to find the right solution to the problem on the basis of different conditions. The gas stratum was active in character and the gas leaked out rapidly, so it had to be sealed quickly. Taking quick and decisive action to win victory, they used cement that would dry rapidly, so that when the cement moved to this section it would solidify in half an hour. The water stratum was located above the gas stratum, so it was necessary to maintain an appropriate liquid-column pressure for several consecutive hours. If the pressure were reduced, the brine would overflow and damage the properties of the fluid; but if the pressure were too great, it would cause a loss of fluid through leakage and make it impossible to consolidate the well. Given these circumstances, they adopted the method of slowly solidifying the cement plus controlling the back pressure, thus enabling the cement to smoothly move to the water stratum under high temperature and also insuring that the cement could be solidified under an appropriate liquid-column pressure within a predetermined time frame. Although the various water strata possess the common characteristic of having high salt content, each has its own, different characteristics. As these strata are located in different sections of the well and contain different amounts of water, the demands on the temperature-resistant property of the cement, its endurance of pressure and the time taken for it to move down and to solidify also vary.

To solve the above-mentioned problems, the comrades of the cement group and the related units jointly conducted 242 indoor experiments and 289 field experiments, from which they gained 2,815 pieces of data. At last they successfully evolved different formulas and ingredients and trial-manufactured different types of cement to meet the above-mentioned requirements, thus solving more satisfactorily the problems of the gas and water strata.

To solve the contradiction between high temperature and pressure and normal temperature and pressure, cement was injected at different levels. But injecting cement at different levels created a large number of problems. The number of well consolidation tools alone increased enormously, totaling more than 1,400 large and small pieces. Many of these had to be used for prolonged periods under high temperature and high pressure below the shaft. To solve this problem, the shaft operating department specially set up a work tool group, which went to the well to investigate and study every piece and to work out design blueprints piece by piece. When products were made, they were repeatedly tested one by one and repeatedly improved to meet every work requirement. This insured that when cement was injected, they were easy to operate, were resistant to high pressure, and would not swing back and forth.

The practice of sinking an ultradeep well forcefully demonstrates: /"The most essential thing of Marxism, its living soul, lies in the concrete analysis of concrete conditions."/ When this is done, contradictions, no matter how many and how complicated, can be resolved. A contradiction is always concrete. The question is whether we carry out penetrating investigation and study, apply the materialist-dialectical method to analyze and handle the concrete contradictions and truly find the key that opens a particular lock.

#### Study New Problems, Master New Laws

There are differences in operating procedures between sinking an ultradeep well and sinking an ordinary well. If we are blind to these differences and instead copy past experience mechanically, we are bound to suffer setbacks. As far as we are concerned, sinking an ultradeep well is a new project, and we have no previous experience. Nor can we live only on "readymade meals." We must continue to explore new laws on the basis of summing up past experiences. The workers and staff have a very deep understanding of this, as they are determined "not to eat readymade meals but to gain new experience."

The cadres and drill operators of Team No 7001 had experience in judging the status of the drill bits below the shaft and in determining when to lift the drill. After the well was drilled to its ultradepth, the operating life of the drill bits was greatly shortened. Past experience in judging the status of drill bits below the shaft on the basis of the weight indicator, the revolving disc, the brake and the sound was almost entirely inapplicable. By the time the drill was lifted after the above-mentioned signals were received, the drill bits had already dropped into the well. The dropping of the bits was sort of an accident. Handling such an incident in the process of sinking an ultradeep well was even more time-consuming, and if it was not handled properly it might cause "complications" with serious consequences. The party branch demanded that this passive situation be reversed as quickly as possible. Every time a drill bit was lifted, be it day or night, the leading cadres, technicians and drill operators would immediately rush to the scene to analyze it. With reference to past experiences, they seriously strived to discover new laws. They analyzed every drill bit lifted out, summed up the results, found out new problems and devised new measures.

However, at this time the drill bits that were lifted out together all dropped into the well. Some comrades lost their confidence, thinking: If the experiences accumulated over many years were no longer applicable, how could they continue to look for new laws? Yet the majority of the comrades thought that this could only show that we should exercise our brains more vigorously, observe more carefully and strive to discover new laws. If, because of this, we reached the conclusion that "there was no precedent to follow" in sinking an ultradeep well, this could only show that idealist agnosticism still had a hold on our minds. Eliminating such

agnostic influence boosted everyone's confidence. On their own initiative, they brought out the drill bits that had dropped into the well and examined them one by one against the original records in hopes of learning the underlying causes.

It dawned on them all that in the wake of the increasing depth of the well, and after it reached its ultradepth, the drill bits, operating under high temperature and high pressure, were often subject to extreme wear and tear. As a result, the lifespan of the drill bits was greatly reduced. On top of that, the drill bits, operating in the well a dozen li deep, encountered many conditions in the process of drilling, conditions which could hardly be reflected back on the surface. This made the past experience seem like "the calendar of the past year" and no longer useful. In the course of discussion, some comrades proposed that the time to lift the drill should be determined on the basis of the number of revolutions in reverse of the revolving disc that began when the drill bits were lowered into the well. If the number of revolutions in reverse increased slightly, the drill should be lifted immediately. This was because under general conditions the number of revolutions in reverse of the revolving disc that occurred after the drill bits were lowered into the well was a reflection of the spinning power of the drill caused by the bits when they were operating normally. When a drill bit was drilling, it would not cause any change in the spinning power of the drill. When the number of revolutions in reverse of the revolving disc increased, this was an indication that the bit had reached the end of its usefulness in the well and caused an abnormal phenomenon, so that the drill must be lifted immediately. /"The validity of any knowledge or theory is determined not by subjective feelings but by objective results in social practice."/ As tests proved, the dropping of the bits no longer occurred when the lifting of the drill was determined by the number of revolutions in reverse of the revolving disc. Subsequently, with continuous addition of knowledge and improvement in the course of practice, most of the drill bits did not drop into the well when they were lifted out and after they were "fully utilized."

After this well reached more than 6,000 meters deep, there occurred an incident in which pieces of clay dropped from the wall of the well, and the drill was rendered inoperative by the viscosity of the clay. Using the conventional method of first relieving the drill from getting stuck by heating the oil, they were surprised to find that, whereas it would generally take several hours to do this in a shallow or medium-deep well, it took less than half an hour to get the drill operating again after the oil got to the point where the drill was stuck by the viscosity of the clay. This was a most gratifying thing for the team. But they did not overlook such changes simply because the problem was overcome smoothly; instead, when summing up experiences and lessons, they studied them with concentrated effort as a special subject.

After repeated discussions they arrived unanimously at the conclusion that the high temperature and high pressure in the ultradeep well greatly

accelerated the action of the oil in penetrating the point where the drill was stuck by the viscosity of the clay. It was this that considerably shortened the time taken to get the drill operative again. A shallow or medium-deep well generally had normal temperature and pressure, which were incapable of producing such an "acceleration" effect. The result was a new flying leap in the thinking of everyone. These No 1 enemies in sinking an ultradeep well--high temperature and pressure--could become positive factors in sinking an ultradeep well under given conditions. This example convincingly confirmed Chairman Mao's scientific thesis concerning the dual nature of the development of things.

#### Synthetic Analysis To Discard the False and Retain the True

The purpose of sinking this regional exploratory well is to ascertain the geological conditions of petroleum in a certain broad intermediate zone in Szechwan and to acquire a complete set of basic geological data. The geological conditions in Szechwan are rather complicated and, because they are in an intermediate zone, change constantly. And since there are no existing reliable data, it is much more difficult to acquire a complete set of accurate data. However, the comrades of the geological problem-solving group were deeply aware of the fact that they could not have false data or even data which were half true and half false, because great harm would be done by substituting what was false for what was true or by confusing what was true with what was false. After drilling started they encountered all sorts of false phenomena for various reasons. Some of these phenomena were caused by the complexity of the geological structure, and some were caused by such factors as high temperature, high pressure, high salt content, the properties of the cement, the operation of the drill platform, the well survey, and consolidation in the course of well sinking. But more of these phenomena were caused by a combination of factors. To obtain completely accurate geological data, they insisted on carrying out a synthetic analysis of the large amounts of data concerning the well that had been gathered so as to discard the false and retain the true. They put it well: "The technique of recording the data of the well serves as the eyes of geological workers. But having eyes alone is not enough, for we must also have brains to carry out synthetic analysis in order to get rid of the false and keep the true."

After the well reached a certain depth, various data indicated that a gas stratum containing oil would soon be encountered. At such time it was essential that the top of this stratum be accurately recorded. Any inaccuracy in measuring the position of its upper part would have undesirable consequences. Therefore, not even a small error could be allowed. Since the well was deep, the various kinds of rocks on the sides of the well, soaked by the drilling fluid, hit by the drill tools and affected by the physical and chemical reaction of the subterranean oil, gas and water, formed many different broken pieces and fell into the bottom of the well. They became mixed with the rock debris caused by the drilling before they were brought up to the mouth of the well. Particularly

at the time when drilling was rapidly approaching the gas stratum containing oil, a clay stratum could easily crumble, so that of the rock debris brought up to the mouth of the well, 90 percent could be made up of rock debris of the stratum that crumbled. As a result, the real was mixed with the false, with the false predominating. Most of the rock debris was the size of peas, and this brought considerable difficulties to "gaging" the accurate position of the stratum.

Under such difficult conditions, the geological personnel vigorously practiced "accurate geology" in accordance with the principle that /"materialism and dialectics call for the exertion of effort; they must be based on and verified by objective reality."/ They maintained a 24-hour watch at the mouth of the well. Like looking for a needle in a haystack, they evaluated every grain of the rock debris that came up to the mouth of the well. They first examined them roughly with the help of a magnifying glass and then examined them carefully with the help of a microscope and through chemical analysis--/"discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true."/ Finally, from the first bag of rock debris with nearly 10,000 grains brought up from a predetermined depth of the well, they discovered that several grains of rock debris had the unique properties and internal structure and contained microfossil. These distinguished them from rock debris from crumbled strata. This made it possible to accurately determine the geological age and position of the strata. With the top of the oil-containing gas stratum accurately "gaged," conditions were created for drilling through the stratum.

When the drill bits entered a certain stratum, their spinning suddenly increased, the pressure of the pump was reduced, and there was also the phenomenon of the bits spinning in empty space. The drilling fluid that came back to the mouth of the well contained a large number of bubbles, which could be ignited. Gushing followed. That this was a gas stratum was completely confirmed. However, was this gas stratum located in the empty section of the well? Or was it connected with the lower and upper strata? This was a question that the geological problem-solving group had to answer as quickly as possible. In line with Chairman Mao's teaching that /"We must collect data in detail and subject them to a scientific analysis and synthetic study,"/ they seriously carried out a reexamination of all data concerning the upper part of the empty section and recorded the data concerning the lower part of the section in greater detail. As a result, in the upper and lower parts, gas-containing phenomena were discovered, as shown by the limping and jumping of the drill, the increased spinning speed of the bits, the reduction of the pump pressure and the changes in the properties of the fluid. In particular, the uniformity of the properties and internal structure of the rock debris confirmed that both the upper and lower parts of the stratum had conditions of gas storage.

As the scope of their knowledge increased, they arrived at a new judgment on the thickness of the gas stratum. They believed that the thickness



would be six times greater than their original estimate. They also believed that the characteristics of the gas stratum would be manifested within this range. The only difference was that the empty section was the high-penetration section (high-pressure gas stratum), and this explained the gushing. When a well survey was carried out later, it proved that this finding of the geological problem-solving group conformed with the subterranean conditions. In accordance with this information, the leadership quickly began a new well in the vicinity of this one. Today this new well has been drilled to this stratum, which, as facts show, is indeed a gas stratum.

Thanks to the fact that the comrades of the geological problem-solving group insisted on scientific analysis and synthetical study, eliminated the false and retained the true, and obtained all the accurate basic geological data, a complete geological profile has been formulated for this intermediate zone. More than 330,000 pieces of geological data were obtained. The secret of oil and gas reserves in this intermediate zone was unveiled. This has provided an important basis for the further exploitation of petroleum and gas resources in Szechwan.

Drilling Team No 7001 of our bureau and the related units are resolved to seriously implement the spirit of the 11th party congress and firmly respond to the call of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua to march toward the modernization of science and technology. Being modest and prudent and guarding against conceit and rashness, they are determined to take the achievements already made as a new starting point, seriously sum up experiences and lessons, develop the achievements and overcome the shortcomings. With a /"revolutionary plus death-defying"/ spirit, they will continue to overcome the technical snags in the course of continuous drilling, scale new heights and catch up with and surpass the advanced world standards in terms of quality and speed.

CLARIFY THE CONFUSION CREATED BY THE 'GANG OF FOUR' IN THE STUDY OF 'THE DREAM OF THE RED CHAMBER'--A STUDY OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S LETTER CONCERNING THE STUDY OF 'THE DREAM OF THE RED CHAMBER'

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[Article by Teng Ching]

[Text] In his brilliant "Letter Concerning the Study of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber,'" great leader and teacher Chairman Mao warmly supported revolutionary "nobodies" in their criticism of the bourgeois idealism of Hu Shih's school and pointed out: /"It is the first time in over 30 years that a serious attack has been made on the erroneous view of the so-called authorities on 'The Dream of the Red Chamber.'"/ Meanwhile, sharply criticizing the tolerant and protective attitude toward bourgeois idealism of the "bigwigs" in the party who pushed a revisionist line, he noted: /"They go in for a united front with bourgeois writers on the question of idealism and become willing captives of the bourgeoisie."/ Chairman Mao's letter is our powerful weapon for criticizing bourgeois idealism. For years the "gang of four" and the writing group in their pay tampered with the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, rebelled against the spirit of Chairman Mao's instructions on the study of "The Dream of the Red Chamber," and vigorously peddled bourgeois idealism to create counterrevolutionary public opinion for usurping party and state power. In the current great political revolution to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must restudy Chairman Mao's "Letter Concerning the Study of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber,'" thoroughly criticize the "gang of four's" crime in using "Letter Concerning the Study of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" to oppose the party, and clarify the confusion created by the "gang of four" in the study of "The Dream of the Red Chamber."

For over 200 years the struggle revolving around the study of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" has never been purely an academic problem but a reflection of class struggle in the realm of ideology. During the "4 May" movement, at a crucial point in history when Marxism was being spread throughout China and the Chinese Revolution was entering the stage of the new democratic revolution, the "New Redologists" of Hu Shih's school

vigorously tried to verify "The Dream of the Red Chamber." By means of a so-called pragmatist approach calling for "bold hypotheses and careful verification," they distorted the political history novel "The Dream of the Red Chamber" as "Tsao Hsueh-chin's autobiography" and "a work on naturalism, flat and insipid," and they said such things as that its main theme called for "renouncing the world," its style was "not forceful or sophisticated enough," etc., in a vigorous effort to blunt the edge of criticism of "The Dream of the Red Chamber," negate its achievements in ideological and artistic fields and preach bourgeois idealism. This was a vain attempt to thwart the spread of Marxism in China and the anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle of the Chinese people. Lu Hsun long ago criticized the erroneous viewpoint of the "New Redology" of Hu Shih's school. It was no accident that the bourgeois idealist "New Redology" of Hu Shih's school made a comeback after the founding of new China and the beginning of the socialist period of the revolution. In 1953 Chairman Mao put forward the party's general line for the transition period, calling for the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. /"It is a revolution that will bury the capitalist system and all other systems of exploitation once and for all."/ ("Refute the Right Deviationist Views That Depart From the General Line") Naturally, such a revolution met with the resistance of the bourgeoisie and its agents within the party. Using bourgeois thinking to oppose Marxist thinking and the idealist world outlook to oppose the materialist world outlook was an important way in which they resisted transformation and obstructed social progress. The bourgeois idealism of Hu Shih's school suited their needs in resisting socialist transformation. Therefore, on the one hand they vigorously played up so-called authorities on "The Dream of the Red Chamber," and on the other hand they went all out to suppress revolutionary "nobodies" from opening fire on bourgeois idealism. With this typical case in mind, Chairman Mao wrote the "Letter Concerning the Study of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber,'" calling upon the whole party and the people of the whole country to launch a spectacular movement to criticize bourgeois idealism. The movement was another great proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie on the ideological and cultural fronts following criticism of the reactionary film "The Life of Lu Hsun." It cleared the air after the misleading information spread by new and old "Redologists" and showed the proletariat the direction for correctly studying and criticizing "The Dream of the Red Chamber." Beginning with the criticism of "The Dream of the Red Chamber," it also overthrew over 30 years of reactionary rule of the idealism of Hu Shih's school over the Chinese classics and other areas, from literature to philosophy, history, education and other spheres of the superstructure. The Marxist ideological position was strengthened and consolidated and a contingent of Marxist theorists trained. A boost was given to socialist revolution in the sphere of the superstructure and to the deepening of socialist transformation.

Chairman Mao pointed out, /"The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook; and so does the bourgeoisie."/ ("On

the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Such struggle is not just a matter of a few major criticisms against the bourgeoisie. A major victory was achieved in the criticism of bourgeois idealism in 1954, but the struggle between the two classes and the two lines revolving around the study of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" has not ended. A typical case of the "gang of four's" using "Redology" to oppose the party is Chiang Ching's remarks on "The Dream of the Red Chamber" to a foreign woman "writer" in August 1972. Full of pride, Chiang Ching stressed "self" in everything she said. In recounting the movement in 1954 to criticize the "Letter Concerning the Study of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber,'" she dressed herself up as the promoter and organizer of this movement and bragged about being a hero in opposing Hu Shih's school of thought. Facts hit her smack in the face. What she peddled in her sinister talk was precisely the sinister stuff of new and old "Redology." Chiang Ching, a self-styled "one-half of a Redologist," foolishly said that "the 12 songs were meant to explain why he wrote 'The Dream of the Red Chamber.'" This was a repetition of what "New Redology" promoted about "writing a story for each of the 12 girls." She made much of the point that Chia Pao-yu and Lin Tai-yu wanted to "pair off," but a love tragedy resulted because Hsueh Pao-chai, who "craved to be Chia Pao-yu's wife," "joined the maternal clique in victimizing Lin Tai-yu." She tried in every way to negate the political struggle under the cover of love and took "The Dream of the Red Chamber" as nothing but a work on "love troubles." This was just a carbon copy of "love sorrow" promoted by "New Redology." Chiang Ching also said, "I've much to verify the truth." Advocating pragmatist scholastic verification, she said that the "Hao Liao [a good ending] song" and its annotations "have an ending to the story of each character hidden in every line." Seeking to verify the death of Chin Ko-ching, she said with relish that, given a background of passionate lovers, "it can be said for certain that there's a lot of lust around." All these were but crumbs picked up from the "New Redology" of Hu Shih's school. Furthermore, imitating the tone of "Old Redology" of the school promoting inference from the obscure and the hidden, she inferred from "his taking that place as his hometown" that "Tsao Hsueh-chin is a Han," and interpreted "his working for others" as "a Han working for Manchus." It is very clear that there was nothing new in Chiang Ching's remarks on "Redology." It was an out-and-out revival of the reactionary viewpoint represented by the idealism of Hu Shih's school, which had already been torn to pieces. Its reappearance was a vengeful counterattack against the 1954 criticism movement personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao and a rabid counterattack against Chairman Mao's brilliant "Letter Concerning the Study of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber.'" Chiang Ching's evil intention was to replace Chairman Mao's "Letter" with her sinister remarks and to again lead the study of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" astray along the road of bourgeois idealism to serve the "gang of four's" effort to push an ultrarightist counterrevolutionary revisionist line.

At about the time of the 10th National CCP Congress, Chairman Mao issued many important instructions on problems in the study of "The Dream of the

Red Chamber," further developing the brilliant idea in "Letter Concerning the Study of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber.'" These instructions were in essence a severe criticism of the "gang of four's" attempt to reverse verdicts on the idealism of Hu Shih's school. Picking up the revolutionary slogan, the "gang of four" promoted another line. They controlled the two former mass criticism groups of two universities in Peking and the former writing group of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee, advocating Chiang Ching's sinister remarks as guiding principles, dishing up articles "commenting on 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" one after another under the pen names of Liang Hsiao, Po Ching [2672 7230], Fang Yen-liang [2455 1484 2733], Jen Tu [0117 3685], etc., tampering with Chairman Mao's instructions, vigorously promoting idealism and pragmatism, distorting the guideline of /"Making the past serve the present,"/ and creating a lot of confusion in the study of "The Dream of the Red Chamber."

#### I. Obstinate Adherence to Historical Idealism and Oppose Using the Method of Class Analysis To Study "The Dream of the Red Chamber"

"The Dream of the Red Chamber" is a history in images of class struggle toward the end of feudal society. It created the images of many figures, portrayed complicated clashes and contradictions and covered a broad spectrum of life. In making a scientific analysis and a correct assessment of this work, we must adhere to the Marxist method of class analysis. Lenin pointed out: /"Marxism provided the clue which enables us to discover the laws governing this seeming labyrinth and chaos, namely, the theory of class struggle."/ ("Karl Marx," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 11, p 587) The theory of class struggle is the cream of historical materialism. Adherence or nonadherence to the theory of class struggle and the method of class analysis is a standard by which to distinguish between historical materialism and historical idealism in studying "The Dream of the Red Chamber." The "gang of four" and the writing group in their pay cried for class analysis, but from their distorted analysis of the theme of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" and its characters we can see that they had completely departed from Marxist class analysis and fallen into the quagmire of historical idealism.

The problem of which chapter in "The Dream of the Red Chamber" is to be taken as an epitome of the whole book is a fundamental one bearing on whether we can make a correct analysis of the theme of "The Dream of the Red Chamber." Of the new and old "Redologists," some took the first and second chapters as the book's "key," "outline" and "main focus," describing "The Dream of the Red Chamber" as a book devoted to "bemoaning one's fate," "love sorrow" and "writing a story for each of the 12 girls." Some took the fifth chapter as the book's "general outline," summing up the theme of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" as "living in a dream" and "renouncing the world." Making a clean sweep of the fallacies of all new and old "Redologists," Chairman Mao said the fourth chapter was the outline of the whole book, viewing "The Dream of the Red Chamber" as a political history novel. This is a scientific conclusion based on a class

analysis of "The Dream of the Red Chamber." Starting with "the gourd" in the fourth chapter, "The Dream of the Red Chamber" raised the curtain on class struggle throughout the book. The several score murder cases taken up in the book are a reflection of heated class struggle, and "the gourd" is its microcosm. In the "protection list" [which protects a family from being arrested by officials] there are four lines in colloquial Chinese, as follows:

"Chia is one worthy of the name, white jade used for a hall and gold for a horse,

"For the family of Shih of Chinling, the fabulous 300-li palace of the Chin dynasty is not big enough,

"For lack of a white jade bed in the East China Sea, the sea god or the dragon king [king is written like the name Wang] has to invite over the king of Chinling,

"Thanks to 'snow' [pronounced the same as Hsueh] and a fat year, pearls are plentiful as soil and gold as iron."

The "protection list" mentions the surnames of Chia, Shih, Wang and Hsueh, representing four powerful families. "These four powerful families are all blood relations or connected by marriage, and are bound together for good or ill. The punishment you mete out to one family hits all four; the honor you show to one family is shared by the others. They shield and help each other." They had influential connections everywhere. On the strength of their wealth and power, they ruthlessly exploited and suppressed the people. The fourth chapter epitomizes the dark politics of a declining feudal society, as well as complicated class relations and contradictions. The chapter puts the whole book in a nutshell. Beginning with it as a summary, "The Dream of the Red Chamber" followed the sinful life and fortunes of the Chias, who represented the four powerful families, revealing the inevitable historical fate of the collapse of the feudal system. Taking the fourth chapter as a key to "The Dream of the Red Chamber," we can see beneath "allusions and folk talk" and love stories, political struggle as the theme of the book, and see class struggle in a declining feudal society. This is where Chiang Ching's departure from class analysis is obvious. She said nothing about the fourth chapter being an epitome of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" and made a sweeping statement that the "first five chapters are of great importance," stressing the comments in the first and second stories on 12 girls in the fifth chapter and the 12 songs and stressing the "Hao Liao song" and its annotations in the first chapter, saying such nonsense as "The importance of these five chapters lies in this theme song--the 'Hao Liao song.'" Taking the hint from Chiang Ching, Po Ching also advocated "this song and its annotations actually being the theme song of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber.'" Their way of interpretation was intended to establish a separate theme and a separate epitome to resist Chairman Mao's instructions on

"The Dream of the Red Chamber." Of course, the "Hao Liao song" and its annotations have meaning in understanding the theme of "The Dream of the Red Chamber," but they can never take the place of the fourth chapter as an epitome, and much less can they be taken as the theme of "The Dream of the Red Chamber." The basic idea of the "Hao Liao song" and its annotations, which summarizes everything as "Hao meaning an ending and Liao meaning good," has in it the idea of history coming full circle and nihilism, fatalism and other negative factors. Yet the "gang of four" presented the song as the "theme song." Was this not harping on the same point that "The basic idea of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber' is 'renouncing the world?'"

"The Dream of the Red Chamber" has over 500 characters, only 30 to 40 of them important. To get a clear idea of their class relations and not be bewitched by the veneer of relationships that existed between these characters, we must stick to the method of class analysis. Without making a historical and concrete class analysis of the characters in "The Dream of the Red Chamber," the "gang of four" and the writing group in their pay described Chia Pao-yu, who represented a new rising class' embryonic thinking, as "a representative of a perishing class," and slave maid Ching Wen, who bravely put up resistance, as "half as good as a mistress." This is a manifestation of their opposition to class analysis. Another prominent manifestation is their replacing the idea of classes with the idea of human nature and vigorously preaching the supraclass "idea of two cliques." Chiang Ching said such nonsense as "In the struggle between the maternal clique and the paternal clique within the ruling group in the house of Jungkuofu, the maternal clique triumphed," and that "Tai-yu, being of the paternal clique, ended up being defeated." The struggle within the ruling group portrayed in "The Dream of the Red Chamber," being a reflection of class struggle, can never be explained away by such blood relations as the "paternal clique" and the "maternal clique." The love tragedy of Chia Pao-yu and Lin Tai-yu was not caused by clannish struggle within the ruling group but was a result of struggle between rebels against feudalism and its upholders. The choice between Lin Tai-yu and Hsueh Pao-chai by the ruling group of the family of Chias is of clear-cut class nature, its starting point being the maintenance of its own class interests. It is unlikely that Chia Cheng agreed to the marriage between Chia Pao-yu and Lin Tai-yu just because rebel girl Lin Tai-yu was of the so-called "paternal clique." It is also unlikely that Chia Cheng opposed accepting upholder of feudalism Hsueh Pao-chai as a daughter-in-law just because the latter belonged to the "maternal clique." In the interests of the feudal family, Mother Chia personally drove her maternal granddaughter Lin Tai-yu to death. This in itself mocks and negates such a supraclass fallacy. What was stressed in Chiang Ching's reactionary idea of so-called "struggle between the maternal clique and the paternal clique" is that the "maternal clique triumphed." This is one and the same thing as her cry about "women must exercise power." It reveals her long-cherished counterrevolutionary desire to seize supreme party and state power.

## II. Vigorously Promote Pragmatism and Put "The Dream of the Red Chamber" in the Realm of the "Struggle Between Confucianism and Legalism"

Prompted by their counterrevolutionary needs, the "gang of four" took "The Criticism of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" as part of a major effort to "criticize Confucianism and assess legalism," and instigated the writing group in their pay to concoct such articles as "Confucius Toward the End of Feudalism," "'The Dream of the Red Chamber' and Political Struggle Toward the End of Feudalism," "'Saint' Confucius--Chia Cheng--in the House of Chia," "Hsueh Pao-chai and the Doctrine of the Mean," etc. In these articles they quoted words and phrases out of context and created things out of their imagination by adopting the pragmatist approach, in disregard of historical facts and truths in available works, trying in every way to put "The Dream of the Red Chamber" in the realm of the "struggle between Confucianism and legalism."

"The Dream of the Red Chamber" was written during the reigns of Yung Cheng and Chien Lung. In the article entitled "'The Dream of the Red Chamber' and Political Struggle Toward the End of Feudalism," Po Ching distorted the then political struggle as a struggle between Confucianism and legalism, devoting much space to the reigns of Yung Cheng and Chien Lung, altering so-called Kang Hsi's honor-legalism and anti-Confucius line, pushing an "out-and-out honor-Confucius and antilegalist line," and saying nonsensically that "through portraying the conflicts between rebels and feudalism and its upholders," Tsao Hsueh-chin's novel "indirectly reflected this struggle," and "used tortuous and hidden means to attack the dark rule of Yung Cheng and Chien Lung's honor-Confucius and anti-legalist line." According to the logic of this article, Tsao Hsueh-chin was criticizing Yung Cheng and Chien Lung's honor-Confucius and anti-legalist line from an honor-legalism and anti-Confucius standpoint, and "The Dream of the Red Chamber" thus became a book reflecting the struggle between Confucianism and legalism. This is an open distortion and fabrication of history and of a work. An outgrowth of class struggle in a given period of history, the struggle between Confucianism and legalism is a political and ideological struggle in the period of transition from the slave system to the feudal system. By the time of the birth of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" in the 18th century, China had come to the end of feudal society. At that time, ideas of the Confucian and legalist schools had already been accepted by the feudal ruling class, and there was no struggle between Confucianism and legalism that could be mentioned. As far as Kang Hsi and Yung Cheng are concerned, we cannot distinguish between their lines as we do between an honor-legalism and anti-Confucius line and an honor-Confucius and antilegalist line. In fact, Kang Hsi praised Confucius, promoted the works of the Cheng brothers and Chu Hsi, advocated Confucius' classics, and showed very obvious trends toward honoring Confucius. As to Yung Cheng, who called for strict adherence to the law and imposed autocracy, he showed quite a bit of a legalist style. Po Ching's claim that Yung Cheng and Chien Lung pushed an "honor-Confucius and antilegalist" line is a sheer fabrication. The political



trend found in "The Dream of the Red Chamber" was by no means one of "attacking the dark rule of Yung Cheng and Chien Lung's honor-Confucius and antilegalist line," but one of almost criticizing all the dark politics and the superstructure of feudal society at that time. The weapon used for criticism was not honor-legalism and anti-Confucius thinking, but embryonic democratic thinking. Through the conflict between rebels against feudalism and its upholders, "The Dream of the Red Chamber" chiefly revealed a struggle between embryonic democratic thinking and feudalist thinking. To interpret this ideological struggle as a struggle between Confucianism and legalism is to distort the struggle between new and old ideas of a class nature reflected in the novel as a struggle between factions within the landlord class. The "gang of four's" taking "The Dream of the Red Chamber" as a book reflecting the struggle between Confucianism and legalism was actually an attempt to bring their fabricated history of struggle between Confucianism and legalism through all ages into the realm of literature from the realm of history. This is a revisionist fallacy of replacing class struggle with the struggle between Confucianism and legalism in the study of Chinese classics.

That the "gang of four" put "The Dream of the Red Chamber" within the realm of the struggle between Confucianism and legalism was a planned antiparty conspiratorial activity. Its criminal aim was to label Premier Chou En-lai and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation as so-called "modern great Confucians" and "descendants of Confucius" in order to pave the way for their usurping party and state leadership. From thinking to language and from approach to tone, the article entitled "Confucius Toward the End of Feudalism" concocted by Liang Hsiao at the suggestion of the "gang of four" was the same as the notorious and sinister antiparty article entitled "Confucius the Man." It began with the following words prompted by an ulterior motive: "Chia Cheng in 'The Dream of the Red Chamber' was a 'Confucian' worthy of the name and a 'Confucian' toward the end of feudalism." It also said, "In the family of the Chias, he was the only one personally appointed by the emperor. He was an incumbent official who had not only titles of honor but also wealth." "As the family head in the house of Jungkuofu, he was in charge of its domestic and diplomatic affairs, had life-and-death power over slaves and decided on important matters." They ignored their own consistent viewpoint that "Wang Hsi-feng was actually the one in charge" and what was actually described in the book, stressing things like "domestic and diplomatic affairs," etc. What is this if not an attack with an ulterior motive? In his sinister article entitled "'Saint' Confucius--Chia Cheng--in the House of Chia," Jen Tu also cried: Chia Cheng "was very capable of epitomizing certain traits of Confucius and his followers. We can still see in this artistic image the faces and actions of devotees of Confucianism at home and abroad in the 20th century." Singing in chorus and acting in concert, they showed their true colors as vanguards of the "gang of four" in maliciously attacking Premier Chou and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

III. Freely Distort the Guideline of /"Making the Past Serve the Present"/ and Turn the Study of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" Into "Redology" To Make the Past Serve the Gang in an Indirect Way

/"Making the past serve the present"/ suggested by Chairman Mao is a fundamental guideline for properly treating cultural heritage. This guideline has a clearcut class nature and is very scientific. We must thoroughly implement this guideline and critically accept cultural heritage. The aim is to summarize the historical experience of class struggle for reference today. Such information for reference should be both revolutionary and scientific, /"put problems within given limits of history"/ ("On the Right to National Self-Determination," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 11, p 512) and make a concrete historical analysis of ancient works. It should never equate the past with the present, make superficial comparisons or, much less, distort facts to make oblique attacks. In studying "The Dream of the Red Chamber" we must implement the guideline of /"making the past serve the present."/ In regard to ideological content, we must study the novel as history and, through its faithful description of the then class struggle and social life, find out about feudal society, the feudal ruling class and class exploitation and oppression, realize the historical fate of the inevitable extinction of feudal society, and summarize the laws of class struggle to serve real-life class struggle. The "gang of four" and the writing group in their pay went entirely counter to this spirit and, under the cloak of "making the past serve the present," vigorously tried to make the past reflect the present and to make oblique attacks. Just as Chairman Hua pointed out, "In promoting the study of history, they freely falsify history and, with ulterior motives, praise the 'empresses' and criticize 'prime ministers,' 'acting prime ministers' and 'modern great Confucians.' The study of history is turned into making the past serve the gang in an indirect way." The same is true of their promotion of "Redology." Their sole aim was to push the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary political program and to turn "Commenting on 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" into "Redology" to make the past serve the gang in an indirect way.

One salient feature of their indirect attack by drawing analogies in "Commenting on 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" was to put in current terms the characters and events in the novel, negate the differences between the past and the present and class differences, lift words and passages out of context, and use the characters and events in the novel to reflect on persons and events of today in an extremely malicious attack against the leading comrades of the party Central Committee through a scene in which Auntie Liu and Chin Hsien-chia fought for the right to use the kitchen. The "kitchen incident" in the 61st chapter of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" reflected, from one angle, the contradictions within the feudal ruling class. After the Fourth NPC, Chiang Ching took a sudden interest in the "kitchen incident" and instructed a confidant of hers in Tientsin to turn it into a Peking-style story. That confidant acted accordingly and organized forces. For over a year, beginning in April 1975, they

changed the draft five times. What was the reason? Chiang Ching revealed that here "is a problem of fighting restoration and seizing power," and "Auntie Liu and Chin Hsien-chia both have someone behind their back in fighting for the kitchen." It is common knowledge that on the eve of the Fourth NPC, Chairman Mao criticized Chiang Ching, saying: /"You mustn't form the cabinet (to be the behind-the-scenes boss)."/ The successful holding of the Fourth NPC bankrupted Chiang Ching's plot to "form the cabinet." Chiang Ching bitterly hated this. She went to every trouble to preach the "kitchen incident," because she wanted to express her dissatisfaction with the criticism of Chairman Mao, who forbade her to establish "a cabinet" as a "behind-the-scenes boss." She opposed the Fourth NPC and attacked the leading comrades of the party Central Committee by hinting that, like Chin Hsien-chia, they would not always have a good time, as "only after being happy for half a day," they "drew in their horns and ran away." She also hinted at her being unreconciled to her defeat and trying again to be a "behind-the-scenes boss." This is the ultimate in madness! Later the "gang of four" stepped up their pace to usurp party and state power. They rabidly used "The Dream of the Red Chamber" to attack the party. After the passing of Premier Chou En-lai, the conspiratorial activities of "the gang of four" developed. Chairman Mao's affirmation of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as the acting premier of the State Council and the one in charge of the daily work of the party Central Committee dealt a heavy blow to the conspiratorial activities of the "gang of four" in usurping party and state power. At this time the nonplussed "gang of four" again picked up the magic wand of attacking by innuendo. In his "Impressions on 3 February," Chang Chun-chiao changed a poetic line in "The Dream of the Red Chamber" from "After one is successful, one is bold" to "After one is successful, one becomes more bold," openly taking this to oppose Chairman Mao and to attack Chairman Hua and other leading comrades of the party Central Committee. Not long after the passing of Chairman Mao, Chiang Ching hysterically cried: "I'm most fond of Ching Wen. Ching Wen kept an eye on the rightists. Hsi Jen was a spy. She kept an eye on the leftists and had been bribed." As if afraid that others would not understand her, she said, more revealingly, "In ancient times, hua [flower] was synonymous with [the surname] Hua." She more rabidly directed the spearhead at Chairman Hua. This fully shows that the "gang of four" were not sincere in promoting the study of "The Dream of the Red Chamber," their real intention being to use "Commenting on 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" to promote counterrevolutionary activities.

The "gang of four" also used quotations from "The Dream of the Red Chamber" to develop themes in an oblique attack. This is another counter-revolutionary tactic used by the "gang of four" to promote "Redology" as a means of indirect attack in order to make the past serve the gang. "The Dream of the Red Chamber" is the best of our classic novels combining ideology and art. A profound analysis of such a great work and the writing of Marxist articles on it demand that we must not study in isolation words or passages lifted out of context and, much less, draw

conclusions from them or draw analogies at random. Instead, we must make a penetrating and careful study, taking a work as a whole in light of its relation to the then prevailing class struggle. Of course, living and moral language in "The Dream of the Red Chamber" may be borrowed to illustrate certain problems in real life, and in this respect Chairman Mao set us an example. But such is not the case with the "gang of four." They used certain words and passages lifted out of context from "The Dream of the Red Chamber" to develop given themes in an oblique attack. An article entitled "Bigness Involves Something Difficult About It," dished up by RED FLAG at the suggestion of Yao Wen-yuan, is representative of articles of this kind. Yao Wen-yuan praised this article as a typical example "closely linked to reality," declaring, "'The Dream of the Red Chamber' is a political history novel. Such a way of interpretation has begun. Hereafter we may consider themes along this road." Inspired by the "gang of four," a large number of articles of this kind appeared. What was the "reality" to which these articles were linked? According to a confession by the writing group of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, these articles were "not in themselves comments on 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" but were so-called "comments related to current affairs." The so-called "closely linked to reality" and "related to current affairs" were the "gang language" of the "gang of four" and were actually synonymous with an attempt to prepare public opinion for usurping party and state power. This can be clearly seen from an article of the same nature published in the magazine STUDY AND CRITICISM controlled by the "gang of four." This piece made much of a line in colloquial language by Hsiao Hung in "The Dream of the Red Chamber": "Just as we build a shed covering 1,000 li, there's no banquet which does not end." Ignoring its original implied meaning, they freely stretched its sense to suit themselves, saying: "The 'builders of sheds' mean ruling organs," and "'sheds' are in neat rows like tiles joined together." "The more we add to the tiles, the farther a shed spreads. Those officials from central to local levels all have pillars for supporting the family of Chias likened to a 'shed.'" The article ended with a loud cry: "Where there is building, there must be an end," and there is "no escaping the fate of 'a tottering edifice.'" Can we not smell the gunpowder of counterrevolution if we view these strange "new interpretations" of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" in light of the loudest cries of the "gang of four": "The Cultural Revolution means changing dynasties" and "thoroughly smashing old machines"? Articles of this kind had nothing to do with commenting on "The Dream of the Red Chamber." Under the cloak of "making the past serve the present," they were just vigorously promoting the past serving the gang and energetically preparing counterrevolutionary public opinions for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

In his political report to the 11th National CCP Congress, wise leader Chairman Hua called on us to "guide the numerous cadres and the masses to use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as their weapon and, in close connection with the realities on the various fronts, to rectify one by one all those points the gang turned upside down with regard to questions

of right and wrong in line, ideology and theory." The "gang of four" used "Commenting on 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" to serve their ultra-rightist counterrevolutionary revisionist line and to spread the poison of bourgeois idealism. We must respond to Chairman Hua's call and, guided by the line of the 11th party congress, seriously study Volume V of the "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," thoroughly criticize the reactionary viewpoints spread by the "gang of four" in the study of "The Dream of the Red Chamber," eliminate their remnant poison, rectify the questions of right and wrong turned upside down by the "gang of four," enable the study of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" and the study of the Chinese classics as a whole to advance in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao's "Letter Concerning the Study of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" and carry through to the end continuous revolution in the superstructure!

WHO IN FACT HAS VIOLATED EVEN FORMAL LOGIC?

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 65-71

[Article by Chang Pei of the Kwangtung Research Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences]

[Text] Driven by their wild ambition to usurp party and state power, the "gang of four" flagrantly opposed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Since truth was not in their hands, they had to resort to sophistry--criticizing without grounds and as their desires dictated. Such sophistry not only totally betrayed materialist dialectics but also violated formal logic. Yao Wen-yuan, the alien class element, always abused others for "violating even formal logic." As a matter of fact, it was the "gang of four" themselves who obliterated the determinant and distinctive character of thinking, who took the deer as the horse, confused black and white, and trampled formal logic underfoot.

Formal logic is a science concerning the form and law of thinking. Its basic law is the minimum demand of our correct thinking. Great leader and teacher Chairman Mao urged us to study some logic, and he clearly set forth the fundamental requirements concerning logical thinking: the concept must be clear, the judgment must be appropriate, the inference must be logical and the verification must be fully convincing. Now, let us dissect the counterrevolutionary fallacies spread by the "gang of four" from the angle of formal logic in order to puncture their sophistry.

The first fundamental requirement of logical thinking is: the concept must be clear. A concept is a general reflection of an object. Any concept has its given definition (implication) and object (extension), which must not be altered at will. The "gang of four" basically ignored this fundamental requirement of logical thinking. They misinterpreted the publicly acknowledged definition of a concept and its proclaimed object. This was their chief means of resorting to sophistry.

The first trick they used in misusing a concept was to alter the definition of a concept at will. To take a significant example, in order to attack and frame veteran revolutionary cadres, they made unauthorized use

of the concept "party persons in power taking the capitalist road" and labeled and bludgeoned people recklessly. "Capitalist roaders" is a scientific concept, referring to power holders in the party who practice revisionism, promote splits, and engage in conspiracies and intrigues on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Here, viewed from logic, the object is established and the line of demarcation is clearly defined. However, with an ulterior motive the "gang of four" arbitrarily interpreted this scientific concept as referring to people who had participated in the democratic revolution, people who opposed their counterrevolutionary revisionist line, etc. According to this fallacy, the objects referred to by the concept "capitalist roaders" became the large group of responsible party, government and army comrades at both the central and local levels who fought gallantly for the liberation cause of the Chinese people during the democratic revolution and who continued the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat during the socialist revolution. This entirely went against facts, as well as radically reversed the relationship between ourselves and the enemy.

The second trick employed by the "gang of four" in misusing concepts was to deliberately confuse two different concepts which are similar in wording. This was the trick they used when brandishing the big clubs of "empiricism" and the "theory of productive forces."

The two concepts--"experience" and "empiricism"--are different from each other in principle. As a rule, "experience" refers to the practical knowledge accumulated by people in the course of the three great revolutionary movements; it is predominantly perceptual and partial. But "empiricism" mistakes partial experience for universal truth. It is extremely valuable for a comrade to have rich experience, and so long as he is not onesidedly satisfied with partial experience nor magnifies it into universal truth, he can under no circumstances be accused of practicing empiricism. By the same token, the two concepts, "production" and the "theory of productive forces," are also radically different.

The "gang of four" arbitrarily presented "experience" as "empiricism" and "production" as the "theory of productive forces." In so doing, they of course did not confuse the two concepts just for the sake of confusing them. Their criminal purpose in doing so was to try to pin on all cadres who had rich experience in revolution and construction and who insisted on and developed socialist production the label of "empiricism" or the "theory of productive forces"--in order to topple every one of them and undermine socialist revolution and construction.

The third trick they used in making fraudulent use of concepts was a trick they used more often--criticizing without basis, taking a deer for a horse. Ignoring the facts, they superimposed at will the unique definition and proclaimed objects of various concepts on totally unrelated or even antithetical things, distorting concepts and facts out of all proportion.

They represented the building of socialism as "the revisionist line," "rectification" as "restoration," the erecting of mountain strongholds and the practice of factionalism as "revolution," opposition to party leadership and the seizing of state power as "rebellious," and inciting work and production stoppages as "going against the tide." In short, revolutionary things were described as counterrevolutionary things and vice versa. Marxist things were presented as revisionist things and vice versa. Such reactionary behavior was manifested in all respects and practiced everywhere.

The fourth trick they used was to elevate minor mistakes to the level of principles. Viewed from formal logic, this was a gimmick of wrong generalization in playing with concepts. The generalization of concepts is a logical method of further generalizing a concept or turning it into a principle. Ordinarily, when we speak of elevating a problem to the level of principle, we generally refer to this method. When we link a concept with another, broader concept, on the one hand we must pay attention to the essential character of these two concepts and the natural connection between them; on the other hand it is necessary that the linkage between this concept and another concept be direct, that is, the relationship between concepts of the same kinds as referred to in logic. Neither one of them must overstep its bounds or deviate from its course. To go against this requirement is to make a wrong generalization. Elevating minor mistakes to the level of principle is such a wrong generalization which oversteps its bounds and deviates from its course. Therefore, elevating minor mistakes to the level of principle is, in effect, to secretly replace a concept by distorting or tampering with its essential character.

As everyone is deeply aware, the "gang of four" were rather "adept" at playing with such gimmicks of elevating minor mistakes to the level of principle. To remove the obstacles to their usurpation of party and state power, they more often than not seized upon certain problems of others with respect to understanding, ideology and style of work, and the small or unavoidable shortcomings and mistakes in certain pieces of work, and then exaggerated them at will as problems of line. They even falsely accused these people of being enemies not to be spared. For instance, some cadres lacked mental preparation for the socialist revolution. To generalize on the basis of principles, these cadres might be said to "have a low level of socialist consciousness." Such generalization was appropriate, viewed from logic. This was because these two concepts, mental preparation and socialist consciousness, not only have an essential relationship but also have a direct linkage which does not overstep its bounds. However, the "gang of four" did not make such a generalization. They exaggerated the lack of mental preparation of some cadres for socialist revolution and accused them of "continuing the democratic revolution in their own areas." They then went further and branded these cadres as "capitalist roaders," creating a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. It can be seen that between the two concepts they played with



there was no essential connection, and that the principles put together were totally unrelated to each other.

Taking a deer for a horse and elevating minor mistakes to the level of principle are the chief means by which the "gang of four" labeled and bludgeoned people recklessly. They were the principal products of the "hat factory" and the "iron and steel factory" operated by the "gang of four." The difference between them merely lies in this: while taking a deer for a horse describes white as black, elevating minor mistakes to the level of principle grasps one's small pigtail and then puts a big hat on his head.

The second requirement of logical thinking is: the judgment must be appropriate. A judgment is a sort of idea which either affirms or negates a thing. That the judgment must be appropriate means that an object must be appropriately reflected, and reflected correctly both qualitatively and quantitatively. The "gang of four" basically ignored this fundamental requirement of logical thinking; instead they willfully applied concepts and arrived at nonsensical judgments on things. They conjured up a notorious programmatic formula, "Over 75 percent of the veteran cadres are bound to change from democrats into capitalist roaders." Their factional forces even shamelessly lauded this formula as "qualitative and quantitative class analysis." Nothing could be more strange than this.

Viewed from logic, this formula is a judgment. Quantitatively speaking, this judgment provides for a specific number; qualitatively speaking, this is a judgment of necessity. The "gang of four" first played with numbers and arrived at the figure of "75 percent" for individual facts. They played a trick on the quality of the judgment, turning probability into necessity. As everyone knows, "individual facts" and "75 percent" are two very different quantities, and probability and necessity are two entirely different qualities.

A judgment is composed of concepts. Clarity of concepts and appropriateness of the judgment are closely related to each other. If the concepts in a judgment are not clear, the judgment can never be appropriate. Here the game the "gang of four" played was a game of subjectively and willfully misapplying concepts. Applying the concept "democrats," they laid false charges against the older proletarian revolutionaries of our party. In this way, the concept and its proclaimed object were basically incompatible. Moreover, the scientific concept "capitalist roaders" was so altered that it lost its original unique implication and turned into a relative synonym of "democrats." When these scientific concepts--"capitalist roaders" and "democrats"--were mistreated, a great deal of ideological confusion was bound to occur. Here the connection and difference between the old democratic revolution and the new democratic revolution were blurred; proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois democrats were confused; and even such questions as who was the target of the revolution in the socialist period and who was to be relied upon in making the revolution were mixed up.

The question of whether a judgment is based on facts is also a question of whether it is genuine or false. This has a close bearing on the appropriateness of the judgment. Viewed from logic, a judgment may be true or may be false. If it is not true, it must be false; and if it is not false, it must be true. There is no judgment which is neither true nor false or is true as well as false. As we often say, there is only one truth. Therefore, the law of contradiction in formal logic confirms that of two mutually contradictory judgments over an object in the same period of time and under the same relationship, one must be false. These "heroes" of the "gang of four" who attacked others for "violating even formal logic" were precisely "experts" in "contradicting themselves." Due to their ambition to usurp party and state power, they practiced the pragmatism of "what is useful is true." They often spoke nonsense and revealed their ignorance before the law of contradiction. For instance, when they posed as revolutionaries, they denounced all emperors, princes, generals and ministers. When they promoted "using the ancient to serve the purpose of the gang," they conferred the legalist title on Empress Lu, Wu Tse Tien and the like, and lauded them to the skies.

According to the view of dialectical materialism, the criterion for judging something as to whether it is true or false is whether it conforms with facts, and the method of confirmation is to test it in social practice. However, the "gang of four's" criterion of "truth" was "using me to draw the line" and "I am the truth." This was anti-Marxist, pure and simple. They inherited the mantle of the fascist chieftain Mussolini and took over his criterion for "truth"--"Mussolini always has the truth"--to measure everything. They vigorously promoted "those who are with me shall prosper; those who are against me shall perish," that which please me and benefits me and the gang is true and right and is a fragrant flower, that which displeases me and harms me and the gang is false and wrong and is a poisonous weed. They were the egoists who put themselves above the party and whose ambitions were infinitely inflated. "I, I, I" was constantly on their lips. The renegade Chiang Ching had two copies of speeches; in one copy "I" was mentioned more than 40 times, and in the other more than a hundred times. Spitting poison everywhere, she proclaimed: "I" am the "party." She lorded it over others, practicing fascism to the extent of being the "lady" who ruled supreme in the world. It was with such a criterion for "truth"--"using me to draw the line"--that they measured everything, and they vigorously practiced sophistry in confusing right and wrong and telling a lot of lies. They basically abolished the determinant and distinctive character of truth and falsehood.

The third fundamental requirement of logical thinking is: inference must be logical. Inference is a logical method of deriving some new judgments from an already known judgment. An inference must conform with the rules of logic. If these rules are violated, it is impossible to arrive at a correct conclusion. The "gang of four" made use of certain forms of inference without adhering to the rules of inference, and they made

inference by subjective imagination in order to show the "correctness" of their fallacies.

Always dreaming of restoring capitalism, the "gang of four" both hated and feared socialism. They invented a notorious "formula of interference" in a vain attempt to "prove" the "correctness" of their opposition to socialism and their practice of revisionism. This formula was: "rather...than." On the development of the national economy, they nonsensically said: "We would rather have the low speed of socialism than the high speed of capitalism." On railway transportation, they hysterically cried: "We would rather have the late arrival of socialism than the punctual arrival of capitalism." On agricultural production, they said: "We would rather grow socialist weeds than capitalist seedlings." Regarding education, they commented viciously: "We would rather have a worker without culture than an exploiter and an intellectual aristocrat with culture." In addition, they ranted and raved: "We would rather have a poor socialist country than a rich capitalist country," and so on and so forth.

These counterrevolutionary fallacies were wrong in many ways. Viewed from the method of inference, this formula of "rather...than" was nothing but sophistic inference. Why did we say these fallacies were "formulas of inference"? Because if we added the omitted major premise according to the usual practice of formal logic, we had a logical inference in the choice of words. Take "speed," for example. The major premise was "either the low speed of socialism or the high speed of capitalism." The minor premise was "spurn the high speed of capitalism," and the conclusion was "rather have the low speed of socialism." All other fallacies followed in the same vein. In this formula of inference, the major premise confirmed two possible choices: the minor premise negated one of the two choices; and the conclusion affirmed the other choice. Negation first and affirmation later was known as an inference in the choice of words to negate and affirm. Here the "gang of four" took a stand on inference, suggesting they had a head for logic. As a matter of fact, it was a typical case of sophistic inference. This formula of inference violated its only rule of inference: the major premise should exhaust all possibilities. Viewed from logic, the facts submitted by the "gang of four" contained two pairs of incompatible concepts (socialism and capitalism, high speed and low speed). If one pair was taken as the primary concept (low speed and high speed) and the other pair as the qualifying phrase (socialism and capitalism), then their logical combination should have four possibilities, namely, the high speed of socialism, the low speed of socialism, the high speed of capitalism and the low speed of capitalism. From the first, socialism is good and its high speed is also good. What we want should be the high speed of socialism and not the low speed of socialism. But the "gang of four" insisted on hiding the correct things and instead forced others to choose from the junk they produced. Wasn't this sophistic inference? It is extremely clear that when the "gang of four" said "rather the low speed of socialism," their actual purpose was

to "spurn the high speed of socialism." This formula fabricated by the "gang of four" arbitrarily connected socialism with low speed and regarded such a connection as the only connection possible. It also arbitrarily connected high speed with capitalism and regarded such a connection as the only connection possible. Here a most vicious motive was hidden. First, they painted a gloomy picture of socialism and a rosy picture of capitalism so as to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism. Second, they could accuse anyone who opposed "low speed" of opposing "socialism," and anyone who called for "high speed" of going in for "capitalism," and they bludgeoned him. In this way, they might go ahead with the dirty deal of restoring capitalism and at the same time disguise themselves as heroes of socialism. What typical counterrevolutionary double-dealers they really are.

The "gang of four" also concocted a false inference, namely, sending the satellite to the sky would necessarily result in the red flag falling to the ground. What they meant to say was this: Look, the satellite has gone up to the sky in the Soviet Union, but its red flag has plummeted to the ground. So, if we, too, send the satellite to the sky, wouldn't we also see our red flag fall to the ground? The major premise of this inference is wrong and in logic is known as "wrongly recognized causation."

As regards the search for the relationship of cause and effect, formal logic points out that when we discover the successive appearance of two phenomena, or the relationship of common change existing between them, we should not simply arrive at the conclusion that a relationship of cause and effect exists between the two. Instead, we should repeatedly examine and verify them from both the positive and negative aspects. Such is the case with "the satellite goes up to the sky, the red flag falls to the ground." As everyone knows, the basic cause of the "fall of the red flag" in the Soviet Union was not science and technology, the making of the satellite. This can be confirmed by the fact that China, too, has developed science and technology and produced its satellites, but there has been no "falling of the red flag to the ground." So, there is no cause and effect relationship between "red flag falls to the ground" and "the satellite goes up to the sky." The basic reason the Soviet Union has become a country where "the satellite goes up to the sky and the red flag falls to the ground" is that the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique usurped the supreme leadership power of the Soviet party and state and pushed in an all-round manner a counterrevolutionary revisionist line in opposition to the Marxist-Leninist line. The "gang of four" deliberately covered up the basic cause for the "fall of the red flag to the ground" and instead made a big fuss about the evolution of the Soviet Union, where "the satellite goes up to the sky, the red flag falls to the ground." Their sinister intention was to oppose our vigorous effort to develop scientific and technological work, oppose the realization of the four modernizations, and oppose building our country into a modern, powerful socialist state at an early date.

The fourth fundamental requirement of logical thinking is: the verification must be convincing. According to the rules of formal logic, a convincing verification is one with a true reason and a logical, natural tie between this true reason and the proposition to be proved. Of course, a false reason proves nothing at all. The "gang of four" also ignored this fundamental requirement of logical thinking. They forged a reason and carried out false verification.

To direct their evil spearhead at respected and beloved Premier Chou, the "gang of four" racked their brains to cook up the myth that the struggle between the Confucianists and the legalists pervaded the whole of Chinese history and continued up to the present. To "prove" this myth, the "gang of four" and their hired writing groups, Liang Hsiao, Lo Ssu-ting and the like, demonstrated their skill at forging false reasons by means of tampering with history and pinning the legalist title generously. First, people whom Chiang Ching made legalists were all "revolutionaries" who were "reform-minded," "patriotic," "love the people," "hail from the grassroots level," and were even more motivated by revolution than the communists. Then, "Liang of the north and Lo of the south" came forward and conferred the legalist title even on Empress Lu, Wei Tzu Fu, and Wu Tse Tien. There was no justification whatsoever to proclaim the arch schemer Empress Lu as a legalist. This being the case, a false reason had to be forged. So, it was stated that Empress Lu, together with Hsiao Ho, supported Liu Pang in his fight for the empire in Kuanchung; that Empress Lu carried out Liu Pang's legalist line; and that after Liu Pang's death, Empress Lu resolutely carried out the principles that had been laid down. Laurels forged out of the void came like snowflakes. In concocting a situation of the Confucian-legalist struggle, what if a legalist doesn't have his opposite? For instance, Sang Hung-yang was proclaimed a legalist, but he had no opposite. So, Huo Kuang was turned into a Confucian. In another instance, Wu Tse Tien was given the legalist title, but there was no "line struggle." So the struggle to "depose or install the empress" was turned into a "line struggle." But why was it that the high ministers who carried out the "legalist line" of Tang Tai Tsung were divided overnight into "Confucian and legalist camps" on the question of "deposing or installing the empress"? Why was it that those who advocated installing Empress Wu were reformers who espoused the "legalist line," while those who opposed this move were conservatives who espoused the "Confucian line"? No matter, this is what I say, and you people have to listen. How did the Confucian-legalist struggle continue up to the present? Since they found no reason for supporting this argument, they could only forge the myth that "there are big Confucians within the party." They cared nothing about historical facts, the laws of logic, the convincing power of verification. Such is the typical "verification" of the "gang of four," who were overbearing and did not talk reason.

Of course, the "gang of four" did not talk about history for the sake of history. They vainly attempted to distort the class struggle in history by forging the history of the Confucian-legalist struggle in order to

oppose the so-called "big Confucians of the contemporary ear" and pave the way for their usurpation of the supreme leadership power of the party and state.

However, history is ruthless. Neither conspiracies and intrigues nor sophistry of any kind can change the course of the "gang of four" heading for their inevitable doom.

THE FRANTIC BARK BEFORE THE DOOM--CRITICIZING YAO WEN-YUAN'S CRIMES OF USING 'RED FLAG' ISSUE NO 10 OF 1976 TO CREATE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY PUBLIC OPINION IN A BIG WAY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 72-75

[Article by mass criticism group of RED FLAG Publishing House]

[Text] Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao passed away on 9 September 1976. The whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country were deeply grieved. But the vicious "gang of four," thinking that the moment had come, quickened their pace of usurping party and state power. Flaunting the ensign of mourning Chairman Mao, Yao Wen-yuan frantically used RED FLAG No 10 of 1976 to wildly attack Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and the party Central Committee he heads. On 6 October, Chairman Hua led the whole party in smashing the "gang of four" with one blow. This completely foiled their plot. The "gang of four's" frantic bark before the doom, sounded in this issue of RED FLAG, thus becomes concrete evidence of their counterrevolutionary plot.

In the same issue of RED FLAG Yao Wen-yuan wildly advocated Chairman Mao's "last adjuration" forged by the "gang of four," the so-called "act according to the principles laid down," in order to aim the spearhead at Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

For the sake of usurping the supreme leadership of the party and state, the "gang of four," as everybody knows, forged Chairman Mao's so-called "last adjuration," which was hastily inserted in the editorial of the 16 September issue of the party newspaper. The "gang of four" ranted: "Publicizing the general principle boils down to these words: 'Act according to the principles laid down.'" They insisted that the mass media under their control dish up sinister articles so that these words "will spread across the page." On 19 September, Yao Wen-yuan again ordered that this forged stuff be inserted in RED FLAG No 10 in the space reserved for Chairman Mao's quotations, to appear as his first "quotation." In the same issue, the "gang of four's" hired writing group dished up a number of leading articles, including one by Chih Heng entitled "Mao Tsetung

Thought Always Guides Us To Advance" ("Advance" for short), Cheng Yueh's "Persistently Take Class Struggle as the Key Link" ("Key Link" for short), "Turn Grief Into Strength" ("Strength" for short) by Chi Yung-hung (i.e., a writing group of the former Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee), and "Firmly Grasp the Weapon of Revolutionary Mass Criticism and Continue To Struggle" ("Struggle" for short) by the mass criticism group of the two universities. These sinister articles did everything they could to push the "gang of four's" trash and to incite their bourgeois factional network to cause great disorder throughout the land of the proletariat. In reviewing and endorsing articles for this issue of RED FLAG, Yao Wen-yuan spared no efforts in radically revising all of the sinister articles. He even inserted the words "Chairman Mao exhorted us to 'act according to the principles laid down,'" highlighting the insertion with a red pencil to indicate that this be printed in boldface type.

Yao Wen-yuan did this with malicious intentions. The party Central Committee decided to hold a memorial rally for the late Chairman Mao on 18 September, with Comrade Hua Kuo-feng delivering the memorial speech. Since the so-called "last adjuration" did not exist, it was of course omitted in the memorial speech. By coincidence, the speech was published in the national newspapers on the day the "gang of four's" forgery was given wide publicity in RED FLAG on Yao Wen-yuan's orders. What he planned to do was quite obvious. Apart from using RED FLAG to trumpet their trash, pass the spurious off as genuine and mislead the public, he tried in vain to give people the impression that Comrade Hua Kuo-feng had withheld Chairman Mao's so-called "last adjuration." He did this to frame Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and strike blows at the party Central Committee he heads. By dressing himself up as a "propagator and defender" of the so-called "last adjuration," he could thus achieve the criminal purpose of seizing party and state power.

The "gang of four" used RED FLAG to wildly publicize the forged "act according to the principles laid down." This was in line with their policy of bringing disorder to the country so they could seize power amid chaos. In the article "Advance," Yao Wen-yuan instructed Chih Heng, a pseudonym of his faithful follower in RED FLAG, to advocate: "Failing to see that the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road, one will certainly lose his political bearings." He was also told to incite people to "struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the party." In the article "Strength," Chi Yung-hung ranted: We must "never forget" the "last adjuration" in our "protracted and unremitting struggle against the capitalist roaders in the party." In the "gang of four's" vocabulary, what they called "capitalist roaders" and "the bourgeoisie inside the party" meant the leading party, government and army cadres from the central organs to the localities. What is worse, Chih Chun, the "gang of four's" capable fighter, ranted after going over the sinister article "Fighting" released by the mass criticism group of the two universities: "The struggle is by no means over." "We must regard the victory won in each round as the starting point of new struggle." In addition to these two



vicious remarks bristling with manifestations of arrogance, there was another equally malicious remark in the article: "We must see that after striking down a bourgeois commander, new commanders will appear." This vicious outcry revealed the counterrevolutionary nature of the "gang of four's" advocacy of "the principles laid down." In assuming the posture of engaging the proletariat in a test of strength, they became really impatient to topple the "new commander" and to seize party and state power.

Frantically attacking the so-called "three big poisonous weeds" was an important part of a plot engineered by Yao Wen-yuan to use RED FLAG to carry out the task of seizing party and state power and creating counter-revolutionary public opinion in a big way.

After Chairman Mao passed away, Yao Wen-yuan instructed his faithful follower associated with RED FLAG to hang on to the three documents. From time to time he would ask whether similar articles had been written. Occasionally he would issue orders stressing the need for critical articles, such as "articles in the same vein." As a result, leading articles dished up by the "gang of four's" hack writers, without exception, vehemently maligned and attacked the so-called "three big poisonous weeds." At this juncture, the "gang of four" not only wanted to malign and frame Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping but aimed the spearhead in particular at Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other leading central comrades as well as leading party, government and army cadres at all levels. One of the three documents accused by the "gang of four" of being one of "the three big poisonous weeds," i.e., "On the General Program for All Work of the Party and the Country," was personally initiated by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. The others were drafted on the instructions of central and other leading comrades. The document initiated by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng was submitted to Chairman Mao for review and approval. Another was also reviewed by Chairman Mao. The "gang of four" were of course aware of the circumstances in regard to these documents. The "gang of four" committed every evil in order to seize party and state power. Back in early 1976, the "gang of four," without the knowledge of great leader Chairman Mao, pinned appalling labels on the three documents. Even the comments made and remarks given by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other leading central comrades when they were listening to summary reports given at the Academy of Sciences were taken down and then compiled as so-called "right deviationist and verdict-reversing views." These were first "criticized" in Shanghai, and later, all over the country, three pamphlets were published in quick succession to stir up a gust of evil wind against the so-called "three big poisonous weeds." After Chairman Mao passed away, Yao Wen-yuan ranted: "Get hold of these three big poisonous weeds" and attack them with "concentrated firepower." Both the mass criticism group of the two universities and Chi Yung-hung openly attacked the three documents in their sinister articles, charging that they "demonstrate in a concentrated way" the "reactionary world outlook of one type of the bourgeoisie inside the party." They raved: "Carry through to the end the great struggle to criticize the bourgeoisie inside the party." Isn't it very clear at whom they were aiming the spearhead of their attacks?

With sinister counterrevolutionary motives, Yao Wen-yuan wildly attacked the so-called "three big poisonous weeds." An answer to this can be found in the counterrevolutionary outline prepared by Chang Chun-chiao in early October last year. The first section of the outline called for attacking the "three big poisonous weeds" without letup, indicating that this issue figured prominently in the "gang of four's" plot to seize party and state power. The second section of the outline favored "suppression of the counterrevolutionaries." Suppressing whom? Suppressing first of all those leading party, government and army cadres from the central organs to the localities who had been branded as "the bourgeoisie inside the party." Therefore, regardless of whether Yao Wen-yuan was advocating "act according to the principles laid down" or attacking the so-called "three big poisonous weeds," isn't it abundantly clear that he was doing this to create counterrevolutionary public opinion for "suppressing the counterrevolutionaries" and "killing people" once the "gang of four" came to power?

The "gang of four's" frantic attacks also showed that the three documents hit where it hurt, hitting as they did the vital part of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line they pushed. The cold fact is that the "gang of four" were merely a bunch of "sham Marxists and political swindlers" flaunting the banner of combating revisionism; but practicing it must have enraged the "gang of four." Hysterically attacking the "three big poisonous weeds" thus revealed the reactionary nature of their opposition to Mao Tsetung Thought and the socialist system.

In the same issue of RED FLAG, the sinister article by Cheng Yueh, dished up at Yao Wen-yuan's bidding, gave people the impression that some people wanted to "change the key link." This prompted the need for grasping "class struggle" in a big way and for wildly inciting people to "struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the party." This was another important part of Yao Wen-yuan's criminal plot to sway counterrevolutionary public opinion in a big way and to oppose Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other leading central comrades.

As early as 12 August last year, when the people of Tangshan were being mobilized for earthquake and relief work under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee, Yao Wen-yuan sneaked into the office of RED FLAG Publishing House. He said: "There are some new trends. After the earthquake some people want to grasp production and relief work and not class struggle." "Some people want to change the key link and grasp production, this being part of the ideological trend within the party." Later, Yao Wen-yuan made this comment on a writing project listing the titles of articles: "The tendency of not taking class struggle as the key link but paying attention only to production and relief of quake victims must be opposed." Yao Wen-yuan made these malicious remarks to defiantly attack and malign our esteemed Chairman Hua and other leading central comrades. Everybody knows that after the Tangshan-Fengnan area was hit by a strong earthquake last year, it was the central comfort group

led by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and bearing Chairman Mao's trust that went deep into the affected areas to comfort and bring relief to the stricken people. It was Chairman Hua and other leading central comrades who worked day and night and adopted effective measures to bring succor to the quake victims while firmly withstanding the adverse current stirred up by the "gang of four." This was an example of upholding Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and adhering to the principle of grasping the key link so as to give proper guidance to other work. Ignoring the life and death of the stricken people, the "gang of four," the nation's scourge, paid no attention at all to production and relief work. What they did after they had been well fed was to spread rumors and mislead the public and to scheme for a change of regime. On the day Chairman Mao passed away, Yao Wen-yuan called his faithful follower in the middle of the night, urging him to quickly dish up an article on "being persistent in taking class struggle as the key link and in struggling against the capitalist roaders." After the article was drafted by Cheng Yueh, a pseudonym, Yao Wen-yuan, who said he was "very tense and busy" during those days, took great pains to revise the draft in many places. He added over 700 words.

Waving a red flag to oppose the red flag, calling black white and confounding right and wrong, the article willfully distorted Chairman Mao's instructions, prated about taking class struggle as the key link and vehemently denounced those who refused to "persistently take class struggle as the key link" as "the bourgeoisie inside the party" and "chieftains of the revisionist line." The article made it clear that it was specifically referring to "the truly unrepentant capitalist roader." Whom was the article reviling? This was quite obvious to discerning people. But a thief is a thief. Yao Wen-yuan was afraid the article was too revealing, so he secretly deleted the words "antiquake and relief work" when he was going over the draft. But there was no escape for a counter-revolutionary like Yao Wen-yuan, who sooner or later had to lose his disguises. For instance, the sinister article said provokingly: "In persistently taking class struggle as the key link, struggling against the bourgeoisie inside the party is by far the most important, especially the capitalist roaders in the party." It was Yao Wen-yuan who inserted the last sentence. How utterly vicious he was. Operating as a bunch of political swindlers donning the cloak of Marxism, the "gang of four" were prompted by the reactionary class' true nature to take over the slogan of "class struggle" and to turn it into a counterrevolutionary weapon for carrying out the plot to usurp party and state power. When they were ranting about "grasping class struggle," they were in fact poised to wildly attack the proletariat.

Flaunting the banner of "mourning," Yao Wen-yuan perpetrated antiparty crimes with malicious intentions and by crafty means. By playing the trick of a robber acting like a policeman and hurling accusations at others with ulterior motives, he inserted vicious passages in a number of articles published in the above-mentioned issue of RED FLAG. These

included: "The revisionists have neither truth on their side nor the support of the masses. To subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, they rely mainly on creating splits, on conspiring, rumormongering and slandering to undermine party unity." "The bourgeoisie inside the party first of all have to create counterrevolutionary public opinion before they can engineer counterrevolutionary coups or cause counterrevolutionary disturbances," etc. This worsened the "gang of four's" hideous acts.

RED FLAG No 10 was published before the collapse of the "gang of four." It was a frantic and vicious act designed to create counterrevolutionary public opinion. The leading article, dished up by the hack writers under Yao Wen-yuan's personal direction, was no different from the material cited by Chairman Mao on the counterrevolutionary Hu Feng clique: /"These writings...are records not of success but of failure. They did not save their own clique from destruction."/ ("Preface and Editor's Notes to Material on the Counterrevolutionary Hu Feng Clique") This in fact provides the revolutionary people with rare teaching material by negative example. Didn't Yao Wen-yuan say they were not in the same mood as we were? He might have said the right thing. The proletariat and revolutionary people have never been of the same sentiment as the "gang of four." Chairman Mao's passing saddened us immensely, but the "gang of four" were laughing cynically. Holding high Chairman Mao's great banner and closely following the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we vigorously advance along the line charted by the 11th party congress singing aloud. The dock of history has received the "gang of four," who have now become dog's dung spurned by mankind. Isn't historical dialectics precisely so?

OPPOSITION TO RECTIFICATION MEANS OPPOSITION TO REVOLUTION

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[Article by Lo Yuan-cheng, Chang Cho-yuan and Liu Fu-jung]

[Text] Over a year or so ago, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao antiparty clique, behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee, used the power they had usurped to operate the propaganda machine and stir up a gust of evil wind in regard to the so-called criticism of "Some Problems in Accelerating Industrial Developments" (the "20 Points" for short), branding it as one of the "three big poisonous weeds." They aimed the spearhead at great leader Chairman Mao, esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, wise leader Chairman Hua, Vice Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping and other leading central comrades. The "gang of four's" hideous performance fully revealed their wild ambition to seize party and state power and restore capitalism.

In mounting a counterrevolutionary siege, the "gang of four" concentrated their efforts on attacking the correct policy of rectifying industry as set forth in the "20 Points," a document for rehabilitating industry and putting it in order. Its point of departure is to solve problems caused by the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage, to accelerate industrial development and to improve the overall growth of the national economy, striving to build China into a great, modern and powerful socialist country and to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the wish of hundreds of millions of people throughout the country. The "gang of four," a bane to the nation, were hostile to the people. Opposing and attacking rectification, they tried their utmost to get rid of the "20 Points" by making an issue of it in their antiparty writings.

Attacking the "20 Points," the "gang of four" ranted: "Rectification means restoration." On the contrary, rectification means revolution. Only with rectification can we advance.

Under what circumstances and with what specific purpose in mind was the "20 Points" put forward?

During the second part of 1974, Chairman Mao issued a series of important instructions on studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, on

stability and unity and on pushing the national economy forward. At the Fourth NPC held in January 1975, Premier Chou reiterated the magnificent two-step plan put forward by Chairman Mao regarding the development of the national economy. In line with Chairman Mao's instructions, the party Central Committee and the State Council did considerable work on the economic front, such as achieving quick results in solving industrial problems relating to railway transport and iron and steel production. Following the convocation of the First National Conference on Learning From Ta-chai in Agriculture, presided over by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, an upsurge in popularizing Ta-chai-type counties quickly prevailed throughout the countryside. Amid this excellent situation and in order to solve the problems that arose on the industrial front, the "20 Points"--following Chairman Mao's directives regarding the rectification of the army and the localities--set forth the principles and specific measures for comprehensively adjusting enterprises and industries so as to better implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

What we mean by rectification is the need for conducting a Marxist education movement on a broad scale, i.e., line education, so that problems found in the course of socialist revolution and construction may be solved one after another. The biggest problem confronting socialist revolution and construction in our country at the time was the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line.

On the economic front, the "gang of four" had for a long time frantically opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, principles and policies. They pushed a counterrevolutionary revisionist line to ideologically and organizationally disrupt quite a few enterprises, upsetting production management and causing anarchism and capitalist liberalization to spread unchecked. This undermined the socialist economy and even caused some enterprises to stop work and production. The serious disruption of socialist construction in our country thus made rectification absolutely necessary. Therefore, industrial rehabilitation meets the needs of both revolution and production and the cause of building socialism, since this is a matter of great urgency. In fact, rectification calls for a determined drive against the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line so that the serious effects caused by Lin Piao's and the "gang of four's" sustained and disruptive sabotage activities can be overcome. This contributes to building socialism and consolidating and developing the victorious fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The "gang of four" would flare up when rectification was mentioned. They would, for instance, indiscriminately resort to labeling and bludgeoning. This shows that with rectification they came under fire, for it hit them where it hurt.

Therefore, rectification and counterrectification at that time was a big class battle raging on our country's economic front, with the proletariat pitted against the bourgeoisie. Adhering to rectification thus became a tit-for-tat revolutionary struggle against the "gang of four." The latter

opposed rectification because they were opposed to implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, to consolidating and developing the victorious fruits of the Great Cultural Revolution, and to revolution.

The "gang of four" had keen noses. They sensed something the moment Yao Wen-yuan came upon the first draft of the "20 Points." His counter-revolutionary nerves were jarred by the revolutionary "20 Points," which he regarded with consternation as "very destructive." He hastily adopted the counterrevolutionary tactic of "the best defense is a good offense" and created counterrevolutionary public opinion in a big way. He directed RED FLAG to publish "critical" articles, with himself calling the tune regarding "criticism" of the "20 Points"--such as attacking the proposed rectification as an attempt to "reverse the decisions of the Great Cultural Revolution," to "advocate the theory of the dying out of class struggle regarding line" and to "practice revisionism," etc. These counterrevolutionary tricks were played only too often by the "gang of four."

The "20 Points" was explicit in defining the situation of class struggle on the industrial front at the time, pointing out that the struggle between the two classes, roads and lines there was very fierce. In order to seize leadership power, both old and new bourgeois elements flaunted the banner of opposing restoration while working to restore the old order. They did this to undermine both revolution and production and to wildly attack socialism. In coping with the situation of class struggle on the industrial front at that time, the "20 Points" put forward the correct principle for adjusting enterprises and for launching the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie. This had nothing to do with the theory of the dying out of class struggle. On the contrary, it was to persist in taking class struggle as the key link and in adhering to the party's basic line.

The key to rectifying enterprises lies in the question of leadership. To safeguard the socialist orientation of enterprises, it is imperative that the leadership of enterprises be vested in the proletariat. On the basis of the actual situation of the leading groups of industrial enterprises, the "20 Points" proposed "rectifying those leading groups led by 'petty intellectuals' and 'bolder elements' that have not remolded themselves and seizing back the power usurped by bad people."

When the "20 Points" was drafted in 1975, what it proposed to do had not completely revealed the features of these rotten eggs on whom the "gang of four" relied. Quite obviously, the spearhead was directed at the "gang of four" and their bourgeois factional network. Therefore, this caused the "gang of four" to resist desperately.

Yao Wen-yuan babbled: By eliminating those "petty intellectuals" and "bolder elements" that "have not remolded themselves," the "20 Points" aims at purging the "revolutionary intellectuals" and "people who implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line."

In the RED FLAG article "criticizing" the "20 Points" which he personally revised, Yao Wen-yuan alleged: The "20 Points" "acts in opposition to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." "Instead of criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism and eliminating the capitalist roaders in the party, it directs the spearhead at the so-called 'petty intellectuals' and 'bolder elements.'" He ranted fiercely: "If this does not protect the bourgeoisie and attack the proletariat, what does?"

Very clearly, in their eyes the "proletariat" means those bad and new bourgeois elements like Chen Ah-ta and Weng Sen-ho, a handful of bad persons who take the "gang of four's" cues and seize power from the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Since the "20 Points" aimed at eliminating those bad people entrenched in leading posts, the "gang of four" perforce had to jump out and hit back.

In a talk with his faithful follower associated with RED FLAG, Yao Wen-yuan openly opposed a 1975 central document on problems and solutions relating to the railways that had been personally reviewed by Chairman Mao. He babbled: "The railways were in good hands, but removing cadres in summary fashion has disrupted production." He did this to defiantly wreck railway transport and reverse the verdicts passed on those counter-revolutionary and bad elements bitterly resented by the people. This fully shows that the "gang of four" are typical representatives of the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad people and bourgeois elements, both old and new.

For the sake of usurping leadership power at all levels from the proletariat, the "gang of four" came up with misleading and reactionary slogans such as: "Directing the spearhead at upper levels means following the correct general orientation," "Kicking out the party committee and making revolution," etc. They tried everything possible to paralyze leading groups at all levels in a vain attempt to topple a great number of leading cadres who upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The interference and sabotage of the "gang of four" thus virtually immobilized the party organizations of some enterprises, while laxity in discipline encouraged the bourgeoisie to do evil and bring things to a standstill. This bunch of pests had so seriously jeopardized the cause of socialist revolution and construction that rectification was considered imperative.

The "20 Points" proposed "conducting a concrete analysis of rebellion and going against the tide, depending on which class' rebellion is meant and on the nature of the tide. What is correct must be upheld and what is wrong criticized." "We should particularly guard against a few bad people carrying out disruptive activities in the name of 'rebellion' and 'going against the tide.'" Conducting class analysis of rebellion and going against the tide is fully in accord with Marxist principles. Lenin said: /"Any person, so long as he has studied some history or Marxist theses, should recognize that in undertaking political analysis he should first of all raise the class question: which class' revolution and which class



is counterrevolutionary?"/ ("Seeing the Trees But Not the Forest," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 25, p 245)

However, the "gang of four" did their utmost to oppose the Marxist method of class analysis. They did this first to protect those "fighters going against the tide," with horns on their heads and thorns on their bodies which they had fostered, as well as "rebels," newly engendered counter-revolutionary elements and those given to beating, smashing and looting; second, to label those leading cadres who upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as opponents of the new forces and the Great Cultural Revolution and to topple them so that they could replace them. The RED FLAG article "criticizing" the "20 Points" that Yao Wen-yuan had maliciously revised attacked the correct view given in the "20 Points" as "strangling the working class' revolutionary spirit of rebellion and of going against the tide and allowing the capitalist roaders to promote capitalist restoration as they please." This revealed the "gang of four's" real intentions of so-called "rebellion" and "going against the tide."

The Marxist principle of going against the tide embodies the revolutionary people's opposition to the counterrevolutionary tide and the Marxists' opposition to the revisionist tide. However, the "gang of four" deprived the principle of going against the tide of all its class content and emasculated the revolutionary spirit of the Marxist principle. They equated opposing the leading groups of party committees at all levels and undermining both revolution and production with "going against the tide." This was a deliberate attempt to create chaos, rebelling against the proletariat by flaunting the banner of "rebellion" and opposing socialism in the name of "going against the tide." What they called "going against the tide" was a downright reactionary, adverse current against the party, against socialism and against revolution.

The "20 Points" proposed criticizing capitalist tendencies and striking firm blows at the class enemy's sabotage activities, this being an important task of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, the "gang of four" sprang out to voice their objection, babbling that this was "pointing the spearhead at the lower levels" and "giving the masses a hard time." Their open defiance in shielding the class enemies and their counterrevolutionary activities was detrimental to the socialist economy. In this great political revolution to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must penetratingly repudiate their counterrevolutionary fallacies, distinguish between right and wrong in line and ideology, smash their bourgeois factional network, recapture all the power they have usurped and place leadership over enterprises firmly in the hands of genuine Marxists and the workers.

Yao Wen-yuan also attacked rectification as practicing the "theory of productive forces." Attacking the "20 Points," Chang Chun-chiao, a Kuomintang secret agent, charged that the document "has put forward a

revisionist line, complete with principles and policies; it peddles rubbish that has long ago been criticized, such as material incentives, profits in command, direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned and reliance on experts to run factories." The "gang of four" contrived charges and hurled them at the "20 Points" for the purpose of willfully reversing right and wrong in line. What they opposed was precisely Chairman Mao's line on running enterprises.

The /"Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company"/ approved by Chairman Mao is fundamentally a long-term plan for running socialist enterprises. By implementing the charter in an all-round way, Ta-ch'ing blazed China's own road to industrial development. In line with Chairman Mao's and the party Central Committee's directives and Ta-ch'ing's basic experience, the "20 Points" defined the problems found in enterprise management at the time, pointing out the need to penetratingly criticize the revisionist line in running enterprises and to adhere to the /"Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company."/ It also advocated strengthening party leadership, relying on the working class and adjusting the principles, policies and measures for enterprise management. This embodied Chairman Mao's line for running enterprises. The "gang of four" harbored malicious intentions in branding these as revisionist.

The "gang of four" accused the "20 Points" of publicizing "material incentives" because the document mentioned the need to implement the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work," and proposed caring for the life of the workers.

The socialist principle--he who does not work, neither shall he eat, from each according to his ability and to each according to his work--at the present stage meets the requirements of the development of the productive forces in our country. Applying this principle is beneficial to arousing the masses' socialist enthusiasm for labor, promoting the development of socialist production and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Applying the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" requires that, under the premise of putting politics in command and vigorously promoting the communist labor attitude and in line with the amount of labor performed, contributions made and skills displayed, differentiations in wages and remuneration be appropriately made. At the same time, on the basis of developing production, efforts should also be made to gradually broaden collective welfare. Obviously, this is completely different from practices that write off proletarian politics, use material gains as inducements and encourage people to work for money so that the overall interests of the laboring people and far-reaching communist ideals are forgotten. The "gang of four" branded the socialist principle of "to each according to his work" as "material incentives" in a vain attempt to undermine the party's fine tradition of caring for the life of the masses, to dampen the socialist enthusiasm of the workers and to disrupt the socialist economy.

The "gang of four" accused the "20 Points" of promoting "profit in command" because the document proposed strengthening the economic accounting system and grasping well and achieving all the eight economic and technical targets, including that of profit.

In line with Chairman Mao's instructions in regard to /"attaching equal importance to production and thrift,"/ it is the glorious task of an enterprise to enforce a rigid economic accounting system, grasp well output, variety, quality, consumption of raw and semifinished materials, fuel and motive power, labor productivity, cost, the use of profits and cash flow in order to achieve all the eight economic and technical targets specified by the state and to develop production with greater, faster, better and more economical results. There is nothing wrong with enterprises making a serious effort to implement state plans, increase production and practice thrift, lower costs and increase profits. The greater the profits, the greater the contributions to the state, and this has absolutely nothing to do with "profit in command." Brandishing everywhere the big stick of "putting profits in command," the "gang of four" harbored the malicious intentions of crippling socialist industry, disrupting finance, impoverishing the people, depleting revenues and allowing capitalist tendencies to spread unchecked. These counterrevolutionary crimes had serious effects on the national economy. Isn't this a fact recognized by all?

The "gang of four" attacked the "20 Points" for practicing "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" because the document, in line with Chairman Mao's directives, proposed giving scope to both the central and local initiatives and at the same time strengthening the state's centralized planning.

The premise of consolidating centralized leadership, broadening local authority, giving the local authorities more latitude and allowing them to handle more things embody Chairman Mao's teachings. Bringing the initiative of the local authorities into full play does not mean doing away with unified central leadership and advocating independence. Chairman Mao pointed out: /"To build a powerful socialist country it is imperative to have a strong and unified central leadership and unified planning and discipline throughout the country; disruption of this indispensable unity is impermissible."/ ("On the Ten Major Relationships") The "gang of four" criticized these as manifestations of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned," slandering them as "bourgeois dictatorships" and "comprador-bourgeois economic ideas" and aiming the spearhead directly at Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee. Their purpose was to seize central leadership and set up their own bourgeois independent kingdom. In regions under their control, the "gang of four" set up their own groups, formulated their own policies and rejected tasks imposed by the state planning body, going their own way in planning production, in recruiting workers, in exchanging supplies, in fixing prices and in determining projects. They did as they

pleased, and this had reached very serious proportions. One of the "gang of four's" sworn supporters once ranted: "When the ministers of various central departments have stepped aside, we will have an easy time and get things done without a hitch." Doesn't this show that in opposing "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" they had the intention of wrecking the socialist planned economy and shifting the national economy, as much and as far as possible, into the blind alley of capitalism?

The "gang of four" attacked the "20 Points" for advocating "reliance on specialists to run factories" because the document stressed strengthening centralized direction of production and the bringing into play of the role of engineering and technical personnel.

Organizing modern large-scale production requires centralized direction of production, adherence to scientific rules and regulations and observance of strict discipline. Otherwise, production will get bogged down and equipment damaged, while the safety of the workers and staff can in no way be assured. How absurd and reactionary the "gang of four" were in branding these as "reliance on specialists to run factories" and "revisionist measures to control, check and suppress" the workers. In "On Authority," Engels said: /"Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel."/ ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 552)

What the "gang of four" did was no different from the reactionary practice of turning backward. Running socialist industry requires a large number of economic and technical management experts. Conducting the mass movement in a big way, integrating professional management with worker participation in management work and combining the leadership, the masses and technical personnel are the important substance of the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company." The "gang of four" equated giving full play to the role of engineering and technical personnel under party leadership with "running factories by experts" with the malicious purpose of inciting anarchism, creating confusion and undermining socialist production.

Was any one of the large number of labels pinned by the "gang of four" on the "20 Points" consistent with the facts? None at all. Since they operated a counterrevolutionary "hat factory," they were given to telling blatant lies and calling black white. These absurdities were then firmly rejected and opposed by the cadres and workers, becoming now the target of our revolutionary mass criticism.

Proceeding from the viewpoint of the unity of opposites, dividing one into two in regard to anything, including our work, summing up experience through rectification, citing and commending achievements and eliminating shortcomings to facilitate another round of combat embody Chairman Mao's

consistent thinking and our party's fine tradition. In socialist society, rectification is an important way of adjusting those segments in production relations that are incompatible with the development of productive forces and those in the superstructure that do not correspond with the economic base, and of promoting an upswing in productive forces and the consolidation and development of the socialist system. Only by upholding rectification can we better persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For the sake of usurping party and state power, the "gang of four" openly and defiantly opposed Chairman Mao's explicit instructions in regard to the rectification of the army and the local authorities. They wantonly attacked the "20 Points" for embodying the correct principles in regard to the rectification of industry as defined by the party Central Committee which Chairman Mao headed. Their bitter hatred for and condemnation of rectification precisely shows that we did the right thing and did it well. Therefore, we must successfully rehabilitate enterprises and carry the work through to the end.

With the collapse of the "gang of four" and removal of this stumbling block, the way is now clear for adjusting enterprises. The party Central Committee proposed at the National Conference on Learning From Ta-ch'ing in Industry that in order to popularize Ta-ch'ing-type enterprises and quicken the pace of industrial development it was necessary to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," make a success of education in the party's basic line and resolutely put all enterprises on a sound basis. The party Central Committee's call was well received by the workers throughout the country and supported by them.

The task of rectifying enterprises is formidable. We must first of all earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and grasp this powerful ideological weapon in penetratingly exposing and relentlessly criticizing the "gang of four" and in completely repudiating the ultrarightist nature of their counterrevolutionary revisionist line and all its manifestations. Through extensive study and mass criticism, we must correct the right and wrong in line, ideology and theory reversed by the "gang of four." This will enable the workers and staff of enterprises to have a clear orientation, unify their thinking, practice socialism with vigor and drive, and make their own contributions to the realization of the four modernizations.

In rectifying enterprises it is necessary to rectify the leading groups so that they will become combat headquarters for learning from Ta-ch'ing, to rectify the workers contingent so that it will be a combat body capable of fighting tough battles, and to set up a production command system and political work machinery and put them on a sound footing so as to establish a management system that insures the development of production with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Through rectification, the fine tradition and style of work fostered by Chairman Mao,

particularly the mass line and the fine tradition of seeking truth from facts, plain living and hard struggle and the practice of abiding by discipline, can be restored and carried forward.

Rectifying enterprises is an important part of the revolutionary mass movement to learn from Ta-ch'ing in industry. At this moment, grasping rectification is an important segment of popularizing Ta-ch'ing-type enterprises. We must take Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as the weapon, regard the line of the 11th CCP Congress and Chairman Hua's political report as the guide, and properly adjust all enterprises in line with the requirements for rectifying enterprises put forward at the National Conference on Learning From Ta-ch'ing in Industry.

Since rectification means revolution, this will inevitably lead to accelerated development of production. The strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well, put forward by Chairman Hua, calls for preliminary results this year and satisfactory results within 3 years. Here the question of speed is very important. In the wake of launching the rectification work, we believe, a new and seething upsurge of grasping revolution and boosting production will surely appear on the industrial front throughout the country to promote an all-round leap forward in the national economy.

## STRENGTHEN SOCIALIST LAW AND ORDER

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 81-84

[Article by the theoretical group of the Supreme People's Court]

[Text] In his political report to the 11th National CCP Congress, wise leader Chairman Hua put forward the fighting task of strengthening the people's state apparatus. The strengthening of the socialist legal system is an important measure for strengthening the people's state apparatus and for realizing the strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well. It also has great significance for dealing blows at the class enemies, safeguarding the benefits of the people, upholding social order, promoting stability and solidarity and mobilizing the enthusiasm of the cadres and masses.

With the guidance of Marxist-Leninist theories on the state and law, under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee and in accordance with the needs of the revolutionary struggle, our socialist legal system has been gradually established. It embodies the desires of the working class and other working people and represents the basic interests of the masses. It is the effective weapon with which the masses struggle against the resistance and sabotage of the class enemies and the subversive activities of imperialism, revisionism and reaction and the important tool for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism. Since the founding of the PRC, the socialist legal system has played an important role in the struggles against the enemies, especially in the various political movements of land reform, suppression of the counterrevolutionaries, the wiping out of the counterrevolutionaries, "the movement against three evils" and "the movement against five evils." Under the leadership of the party committees, the judicial organs at the various levels implemented Chairman Mao's line, general and specific policies on relying on the masses to eliminate the counterrevolutionaries, and accordingly suppressed the "despotic rulers of the east and of the west" who had committed numerous crimes and incurred the great indignation of the people, settled and punished a group of counterrevolutionaries and dealt blows at criminals. At the same time, a large number of disputes among the people were settled, many civil cases were handled, revolutionary

order was effectively upheld, and the socialist common property and the safety of the lives and property of the masses was continuously protected. It insured the victorious development of socialist revolution and construction and guaranteed the stability and solidarity of the state. Nobody can deny that these results of our judicial work were some of the proud achievements scored in socialist revolution and construction by the Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee.

Due to their counterrevolutionary requirements for usurping party and state power, the "gang of four" went all out in attacking, vilifying, defaming and sabotaging the socialist legal system. As early as during the initial period of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they made efforts to distort the nature of the socialist legal system and slandered that the socialist legal system "was copied from capitalist countries" and something "revisionist." They completely denied the role of the socialist legal system, obliterating the results of judicial work. They babbled that the judicial work in the 17 years prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had given Liu Shao-chi's counterrevolutionary revisionist line a "dominant position" and "had not done a single bit of good." They maliciously attacked the organs of proletarian dictatorship as some "old apparatus" and attacked government and judicial cadres as "old personnel." They even cried at the top of their voices to "thoroughly smash judicial and public security organs" and "thoroughly improve the dictatorship of the proletariat." In light of the counterrevolutionary nonsense of the "gang of four," esteemed and beloved Premier Chou pointed out at a meeting in 1971 that it was beyond imagination to say that "the sinister line held a dominant position" during those 17 years. It was tantamount to denying Chairman Mao's leadership and revolutionary line. The speech by Premier Chou again set history aright and clarified the ideological confusion created by the "gang of four." The masses of cadres and policemen were jubilant and greatly inspired. The "gang of four" and their sworn followers and confidants harbored hatred in the bottom of their hearts and waited for the right time to make a comeback. In 1975, when the "gang of four" were waging a large-scale struggle against "empiricism" and frenziedly attacking Premier Chou and other leading comrades of the central authorities, one of the followers leaped forward and alleged that "little of the work of the Court of Justice lives up to socialism" and "they have not taken their own road." They harped on the same old tune of "the rule of the sinister line." After the passing of Premier Chou and when Chairman Mao was seriously sick, they again whipped up a sinister trend against the "backlash and restoration of capitalism" in the vain attempt to stigmatize the revolutionary leading cadres on the judicial front as "capitalist roaders on the capitalist road" and "restorationist maniacs." Their sinister intention was to make a mess of the judicial front--politically, to discredit the socialist legal system; ideologically, to confuse the concept of the legal system of the masses of cadres and people; organizationally, to topple the proletarian dictatorship's judicial organs--in order to



fundamentally abolish the socialist legal system, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. For many years, due to the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four," our socialist legal system was weakened and ideology was a mess. Therefore, we must thoroughly expose, profoundly criticize, and completely eliminate the pernicious influence of the perverted actions and all the fallacies the "gang of four" spread on the question of the legal system.

The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has smashed the "gang of four" with a single blow, put forward the strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well, and given guidance to the whole party and people of the whole country in regard to realizing stability and unity, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and achieving peace across the land in the course of the acute struggle between the two classes and lines. It had been the consistent teaching of Chairman Mao that /"Our tool of dictatorship must not be weakened but must be strengthened." "Our present task is to strengthen the people's state apparatus. This mainly refers to the people's army, the people's police and the people's court in order that national defense may be consolidated and the people's interests safeguarded."/ At present, the socialist revolution and construction cause of our country has entered into a new period of development. The rapid and prosperous development of revolution and the emerging new leap forward in the national economy call for the strengthening of our socialist legal system so that it can more effectively deal blows at our class enemies, safeguard the people's interests and protect the socialist system.

In order to strengthen the socialist legal system, the primary tasks are to make a distinction between ourselves and the enemy and strictly differentiate between and correctly handle the two different kinds of contradictions. Chairman Mao taught us that we /"must make a distinction between ourselves and the enemies."/ We must be harsh with our enemies but gentle with our people. The "gang of four" deliberately took enemies for comrades, confused the two different kinds of contradictions, concocted the counterrevolutionary political program "the old cadres are 'democrats' and 'democrats' are 'capitalist roaders,'" vociferously advocated the fallacy of so-called "new changes in class relationships," cried to turn their "spearhead of attack toward the bourgeoisie," and mercilessly attacked, ruthlessly persecuted and exercised fascist dictatorship over leading cadres and the masses who persevered in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. On the other hand, they gave shelter to a handful of counterrevolutionaries and bad elements, allowed them to run wild, attached importance to them and even "broke open the prison to look for the leftists." We must thoroughly criticize and eliminate all the fallacies and the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" in reversing the relations between the enemy and ourselves. We must point our spearhead of dictatorship right at the reactionary class, the reactionaries and the counterrevolutionaries, including the landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists and all traitors. We must also exercise

dictatorship over thieves, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, hooligans, those who practice beating, smashing and looting and the bad elements who seriously sabotage socialist order.

In order to strengthen the socialist legal system, we must correctly handle problems of conflicts among the people. /"Our state organs are state organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Take, for example, the court. It deals with counterrevolutionaries, but it does not do so exclusively. It has to handle many problems which involve conflicts among the people."/ On the one hand, the "gang of four" objected to the judicial organs handling problems involving conflicts among the people and said that "organs of dictatorship should only take care of contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and not those among the people." On the other hand, with an ulterior motive, they advocated that in handling conflicts among the people "it does not matter if some force is used." They encouraged the use of knives, guns and clubs in dealing with the masses, with the intention of sabotaging solidarity among the people, disrupting relations among the people and sabotaging the grasping of revolution and the promotion of production. This fully exposes the counterrevolutionary features of the "gang of four," who deeply hated the people. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings on correctly handling contradictions among the people and correctly settle civil conflicts in accordance with the party's policy and state law in order to defend the legal rights of the masses, strengthen solidarity among the people, establish good social customs and uphold socialist order.

In order to strengthen the socialist legal system, we must work according to law. Working according to law requires taking the situation of class struggle into account, complying with the party's policy and correctly applying the state law. Only by working according to law can we effectively deal blows at the class enemies and defend the people's interests. Any act that does not conform to law should not be allowed. The "gang of four" unscrupulously sabotaged the party's policy and state law. They privately set up the "gang's" law, arrested and imprisoned people freely, conducted private trials, treated human life as no more than grass, provoked struggle by force and practiced fascist terrorism. They brought about very bad results, and the masses of people were extremely furious. The "gang of four" also advocated the so-called "second armed force" to "control and carry out the law" in the vain attempt to replace the judicial organs and usurp the state's judicial powers. They were trampling the constitution underfoot, impairing the revolutionary legal system and running wild! We must thoroughly correct all the illegal behavior that took place as a result of the influence of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line. Chairman Mao had consistently emphasized /"work according to law."/ Chairman Mao also taught us "to attach importance to evidence, investigation and studies. Strictly guard against extorting confessions or believing such confessions." After the smashing of the "gang of four," Chairman Hua gave us the instruction that evidence on which to convict must be reliable. We must work strictly according to

law. Judicial organs and their personnel must set themselves as examples in adhering to the laws and decrees of the land. We must attach importance to evidence, investigations and studies. We should not make subjective speculations nor believe hearsay. Only by so doing can we deal accurate, relentless and steady blows at the class enemies without overlooking a single rascal or misjudging a good man.

In order to strengthen the socialist legal system we must extensively and profoundly unfold propaganda and education on the legal system so that everybody will come to understand that "we must observe the law." The constitution of our country has distinctly stipulated that every citizen must "observe the constitution and law of the PRC." Observing the law of the land is the duty of a citizen. Every citizen must consciously observe the law of the land. The "gang of four" instigated anarchism, conducted and condoned beating, smashing and looting, and eulogized criminals who violated the law as "heroes who go against the tide." As a result, a few people became indifferent to the concept of the legal system and some of them even embarked on a criminal course. The "gang of four" were the major political instigators. At present, we must take exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the key link, extensively unfold propaganda and education on the socialist legal system and fully publicize the great significance of observing law and order for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, realizing stability and unity and building socialism so that the masses of cadres and people can acquire a greater understanding of the concept of the legal system. Under the leadership of the party committees, the judicial organs must closely cooperate with concerned departments to acquire a firm and good grasp of publicizing the legal system as an important task. We should use all means to teach the masses of cadres and people about the legal system. The constitution of the party clearly stipulates that a communist must observe party discipline as well as the law of the land. The violation of the law of the land is the violation of party discipline. Communists and state functionaries must set an example in observing the law and lead the masses to wage struggle against all law breakers.

In order to strengthen the socialist legal system, we must implement the party's mass line and conscientiously carry out the policy of relying on the masses to cooperate with the special organs. The "gang of four" made every effort to sabotage this policy. Flaunting the ensign of "relying on the masses" and "opposing mysticism," they instigated anarchism and argued that the masses could do whatever they wanted to do. In essence, they harbored an extremely malicious intention when they both opposed the mass line and tried to do away with the role of the judicial organs. We must persistently adhere to the mass line under the guidance of the party committees, rely on the masses, conduct investigations and studies, and be down to earth and practical in promoting judicial work.

The most important thing in strengthening the socialist legal system is the strengthening of the leadership of the party over judicial work. We

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must thoroughly criticize the fallacies advocated by the "gang of four" to oppose the party leadership, such as "work in opposition" to the party committees. Judicial organs at all levels must obey the leadership of the party, thoroughly and precisely implement the party's line and general and specific policies, and strengthen building organizationally, ideologically and in style of work.

Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we must hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to the line of the 11th party congress, conduct deep exposure and criticism of the counterrevolutionary revisionist ultrarightist line of the "gang of four," and strengthen the socialist legal system in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, safeguard the socialist legal system and render greater contributions to building our country into a modern and powerful socialist state before the end of the century.

RELY ON THE MASSES AND STRENGTHEN THE DICTATORSHIP--A REPORT ON TUNGLAI  
POLICE STATION IN HARBIN MUNICIPALITY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 8 Oct 77 pp 85-88

[Investigation report by the investigation group of the Heilungkiang  
Provincial CCP Committee and the Harbin Municipal CCP Committee]

[Text] At present there are 15 cadres and policemen at the Tunglai police station in Harbin Municipality. They are shouldering the public security task for the 5,743 households and more than 100 plants, enterprises and schools of Tunglai Commune. Before liberation this place was known as "a place of riffraff" where the dregs of the old society gathered. After liberation and after a series of social reforms, this place underwent fundamental changes. However, the class struggle is still relatively acute and complex. Bearing in mind Chairman Mao's teaching on /"strengthening the people's state apparatus,"/ the cadres and policemen of the Tunglai police station resolutely implement Chairman Mao's line on public security work, perseveringly rely on the masses and exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have dealt effective blows at the sabotage activities of class enemies and criminals, maintained social order and insured the safety of the nation and the lives and property of the people. They have become a police force which the people praise and the enemies fear. The masses praise them as "the sharp daggers in the struggle against the enemies, the old oxen of the masses of people and the revolutionary backbone in braving the sinister wind." Since 1964, this police station has stood like a red flag on the public security front of Heilungkiang Province.

When he was in charge of public security work in October of 1974, wise leader Chairman Hua made important comments and gave instructions on summing up and popularizing the experience of the Tunglai police station. This greatly encouraged and spurred the cadres and policemen of this station. The baneful "gang of four" greatly hated the state apparatus which was under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They maliciously attacked the public security organs as "exercising dictatorship over the proletariat" and called for "thoroughly smashing" the public security organs in a vain attempt to replace the organs with their so-called

"second armed force." In the summer of 1976, a confidant of the "gang of four" in the Public Security Ministry wormed his way into the Tunglai police station to vigorously advocate that "public security work is subordinate to the work of the militia." But the cadres and policemen of the Tunglai police station were loyal and clear-headed. They decided to withstand this gust of sinister wind and to further consolidate the station.

Through struggle, the cadres and policemen of the Tunglai police station have realized that the dictatorship of the proletariat is dictatorship over a handful of class enemies by the masses of people, who make up more than 95 percent of the population, with the guidance of the Communist Party. Only by firmly relying on the masses can this dictatorship be carried out properly. They said, "If the people's police become divorced from the masses of people, it would be like the deaf, blind and crippled. It could not function or put down class enemies. It could not protect the people." For many years they have been criticizing the closed-door policy and secrecy in public security work. Under the leadership of the party committee, they resolutely implement the policy of relying on the masses, coordinate with the special organs and carry out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat down to the grassroot level.

To rely on the masses to exercise dictatorship it is first necessary to publicize the party's basic line, arm the masses with it and continuously increase their awareness of struggling against the enemies. Every cadre and policeman of this station is able to use every opportunity to publicize Chairman Mao's assertions on class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat. They talk to the residents and in schools, shops and factories. They talk about them in ordinary times, when cases arise and when cases are closed. They also provide concentrated publicity several times a year regarding the central work of the party and the public security tasks. From January to August this year, they conducted propaganda four times regarding the situation of class struggle in their area. They conducted propaganda on the party's basic line and taught people about the socialist legal system. This station always selects some typical cases and through such forms as criticism, struggle and policy implementation and demonstration meetings, teaches the masses with vivid facts of class struggle.

/"Once the masses know the truth and have a common aim, they will work together with one heart."/ As a result of repeated efforts at penetrating propaganda and education, the masses of people increased their awareness, strengthened their revolutionary alertness and further displayed their initiative in struggling against bad things. This has brought about an excellent situation in which everyone is concerned about class struggle and always keeps an eye on the class enemies. They are ready to deal blows at the class enemies. In the summer of 1975, several women of Court No 4, Hsiaoshuiching Street, heard about the party's basic line. They took the initiative to gather together to study the situation of class struggle. They noted that an old spinster in the neighborhood

suddenly began to put on airs. She often stayed at home to pray. She often had visitors, and they told the children that there would be a "big disaster." These unusual things attracted their attention. They immediately informed the police station. Having studied the situation in depth, the upper-level public security organ found that this woman was a backbone element in a major counterrevolutionary case under investigation. Therefore, measures were quickly taken and the case was closed. Within the area of the Tunglai police station, over 80 percent of crimes of all kinds uncovered in recent years have been exposed and reported by the masses.

To rely on the masses in exercising dictatorship it is necessary to go deep among the masses to carry out investigations, distinguish between different class fronts, and clearly determine on whom to rely, to unite with, to win over through education or to isolate and attack. As early as 1958, the cadres and policemen already persevered in going deep among the people to make investigations and studies and to get to know the population. They have been able to "address a person by name and to know the person by name." People call all of them "family friends." However, in a vain attempt to disrupt the class fronts, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" antiparty clique instigated monsters and freaks of all descriptions to restore reactionary rule and capitalism. Influenced by this gust of sinister wind, some people vilified the efforts made by the Tunglai police station to get to know the people as "vocation in command" and "family friends" as "family poison." The cadres and policemen of the station did not fear attacks or labels; they kept investigating the population to get to know the people, looking upon this as a basic measure to defend the people and attack the enemies. They asked all policemen engaged in outdoor services to acquire an understanding of the fundamental situation of the adult population. Regarding problem persons, one should have a clear idea of the nature of the problem, of the major causes of the problem and of the actual manifestation and connections, and should understand their changes in thought, in economic life and interpersonal relations. In acquiring a good knowledge of every adult in their area, the people's policemen are not afraid of difficulties or troubles. They continue to make investigations and studies of every household, unit and court. They have further distinguished the class fronts and have laid a good foundation for reliance on the majority of the masses to exercise dictatorship over a handful of class enemies.

To rely on the masses to exercise dictatorship it is necessary to rally them together to form a fighting force under the dictatorship of the masses. In the movement to suppress counterrevolutionaries, Chairman Mao pointed out: /"It is necessary to organize the people's public security committees on a wide scale throughout the country in this great struggle to suppress the counterrevolutionaries."/ Facts show that the public security committee is a good way to organize the people to exercise dictatorship. However, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" whipped up a sinister wind of combining militia, public security and fire service into one in a vain attempt to do away with the mass public security

organizations, sever the relationship between the masses and the public security organs and sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat. The cadres and policemen of the Tunglai police station constantly struggled against the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four." They have continued to promote the building of public security committees. Taking these committees as the backbone, they rally activists into 31 groups to supervise the reform of four kinds of bad elements and into 18 groups to help rehabilitate convicts. They have also formed small mass patrol units and mass mutual aid groups "to guard against four kinds of crimes" in their area. These mass organizations of public security have played important roles in guarding against crimes, dealing blows at the sabotage activities of class enemies and in educating and rehabilitating four kinds of bad elements and criminal elements.

This police station has made great efforts in using various kinds of appropriate methods to reform members of reactionary classes into new persons. They conscientiously organize the masses to supervise the reform of these persons. They conduct education and evaluate the results by the end of the year. Those who perform well are encouraged, and those who perform poorly are criticized by the masses immediately. Through protracted reform, the majority of these four kinds of bad elements have become good, and some of them have gotten rid of their labels. A former counterrevolutionary was once sentenced by the 11th neighborhood committee. The sentence was not incarceration because of his ill health. At first his attitude was insincere. Through criticism, struggle and repeated education by the masses, he admitted his guilt and served his term. He behaved himself, took part in productive labor and conscientiously changed himself. He also took the initiative in reporting and exposing bad elements and bad deeds. Having been examined by the masses and approved by the upper levels, and according to the party's policy, he lost his label. In general, this police station turns criminal elements, except for the few incorrigibles, over to the masses for education and transformation. The primary purpose is to educate them regarding the situation, the future and observance of the law through mass aid and teaching groups. Regarding those who have generally behaved illegally and criminally, they are helped to increase their understanding, to clearly see their future and to change their bad habits through various forms of study classes and neighborhood committees, and by cadres of residential groups, their parents, relatives and friends. By means of mass aid and education activities, most problem persons in the area of the Tunglai police station have been able to change their stand, start afresh and actively take part in labor.

Through struggle, the cadres and policemen of the Tunglai police station have realized that in order to fulfill the task set by the party to rely on the masses and strengthen the dictatorship of the masses they must do well in revolutionizing their thinking, embracing the idea of wholeheartedly serving the people, maintaining and carrying forward the fine tradition of adhering to policy, maintaining discipline and cherishing the



people, maintaining closer ties with the masses and establishing a harmonious relationship between the people and the police. They have borne firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teaching at the second plenary session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee that /"the comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle."/ They maintain a firm stand and clear banners. They dare to brave the evil wind and fight the difficult wave. They have won the warm praise and support of the masses.

The police station is a basic unit of the public security organ. It holds part of the important power. To avoid attack and reform, the class enemies always vainly attempt to use such means as bribes and material inducements to curry favor with and corrupt the cadres and policemen of the public security organ. To pursue personal gain, there are also people who ask the cadres and policemen of the public security organ to help them "take the back door" and to do something counter to policies by means of giving them dinners or presents or through representations by friends. Thinking clearly, the cadres and policemen of the Tunglai police station understand that no matter whether this gust of evil wind is blown by the class enemies or by the people, it is essentially an attack on the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. If one does not remain alert and does not fight, he can easily be hit by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie. They said, "The power entrusted to us by the party and the people can only be used to serve the people wholeheartedly. We must not use it to pursue the slightest personal gain. Abusing our power would be a crime against the people." For years this station has been persevering in the fight against corruption, braving the evil wind, opposing prerogatives, and looking upon these measures as major matters in persevering in Marxism, persevering in the party's basic line and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The party branch of the police station leads the cadres and policemen to seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to constantly criticize the bourgeois thought and the old style of work of policemen. On the basis of full discussion, the party branch has also made the decisions to forbid encroaching upon the interests of the masses or accepting gifts from them; forbid taking advantage of one's position to establish influence, "to take the back door" and to pursue personal benefits; and forbid the violation of party policies and seeking privileges. They have made these decisions public and asked the masses to exercise supervision. They have also insisted on making reports on the work of the station to the masses twice a year and on receiving criticism from them. Thus, the cadres and policemen have continued to increase their awareness of the class and line struggles and to raise their consciousness in fighting corruption and in braving evil winds, thus becoming stronger. From wherever the smelly winds and poisonous fog may come, they can still see clearly and stand firm. The political instructor of the station, Comrade Yin Yen-heng, is a good pacesetter in fighting against corruption. There once was a bad element who had not been properly reformed. He asked someone to pay Comrade Yin a visit at

his home to ask for the removal of his label. The visitor said, "Oh, old Yin, that fellow has been behaving perfectly. It is only a piece of paper. You sign it and he will be rid of his label. After you have done it, you can ask for whatever you want." Old Yin immediately realized that it was a bullet fired by the class enemy in order to escape reform. If he signed the paper, it would be a breach in the dictatorship of the proletariat by the class enemies. Old Yin sternly criticized the visitor. The next day he organized the masses to criticize and struggle against the bad element. They asked him to behave properly, to stop talking irresponsibly and to stop acting irresponsibly. The cadres and policemen treat old friends, old colleagues and even their own relatives the same way they treat class enemies who follow an incorrect style of work. They are brave in resisting the incorrect style of work. They adhere to their principles and, without fail, they work according to the party's policy. They also patiently persuade and enthusiastically help these people. The head of the station, Comrade Sung Hui-chuan, was brought up in his elder sister's family. When he was still a policeman, the younger brother of his sister's husband fell in love with a girl from the countryside and wanted to bring her to the city. His sister kept pressuring him to settle the matter. Comrade Sung Hui-chuan said that this was not in keeping with policy and so set it aside. His sister became angry, and his mother said that he had no feeling for a "relative." Comrade Sung Hui-chuan perseveringly worked on his mother and sister. Thus, he convinced his relatives regarding the party's policy. In this way they have been able to resist corruption and have become examples of adhering to the party's policy and maintaining discipline.

In order to aid the masses and settle problems in a timely way, this station has always kept over half of its cadres and policemen in central locations every day. They work every day, 24 hours a day. When the masses have problems and look for them, they can come and settle the problem right away. They are concerned with the sickness and sufferings of the masses; the worries and needs of the masses are also their worries and needs. Whenever there are heavy rains, they go to the residential district to see if there are any leaking houses and to help people living in low-lying areas to drain away the rainwater. When winter comes they go to each household to conduct propaganda on fire prevention. Whenever the masses face danger, they remain undaunted and step forward to rescue them. It has become the habitual practice of the cadres and policemen to help the masses by bringing doctors and medicine and looking up relatives and friends. They help the aged and the young and assist dependents of martyrs and army men and "five guaranteed" households as their daily chores. When the masses' interests are endangered, they always go all out to protect them. The masses of Tailai Street once reported that some children had turned bad for unknown reasons. The parents were very worried. Having learned of the situation, the cadres and policemen felt the same as the parents. They went out early and came back late, going into the streets and among the people. They worked patiently and carefully on the affected children. After doing this for over a month, they finally uncovered an

instigator who had been well hidden. She was a bad element who greatly hated the socialist system. She vainly attempted to disrupt social peace and order by encouraging the children to commit crimes. According to her record and the requests of the masses, and with the approval of higher levels, the police station immediately arrested and tried her. The masses were rid of a pest.

The fine style of work of the cadres and policemen of the Tunglai police station has deeply moved the masses of people of the area under its control. The masses look upon them as close friends. In politics, they give them great trust; in ideology, they give them enthusiastic help; in work, they give them active support. The residents of the area constantly give reports on the situation to the cadres and policemen. They actively take part in class struggle. Whenever there is an emergency or important work to do, they would rather stay hungry and sleepless fighting alongside the cadres and policemen in fulfilling the task. The head of the sixth neighborhood committee is a communist, Comrade Yang Chu, nearly 60 years old. She is weak and always sick. But she insists on carrying out public security work properly. She often says, "If we and the comrades of the police station stick together, bad people will not dare to make trouble." She closely unites with the masses, supervises the reform of the four kinds of bad elements, helps teach the criminals, and leads a patrol team in conducting night patrol the year round in all kinds of weather. Bad people in the area dare not make reckless moves, and bad people from outside cannot gain a foothold here. For years this neighborhood committee has not had a single case of crime or fire.

At present the cadres and policemen of the Tunglai police station are penetratingly studying and carrying out the line of the 11th party congress. They are determined to forever hold high Chairman Mao's great banner, seriously implement Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well, carry out public security work properly, deal blows at class enemies, safeguard the lives and property of the people and struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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