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CONTENTS	PAGE
Persevere in Grasping the Key Link in Running the Army Well and Accelerate the Building of Our Army--Criticizing the 'Gang of Four's' Crimes in Opposing the 1975 Enlarged Meeting of the Military Commission (pp 2-11) (Theoretical group of the Headquarters of the General Staff of the PLA).....	1
Liang Hsiao--The Anxious Vanguard of the 'Gang of Four' in Usurping Party and State Power (pp 12-19) (Theoretical group of Peking University).....	13
Clearly Distinguish Between Right and Wrong in Line and Develop the Socialist Sports Enterprises at High Speed (pp 20-24) (Wang Meng).....	25
From the 'Two Assessments' to the Counterrevolutionary Political Program (pp 25-28) (Wang Ta-jen).....	35
Lay Bare the 'Gang of Four's' Sham Dialectics (pp 29-34) (Wu Chun-tse, Shen Chung, Hsu Hsi-hui).....	43
The Fundamental Way To Do a Good Job of Building Political Power Is To Link With the Masses (pp 35-39) (Mao Chih-yung).....	54

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
Further Develop the Revolutionary United Front (pp 40-44) (Theoretical study group of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee).....	64
Give Free Rein to the Masses To Smash the Assaults of the Urban and Rural Capitalist Forces (pp 45-48) (Liao Chih-kao).....	71
Railways Must Function as the Vanguard in the High-Speed Development of the National Economy (pp 49-53) (Tuan Chun-i).....	79
Make a Success of Standardization, Serialization and Versatility of Farm Machines (pp 54-57) (Policy Research Office of the State Standard Weights and Measures Bureau).....	90
Distinguish Between Right and Wrong and Continue the Revolution (pp 58-59) (Yen Ping).....	97
Create a High Speed (pp 59-60) (Tung Yuan).....	99
An Inquiry Into Thinking in Terms of Images--Studying 'Chairman Mao's Letter to Comrade Chen I Discussing Poetry' (pp 61-65) (Pu Man-chun).....	101
Certain Material Regarding 'Thinking in Terms of Images' (pp 66-73) (Literary and art theory group of the Institute of Literature).....	110
The History of the Proletarian Literary and Art Movement Will Shine Forever--Criticizing the 'Gang of Four's' Theory of Literary and Art 'Blankness' (pp 74-78) (Mass criticism group of the Hupeh Provincial CCP Committee).....	123
Study the Revolutionary Spirit of the Party Committee of a Certain Air Force Division (pp 79-80) (Hsu Cheng, Liu I-cheng).....	133

PERSEVERE IN GRASPING THE KEY LINK IN RUNNING THE ARMY WELL AND ACCELERATE  
THE BUILDING OF OUR ARMY--CRITICIZING THE 'GANG OF FOUR'S' CRIMES IN  
OPPOSING THE 1975 ENLARGED MEETING OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 78 pp 2-11

[Article by the theoretical group of the Headquarters of the General Staff  
of the PLA]

[Text] In the great, historic decisive battle between our party and the "gang of four", a heated struggle has unfolded on the military front, revolving around the affirmation or negation of the 1975 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission. This is a struggle over supporting or opposing Chairman Mao's military concepts and line and a struggle over doggedly building the army into a strong pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat or turning it into a tool of bourgeois careerists for usurping party and state power. A serious combat task confronting us is to raise high Chairman Mao's great banner, thoroughly expose and criticize the "gang of four's" crimes in opposing the 1975 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission, set straight right and wrong reversed by them on major issues, persevere in grasping the key link in running the army well and speed up the building of our army.

EXPOSE A BIG PLOT OF THE "GANG OF FOUR" TO OPPOSE THE ARMY AND CREATE CHAOS IN THE ARMY

The 1975 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission, called because of the great concern shown by great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and held under his leadership, was a meeting to raise high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and a meeting of great historical significance. Guided by a series of important directives by Chairman Mao, this meeting incisively analyzed the situation of class struggle at home and abroad and the conditions of the army. It put forward "THE ARMY MUST BE CONSOLIDATED" and "BE PREPARED FOR WAR" as the key link in army work. It laid down the guidelines, general policies and measures for building our army. This meeting adhered to the basic principle, "PRACTICE MARXISM, AND NOT REVISIONISM; UNITE, AND DON'T SPLIT; BE OPEN AND ABOVEBOARD, AND DON'T INTRIGUE AND CONSPIRE." It penetratingly criticized Lin Piao's counterrevolutionary revisionist line and waged a struggle against the "gang of four's" conspiratorial activities to oppose the army and create chaos in it. Vice Chairman Yeh Chien-ying and Vice Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping spoke at the meeting. They correctly upheld Chairman Mao's military concepts and line and spelled out what was in the hearts of the commanders and fighters. This made the orientation of army building even clearer. This meeting played a great part in stimulating army work in various fields, restoring and carrying forward our army's fine traditions and resisting the "gang of four's" conspiratorial activities to usurp party and state power. It had a great impact on the party and the country on various fronts. From top to bottom the army supported it. The people found it a source of great satisfaction. Their morale rose considerably.

"WHEN THE MASSES OF PEOPLE ARE HAPPY, COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES WILL SUFFER." The "gang of four", who had long harbored the dream of putting the army under their control, dreaded this meeting very much and hated it like poison. Wang Hung-wen and Chang Chun-chiao were on pins and needles. They spoke not a word at the meeting. They watched on the sidelines waiting for their chance to launch a counterattack. By various despicable means, they hatched a string of conspiratorial activities. They hit out at and framed Vice Chairman Yeh and Vice Chairman Teng. They totally negated the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission. They directed the spearhead at the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

Let's look at how the "gang of four" acted;

They stabbed people in the back and attacked by insinuation. While the meeting was in progress, the "gang of four" instructed their flunkys to successively trot out two sinister articles entitled "Tiao Hsiao-san's logic" and "The 'Image' of the 8th Route Army." These articles obliquely attacked the correct decisions adopted at the meeting and maliciously vilified our army cadres. They showed their deepseated hatred for the people and the army.

They brought their stick to bear and combined harassment with sabotage. The leading groups of various major units appointed with Chairman Mao's approval were vilified by them as "restoration groups." They bemoaned the fact that those close to them in the army had dwindled to a "miserable" few. They used their usurped power to thwart in every way the reorganization and establishment of leading groups. They attacked the rectification of bad practices as a case of "directing the spearhead downward" and "leaning too much to one side." When activities in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Long March were launched, they made a practice of tracing the "political backgrounds" of those involved. When concrete measures to prepare for war were adopted, they cried that this was "suppressing revolution with war preparations." When we called for the implementation of rules and regulations, they babbled that this was promoting "slavishness." Everything they did and said was aimed at spoiling the excellent situation of consolidating the army.

They fanned up evil winds and made trouble at grassroots levels. Towards the end of 1975, upon the instructions of their master, the confidants of the "gang of four" slipped in to a group in Shanghai where they made the people treat the Military Commission with suspicion and "criticize" the documents of its enlarged meeting. Later, in disregard of the opposition of cadres and fighters, they "acted against" the Military Commission by citing a sinister experience involving so-called "four courages" (the courage to talk, the courage to analyze, the courage to criticize and the courage to fight). They followed this up with meetings and newspaper propaganda, and fanned up the sinister wind of opposing the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission.

They collected materials and prepared sinister "shells." Through that "spy" installed in a certain department, Wang Hung-wen took possession of many secret documents and confidential data and concocted so-called "analytical" materials slandering the speeches by Vice Chairman Yeh and Vice Chairman Teng at the enlarged meeting. They instructed their flunkys at Tsinghua and Peking universities to put Vice Chairman Teng's speech at the enlarged meeting in the "excerpts of speeches." They took these as sinister materials for hitting out at and framing Vice Chairman Yeh and Vice Chairman Teng.

After careful planning, Wang Hung-wen and Chang Chun-chiao appeared on the front maliciously attacking Vice Chairmen Yeh's and Teng's speeches as "opposing Chairman Mao's proposal to take class struggle as the key link," "altering the party's basic line," "negating dialectics," "revisionist trash," and so forth. They vainly tried to totally negate the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission and negate Chairman Mao's military concepts and line. Especially after the passing of esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and during great leader Chairman Mao's serious illness, the "gang of four", with madness grown 10-fold and hatred grown 100-fold, launched an overall counterattack in an organized and planned manner. They stepped up pushing their counterrevolutionary political program on all fronts and whipped up a gust of sinister wind in opposing the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission. They maliciously attacked consolidation, babbling that "consolidation is restoration" and that consolidation was "getting rid of the results of the Great Cultural Revolution." [paragraph continues]



They slandered the firm implementation of the party's policies as "recruiting hermits," "calling into office those who have fallen into obscurity," and "home-going legions launching a vengeful counterattack." They attacked the criticism of bourgeois factionalism as "hitting out at new forces."

They drew up a plan for the overall usurpation of party, state and military power. They instigated "ferreting out capitalist roaders in the army" everywhere and sought to create "earthquakes" in a rabid attempt to oppose the army, create chaos in the army and usurp military power.

A host of facts show that the "gang of four's" opposing the 1975 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission was a carefully thought out big plot and an important part of their conspiratorial activities to usurp supreme party and state leadership. Like all bourgeois careerists and conspirators, the "gang of four" knew well that to usurp party and state power, they must get hold of the gun. Chiang Ching said with bitter hatred: "I hate not having in hand a knife with which I can deprive one of life." Chang Chun-chiao said: "A political regime can't do without the backing of the army." Wang Hung-wen also said: "My greatest worry now is that we have no army under our control." They resorted to all kinds of intrigues and tricks in opposing the 1975 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission. This was a vain attempt to turn the situation of the party controlling the gun into one of the gang controlling the gun. The people's army will forever be loyal to the party. It forms an impregnable great wall. The perverted actions of the "gang of four" aroused the resolute resistance and opposition of the commanders and fighters of the army. Confronted by the people's army personally created and cultivated by Chairman Mao, the "gang of four" could only end up being shamefully defeated in their plot to usurp party and state power.

**PERSIST IN TAKING "THE ARMY MUST BE CONSOLIDATED" AND "BE PREPARED FOR WAR" AS THE KEY LINK IN ARMY WORK**

One despicable means adopted by the "gang of four" in opposing the 1975 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission was to make much of the problem of the key link. They maliciously attacked taking "THE ARMY MUST BE CONSOLIDATED" and "BE PREPARED FOR WAR" as the key link in army work and called this "opposing class struggle as the key link," "altering the party's basic line," and "running counter to Chairman Mao's military line." This was a vain attempt to basically negate Chairman Mao's correct line, to which the conference adhered.

What is the key link? "THE KEY LINK IS THE MAIN THEME"; to grasp the key link is to get hold of the main theme and of the main contradictions. Chairman Mao's directive "CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE KEY LINK" stresses the main theme in class society. It is a Marxist scientific thesis. In the long history of class society, class struggle is always the key link and the direct motive force behind social development, whether it is realized as such by people or not. This is a universal law applicable to the development of class society. The different stages of development of class society and the different areas of social life have their own peculiar laws. Chairman Mao integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and applied the basic materialist-dialectical principles about the universality and peculiarity of contradictions to solving the problem of tactics and strategy in the Chinese revolution. He provided us with not only a fundamental party program but also the concrete programs for different stages of revolution and different periods and not only the party's general line and general policies but also the concrete lines and concrete policies for various tasks. With his great revolutionary practice, Chairman Mao set us a shining example in grasping the key link in an overall manner.

The "gang of four" distorted and tampered with Chairman Mao's directive, "CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE KEY LINK AND AFTER IT COMES EVERYTHING ELSE." They allowed only mentioning taking class struggle as the key link and did not allow mentioning the key links to be grasped in different periods and in different areas. Anyone who ran afoul of the gang rule was subjected to the serious charge of "promoting the theory of many key links" and accused of "confusing the key link and everything else" and "replacing the key link with everything else." This is a typical example of their running wild metaphysically. It basically runs counter to Chairman Mao's consistent teachings and revolutionary practice.

Chairman Mao said, "CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE KEY LINK AND AFTER IT COMES EVERYTHING ELSE." By this, he meant the relationship between class contradictions and various other contradictions. In no way did he mean that we cannot have key links or talk about key links in other areas. In the whole historical period of socialism, the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeois and the contradictions between socialism and capitalism and their being gradually solved constitute the main theme and the key link. Chairman Mao time and again taught us that we must consistently grasp as the key link the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle between two classes and two roads is reflected in the party in concentrated form as a struggle between the Marxist line and the revisionist and opportunist line. So, Chairman Mao again said, "THE LINE IS THE KEY LINK: ONCE IT IS GRASPED, EVERYTHING ELSE FALLS INTO PLACE." The concrete content of class struggle and line struggle as a key link varies with different periods and different areas. For instance, in the 10th line struggle, the struggle between two classes and two roads manifested itself in concentrated form as a struggle between our party and the Lin Piao antiparty clique. The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao proposed "taking the criticism of Lin Piao and the rectification of the work style as the key link." At present and for a certain period to come, the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" is the focus of the struggle between the two classes and two roads. Chairman Hua pointed out: "To grasp this struggle is to grasp the key link."

Chairman Mao not only repeatedly stressed that the whole party, the whole army and the whole country must persist in taking class struggle as the key link, but also often referred to the key links in different areas. For instance, we were required to "TAKE STEEL AS THE KEY LINK" in industry, and "TAKE GRAIN AS THE KEY LINK" in agriculture. On the one hand, Chairman Mao stressed that we must not forget the party's general line and general policies. On the other, he pointed out: Just having the general line is not enough. Under the guidance of the general line, we must have a whole set of concrete guidelines, general policies and measures suitable for different conditions in industry, agriculture, trade, education, military affairs, administrative affairs and party affairs. This tells us that in the three major revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, various areas can, in the light of their own peculiar features and laws, single out the main contradictions with leading and decisive roles to play as key links guiding their own work. This is a Marxist scientific means of analyzing and solving problems.

The "gang of four" attacked our pinpointing the key links in different periods and in different areas as promoting the "theory of many key links." [paragraph continues]

The spearhead was directed straight at Chairman Mao. This was opposing Mao Tsetung Thought. Only by persistently grasping well not only the key link of class struggle in the whole historical period of socialism but also the key links in different periods and in different areas can we completely and accurately understand and master Chairman Mao's thinking on grasping the key link. If, like the "gang of four," we should separate the key link of class struggle from the key links in different periods and in different areas and set them in opposition, then we would not only negate the key links in different periods and in different areas but also negate the key link of class struggle itself. The key link would be reduced to nothing but a useless rope hanging in the air.

To put forward "THE ARMY MUST BE CONSOLIDATED" and "BE PREPARED FOR WAR" as the key link in army work in a given period of time--is this embodying the key link of class struggle and grasping the main theme in army work? The answer is yes.

Our army is the principal tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In both international and domestic class struggles, the army is the principal tool. The 1975 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission correctly analyzed the situation of class struggle at the time and the principal contradiction in the work of the army. It pointed out that faced with aggression and threats of imperialism and particularly social imperialism, we had to intensify preparations against a war of aggression. The meeting fully affirmed that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line had always occupied the leading position in our army and that the main current was good.

However, Lin Piao's bourgeois military line had quite a disruptive effect on the building of our army. As early as 1971, considering the evil consequences created by Lin Piao's line, Chairman Mao sharply raised the question of "THE NEED TO CONSOLIDATE THE ARMY." He pointed out: "GRASPING THE WORK OF THE ARMY SIMPLY MEANS STUDYING THE LINE AND CORRECTING UNDESIRABLE PRACTICES. IT MEANS THAT WE MUST NOT SET UP MOUNTAIN STRONGHOLDS NOR PRACTICE SECTARIANISM. IT MEANS WE MUST STRESS UNITY." Due to the "gang of four's" obstruction and disruptive efforts, Chairman Mao's directive was not truly implemented. Without eliminating the pernicious influence and effects of Lin Piao's line and not removing the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four," our army could not advance nor in any way meet the requirements of the situation in class struggle at home and abroad.

It was under these circumstances that the 1975 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission emphasized the need to implement Chairman Mao's directive and, beginning with consolidation, to consolidate the leading groups properly in the first place and to build up the army well. To consolidate is to prepare to fight. To prepare to fight mainly involves successful consolidation. The two are consistent with each other. As practice proves, proposing "THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE ARMY" and "BE PREPARED FOR WAR" as the key link is exactly for the purpose of grasping the main theme of army work in a given period of time. This is fully compatible with the requirements of the developing class struggle situation at home and abroad and of giving full expression to Chairman Mao's military concepts and line. It is entirely correct and absolutely timely to do so.

The "gang of four" said that to propose "THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE ARMY" and "BE PREPARED FOR WAR" as the key link was to "oppose taking class struggle as the key link." This was nothing short of absurdity. Consolidation from our point of view meant taking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the weapon to get rid of the practices advocated by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," to surmount the bourgeois way of thinking, to restore and promote the fine traditions of our army they had destroyed and to assure more thorough implementation of Chairman Mao's military line. [paragraph continues]

Consolidation means combating and preventing revisionism and persevering in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it means raising the fighting capability of the armed forces. What is this for? Is it not for grasping class struggle? War is the highest form of class struggle--this is Marxist common knowledge. To prepare to fight is to guard against an aggressive war released by Soviet revisionism and American imperialism and for the purpose of liberating Taiwan and unifying the mother country. Again, what is this for? Is it not for grasping class struggle? It is clear that taking "CONSOLIDATION OF THE ARMY" and "BE PREPARED FOR WAR" as the key link is decidedly not to "oppose taking class struggle as the key link," but to give full expression to class struggle as the key link and to implement the party's basic line throughout the historical period of socialism.

Vice Chairman Yeh pointed out incisively: "Lin Piao, the 'gang of four' and their associates either separated Marxism from Mao Tsetung Thought or set one principle of Marxism against another. They often ignored the historical conditions and the spirit and substance of the original works. Instead, they picked out a few words from them to cheat and browbeat others." This was what the "gang of four" did in opposing the 1975 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission. They fomented confusion on the question of key link because they vainly tried to radically negate the 1975 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission, push their counterrevolutionary political program, oppose the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and carry out wild bourgeois attacks against the proletariat in order to attain their criminal goal of usurping party and state power and restoring capitalism.

We must adhere to the correct orientation set by the 1975 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission. To take class struggle as the key link throughout the historical period of socialism is not to be doubted. Now and for some time to come, it is necessary to properly grasp the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," to carry this great political revolution through to the end and win complete victory. This is the key link the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country must grasp. So far as army work is concerned, it is also necessary to grasp well the "CONSOLIDATION OF THE ARMY" and "BE PREPARED FOR WAR" as the key link. All the work of our army must take this as the theme and focal point for some time to come. For only thus can we truly implement the various fighting tasks set by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and by its Military Commission for grasping the key link in running the army well.

**"ACCELERATE THE BUILDING OF OUR ARMY ALONG REVOLUTIONARY AND MODERN LINES"**

The 1975 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission laid down a series of principles, policies and measures for accelerating the building of our army along revolutionary and modern lines. This was a major strategic plan bearing on all aspects of army construction and war preparations. The "gang of four" smeared this as "the bourgeois military line." When we went in for training and studying techniques and other professional matters, they said we opposed putting politics in command and that ours was "purely a military viewpoint." When we undertook scientific research and armament, they said we opposed the concept of people's war and embraced the "theory that weapons decide everything," and so on and so forth. Is it necessary for the army to build itself faster along revolutionary and modern lines? On this major question, we must get back to the right track and clarify what is right and wrong in line. Is it true that to accelerate the modernization of a revolutionary army and to do a good job of all aspects of military work is to embrace "purely military viewpoint" and to negate politics in command? This is nothing but poppycock. Concerning army construction, Chairman Mao always taught us to insist on putting politics in command of military affairs and to have revolutionization lead modernization. [paragraph continues]

In the resolutions of the Kutien meeting held long ago, Chairman Mao sharply criticized the purely military viewpoint which "HOLDS THAT MILITARY AFFAIRS AND POLITICS ARE OPPOSED TO EACH OTHER AND DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THAT THE MILITARY MACHINE IS ONLY ONE OF THE TOOLS FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF THE POLITICAL TASK." Since the founding of new China, he again pointed out on a number of occasions: "THE UNITY OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS AND THE UNITY OF POLITICS AND TECHNIQUES ARE NOT TO BE DOUBTED; THIS IS SO EVERY YEAR AND WILL ALWAYS BE SO." He cautioned us: "WE MUST OPPOSE ARMCHAIR POLITICIANS ON THE ONE HAND AND PRACTICAL MEN WHO LOSE THEIR BEARINGS ON THE OTHER."

Politics and military affairs are a dialectical unity. Military affairs serve politics, and politics commands military affairs and insures the fulfillment of the military task. When we emphasize placing politics in command and ideology in the lead, we mean to arm ourselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, seriously implement the party's line, principles and policies, promote our party's and army's fine traditions and work styles, and to fully arouse the people's initiative and creativeness in doing all kinds of revolutionary work well and pushing army building forward.

A revolutionary army must at all times give serious attention to revolutionizing people's ideology. Unless it is injected with a progressive political spirit, an army will lose its bearings and take to a sidetrack. However, why do we have to pay so much attention to people's ideology? Because we want to transform the objective world and in the course of transforming the objective world we must transform our subjective world as well. How can revolutionization be achieved if it is alienated from all kinds of revolutionary practice? In speaking of politics in command, if we do not "link" it with all kinds of revolutionary work, will that "commander" not become "one without troops"? If an army does not do military work, will it be an army any more? By shouting all day long about "grasping the line," "grasping the key link" and "putting the commander in command," the "gang of four" actually tied ropes around people's necks and bound their hands and feet, so that they might strangle the revolution, substitute their revisionist line for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and realize their criminal goal of usurping the army to oppose the party. Such was their "politics"!

Is it true that to speed up the modernization of the revolutionary army and continue to improve its technical and material conditions is to "propagate the theory that weapons decide everything" and negate the concept of people's war? This is slander with an axe to grind. Marxism holds that the people are always the mainstay of war, the decisive factor for victory or defeat in war. No new weapons can alter the fundamental law of people's war, which was, is and will always be the magic wand for the defeat of our enemies.

At the same time, we must see that "WEAPONS ARE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR OF WAR" and that a stronger material foundation for an anti-aggressive war is a prerequisite of people's war. When Chairman Mao was leading us to conduct people's war, our armament continued to develop--from spears and cleavers and millet plus rifles to artillery plus aircraft. After new China was founded, Chairman Mao emphatically pointed out that to protect our motherland against aggression by the imperialists, it was not enough to rely on our previous relatively backward armaments and techniques which we had used to fight our domestic enemy, and that we must master the latest armaments and the latest war tactics that accompanied them. He called on us to "STUDY MODERN NATIONAL DEFENSES" and "TO HAVE NOT ONLY MORE AIRPLANES AND ARTILLERY PIECES BUT ALSO ATOMIC BOMBS." "THE ARMY MUST TRAIN IN THE DEFENSE OF THE COUNTRY AND BECOME A MODERN ARMY." [paragraph continues]

Therefore, successful modernization of the revolutionary army is a vital aspect of Chairman Mao's military concepts and line. The fact that the "gang of four" said that people and weapons were opposed precisely shows that they are not only idiots on military affairs but also a sinister band opposing Chairman Mao's concept of people's war.

The future war against aggression will be a people's war under modern conditions. With the changing objects of war and developed technical conditions, the surprise nature and complexity of war has greatly raised the demands on the army. We must accelerate the development of science and technology for national defense and the national defense industry, improve the weaponry and armaments, raise education and training to a strategic position, turn the army into a college for the training and upbringing of a large number of qualified personnel who are both Red and expert and capable of meeting the requirements of modern war and achieve a still better coordination of men and weapons.

To be sure, we must also see soberly that for a rather long period of time to come, our armaments will still be inferior compared with that of our major enemy. The war to be waged by us will always be a just war, a people's war, and will be fought with existing armaments. Being guided by Chairman Mao's military concepts and relying on the combined power of the armed forces, which include the field armies, regional armies and the militia, we shall certainly be able to fight and defeat the strong with the weak. However, we must never reconcile ourselves to an inferior position, and we must exert ourselves and catch up so as to change this inferiority as soon as possible. With advanced technical equipment, this people's army of ours will be like a tiger with wings, and will it not then become more invincible? With a stronger material foundation, shall we not be able to speed up the process of winning the revolutionary war when conducting a people's war?

However, the "gang of four" slanderously charged that saying that fighting requires iron and steel, nonferrous metals and improved equipment is to "make weapons a fetish" and to do away with revolutionization. What ludicrous logic! Lenin said: "EVERYONE WILL AGREE THAT AN ARMY WHICH DOES NOT TRAIN ITSELF TO WIELD ALL THE ARMS AND ALL THE MEANS AND METHODS OF WARFARE THAT THE ENEMY POSSESSES OR MAY POSSESS, BEHAVES IN AN UNWISE OR EVEN IN A CRIMINAL MANNER." ("Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol IV, p 249)

The "gang of four" are just such a group of criminals. They concocted all sorts of fallacies to sabotage our army's revolutionization and modernization in an attempt to place our army in a defensive position vis-a-vis an enemy armed to the teeth. However, they plotted to set up a "second armed force," energetically creating what they called "a motorized unit," "an amphibious tank unit" and "a rocket unit." This amply demonstrated that they are the pious scions of Chiang Kai-shek, the dictator and enemy of the people who knew how to wage a civil war, but not a war against the foreign enemy.

Setting revolutionization against modernization was a devilish trick used by the "gang of four" to usurp the army to oppose the party. They tampered with Chairman Mao's military concepts and line, opposed revolutionization and undermined modernization in a bid to create chaos in the army and destroy our Great Wall. This had grave adverse effects on the building of our army. Politically, they weakened the party's leadership and political work and destroyed the fine traditions and work style. Militarily, practicing abolitionism they seriously disrupted all kinds of preparatory work against war. Organizationally, practicing splittism they created antagonism between the army and the government and undermined the unity within the army and without. The "gang of four" were the chief culprits undermining the building of our army.

In the resolutions of the Kutien meeting held long ago, Chairman Mao sharply criticized the purely military viewpoint which "HOLDS THAT MILITARY AFFAIRS AND POLITICS ARE OPPOSED TO EACH OTHER AND DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THAT THE MILITARY MACHINE IS ONLY ONE OF THE TOOLS FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF THE POLITICAL TASK." Since the founding of new China, he again pointed out on a number of occasions: "THE UNITY OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS AND THE UNITY OF POLITICS AND TECHNIQUES ARE NOT TO BE DOUBTED; THIS IS SO EVERY YEAR AND WILL ALWAYS BE SO." He cautioned us: "WE MUST OPPOSE ARMCHAIR POLITICIANS ON THE ONE HAND AND PRACTICAL MEN WHO LOSE THEIR BEARINGS ON THE OTHER."

Politics and military affairs are a dialectical unity. Military affairs serve politics, and politics commands military affairs and insures the fulfillment of the military task. When we emphasize placing politics in command and ideology in the lead, we mean to arm ourselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, seriously implement the party's line, principles and policies, promote our party's and army's fine traditions and work styles, and to fully arouse the people's initiative and creativeness in doing all kinds of revolutionary work well and pushing army building forward.

A revolutionary army must at all times give serious attention to revolutionizing people's ideology. Unless it is injected with a progressive political spirit, an army will lose its bearings and take to a sidetrack. However, why do we have to pay so much attention to people's ideology? Because we want to transform the objective world and in the course of transforming the objective world we must transform our subjective world as well. How can revolutionization be achieved if it is alienated from all kinds of revolutionary practice? In speaking of politics in command, if we do not "link" it with all kinds of revolutionary work, will that "commander" not become "one without troops"? If an army does not do military work, will it be an army any more? By shouting all day long about "grasping the line," "grasping the key link" and "putting the commander in command," the "gang of four" actually tied ropes around people's necks and bound their hands and feet, so that they might strangle the revolution, substitute their revisionist line for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and realize their criminal goal of usurping the army to oppose the party. Such was their "politics"!

Is it true that to speed up the modernization of the revolutionary army and continue to improve its technical and material conditions is to "propagate the theory that weapons decide everything" and negate the concept of people's war? This is slander with an axe to grind. Marxism holds that the people are always the mainstay of war, the decisive factor for victory or defeat in war. No new weapons can alter the fundamental law of people's war, which was, is and will always be the magic wand for the defeat of our enemies.

At the same time, we must see that "WEAPONS ARE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR OF WAR" and that a stronger material foundation for an anti-aggressive war is a prerequisite of people's war. When Chairman Mao was leading us to conduct people's war, our armament continued to develop--from spears and cleavers and millet plus rifles to artillery plus aircraft. After new China was founded, Chairman Mao emphatically pointed out that to protect our motherland against aggression by the imperialists, it was not enough to rely on our previous relatively backward armaments and techniques which we had used to fight our domestic enemy, and that we must master the latest armaments and the latest war tactics that accompanied them. He called on us to "STUDY MODERN NATIONAL DEFENSES" and "TO HAVE NOT ONLY MORE AIRPLANES AND ARTILLERY PIECES BUT ALSO ATOMIC BOMBS." "THE ARMY MUST TRAIN IN THE DEFENSE OF THE COUNTRY AND BECOME A MODERN ARMY." [paragraph continues]

Therefore, successful modernization of the revolutionary army is a vital aspect of Chairman Mao's military concepts and line. The fact that the "gang of four" said that people and weapons were opposed precisely shows that they are not only idiots on military affairs but also a sinister band opposing Chairman Mao's concept of people's war.

The future war against aggression will be a people's war under modern conditions. With the changing objects of war and developed technical conditions, the surprise nature and complexity of war has greatly raised the demands on the army. We must accelerate the development of science and technology for national defense and the national defense industry, improve the weaponry and armaments, raise education and training to a strategic position, turn the army into a college for the training and upbringing of a large number of qualified personnel who are both Red and expert and capable of meeting the requirements of modern war and achieve a still better coordination of men and weapons.

To be sure, we must also see soberly that for a rather long period of time to come, our armaments will still be inferior compared with that of our major enemy. The war to be waged by us will always be a just war, a people's war, and will be fought with existing armaments. Being guided by Chairman Mao's military concepts and relying on the combined power of the armed forces, which include the field armies, regional armies and the militia, we shall certainly be able to fight and defeat the strong with the weak. However, we must never reconcile ourselves to an inferior position, and we must exert ourselves and catch up so as to change this inferiority as soon as possible. With advanced technical equipment, this people's army of ours will be like a tiger with wings, and will it not then become more invincible? With a stronger material foundation, shall we not be able to speed up the process of winning the revolutionary war when conducting a people's war?

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To build up our army at a rapid rate, we must greatly liberate our minds. For many years people have always asked this question: Why has there been such confusion on what are very clear questions concerning the relationship between politics and military affairs and between men and weapons? Why did the ghost of Lin Piao, who advocated civilian and not military training, not vanish a long time ago? These questions have become clearer and clearer in the wake of the continuous deepening of the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." The "gang of four" belonged to the same family as Lin Piao, following the same political line and the same ideological system. Both of them used "left" features to cover up their right essence and passed off sophistry as dialectics. After Lin Piao's collapse, the "left" disguise was not properly exposed and criticized due to the obstruction of the "gang of four." They were able to conceal their identity by continuing to make use of sophistry. They energetically peddled idealism and metaphysics and mounted a wild attack against Marxism. Their usual trick was to put one aspect of the contradiction in absolute terms while negating the other aspect, substitute the one-point theory for the theory of emphasis, negate the two-point theory, and radically tamper with the core of dialectics--the doctrine of the unity of opposites. A follower of the gang in Shanghai said: "Dialectics is sophistry." This is a wonderful footnote to the so-called "dialectics" they trumpeted. Such metaphysics, which appeared to be dialectics, was even more deceptive and bewildering. We must thoroughly criticize their reactionary ideological system, shatter their spiritual chains, correctly handle the relationship between revolutionization and modernization, make revolution with nothing hindering our arms and grasp preparations against war in an upright manner.

At present, the contention for hegemony between the Soviet Union and the United States is getting fiercer and fiercer, and war will break out some day. Soviet revisionism has not given up its intention of subjugating us. With the tiger and wolf in front, we shoulder heavy responsibilities. We must be prepared to fight early and in a big way, seize the time and speed, move vigorously and fast and be well prepared against a war of aggression. We must make up for the time lost by the "gang of four" and Lin Piao, recoup the losses caused by them, and accelerate the pace of our army's revolutionization and modernization.

#### "CARRY FORWARD THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS AND WIN STILL GREATER GLORY"

Complying with Chairman Mao's teachings, the 1975 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission called upon the whole army to "CARRY FORWARD THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS AND WIN STILL GREATER GLORY." These glittering words embodied the basic spirit of the meeting and served as a sharp criticism of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line pushed by Lin Piao. In fact this sounded a warning to the "gang of four": Stop playing the tricks of opposing, disrupting and usurping the army and act according to Chairman Mao's proletarian military concepts and army-building principles.

The PLA was born in difficult times and grew up in combat. Chairman Mao initiated and personally fostered our army's revolutionary traditions and work style. As early as the Chingkangshan period of conducting struggle, Chairman Mao proposed "ESTABLISHING THE PARTY BRANCH AT THE COMPANY LEVEL." He set up party organizations at all levels and established organs and systems dealing with political work. This insured the party's absolute leadership over the army. He specified three major tasks for the Red Army--fighting, raising funds and doing mass work--set down the three main rules of discipline and six points for attention (later to be known as the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention) and introduced the democratic system to the army. This transformed the Red Army into a completely new people's army.

Chairman Mao's army building experiences were basically summarized at the Kutien meeting. They became the basic army building principles and the glorious tradition for our army. In protracted struggles at a later period, new findings were made, such as integrating theory with practice, fostering close ties with the masses, conducting criticism and self-criticism, practicing democracy in the three main fields of political democracy, economic democracy and military democracy, evolving a new way to rectify the army, supporting the government and cherishing the people, respecting the cadres and cherishing the soldiers, sending down cadres to company units as soldiers and so forth. These fine traditions and work styles, which glitter with the radiance of Mao Tsetung Thought, are priceless treasures obtained with the bloodshed of countless martyrs. They have contributed immensely to the revolutionary wars and to army building, serving as fundamental hallmarks distinguishing our army from bourgeois armies.

Like robbers preferring darkness and always cursing the bright sunshine, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" did everything possible to malign, attack, wreck and disrupt commendable efforts to carry forward the revolutionary traditions and fine work style of our party and army. They banned publication of the editorial, "Carry Forward the Revolutionary Tradition and Win Still Greater Glory," foiled attempts to solicit contributed articles and prohibited compilation of teaching materials and texts. They maliciously slandered and smeared our army by identifying recollecting past history and explaining tradition with "rolling the wheel of history back and restoring the old order," "commending the old fellows and placing them in a favorable light" and "glorifying capitalist roaders." Acting arrogantly, they brought pressure to bear against attempting to publicize our army's immense contributions, trying in every possible way to obliterate the revolutionary traditions of our party and army and negate their glorious history.

Why did the "gang of four" so bitterly resent the revolutionary history and glorious traditions of our party and army? It is because the more the revolutionary traditions are explained and the glory and correctness of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation are recognized, the more the "gang of four's" filthy and hideous history will be exposed.

History serves as a mirror. When the Red Army fought bravely and successfully crushed Chiang Kai-shek's counterrevolutionary encirclement and suppression, Chang Chun-chiao instead joined the "Hua Ti Society" and became a KMT agent. When the Red Army began the Long March of 10,000 li without precedent in history, Chiang Ching instead crawled out of the kennel to become a disgraceful renegade. When the Red Army carried out arduous struggle, crossing mountains and grasslands and subsisting on grass roots and bark, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao abandoned themselves to a life of debauchery in the big city. When the Red Army was guided by Chairman Mao's correct anti-Japanese line and reached northern Shensi in triumph, Chang Chun-chiao was wildly attacking Lu Hsun in the article "The International Settlement in March," while Chiang Ching was fighting for the role of Sai Chin Hua so that an aircraft could be purchased as a gift to Chiang Kai-shek on his birthday. On the other hand, Yao Wen-yuan prostrated himself before a KMT chief agent for adoption. What sharp contrasts these episodes present!

Before the glorious history and revolutionary traditions of our party and army, this bunch of renegades, secret agents, alien class elements and new bourgeoisie identified as the "gang of four" revealed their true features. How despicable and insignificant they appear! The "gang of four's" reactionary class nature determines their bitter resentment of the revolutionary traditions of our party and army and their deep hatred for the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. No wonder they worked hand in glove with Lin Biao in resorting to the counterrevolutionary tactics of using both the pen and the gun to kill people. [paragraph continues]

No wonder they rabidly pushed their counterrevolutionary political program so as to bring down a great number of leading party, government and army cadres and to clear the obstacles to their usurpation of party and state power.

In summing up the experience of our struggle against Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and building up our army well on the basis of Chairman Mao's concepts and line, we must revive and carry forward our army's revolutionary traditions and fine work style. We must uphold the party's absolute leadership over the army and resolutely oppose any careerist, conspirator and counterrevolutionary doubledealer trying to meddle in the army and usurp authority in it. We must adhere to Marxism, practice unity, be open and aboveboard and firmly oppose those practicing revisionism, creating splits and conspiring and intriguing. We must always hold aloft and defend Chairman Mao's great banner, comprehensively and correctly understand and implement Chairman Mao's concepts and line and resolutely combat distortion and alteration of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We must adhere to the party's work style of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line and firmly oppose those practicing idealism and metaphysics, talking big, riding roughshod over the people and playing the despot. We must uphold the proletarian party spirit, have the people's interests at heart and resolutely oppose bourgeois factional networks and fight those bent solely on seeking personal gain and grabbing power. We must persistently advocate a normal democratic life, encourage everyone to speak out freely, and firmly oppose labeling and bludgeoning. We must persevere in upholding party and army discipline, resolutely overcome the mountain stronghold mentality, combat sectarian tendencies and the practice of veering with the wind, and oppose attempts to gloss over one's misdeeds, play the bully, stir up "earthquakes," engage in lawless acts and disruptive activities and make trouble. We must accelerate the process of revolutionizing and modernizing our army and correctly handle the relationship between politics and army work, firmly opposing setting army work in opposition to politics by lopping off one or the other. We must oppose lopsided development such as giving higher priority to nonmilitary pursuits and must combat attempts to sabotage the revolutionization and modernization processes.

We are now in the important historical stage of carrying on past traditions and opening up a way for those who follow. As far as the army is concerned, this means comprehensively and accurately inheriting Chairman Mao's military concepts and line, inheriting our army's fine traditions and work style which he fostered and inheriting all the wealth of precious ideas he left to us so that we can build our army into a proletarian army capable of coping with modern warfare and riding out any political storm.

At this historical juncture, revolutionary veteran cadres shoulder heavy responsibilities. For several decades they followed Chairman Mao fighting north and south and passed stiff tests in the battlefield, never failing to withstand stormy innerparty line struggles. When the "gang of four" were running amuck, they were selflessly undaunted in waging resolute struggle against the gang. Practice shows that they play a backbone role in running the army. Veteran cadres must display youthful revolutionary vigor and be modest and prudent in making arduous efforts, in studying assiduously, in thoroughly viewing actual conditions and setting a good example and in doing a good job of passing on experience to others and helping and guiding the less advanced, in this way making greater contributions to the party and the army. In order to bring up successors to the revolutionary cause of our party and army, we must exert ourselves in training successors, warmly caring for the growth of young cadres, giving full play to the role of middle-aged and younger cadres, handing down Chairman Mao's great banner from generation to generation and winning still greater glory.

In his political report to the 11th party congress, wise leader and Commander Hua Kuo-feng pointed out: "The PLA's current task is to grasp the key link in running the army well, deepen the movement to expose and criticize the 'gang of four,' promote war preparedness and building of army units and further strengthen revolutionization and modernization."

We must hold high Chairman Mao's great banner, closely rally round the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, adhere to the line of the 11th party congress, follow the correct orientation of grasping the key link in running the army well, go all-out and aim high, unite in combat and raise to a new level the revolutionization and modernization of our army!

## LIANG HSIAO--THE ANXIOUS VANGUARD OF THE 'GANG OF FOUR' IN USURPING PARTY AND STATE POWER

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 78 pp 12-19

[Article by the theoretical group of Peking University]

[Text] Editor's Note: As the anxious vanguard of the "gang of four" in usurping party and state power, the notorious Liang Hsiao committed towering crimes against the party and the people. For many years, upon the "gang of four's" instructions, it concocted a large number of anti-party articles. Many of them were published in RED FLAG, a journal then under the direct control of antiparty element Yao Wen-yuan. Their poison spread throughout the country. This was a serious crime. The article by the theoretical group of Peking University published here not only exposes and criticizes Liang Hsiao but also repudiates Yao Wen-yuan's using RED FLAG under his control to vigorously create counterrevolutionary public opinion. This magazine is determined to join party members, cadres and people in fighting and thoroughly exposing and criticizing the "gang of four's" crime in using the magazine to oppose the party, people and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, we must continuously deepen the great struggle to criticize and expose the "gang of four." We must not only thoroughly shatter the organizational system of the "gang of four's" bourgeois faction but also thoroughly criticize their reactionary revisionist ideological system. We must win total victory in this battle. [end of Editor's Note]

The former mass criticism group of Peking and Tsinghua universities represented by notorious Liang Hsiao was a most vicious counterrevolutionary task force of the "gang of four." For several years, under the command of the "gang of four" and especially Chiang Ching and her sinister lieutenants, Liang Hsiao faithfully pushed the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line, rabidly opposed great leader Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee headed by him, maliciously attacked esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, wickedly struck out at wise leader Chairman Hua, and stopped at nothing to attack and frame esteemed and beloved Vice Chairman Teng and a large number of leading comrades of central and local organizations. It thus committed unpardonable crimes. In his political report to the 11th party congress, Chairman Hua mentioned Liang Hsiao by name and affirmed its role as the anxious vanguard of the "gang of four" in usurping party and state power. Today, in the great political revolution to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," one important combat task of ours is to thoroughly settle accounts with Liang Hsiao's counterrevolutionary crimes.

### Part I

Liang Hsiao was an idea inspired by the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary need to usurp party and state power in the heated struggle between two classes and two lines after the 10th party congress. The congress had scarcely ended when the "gang of four" fanned up, through their two sinister lieutenants, a gust of sinister "antibacklash" wind in the two outposts of Tsinghua and Peking universities that had long been under their control. "Antibacklash" actually meant starting with the educational front in launching a vengeful counterattack against the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify work style. Liang Hsiao as a sinister squad was the brainchild of the "gang of four" who instructed their two sinister lieutenants and their agents in Peking University to make a secret plan at the height of the "antibacklash" storm. From the very first, Liang Hsiao was made a special counterrevolutionary task force of the "gang of four's" factional network.

What are Liang Hsiao's peculiarities?

Most noteworthy are Liang Hsiao's peculiar position and particular role. In name, Liang Hsiao was a mass criticism group of Peking and Tsinghua universities. In reality, it was a force directly under the "gang of four" and under the personal command of Chiang Ching. Chiang Ching said Liang Hsiao was "my squad." Two sinister lieutenants, one man and one woman, were Chiang Ching's slavish followers in full charge of this "squad". Chih Chun once and again told the "squad members": "You are responsible to me. I answer to Chiang Ching." A sinister line--Chiang Ching at one end, two sinister lieutenants and the "gang of four's" agents in Peking University in the middle, and Liang Hsiao at the other--marked Liang Hsiao's peculiar position. In Chih Chun's own words, this was "a heaven-sent special favor." By "heaven-sent," he meant direct access to the center. By "a special favor," he meant the squad being a favorite of the "gang of four." Every major step of the "gang of four" in usurping party and state power and every escalation was directed mostly through the articles concocted by Liang Hsiao.

This special status gave Liang Hsiao a sense of importance and arrogance. Liang Hsiao became a counterrevolutionary mass medium center most prestigious and most powerful of all the mass media in the hands of the "gang of four". "The small newspapers copy the big ones and the big ones take hints from Liang Hsiao"--this best describes the situation. A head of the Liang Hsiao group said airily: "This department and that department--our mass criticism group may as well be called a department. Let me be the head." In a certain sense, Liang Hsiao was really a department, i.e., the "propaganda department" of the "gang" center of the "gang of four" which directed mass media.

As the "gang of four's" mouthpiece, Liang Hsiao's most important job was the concoction of antiparty articles. In a short period of 3 years from its birth toward the end of 1973 to its demise in October 1976, in the name of Peking and Tsinghua universities it concocted as many as 219 antiparty articles. Openly published were 181 pieces, with the important ones inspired by the "gang of four" who personally fixed the themes and ordered revisions. These articles--sinister in purpose, absurd in viewpoint, vile in approach and pompous in style--drove one mad. But Liang Hsiao's counterrevolutionary role went far beyond this. Liang Hsiao was everything from a sinister den for collecting information by secret agents' means and preparing and printing data, a secretarial group for drafting reactionary literature for the "gang of four," an entourage at the beck and call of Chiang Ching and plainclothesmen and goons devoted to handling for Chiang Ching so-called "high-class agents among capitalist readers within the party."

Treatment for Liang Hsiao with its position and special role was unusual. On the strength of the influence of the "gang of four," Liang Hsiao politically had long been a privileged group throwing its weight around. Through the "gang of four's" illegal channels, they pilfered secrets from central organs and published central documents without authorization. Chih Chun told members of the Liang Hsiao group: "You are being treated like members of the Political Bureau." As the "gang of four" kept busy awarding official titles and inducing people with lucrative emoluments, Liang Hsiao benefited most. Of the 30 members or so of the "squad," 4 were appointed deputies to the Fourth NPC, 8 invited to state banquets, 2 given a chance to travel abroad and 2 placed on the committee established for Chairman Mao's funeral. With its elevated status, the group received quite unusual treatment in everyday life. [paragraph continues]

They occupied the reception quarters for foreign specialists in Peking University, obtained special supplies by illegal means and freely spent public money. That sinister woman lieutenant of Chiang Ching even asked the commercial department to put Liang Hsiao on the same footing with foreign guests in the supply of daily necessities. But this group of well-fed spiritual aristocrats had the impudence to vigorously oppose "bourgeois rights." They were really the most shamefaced hypocrites.

This "squad" fed by the "gang of four" had special counterrevolutionary feelings toward Chiang Ching and her two sinister lieutenants. Silly nonsense from Chiang Ching was called "the spirit of the commander" and made a subject of repeated discussion. This was to obtain "an insight," which could take 3 days at a time. Every time Chiang Ching made them "a free gift" of choice food and the like, the "squad members" had to take time out to discuss their feelings and express their gratitude. This was to show the "significance of eating." Certain heads of the group said with tears spilling out of their eyes: "After eating what comes from the commander, everything becomes clear." For the sake of friendship, Chiang Ching specially showed up at the Liang Hsiao group's living quarters, where she received its members and posed with them to build up the "image of a leader." To the Liang Hsiao group, Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee just did not exist. Chiang Ching and the "gang of four" were everything to them. They even cried such reactionary slogans as "Be always loyal to Chiang Ching" and "Safeguard Chiang Ching to the death." Chiang Ching had cultivated in the "squad" the spirit of "loyalty." Chih Chun on his part promoted education in "party spirit." He said to the members of the group: "The kind of attitude assumed toward me is a manifestation of the purity or impurity of party spirit." Once, at the side of a lake at Peking University, Chih Chun suddenly asked a head of the Liang Hsiao group: "Do you do as told?" "Yes, yes," the latter answered quickly. "Even if you want me to jump into the lake now, I will do as you say." It can be noted that by "party spirit," Chih Chun meant unswerving loyalty to "the gang of four."

Liang Hsiao was a counterrevolutionary dog personally fed and specially trained by Chiang Ching. All its counterrevolutionary activities revolved around the "gang of four's" usurping supreme party and state leadership and establishing "a new dynasty" of the fascist dictatorship. After the 10th party congress, the "gang of four" stepped up their pace to usurp party and state power and launched three successive major attacks on the party. In every attack, Liang Hsiao did its best and played the role of a reckless vanguard.

## Part II

In the first major offensive, the banner the "gang of four" hoisted was that of "criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius." Liang Hsiao, as Chiang Ching's "squad," made its first public appearance at the "25 January" mass rally held in 1974 on Chiang Ching's own initiative. At that rally, Chiang Ching instructed two sinister fighters to fire a barrage of nonsense, turning the spearhead against Premier Chou, Vice Chairman Yeh and other leading comrades of the central authorities. This signaled the "gang of four's" attempt to undermine the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify work style, oppose the line of the 10th party congress, and mount a full-scale attack on the party. It was followed by a gust of sinister wind and truculent waves that arose from the ground and swept the whole country. To make no criticism of Lin Piao, to make sham criticism of Confucius, and to launch a large-scale criticism of the "duke of Chou."

The moment the "25 January" mass rally was over, the former party committees of the Peking and Tsinghua universities under the control of the "gang of four" convened a "joint conference" of their standing committees. Attended by the ringleaders of Liang Hsiao, the meeting discussed moves to implement the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary intentions and made two decisions. One was to assign more manpower from the two universities to expand and strengthen this sinister squad of Liang Hsiao; and the second was to send Chiang Ching two "letters of allegiance" in the name of the party committees of the two universities and in that of Liang Hsiao.

These two letters were originally discussed and approved by the "joint conference" on 28 January, but in order to show that they were following their masters closely, the date of the letters was purposely advanced to "26 January." The ringleader of the gang's factional network in the Peking University, who was also the principal responsible person of the former party committee, became so ambitious that he vociferously called for "grasping the developments of the whole country" to "direct the movement." Apparently, Liang Hsiao had made adequate ideological and organizational preparations before embarking on a big troublemaking journey.

In this offensive, Liang Hsiao, invoking wind and rain and stirring up billows and waves, played a most despicable role. Under the command of the "gang of four" and their sinister fighters, they had exclusive control over the selection and compilation of materials of "criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius," and perpetrated such despicable acts as are inconceivable to many people. On the pretext of collecting materials, they repeatedly sneaked into the black den of Lin Piao. However, they were completely uninterested in the huge amount of shocking evidence of Lin Piao's crimes in wildly opposing Chairman Mao, maliciously attacking Premier Chou, vigorously smearing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, and wantonly tampering with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Instead, they enthusiastically sought from a pile of waste paper things that suited their needs.

Even worse, they willfully slashed and mutilated the more than a thousand charges against Lin Piao that others made on the basis of the evidence which was collected from his books, cards and scrolls and due to be published in pamphlet form to be submitted to the central authorities. With an ulterior motive, Chih Chun argued that it was impermissible to include everything in it and that "materials must be carefully selected." He publicly declared that the large amount of proven evidence of Lin Piao's crimes "is insufficient evidence." For instance, Lin Piao scribbled the following comment on the margin of Lenin's article "A Talk on the Question of Dialectics": "The law of the unity of opposites is the law of the combination of two into one." This was clearly evidence of Lin Piao's crime of tampering with Marxist dialectics. Yet Chih Chun said: "The law of the unity of opposites--this proposition is non-Marxist; it is metaphysical inasmuch as it deals with unity and not struggle. This is not tampering with Marxist dialectics." Thus, under Chih Chun's direction, Liang Hsiao "carefully selected" only slightly more than 200 charges out of over a thousand charges against Lin Piao's crimes. The rest of the materials were burned on Chih Chun's order, and "no trace is to be left behind." This was ironclad evidence of the effort made by the "gang of four" and their sinister fighters and Liang Hsiao to absolve Lin Piao of blame and to disrupt the criticism of Lin Piao.

What kind of standard did Liang Hsiao use to select and compile materials? Let us hear the "directive" Chiang Ching gave them. She said: "The selection of materials must proceed from the needs of struggle, and not from whatever materials we have.... What subjects we should have ought to be considered from the requirements of the current struggle, and then we will find the materials. It is only in this way that we can apply the materials flexibly. [paragraph continues]



In order to make the materials "flexible," Chiang Ching purposely gave them an example. She took out a statement on "reforming the system along ancient lines" that was clipped from a newspaper by the staff of the former Lin Piao office and that was not made by Lin Piao, and placed it before the first article of "Lin Piao and the Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius" (Charge No 2). She then said that this article "is as programmatic in nature as that of 'restraining oneself and returning to propriety' in Charge No 1." After Chiang Ching's personal instructions, Liang Hsiao became thoroughly acquainted with the use of such pragmatic methods as "flexible compilation and flexible application." So it went ahead and acted accordingly, pouring out a large amount of poison under the banner of "criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius."

Acting on the "gang of four's" orders, they attributed "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," "reforming the system along ancient lines," "sticking to the beaten track" and what not to Lin Piao's "political line" and "restoration program," treating them as a special target for special criticism. Whom did they criticize after all? In a RED FLAG article entitled "To Oppose Revisionism, It Is Necessary to Criticize Confucius," they stated plainly that "criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius" was meant to repulse "the reactionary trend of thought for restoring capitalism that appeared in 1972." This clearly showed that they criticized neither Lin Piao nor Confucius, but that they turned the spearhead against the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and against the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou.

It was precisely Premier Chou, then in charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee, who had since 1972 taken a series of measures to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian policies by taking advantage of the penetrating development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify work style. This enabled many veteran cadres who were attacked and persecuted by the Lin Piao antiparty clique to return to work and caused all fronts to show fresh signs of vigor and vitality. Since the 10th party congress this excellent situation continued to develop. All this was undoubtedly a stunning blow to the "gang of four"--Lin Piao's partners and remnants.

Chiang Ching angrily yelled: "The movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify work style is now hurting us." She could not wait to turn the situation around. Toward the end of 1973, they finally hoisted the banner of "criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius" and sprang a wild counteroffensive amid the din of "antirestoration." The so-called opposition to "restoration" and "retreat" by the "gang of four" was nothing but a conspiracy and a fraud. It was a big hoax when they opposed "restoration" by "criticizing Confucius." The real substance of the problem was that they worked for restoration and intensified their effort to push Lin Piao's line under the banner of opposing "restoration" and frantically opposed Premier Chou under the banner of "criticizing Confucius."

Like a black thread, the reactionary logic of the "gang of four" which confused right and wrong in line and reversed the relationships between ourselves and the enemy ran through all the sinister articles of Liang Hsiao on "criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius" and "criticizing Confucianism and appraising the Legalist school." In accordance with the so-called "historical law" conjured up by Chiang Ching--that "Confucians want restoration and Legalists oppose it," they not only distorted the history of class struggle of 2,000 years as a history of "Confucian-Legalist struggle," but also used the studies of history to make innuendo. While branding Premier Chou and other central leading comrades as "modern Confucians" working for "restoration and retreat," they likened the "gang of four" to "Legalists," presenting them as "reformers" who "oppose restoration." [paragraph continues]

They dominated the literary forum and manipulated public opinion, dwelling at length on the "historical experience" of the "Confucian-Legalist struggle" and whipping up two gusts of evil wind--"criticizing prime ministers" and "extolling empresses."

Liang Hsiao's method of using the studies of history for insinuating purposes was entirely taken over from Chiang Ching. They juggled history in their palms, like a man making noodles. They made allusions in the midst of "criticizing Confucius" and "criticizing Confucians," and that, in the words of their ringleader, was called "portrait painting." Confucius was one who was used most frequently for portrait painting. The same Confucius was portrayed with different facial expressions and features in the light of the "gang of four's" "requirements of the current struggle" in different periods--in order to make oblique attacks on different leading comrades of the central authorities. The image and background of Confucius in each sinister article were portrayed in conformity with the prime target of attack by the "gang of four." When Premier Chou, though taken ill, still presided over the daily work of the Central Committee, Confucius was portrayed as a "71-year-old man," "seriously stricken in bed," "raising his arm." When Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was in charge of the daily work of the Central Committee, Confucius, who did not exercise his limbs and could not distinguish the differences in the five kinds of cereals, was portrayed as a character who "grasped production." After Comrade Hua Kuo-feng became acting premier, Confucius was purposely portrayed as a "56-year-old man," "the minister of justice who was also acting prime minister," and "concurrently taking charge of agriculture." The dirty tricks of this band of hired men of letters were, as those Lu Hsun bitterly denounced, entirely "beastlike weapons and devilish means."

By similar tricks, Liang Hsiao also forged the images of many big Confucians, such as Lu Pu-wei, Huo Kuang, Wang Mang, Ssu-ma Kuang, and down to Chia Cheng in "The Dream of the Red Chamber." This was to make an oblique attack on Premier Chou. In the sinister articles Liang Hsiao vigorously lashed out at Confucians who were "prime ministers," Confucians who were "acting prime ministers," Confucians who were "deputy prime ministers," and Confucians who "executed the wrong line under the correct line." The target of the attack was the prime minister in all cases. This was actually to attack Premier Chou. After Premier Chou fell seriously ill, they concentrated their firepower on Vice Chairman Teng who was put in charge of the daily work of the Central Committee. After Premier Chou passed away, they turned their spearhead against Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. In short, so long as the "gang of four" had not succeeded in usurping the important post of premier and the supreme leadership power of the party and the state, they would go on attacking. Such was the essence of Liang Hsiao's effort to criticize Confucius and Confucians.

While criticizing "prime ministers," Liang Hsiao energetically praised "Legalists" and extolled "empresses." At that time, the "gang of four's" "requirement of the current struggle" was to try to "form a cabinet" at the Fourth NPC and seize power and to let Chiang Ching become the "party chairman." To this end, the "gang of four" were the first to jump out to create public opinion. Yao Wen-yuan said gleefully: "In a certain sense, we too are Legalists." Chiang Ching went further and said absurdly that "when communism is achieved, there will also be empresses, and we must achieve communism with an empress."

Acting in close coordination with the conspiracy of the "gang of four" to "form a cabinet," Liang Hsiao set about creating new theories by citing from classics around the question of so-called "Legalists." In RED FLAG, the journal of Peking University and other publications, articles such as "Study the Historical Experiences of the Confucian-Legalist Struggle," "Introducing Representative Characters of the Legalist School," and "Wu Tse Tien, a Promising Woman Politician" were published to shower lavish praise on the "Legalists" and "Legalist empresses." Moreover, in the name of summing up historical experiences, a whole set of counterrevolutionary revisionist fallacies was advanced. Particularly shameless and stark were "the theory of Legalists as pioneers," "the theory that the Legalist leadership group plays a decisive role," and "the theory that power is held by Legalist empresses." According to the principle of "three prominences," final prominence was given to the power held by "empresses." As a result, extolling Empress Lu and Wu Tse-tien was the loudest song sung by Liang Hsiao. In order to pay a tribute to the "empress" on coronation, Chih Chun asked Liang Hsiao to make a special study of the costumes of ancient empresses and imperial concubines. He said: "Chiang Ching pays serious attention to ancient costumes and hairstyles, chiefly those of the Tang period and of women." That adviser who was in his eighties also dedicated his poem "On History" to "the supreme ruler." The poem said: "Tse-tien daringly turned an empress, an ancient heroine who fought against the Confucians." This short line clearly spoke for the real meaning of Liang Hsiao's "appraisal of Legalism."

The "gang of four" mounted this offensive by hoisting the banner of "criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius" because their conspiracy to "form a cabinet" had gone bankrupt. However, the "gang of four" and Liang Hsiao under their wing did not reconcile themselves to the defeat and bade their time to wage a counteroffensive.

### Part III

Yet another major offensive mounted by the "gang of four" against the party began with the so-called "big debate" on the educational front. This was what happened in the winter of 1975. The "gang of four" instructed Chih Chun to fire the first shot at the Tsinghua University by creating an excuse. Thus, counterrevolutionary sinister waves greater than those of the 1973 "antibacklash" and the 1974 "antirestoration" were stirred up. Raising the banner of hitting back at the "wind of reversing verdicts," they aimed the spearhead of attack at Vice Chairman Teng and subsequently at Chairman Hua. With a view to toppling all of the revolutionary veteran cadres of our party, they dished out a counterrevolutionary political program that "veteran cadres are 'democrats' and 'democrats' are 'capitalist roaders'."

The moment the offensive was set off, Liang Hsiao charged toward the front in the posture of an anxious vanguard. They arrogantly threatened to "open a full-scale war of words," to "bring the battle to the boiling point," to "touch the melon along the vine," and to "move up every layer to nail something down." According to the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary arrangements, Liang Hsiao was to attack by two separate routes--to organize attacks on two fronts--interior and exterior. On the one hand, they were to hide in dark corners compiling sinister materials; on the other, they were to make surprise raids day and night, concocting sinister articles.

Through various channels, Liang Hsiao privately collected and collated large amounts of sinister materials defaming the party, government and army leading comrades at the central and local levels as well as sinister materials attacking the various ministries and commissions of the State Council. [paragraph continues]

Altogether more than 30 kinds of materials were compiled and put in print, and used as ammunition for ferreting out "capitalist roaders." These sinister materials might be said to be a big collection of rumors, slanders, distortions and fabrications.

Their dirty tricks chiefly consisted of the following: One, to put the hat of Chang on the head of Li and graft the plant from one place to another. For instance, they included Premier Chou's directives on the question of student enrollment in the "Selected Speeches" of Comrade Jung-hsin. These directives were clearly marked with the words "given by Premier Chou", in the manuscripts of Comrade Chou Jung-hsin's speeches, but they blatantly removed these words and attributed the directives to Chou Jung-hsin.

Two, to quote out of context and piece things together. The most glaring example of this was their compilation of "Selected Speeches" by Vice Chairman Teng. This included the following sentences: "Seven or 8 years of struggle resulted in an irreconcilable feud. I've made up my mind to fight it out with my life, old as I am. The object of 'restoration' is me." These three sentences were spoken in different times, in different occasions and on different subjects. The first sentence referred to the seriousness of bourgeois factionalism in some localities; the second referred to the need to be bold in carrying out the rectification work; and the third referred to the refutation of the false charges the "gang of four" made against the Central Committee concerning the documents on railway work in 1975. But the concocters arbitrarily lumped them together in what they called "a speech of reversing verdicts."

Third, to confound black with white and trump up charges. For instance, they branded as "fallacious talk in the wind of reversing verdicts" the instructions given by a central leading comrade on the implementation of Chairman Mao's directive concerning the film "Pioneers." They attacked as "fake accusations" the reports the masses of revolutionary writers and artists presented to Chairman Mao on their situation. What was especially intolerable was that they treated as "rumors" the directives given by Chairman Mao to the effect that "THE NINTH CATEGORY MUST NOT GO" and concerning rectification. They also described as "rumors" created by Comrade Chou Jung-hsin the criticisms of Chairman Mao against the "RAMPANCY OF METAPHYSICS" of the "gang of four," and attacked them willfully.

After the materials were compiled, they first published them, in the name of the Liang Hsiao "material group," in the form of big-character posters inside the two universities. Then they had the materials printed and distributed through the party committees of the two universities controlled by the "gang of four," organizing so-called "exposure" and "criticism," and creating the climate for doing so. Finally, they invited people inside and outside the universities and even inside and outside the country to come for "visit" and "study." At the same time, these materials were distributed all over the country through various channels.

In accordance with the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary arrangements, Liang Hsiao then continually tossed out to society the sinister articles they had produced, issuing signals, fixing the tones, and causing the sinister wind and truculent waves of attacking and framing Vice Chairman Teng and other central leading comrades to be escalated again and again. In December 1975, on Yao Wen-yuan's instructions, Liang Hsiao first tossed out the big poisonous weed "The Orientation of Educational Revolution Must Not Be Altered" (carried in RED FLAG), thereby extending the "big debate" that began in Tsinghua University to the entire educational front. [paragraph continues]

The article in an unprecedented move kicked up a fuss about the "two assessments," smearing the improvements that had just begun to appear on the educational front since the Fourth NPC as "reversal of verdicts" and "restoration of the old order." Moreover, it blatantly described as "absurdities" a series of directives given by Premier Chou and other central leading comrades concerning the educational revolution. It brought great joy to the followers of the "gang of four" in various localities and departments, who regarded it as "the signal for a big counterattack."

Creating chaos throughout the country and seizing power in the midst of it--such was a consistent counterrevolutionary tactic of the "gang of four." It was also the basic tactic for this major offensive. It was in accordance with this counterrevolutionary tactic that Liang Hsiao charged forward with his pen. Acting on Chih Chun's order "criticize by one sphere after another" and "ferret out capitalist roaders at every level," Liang Hsiao stretched out their sinister hands to all fronts. Wherever their pens could reach, chaos appeared. After making a breach on the educational front, they charged toward the scientific and technological, literary and art and other fronts, churning out a series of poisonous articles including "Repulse the Right-Deviationist Wind of Reversing Verdicts in Scientific and Technological Circles" (in RED FLAG) and "To Negate the Revolution in Literature and Art Is To Restore Capitalism" (in PEOPLE'S DAILY). In the former article, they arbitrarily said that for 17 years the scientific and technological circles "pushed a revisionist line," and for the first time accused the scientific and technological front of being subject to "the dictatorship of the sinister line." Moreover, with an ulterior motive they linked up the "revisionist viewpoints" of the educational and scientific and technological circles, alleging that "there exists a revisionist line counterbalancing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line." Thus, they instantly spread out this major offensive mounted by the "gang of four" along the entire front and throughout the country, turning the spearhead of attack against the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, particularly against Vice Chairman Teng, who was then presiding over the daily work of the Central Committee. A grade-12 typhoon was stirred up in attacking and framing Vice Chairman Teng.

On 12 February 1976, Liang Hsiao contributed to a newspaper a noteworthy article entitled "Class Struggle Is the Key Link While the Rest Are Secondary Issues." The article not only wildly peddled the trash regarding "the bourgeoisie inside the party," viciously trying to trace the so-called "general source of the storm" but also for the first time labeled Vice Chairman Teng "the biggest capitalist roader." This was a major escalation of the "gang of four's" drive to slander and frame him.

What was particularly malicious was that the "gang of four" distorted the facts of public mourning of Premier Chou at Tienanmen Square in early April of 1976, composed false reports and collected sinister material, smearing Vice Chairman Teng by calling him a "sinister hand" and "the general boss behind the scenes." This churned the counterrevolutionary adverse current to alarming proportions, providing them with an opportunity to ferret out the "capitalist roaders" in a big way and to cruelly suppress the broad revolutionary masses.

Yao Wen-yuan gave the instruction that "the Tienanmen Square incident shows that the bourgeoisie is inside the party." Liang Hsiao and other disgraceful writers lost no time in pitching in. They churned out five to six articles. On 18 May, Liang Hsiao published two articles, "There Is a Bourgeois Class Inside the Party--Dissecting the Tienanmen Square Counterrevolutionary Incident" (KWANGMING DAILY). [paragraph continues]

Both articles were revised by Yao Wen-yuan. In these articles Liang Hsiao maliciously slandered Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, at the same time changing the term "capitalist roader" from singular to plural. Thus, "the ringleader of the revisionist line" became "the same group of ringleaders of the revisionist line." This was clearly a signal for them to switch the main spearhead of their attacks against Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, who was selected by Chairman Mao as his successor.

In early July 1976, Liang Hsiao dished up an article criticizing "the economic thinking of the comprador-bourgeois class," which was composed between March and April. At that time, Chih Chun transmitted the "gang of four's" instructions about the need to launch a new offensive in the economic sphere against the so-called "economic thinking of the comprador-bourgeois class." Liang Hsiao was asked to write a "leading article" capable of producing an "overpowering impact."

The draft was ready in mid-May. Yao Wen-yuan told Liang Hsiao to "hold it for further study" on the grounds that the timing for its publication had to be deferred. In early June, he suddenly ordered that the draft be hastily revised for publication and specified that criticism of "exclusive control of enterprises by the ministries concerned" be included. Why? It happened that they had knowledge of a forum on planning work to be convened in July by the State Council. Publishing this article was aimed at boosting the "gang of four's" challenging posture at the meeting. By releasing this "overpowering" article, they not only vainly attempted to write off Chairman Mao's line, principles and policies for building socialism, but also wanted to accuse Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other leading comrades of the State Council of "representing the bourgeois internally" and "practicing capitulation and national betrayal externally"--i.e., as "the comprador-bourgeois class." After the article was released, the "gang of four's" pawns in Shanghai lost no time in taking this document for study at a meeting as ammunition for wildly attacking Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other leading comrades of the State Council.

In rapid succession, Liang Hsiao, in complying with the "gang of four's" wish, stole two documents and a draft which were being processed by relevant departments of the State Council and accused them of being "three big poisonous weeds." These were branded as "a political proclamation on capitalist restoration," "a living specimen of the revisionist line" and "regulations on accelerating capitalist restoration" and circulated for purposes of making severe criticisms. In addition, these documents were appended to the sinister articles churned out by Liang Hsiao and the like for inclusion in the "Three Pamphlets" published and circulated throughout the country in the name of "Central Documents Not Published in the Name of the Central Committee." This was a very important move that the "gang of four" made to quicken their steps in usurping party and state power when great leader Chairman Mao was critically ill. A trusted follower of Chih Chun admitted that the "Three Pamphlets" were aimed at lumping the capitalist roaders together for criticism." They vainly tried to stir up a new upsurge of what they called "counterattack," aimed at striking down Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and all other leading central comrades.

#### Part IV

The passing of great leader and teacher Chairman Mao created a moment of grave difficulty for our party and state. Expecting that their moment for usurping party and state power had come and flaunting the banner of "carrying out the last wish," the "gang of four," a bane to the nation, began to launch the wildest and final attack on the party.

In this attack, Liang Hsiao serving as a counterrevolutionary column was in a frenzy of hysteria making a desperate last-ditch effort. Chih Chun clamored for "carrying out Chairman Mao's last wish under Chiang Ching's leadership." The first task he assigned to Liang Hsiao was to write a "letter pledging loyalty" to Chiang Ching in an impetuous bid to enthrone the archrenegade Chiang Ching as "empress." On the one hand, they "advised" her to make a move and on the other concentrated their firepower on the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. Chih Chun told his pawns: "From now on, I will sit tight at Tsinghua to watch the Central Committee." "Now is the time for fighting, for writing voluminously, in a special way and with speed." With orders from the man in charge, the lackeys showed up en masse. Some were ready to proceed to Liaoning and other localities to establish secret contact, while others went to the offices of the PEOPLE'S DAILY, RED FLAG and KWANGMING DAILY that the "gang of four" controlled to carry out conspiratorial activities. The whole force left no stones unturned in churning out a spate of antiparty sinister articles, with at least one article every 2 days. They kicked up a big fuss over the question of "succession," prating about the "historical experience" of the international communist movement and citing developments after the passing of Engels and Stalin to insinuate the internal situation and attack Chairman Hua.

In order to incriminate Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee for "altering" Chairman Mao's instructions, the "gang of four" played the dirty trick of a robber acting like a policeman. They forged the so-called "deathbed adjuration"--"acting according to the principles laid down."

On 4 October 1976, Liang Hsiao contributed to KWANGMING DAILY a very poisonous article entitled "Always Act According to the Principles Laid Down by Chairman Mao." This was a counterrevolutionary mobilization order for usurping party and state power openly issued by the "gang of four." This article has been exposed and critically reviewed by many people. It must be pointed out here that during this period Liang Hsiao concocted not one but eight articles purported to publicize "act according to the principles laid down."

In one article that was not published in the nick of time, they openly and more wildly attacked the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. They babbled: "When an erroneous line is criticized and reckoned with, a number of new ringleaders of the opportunist line will proclaim themselves as the representatives of the correct line and under cover of opposing the erroneous line continue to carry out the same line." This fully revealed the "gang of four's" reactionary nature in forging Chairman Mao's "deathbed adjuration."

Chih Chun said: "The established principles sum up what has been said" and "the way we understand it is of practical significance." What, after all, is the "practical significance" of "acting according to the principles laid down"? He wrote this comment on the edited copy of an article written by his confederate at Tsinghua University entitled "Act According to the Principles Laid Down and Struggle Against the Capitalist Roaders to the Very End": "The title is well put." It is not difficult to see that so-called "Acting According to the Principles Laid Down" meant continuing to implement the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary political program, dragging out the "capitalist roaders" in a big way, striking down a great number of leading party, government and army comrades at central and local levels, comprehensively usurping party and state power and restoring capitalism.

In order to trumpet "Acting According to the Principles Laid Down," Liang Hsiao once again invoked the departed souls in history. [paragraph continues]

They planned to write an article of this type: "After Liu Pang died, six generations of Legalist emperors of the Han Dynasty acted according to the principles laid down by him." The idea was to publicize how the principles laid down by Liu Pang were handed down after his death. One fellow unabashedly yelled: From these materials we should find out how Empress Lu "eliminated those opponents one by one." Look, before the "gang of four" rose to power, their hack writers were already impatient in writing about how to kill people. What a saber-rattling show of arrogance!

However, those who mock history will in turn be punished by it. Liang Hsiao expected that the counterrevolutionary mobilization order it issued would be the first **salvo greeting the "gang of four's" enthronement, a "grand festival."** Instead, it sounded the knell of their complete collapse. Overnight, Liang Hsiao became a weeping **mourner** embracing the "gang of four's" political corpses!

The short-lived history of Liang Hsiao serving as the "gang of four's" anxious vanguard in usurping party and state power over the past years was not a record of success. Rather, it was a record of **"MAKE TROUBLE, FAIL, MAKE TROUBLE AGAIN AND FAIL AGAIN TILL THEIR DOOM."**

Like all reactionaries the world over, Liang Hsiao outwardly looked ferocious and blatant but inwardly was extremely vulnerable and isolated. This evil-doer was bitterly resented across the land. It was booed when its name was mentioned and reviled when its writings were read. One popular song contains these words: "One newspaper, two universities and a few clowns keep shouting." This is the revolutionary people mocking this bunch of evil-doers. No wonder Liang Hsiao was apprehensive of the day when their sinister hideout would be "surrounded by tanks." With the shattering force of a thunderbolt, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua smashed the "gang of four" with one blow. Along with his masters, Liang Hsiao was placed in the dock of history.

At the moment, the third campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is gaining momentum. Led by the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, we must completely smash the "gang of four's" bourgeois factional network at Peking University. In the spirit of beating the dog struggling in the water, we must penetratingly expose and relentlessly criticize Liang Hsiao's crimes, correcting the right and wrong in line, in thinking and in theory reversed by them and thoroughly stamping out their pernicious influence. We will not stop until complete victory is won.



CLEARLY DISTINGUISH BETWEEN RIGHT AND WRONG IN LINE AND DEVELOP THE  
SOCIALIST SPORTS ENTERPRISE AT HIGH SPEED

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 78 pp 20-24

[Article by Wang Meng [3769 3718]]

[Text] Wise leader Chairman Hua recently wrote an inscription for the physical culture front: "Vigorously develop physical culture by popularizing it and raising its standards simultaneously." Esteemed and beloved Vice Chairman Yeh also wrote an inscription: "Train hard, strengthen the physique, and scale the heights of world sports!" Both these inscriptions are embodiments of the brilliant thinking of great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and have further shown the direction for advance in physical culture. This is a big, happy event on the physical culture front and a gesture of great concern and an inspiration to us. We must raise high the great banner of Chairman Mao, seriously carry out Chairman Hua's and Vice Chairman Yeh's instructions, deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," distinguish between right and wrong in line, seek the high-speed development of our physical culture, and contribute to building a modern and powerful socialist country by the end of the century.

Proletarian revolutionary teachers have attached great importance to physical culture and taken physical culture as an important part of the proletarian revolutionary cause and an important part of the training needed to bring up new communist persons. Marx pointed out: /"Future education for all children exceeding a given age is a combination of productive labor and intellectual and physical education. This is not only a way to raise social production but also the only way to train persons well developed in all fields."/ Lenin said that to realize and consummate the communist cause we should train a generation of young people /"with a strong and robust body, an iron will and hard muscles to accept these challenges."/ Great leader and teacher Chairman Mao gave a series of important instructions on physical culture work. He inherited and developed brilliant Marxist thinking on physical culture and sports. As early as during the agrarian revolutionary war he urged the launching

of a mass Red physical culture movement. During the war of resistance against Japan he closely linked physical culture with the national liberation struggle and called on the army and the people of the whole country to /"keep physically fit to fight Japan."/ After the establishment of the new China, in 1952 Chairman Mao wrote an inscription for the meeting establishing the All-China Sports Federation: /"Develop the mass physical culture movement, improve the physique of the people."/ The nature and target of the physical culture movement were clearly defined. The series of instructions from Chairman Mao made clear the orientation and the road in developing our physical culture and sports and affirmed the concrete line, general and specific policies, and methods for physical culture work.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary physical culture line, our socialist physical culture has developed vigorously in the past 28 years. The people's physique has been improved, the national spirit aroused and the technical level of sports raised considerably. A fundamental change has taken place in the unusually backward features of physical culture and sports in the old China. Old China had never set a world record. For 20 years and more, Chinese athletes have set over 100 world records and won about 30 world championships, winning honor for the motherland and contributing to socialist revolution and construction. But due to interference and sabotage from Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and especially the "gang of four," the development of physical culture has been seriously affected. There remains much to be desired in the popularization of mass physical culture. Many sports items have fallen behind technically. A big gap has existed between our levels and advanced world levels. In the face of this situation, we must redouble our efforts to quickly develop physical culture and sports so that they can better serve socialist revolution and construction.

In the high-speed development of socialist physical culture we must implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary physical culture line in an all-round manner. We understand that Chairman Mao's revolutionary physical culture line boils down to this: Under the leadership of the party we must develop physical culture and sports, strengthen the people's physique, stimulate the development of young people morally, intellectually and physically, and persist in combining physical culture with productive labor, militia training and health work, integrating popularization with standard elevation and putting friendship above competition so as to serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, serve socialist construction, serve the building of national defenses, and serve the establishment and development of friendship among the people of various countries and support for the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries. Thanks to the dominant position of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on the physical culture front, tremendous achievements have been scored.

Prompted by their counterrevolutionary need to usurp party and state power, the "gang of four" confused right and wrong and confounded black and white. They negated the dominant position of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on the physical culture front in the past 20 years or so and negated our tremendous achievements in physical culture. In the early days of the Great Cultural Revolution they joined the Lin Piao antiparty clique in maliciously attacking and vilifying the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission led by Comrade Ho Lung as "an independent kingdom." Later they attacked and smeared the leadership of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission as "three generations of revisionism." Organizationally they severely hurt the "three categories of veterans" (veteran cadres, veteran coaches and veteran athletes). They babbled that our physical culture was "bourgeois physical culture without capitalists." They vociferously cried for the promotion of "revolution in physical culture." This was a concrete manifestation and a malicious development of the "gang of four's" theory of the "dictatorship of the sinister line" on the physical culture front. It was a serious distortion of historical facts. The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao affirmed on many occasions the achievements made in physical culture and the progress of physical culture contingents in the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution. In 1956 Chairman Mao pointed out: /"In the past, China was known as 'an old big empire,' 'the sick man of East Asia,' backward economically and culturally and unconcerned with sanitation. She had poor records in ball games and in swimming. ...But after 6 years of reform we have changed the picture of China. Our achievements cannot be denied by anyone."/ In 1964 Chairman Mao once again stressed: /"In the past, the West labeled us the sick man of the East. Are we not rid of the label now?"/ In December 1966 Premier Chou pointed out that the achievements in physical culture were the main factor. In July 1971 he again affirmed the dominant position of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on the physical culture front. Chairman Mao's and Premier Chou's instructions are a forceful criticism of Lin Piao and the "gang of four's" theory of the "dictatorship of the sinister line." At present we must deepen the criticism of the "three generations of revisionism" as a variation of the theory of the "dictatorship of the sinister line" on the physical culture front and other reactionary fallacies. We must also take note of the major issues confounded by the "gang of four," unfold revolutionary mass criticism, eliminate their remnant poison and distinguish between right and wrong in line.

#### I. On the Guideline of Combining Popularization and Standard Elevation

Physical culture and sports are the cause of hundreds of millions of people. We must adhere to the guideline of combining popularization and elevation and seek elevation on the basis of popularization and popularization guided by elevation. Chairman Mao pointed out: /"Popularization cannot be separated from elevation."/ /"The people demand popularization first and then elevation and increasing elevation."/ During the era of the Big Leap Forward, Chairman Mao called on 300 million

people to swim and to surpass Wu Chuan-yu. He mentioned not only popularization but also elevation. In 1959 Premier Chou pointed out: "In physical culture work we should thoroughly implement the guideline of combining popularization and elevation, launch an extensive mass physical culture movement and gradually raise the level of our physical culture." These instructions from Chairman Mao and Premier Chou served as a useful guide to the continuous popularization and elevation of our physical culture and sports.

The "gang of four" and their flunkies altered Chairman Mao's great directive, /"Develop the mass physical culture movement, improve the physique of the people."/ With ulterior motives, they put things in absolute terms. Onesidedly they stressed popularization and said nothing about elevation. They babbled, "Popularization serves the interests of the majority and elevation the interests of the minority." This misleading slogan was extremely absurd. Our physical culture and sports are for the masses of people and for the workers, peasants and soldiers first of all. Popularization is what concerns the people. Elevation is also what concerns the people. Elevation as we want it is based on extensive mass physical culture activities. Elevation will in turn stimulate and guide popularization. Elevation will in turn stimulate and guide popularization, with millions upon millions of people attracted to physical training. For instance, during the era of the Big Leap Forward our urban and rural physical culture activities were launched with great vigor, with millions of people participating in various kinds of physical training. It was on this broad mass basis that our table tennis teams won world championships. This in turn inspired and stimulated 50 million people to play the game of table tennis. Popularization and elevation are the opposites of unity, complementing and stimulating each other. We can never stress one and negate the other. To enable our physical culture to develop constantly we must let elevation guide the continuous elevation of the technical level of the masses. The "gang of four" and their ilk shouted the slogan of popularization so loudly. Did they really want popularization? No! On the one hand they tried in every way to thwart elevation in order to deprive popularization of its needed guidance and hamper consolidation and development; on the other they put forward such absurd slogans as "800 million people and 800 million sportsmen" and "physical culture standards must be imposed in allotting workpoints in the countryside." This basically ran counter to the law governing the development of physical culture geared to the development of the economy. Serious damage was done to popularization work.

Because the "gang of four" and their ilk linked elevation with the practice of revisionism, certain comrades are still fearful and dare not seek elevation in a bold way. We must correctly understand the dialectical relations between popularization and elevation, smash the spiritual shackles and thoroughly emancipate our thinking. We must not only energetically take good care of popularization but also seriously seek

proper elevation in order to stimulate the healthy development of physical culture and sports.

## II. On the Question of Holding Contests in Physical Culture and Sports

Holding contests is an important feature of physical culture and sports. For a great number of sports such as ball games, chess games, wrestling, etc., the activities in themselves are contests. In more than 20 years we have gradually established a set of socialist contest systems. This has played a positive role in promoting popularization, stimulating elevation, arousing the people's revolutionary spirit and stimulating them to go all out and aim high, fostering in youths courage, firmness of purpose and perseverance and cultivating their will to unite and act in concert. But the "gang of four" and their flunkies smeared our contest system as one "basically not different from those of capitalist countries." Under the cloak of "contest reforms," they attempted to do away with contests in physical culture.

They described winning places, scores and grades in contests as winning "bourgeois rights" and referees as "bourgeois judges." They wanted to abolish all of them as a target of "revolution." They turned contests into so-called "political rallies." In a contest there is a winner and a loser. Where there is a contest, score is kept and people are ranked. This is what exists objectively. It is commonsense. Where there is no distinction between winner and loser, no keeping score and no ranking of people, how can there be a contest? To help improve the results it is also necessary to grade contests. It is quite irrelevant to call all these "bourgeois rights." It is especially a manifestation of subjective idealism to call for getting rid of them as a target of "revolution." By so-called "political rallies" they meant no distinction between winner and loser, no keeping score and no ranking of people, but ascertaining in an assessment such things as who was praised in the largest number of wall newspapers. This was absurd in the extreme and tantamount to the abolition of contests.

They smeared our physical culture and sports contests as "midwives helping to produce championism." We want championships to encourage the advanced and stimulate the backward. We oppose individuals' winning championships for themselves, but we encourage achieving outstanding results for the motherland and catching up with and surpassing advanced world levels, on the condition that this is done with the proletarian thinking and style doggedly upheld above all. This is basically different from the promotion of "championism." Championism is an important mark of capitalist physical culture. Our physical culture contests are socialist in nature. Though there are individual phenomena of championism, they are not the inevitable result of socialist contests themselves but a reflection of bourgeois thinking, which must be resisted and criticized. It is the height of folly to equate problems in the ideological area with the contest system itself.

In our socialist physical culture and sports contests we have always doggedly upheld the leadership of the party and put proletarian politics in command. We have implemented the guideline "Friendship before competition" and promoted competition that can lead to a proper style and to a higher level. This is in essence different from capitalist physical culture and sports contests. As to the adoption of international game rules, this is needed in international physical culture exchanges. Otherwise we would have to shut ourselves out of the world and hold ourselves aloof from foreign countries. All the slanders that the "gang of four" and their ilk made against us in regard to contests gave the appearance of being quite "left." In fact, their promotion of "reforms in contests" was a fraud; their real intent was to abolish contests. Their promotion of "revolution in physical culture" was a fraud; their real intent was to usurp party and state power. What they promoted could not have been more rightist in essence.

### III. On the Question of Scaling the Heights of Sports Technique

Chairman Mao made a call to us: /"The Chinese people are ambitious and capable and can surely catch up with and surpass advanced world levels in the not too distant future."/ Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and the party Central Committee have always shown great concern and high expectations in raising the technical level of our sports. To scale the heights of world sports and win honor for the state is a glorious task on the physical culture front. The "gang of four" and their flunkies openly sang a different tune in opposing Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee. They cried, "It would not matter if we kept losing for 20 years." They slanderously charged that "the slogan of winning honor for the motherland is highly deceptive and misleading in nature." This fallacy must be repudiated.

To scale the heights of physical culture is not only needed as a stimulation and a guide to the mass physical culture movement. It has a bearing on the honor of the motherland and national dignity. The high or low technical level of a country's sports reflects to a certain degree the physique of the people as well as the country's economic, cultural, scientific and technical levels. Ours is a country with a population of 800 million. We also have a superior socialist system. Our sports technique must be raised to a higher level. With a higher technical level in sports we can, in international physical culture exchanges, better carry out the guideline of "friendship before competition" and serve Chairman Mao's revolutionary diplomatic line. As far as our own country is concerned, scaling the heights of physical culture is also what helps arouse people's revolutionary militant will and their revolutionary spirit. Our table tennis teams have won world championships on many occasions. Our mountaineers have twice reached the summit of Mount Chuomo Lungma. This has pointed to the sublime heroic spirit of the Chinese people. It has not only added to our political influence internationally but also played a stimulating role in socialist revolution and construction. Chairman Mao

and the party Central Committee fully affirmed the achievements of our sportsmen in scaling heights and winning honor for the motherland. After the 28th World Table Tennis Championships, Chairman Mao affectionately congratulated Comrade Ho Lung on another victory won by the table tennis teams and on the battle fought by the women's teams that enabled them to prove their worth. In 1970 Premier Chou sternly repudiated the fallacy that slanderously linked achievements with support for revisionism. He pointed out, "This is winning honor for the motherland!" At a reception for the delegation to the Asian Games in 1974, Chairman Hua said: Achieve something and set records. The "gang of four" and their flunkies maliciously attacked the slogan of "winning honor for the state." This fully exposed them as a bunch of national degenerates who devoted themselves to undermining socialist sports and thought nothing of the honor of the motherland! We must carry forward revolutionary heroism, bravely scale the heights of the world and win honor for Chairman Hua and for the motherland.

Scaling heights calls for the adoption of effective measures and the training of a number of ideologically advanced and technically proficient aces. Aces used to be vanguards in removing obstacles and scaling heights. They are also a backbone force in stimulating the masses in one area and all others. In scaling the technical heights of sports, just as in scaling the heights of science and technology, it is highly necessary to train aces or fine sportsmen who can set world records and win honor for the motherland. It should be pointed out that the more such aces, the more the revolutionary cause benefits. The "gang of four" and their flunkies smeared fine sportsmen as "revisionist seedlings." They asserted, "The more advanced, the more revisionist one is." They rabidly hit out at and persecuted fine sportsmen. They were really mad! Proletarian physical culture must be devoted to training aces who serve the people and win honor for the motherland. The "gang of four" babbled, "The more advanced, the more revisionist one is." This was a big stick they brought to bear in preventing the training of technical personnel. They seriously undermined the development of socialist physical culture. We must find as many ways as possible to train large numbers of fine sportsmen who will scale one height of sports technique after another.

#### IV. On the Question of International Physical Culture Exchanges

International physical culture exchanges are a part of international cultural exchanges. They can be traced far back in history as a form of friendly exchange among the peoples of various countries. Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee have attached great importance to international physical culture exchanges, gave a series of directives on participation in international physical culture activities and formulated correct guidelines. Our participation in international physical culture activities is prompted by a desire to establish and cultivate friendship with the people of various countries and to support the revolutionary struggle of the people of various countries in the world. It is also our

aim to acquire foreign experiences and techniques in physical culture and sports so as to stimulate the popularization and elevation of our physical culture and sports. For over 20 years, through international physical culture exchanges, we have promoted friendship with the people and sportsmen of various countries, increased our political influence and taken positive and negative foreign experiences as a source of information in developing our physical culture and sports. An unforgettable event in our international physical culture exchange activities took place in 1971 thanks to a wise policy decision by Chairman Mao: a U.S. table tennis team was invited to visit China. This paved the way for friendly exchanges between the people of China and the United States. In accordance with the guideline "Friendship before competition" put forward by Chairman Mao, esteemed and beloved Premier Chou set up a banner in the field of international physical culture. This won the universal praise of friendly countries and their peoples and had a far-reaching influence on international games. Hosts of facts show that the thorough implementation of the guideline of serving Chairman Mao's revolutionary diplomatic line in international physical culture exchanges gives full expression to patriotism and the spirit of internationalism.

The "gang of four" and their flunkies shut their eyes to hard facts. They slanderously described participation in international games as "serving the international bourgeoisie." They attacked the international physical culture activity plan approved by the party Central Committee as "a big spider's web which inhibits our thinking and action and which leaves the Third World helpless." They denounced our physical culture exchanges with the Second World countries as "ignoring our poor friends." This was sheer balderdash and an open attempt to prevent physical culture from serving Chairman Mao's revolutionary diplomatic line. Our participation in international physical culture activities is in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary diplomatic line and his theory of the differentiation of the three worlds. We stress exchanges with the Third World and at the same time energetically promote exchanges with the Second World. We are also friendly toward the people of the First World countries. This is correct in regard to both theory and practice.

With the "gang of four" smashed, the barrier to international physical culture exchanges has been removed. In accordance with Chairman Mao's strategic thinking on the differentiation of the three worlds, we must seriously do international physical culture work well, energetically try to accomplish our foreign aid mission, continue to implement the guideline of "Friendship before competition" in international games, achieve bumper harvests in regard to both politics and technique, and better serve Chairman Mao's revolutionary diplomatic line.

V. On the Question of Training a Red and Expert Physical Culture Contingent.

To train a Red and expert physical culture contingent is to provide an important condition for the development of physical culture and sports.



Chairman Mao pointed out: /"The unity of politics and economics and of politics and technique--this is without a shadow of doubt. The same holds true every year and for all years to come. All this means Redness and expertness."/ We must train a physical culture contingent guided by the orientation of being Red and expert and persist in putting proletarian politics in command, so that the principle of putting politics in command can be firmly applied to ideological revolutionization and to physical training and other fields.

The "gang of four," who had made a habit of severing the dialectical relations between Redness and expertness and between politics and professional matters and of subjecting people to the serious charge of "following the white and expert road" in repressing the socialist activism of the masses, energetically spread on the physical culture front the reactionary fallacy, "By the time people have mastered a skill they will have been snatched away from us." They vigorously criticized the so-called "theory of taking training as the center" and opposed in every way the physical culture contingent's putting politics in command and taking training as the center. Redness and expertness or politics and professional matters form the unity of opposites, the two being inseparable. However, the "gang of four" and their flunkies made much of politics as something separate and independent. They not only interfered with putting proletarian politics in command but tried in every way to prevent the sports contingent from doing a good job of training and raising technical standards. It is common knowledge that the principle of putting politics in command applies to all lines and trades. This is talking in terms of common features. All lines and trades have their own peculiar features. This is talking in terms of specialized fields. With factories and rural areas focusing on production, workers and peasants must accomplish their production assignments with flying colors. As a part of the whole physical culture army, a sports contingent must take training as the center during the specified period of training and try to quickly raise its technical standards during training. Otherwise, how can we scale heights and win honor for the state? When the "gang of four" were throwing their weight around, the masses of physical culture workers dared not concern themselves with professional matters, sportsmen and coaches dared not study technology, and scientific and technical personnel in physical culture dared not do scientific research. The physical culture contingent got nowhere politically or professionally. The damage done to it was serious. Certain sports teams still dare not take training as the center. We should thoroughly criticize the "gang of four's" various fallacies in opposing Redness and expertness. It should be reaffirmed that the sports contingent must put politics in command and take training as the center. With politics in command, it must doggedly pay close attention to training, guarantee time for training, and strive to raise the political and technical levels of our sportsmen. It must really turn the physical culture continent into an ideologically advanced and technically proficient one packed with vitality and guided by strict discipline and a good style.

With the "gang of four" smashed, physical culture has been liberated. Thanks to the wise leadership and great concern of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, the physical culture front has penetratingly launched a struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." Right and wrong in line, ideology and theory reversed by the "gang of four" are being clarified. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is being correctly implemented in an all-round manner. The masses of physical culture workers and sportsmen have smashed the spiritual shackles imposed by the "gang of four." They are bursting with socialist enthusiasm. Initial results have been achieved in the effort to grasp the key link in the proper handling of physical culture. We must aim high and cherish lofty ambitions and strive to achieve the following goals by the end of the century: universal physical education for urban and rural residents; a big improvement in the physique of the people of the entire nation; being a top-ranking physical culture contingent in the world; technical levels of sports and modern physical culture facilities ranking among the best in the world; and being one of the most developed countries in the world in regard to physical culture.

Within 8 years we must also have put physical education for the masses on a universal basis and approached and met advanced world standards in regard to a large number of sports. By the end of 3 years we must have brought about a new situation in physical culture. With physical culture activities energetically launched in industrial and mining enterprises and in rural areas, universal physical education must have been basically achieved in Taching-type enterprises and Tachai-type counties already created. Physical education for youths, especially in schools, must have been energetically developed and strengthened to raise the students' health and technical levels in sports. Military training activities must have been energetically and systematically launched, so that the students can acquire some military knowledge and certain military skills. Of all sports, one-third must have approached and met advanced world standards.

The high-speed development of our socialist physical culture is not only highly necessary but entirely capable of being achieved. This is because we can count on a population of 800 million hard-working and brave people, a superior socialist system, the soaring enthusiasm aroused in the masses of physical culture workers and sportsmen in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," negative and positive experiences in 28 years and, most important of all, a whole set of lines and specific and general policies formulated for us by Chairman Mao and the correct leadership of the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua. It is believed that with the development of our economic and cultural undertakings and an improvement in material life, a booming situation will appear in physical culture and sports. On the basis of initial results in 1 year, our physical culture and sports can surely achieve substantial results in 3 years and, by the end of the century, shine brightly in scaling the heights of world physical culture and sports.

FROM THE 'TWO ASSESSMENTS' TO THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL PROGRAM

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[Article by Wang Ta-jen [3769 1129 0117], secretary of the Shansi Provincial CCP Committee]

[Text] The struggle to criticize the "two assessments" on the educational front has had great repercussions on various fronts. This gives an effective boost to the speedy and healthy growth of the third campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four." Five years intervened between the "gang of four's" concocting the "two assessments" and their dishing up the counterrevolutionary political program. Yet the same goal of counterrevolutionary ambitions and conspiracy was being served. In February 1976 the "gang of four" instructed new counterrevolutionary Chang Tieh-sheng to sneak into Shansi to vigorously prepare sinister antiparty reports. For the first time the "two assessments" and the counterrevolutionary political program were vigorously peddled in a combined form. While attacking the "dictatorship of the black line" on the educational front in those 17 years, they slanderously charged that "the old cadres are 'democrats' and 'democrats' are 'capitalist roaders.'" They rabidly cried that our eyes must focus on the "center" and that "major surgical operations" must be performed on the leading groups on various fronts. They called for sweeping away intellectuals like "garbage." They were really reactionary in the extreme. Today, in the struggle to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must combine the "two assessments" and the counterrevolutionary political program as a target of criticism and expose their built-in relations and their ultraright essence. This is of great importance in thoroughly smashing the "gang of four's" revisionist thinking.

Wise leader Chairman Hua pointed out: "As far as ideology and theory are concerned, the 11th struggle between the two lines in our party has unfolded around the question of whether to uphold or to vitiate the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a salient feature of this struggle." The "gang of four" were in the habit of raising the "red flag" to oppose the red flag. In

concocting the "two assessments" and the counterrevolutionary political program, they raised the banner of "dictatorship of the black line"--which actually negated the dominant position of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line; raised the banner of opposing "renegades, secret agents and capitalist roaders"--which actually hit out at the revolutionary leading cadres loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line; and raised the banner of transforming "bourgeois intellectuals"--which actually was a vigorous effort to persecute the masses of intellectuals. In every case, something "left" in appearance but right in reality was a feature. In a nutshell, all their efforts were directed toward freely confusing right and wrong, confounding enemies and friends and altering Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was to serve their counterrevolutionary political plot to usurp party and state power, overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

To affirm or negate the dominant role of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the socialist cause is the focus of our struggle with the "gang of four." Their vicious acts were prompted by a vain attempt to replace Chairman Mao's revolutionary line with their counterrevolutionary revisionist ultraright line.

Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is a beacon guiding our advance and a fundamental guarantee for the triumph of various fronts over the revisionist line and for a great victory in socialist revolution and construction. Concerning the educational work before the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao made a correct overall assessment long ago. In a speech during the spring festival in 1964, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: /"The policy and line in education are correct, but our methods are improper."/

In the summer of 1971 Chairman Mao again clearly pointed out: Those who followed the wrong line under the dictatorship of the proletariat were not in the majority but in the minority. Chairman Mao's assessment was entirely in line with the conditions on the national educational front in those 17 years. As far as our province is concerned, after liberation, in conformity with the whole set of proletarian educational lines and specific and general policies formulated by Chairman Mao, and in keeping with the pace of advance in socialist revolution and construction, we continuously deepened educational reform and the educational revolution and energetically developed socialist education, so that the sons and daughters of laboring people could have educational opportunities. Now we have introduced universal primary school education. Many areas have basically introduced universal junior secondary school education. In cities, universal senior secondary school education has been basically introduced. Great progress has also been made in higher education. The total number of students in various kinds of schools in the province has reached over 5,900,000, a figure that represents one-fourth of the total population. Our schools have provided various fronts

with large numbers of construction personnel. Many of them have become backbone forces in their own fields. Facts show that on the educational front, just as on other fronts, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has consistently occupied the dominant position in the past 28 years, despite interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four."

The sinister aim of the "gang of four" in concocting the "two assessments" was not just to negate the achievements in educational work and impose the theory of "dictatorship of the black line" on the educational front. It was also prompted by a vain attempt to completely negate the dominant position of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on various fronts. After the appearance of the "two assessments," the "gang of four" launched one attack after another on the party and the people. Anyone who safeguarded Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and opposed the "two assessments" became the target of attack. In 1973 they whipped up the sinister wind of "fighting the rightist backlash." In 1974 they took the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius as an excuse to churn up a wave of "criticizing Confucianism and assessing Legalism," "opposing respect for the dignity of teachers" and "going against the tide." In the winter of 1975 they again followed "another line," starting with the educational front. In their attack the "two assessments" was always taken as the big stick in their hands. They even howled: Those who opposed the "two assessments" "opposed the educational revolution" and "reversed the correct verdicts made during the Great Cultural Revolution" and were "restorationists" and "capitalist roaders." They directed the spearhead at Premier Chou En-lai, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, who doggedly adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and who successively presided over the everyday work of the party Central Committee and the work of the State Council. In early 1976 they at last trotted out the counterrevolutionary political program. They made a breach in the educational area and launched an overall attack against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Yao Wen-yuan wickedly cried: "We must make criticism from area to area." The "gang of four" turned out in force. They set in motion the mass media under their control. They successively concocted sinister antiparty articles, freely linking the educational, scientific, technological, health, cultural, economic and other fronts with the charges of "restoration" and "the backlash" and pinning the label "the theory of productive forces" on Taching and Tachai. What drove one mad was that they even attacked Chairman Mao's directive on /"developing the economy"/ as "a revisionist slogan"; attacked the "four modernizations" based on Chairman Mao's instructions and put forward by Premier Chou as "putting things in capitalist terms"; attacked as "revisionist" the report made by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng at the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture--a report approved by Chairman Mao; and attacked as "overall restoration" the reorganization efforts Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping made on various fronts in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions.

When the favorite dog of the "gang of four," Chang Tieh-sheng, was peddling the counterrevolutionary political program in Taiyuan, he threatened to "settle accounts" with us. He cried, "Those accounts in those 17 years must be settled. Those in 1972 and especially those in 1975 must be settled. All accounts, old and new, must be settled. None can get off scot-free." He gave full vent to the "gang of four's" implacable hatred for the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

But /"And mayflies lightly plot to topple the giant tree."/ Chairman Mao's revolutionary line had long been deeply rooted in the minds of the 800 million people of China. As to who had most faithfully and resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the masses were most clear. They could never be confused by the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary fallacy that sought to confound black and white. The resolute resistance put up by the masses of Hsiyang and in Shansi against Chang Tieh-sheng bore eloquent testimony to this. Neither their "two assessments" nor their counterrevolutionary political program could do anything for the "gang of four," who were clutching at a straw. On the contrary, the more they negated the dominant position occupied by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line within our party, the more exposed their true counterrevolutionary features and the clearer it became to the masses of people that the line they pushed was precisely a counterrevolutionary revisionist ultraright line running counter to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The question of leadership was another focus of our struggle with the "gang of four" revolving around the "two assessments" and the counterrevolutionary political program.

In 1957, in criticizing bourgeois rightists, Chairman Mao profoundly pointed out: /"The rightists are first after the parts and then after the whole. Their primary concern is leadership in press, educational, literary and art, and scientific and technical circles."/ Following the old tactics of the rightists, the "gang of four" attempted to start with the educational front in seizing leadership on various fronts. Chang Chun-chiao said openly: "To take care of the fundamental problem of education is to take care of the national problem." This revealed the counterrevolutionary motives behind their involvement in education. In 1975 Chang Chun-chiao dished up a sinister antiparty article about so-called "all-round dictatorship." He charged that in the superstructure of our country "bourgeois forces still predominate," and that leadership, as far as many economic departments are concerned, "is not in the hands of Marxists and the worker masses," and that various fronts "are still full of bourgeois fortifications." He vociferously clamored for the practice of "all-round dictatorship." By "all-round dictatorship" Chang Chun-chiao meant the all-round seizure of power from the proletariat. His sinister articles were not only a development of the "two assessments" but also a precursor of the counterrevolutionary

political program. The January 1976 decision of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao on the appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as the acting premier in charge of the party Central Committee's everyday work came as a heavy blow to the "gang of four's" plot to seize party and state power. Like desperate gamblers who had lost their last shirt, they trotted out the counterrevolutionary political program. They tried in every way to bring various fronts within the counterrevolutionary orbit in their attempt to usurp party and state power. They vigorously demanded that schools be run as tools of "struggle against capitalist roaders," that literature and art stress works on "struggle against capitalist roaders," that history be turned into history that criticizes "capitalist roaders" by insinuation, that the propaganda departments energetically create public opinion for ferreting out "capitalist roaders," that the public security organs direct the spearhead at "the bourgeoisie within the party," and so on and so forth. They were really wicked in the extreme.

To push their "two assessments" and counterrevolutionary political program, the "gang of four" openly opposed the instructions of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee which forbade the establishment of illegal ties. They stretched their tentacles to all parts of the country and instigated the ferreting out of "capitalist roaders" at every level and the establishment of "homegoing legions" everywhere. Chang Tieh-sheng's trip to Shansi is a case in point. This counterrevolutionary little clown vociferously cried for "ironfisted methods" against revolutionary veteran cadres, "a thorough reorganization" of various leading groups, and "major surgical operations" from top to bottom and "operations that are thorough." The followers of the "gang of four" in Shansi immediately rose in response and went wild with joy. They blacklisted the leading cadres of provincial organs and schools as "renegades, agents and capitalist roaders" and secretly provided the "gang of four" with a prepared blacklist. They plotted to establish so-called "workers control committees" to be stationed at party and government organizations to overthrow the leadership of the provincial party committee and the party committees at various levels. With the "gang of four's" support, they also concentrated on attacking the chief responsible comrades of the provincial party committee in a planned manner. What was especially intolerable was that they fabricated "sinister materials" against the leading comrades of the party Central Committee and threatened to take the leading comrades of the party Central Committee as the "same target of attack." They could not have been more reactionary. This shows that the "two assessments" and the counterrevolutionary political program were really a big stick used by the factional network of the "gang of four" to usurp party and state power.

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: /"Those cadres who are good are in the majority and those who are bad are in the minority."/ He further pointed out that only a handful of capitalist roaders existed within the party. The overwhelming majority of veteran cadres in our party are

shouldering important leadership responsibilities at various levels on various fronts, including the educational front, and are a backbone force in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Such a large contingent of cadres with veterans as its mainstay inspired Chairman Mao to say, "Never mind the storm, just sit tight in the fishing boat." During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the proletarian revolutionaries of the old generation and the masses of revolutionary cadres bravely came forward in spite of the extremely acute and complicated situation and the great difficulties brought about by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" antiparty clique. They adhered to the basic principle of "three dos and three don'ts." They led the masses of people to wage a brave struggle against Lin Piao and the "gang of four" antiparty clique and to smash their plots to usurp party and state power one after another. At an especially critical juncture when the fate of the party and the state was at stake, with the "gang of four" stepping up their pace to usurp party and state power after the passing of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, they again closely followed wise leader Chairman Hua in smashing the "gang of four" at one blow. The practice of long struggle shows that the proletarian revolutionaries of the old generation and the masses of revolutionary leading cadres are insurmountable obstacles to the "gang of four" in usurping party and state power. It is not strange that from the "two assessments" to the counterrevolutionary political program the "gang of four" directed the spearhead at revolutionary veteran cadres. From this soul-stirring struggle the revolutionary people can see more clearly that revolutionary veteran cadres are the treasure of the party and the state and are a pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "gang of four" harbored such implacable hatred for the revolutionary veteran cadres just because they wanted to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat by hitting out at its mainstay.

From the "two assessments" to the counterrevolutionary political program the "gang of four" turned enemies into friends in an all-round way and rabidly hit out at the masses of revolutionary cadres. They also directed the spearhead at the masses of intellectuals.

A correct attitude toward intellectuals is of major significance in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Engels said: The liberation of the working class "still calls for doctors, engineers, chemists, agronomists and other technical personnel, because the problem lies in not only controlling the political apparatus but taking charge of the whole field of social production. What is required here is not high-sounding rhetoric but a wealth of knowledge." ("To the Congress of International Socialist College Students," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 487) If we want to bring socialist culture to a high level and build a strong material foundation for the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must unite, educate and transform the existing intellectuals and strive to train and establish large contingents of new working-class intellectuals. Chairman Mao always attached importance to the role of intellectuals in the revolutionary



cause. In socialist society intellectuals are mental workers. While encouraging intellectuals to continue to consciously transform their world outlook, Chairman Mao took intellectuals as a source of strength on which the socialist revolution depends. Since the founding of the state the development of the cause of socialist revolution and construction has brought about a tremendous change in the conditions of the ranks of intellectuals. As far as the existing 500,000 intellectuals in our province are concerned, new intellectuals trained in those 17 years, including many who had grown up in the ranks of workers, peasants and soldiers, constitute the overwhelming majority. More than 80 percent of them have come from families of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other laboring people, and they have close ties with the worker-peasant masses. The masses of intellectuals are joining the workers and peasants in creating wealth for socialist society. The overwhelming majority of them support the party and show keen love for socialism and profound feelings toward Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They take an active part in various political movements and strive to transform their world outlook. Many of them have become CCP and CYL members. They work hard on all fronts of socialist revolution and construction and have made great contributions. All this shows that Chairman Mao made an entirely correct assessment when he said that those intellectuals supporting the socialist system are the majority and those following the feudalist, bourgeois and revisionist line the minority.

The "gang of four's" "two assessments" turned the great majority of intellectuals from a driving force behind the revolution into "the target of the dictatorship." The "gang of four" discriminated against them and persecuted them in every way. This greatly dampened the activism of the masses of intellectuals. Serious damage was done to the socialist cause on various fronts. Not only was the development of culture and education and science and technology hampered, but progress in the effort to realize the four modernizations was slowed down. The source of strength on which the proletariat relies was also weakened and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat disrupted.

Lenin said: /"An ever subtler fabrication of Marxism, an ever subtler presentation of antimaterialist doctrines under the guise of Marxism--this is the characteristic feature of modern revisionism in political economy, in questions of tactics and in philosophy generally, both in epistemology and in sociology."/ ("Materials and Empirio-Criticism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol II, p 337) The "gang of four" were such thoroughgoing counterrevolutionary revisionists. Their "two assessments" and counterrevolutionary political program did not fail to resort to every guise. But they were in essence frantic attempts to oppose Mao Tsetung Thought. From their assessment of those 17 years on the educational front to their attack on the revolutionary veteran cadres and intellectuals, everything they represented was incompatible with the facts and was against Chairman Mao. They were not only representatives of idealism and metaphysics running wild, but also typical of the

all-round alteration of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The two sinister banners--the "two assessments" and the counterrevolutionary political program--completely negated the socialist cause, entirely distorted Chairman Mao's scientific analysis of class relations in the socialist period, freely altered the nature, target and driving force of continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and used their pseudo-"left" features of crying revolution to cover up their ultraright essence in striking at a wide area. For many years the "gang of four" freely vilified Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Most viciously, they wanted to bring down revolutionary veteran cadres, persecute intellectuals, split the revolutionary ranks and hit out at the worker-peasant masses. They took the people of the whole country as their enemy. They believed that by acting this way they could overthrow the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat and ascend to the throne. But things cannot be carried too far. The "gang of four" wanted to overthrow everything, only to end up being thoroughly smashed themselves. What befell the "gang of four" when confronted with the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the inevitable fate of all class enemies. The "gang of four" had of course never dreamed that the "two assessments" and the counterrevolutionary political program they concocted with such care would become criminal evidence of their plot to usurp party and state power and the revolutionary people's cherished teaching material by negative example. People can use them to see how the counterrevolutionary conspirators and careerists have played doubledealing tactics and how they have distorted and vitiated the spiritual essence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought by launching a rabid attack against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In the new year we must closely follow the strategic plans of wise leader Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, continue to mobilize the masses, keep abreast of the realities on all fronts, deepen the vigorous effort to expose and criticize the "two assessments" and the counterrevolutionary political program, thoroughly eliminate their remnant poison and influence in all fields, and achieve an overall victory in the great political struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four"!

## LAY BARE THE 'GANG OF FOUR'S' SHAM DIALECTICS

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[Text] The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao incisively exposed the reactionary ideological system of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" by pointing out their /"unrestrained practice of metaphysics and their onesidedness."/ They regarded metaphysics and idealism as the ideological tool with which to push their counterrevolutionary political program, confounding right and wrong, treating enemies as friends, sabotaging revolution and undermining production. The damage they wrought was rare in the history of our party.

The blatant metaphysics practiced by the "gang of four" was indissolubly linked with the fact that they wore the cloak of Marxism and armed themselves with the most "revolutionary" phrases and terms.

For the past several decades revisionists have always taken over certain phrases from dialectics to blunt its revolutionary edge and emasculate its revolutionary spirit, placing in the first place things acceptable to the bourgeoisie and lauding them. The "theory of harmony of contradictions" propagated by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and the "theory of two combining into one" trumpeted by Liu Shao-chi were designed to strangle the revolutionary soul of dialectics on the pretext of giving it recognition. Once such tactics are time and again exposed by the revolutionary people, they no longer can cheat many people. This forced the "gang of four" to resort to more tricky tactics. Jumping from one extreme to another, they openly hoisted the banner of revolutionary dialectics and used the most "revolutionary" phrases. Actually they practiced metaphysics in a big way, seized upon one point, exaggerated it beyond bounds and made it absolute, replacing the /"two-point theory"/ with the one-point theory. Thus they trampled on dialectics, this /"most comprehensive doctrine on development, a doctrine that is free of one-sided defects."/ ("Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol II, p 442)

In this way, what was a revolutionary ideological weapon of the proletariat was "revised" into something against the proletarian revolutionary cause. It must be pointed out that this one-sidedness of theirs is definitely not a general problem of ideological method but a tactic consciously applied to a counterrevolutionary conspiracy. Over many years, by using this tactic, they committed many misdeeds that the landlords and capitalists wanted but could not do.

We must strip away the various disguises of the gang's sham dialectics to show their true features as unrestrained metaphysicists in order to clarify the very serious ideological and theoretical confusion caused by the gang and restore the truth of Marxism.

/Hoisting the Banner of the Theory of the Principal Point While Peddling the Metaphysical One-Point Theory/

Flaunting the signboard of the "theory of the principal point," the "gang of four" clamored every day for opposition to eclecticism. This was their primary tactic in opposing the dialectical doctrine that everything has two aspects with the metaphysical doctrine that everything has only one aspect.

Splendid achievements have been made in liberating philosophy from the lecture room in our country as a result of Chairman Mao's lifelong efforts to advocate such liberation. Among our party members and people the number of those who understand the doctrine that everything has two aspects has been increasing constantly. Chairman Mao once said very graphically: /"The secretaries of our party branches, the company commanders and platoon leaders of our army have all learned to jot down both aspects in their pocket notebooks, the weak points as well as the strong ones, when summing up their experience."/ ("On the Ten Major Relationships") Therefore, it has no longer been so easy for anyone to still try to use the doctrine that everything has only one aspect to flagrantly oppose the doctrine that everything has two aspects. Nevertheless, attacks against dialectics with metaphysics have not lessened because of this. It was precisely the "gang of four" who raised the banner of "upholding the theory of the principal point" and "opposing eclecticism" to oppose the doctrine that everything has two aspects. This was a salient manifestation of their unrestrained practice of metaphysics. Everyone understands that one important viewpoint of Marxist dialectics is the recognition that of the two aspects, one is principal and the other secondary.

On this question, Chairman Mao had expressed profound views. But by kicking up a fuss on this question, the "gang of four" thought that they could cover up their features as adherents to the metaphysical theory of one point. They gave the impression that they grasped the principal point by stressing politics, revolution and the need to be Red, and that even if the secondary aspects were ignored, the "general orientation" would still be correct. Such logic could dumbfound people. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze it here.

Different from the theory of equilibrium, the dialectical theory of two points distinguishes the principal from the secondary. /"Of the two opposing aspects of a unity in struggle with each other, one must be principal and the other secondary."/ ("Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Regional Party Committees") /"Of the two aspects of a contradiction, one must be the principal and the other secondary."/ ("On Contradiction")

The principal aspect of a contradiction determines the nature of a thing and plays the leading role in the struggle between the contradictory aspects. Because of this, having a clear view of the principal and the secondary aspects of contradictions during each phase of the development of the revolution is an important subject for the proletarian political party to ponder when formulating the correct line, principles and policies. However, the principal point is recognized by dialectics on the basis of the theory of two points. Where there is a principal point, there is a nonprincipal point. Where there is a main aspect, there is a secondary aspect. /"While opposing each other under given conditions, they also interconnect, interpermeate, interpenetrate and interdepend on each other."/ Also, /"under given conditions, each aspect transforms itself into its opposite and changes its position to that of its opposite."/ ("On Contradiction")

Where in the world can one find any single principal point that stands alone? For example, look at the contradiction between politics and profession--an issue over which much confusion was created by the "gang of four." /"Politics is the principal aspect and is in the primary position."/ However, /"it will not do to pay attention only to politics without acquiring technical and professional knowledge."/ ("Be an Activist in Promoting Revolution") This is a truth which needs no explanation, but the "gang of four" opposed people's efforts to acquire technical and professional knowledge under the command of proletarian politics, because they adopted Lin Piao's fallacy that "politics may have an impact on all other things." Anyone who mentioned the importance of acquiring technical and professional knowledge was indiscriminately accused of practicing the theory of "putting professions in command" and "giving first place to technology." In the opinion of the gang, it seemed that in order to grasp politics we must do away with professions; that if we grasp the principal point we cannot also grasp the secondary point; and that importance attached to that which is in the primary position necessarily means abandoning that which is in the secondary position. As Engels criticized such people long ago, /"they think in terms of absolutely incompatible opposites."/ ("Anti-Duhring," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol III, p 61) This typifies the metaphysical doctrine that everything has only one aspect.

Regarding the relationships between the principal and nonprincipal points, Chairman Mao gave very profound dispositions in his "On the Ten Major Relationships" and other brilliant works. He pointed out that there is

the problem of sincere or insincere efforts in grasping the principal point. For example, of this pair of opposites between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other, heavy industry occupies the principal position. However, if you really want to develop heavy industry, you must pay attention to light industry and agriculture and arrange national economic plans in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. Otherwise, if you concern yourself only with heavy industry and neglect agriculture and light industry, you will develop heavy industry less and more slowly. In the years of the revolutionary war, the central task of our party was to wage the revolutionary war. Chairman Mao said: /"Whoever takes this central task lightly is not a good revolutionary worker."/ /"If we mobilize the people to conduct the war alone and refuse to do any other work, can we reach the aim of defeating the enemy? Of course we cannot."/ ("Be Concerned With the Livelihood of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work") Chairman Mao pointed out that if we asked the masses to devote all their resources to the revolutionary war, then we had to make a real effort to solve their problems with respect to production and livelihood, such as edible salt, rice, housing, clothing and childbearing. This profound dialectical thinking tells us that the principal and nonprincipal points, the main aspect and the secondary aspect, are interconnected and interpermeated and promote each other. To insure the principal point it is necessary not only to take the nonprincipal point into proper consideration at the same time but also to pay very great attention to the aspect of the nonprincipal point as well.

We will clearly see that the so-called "theory of the principal point" advocated by the "gang of four" is a complete sham if we have a fairly comprehensive understanding of these lively dialectic thoughts of Chairman Mao and compare them with those one-sided views held by the gang and those absolute things they described. To usurp party and state power, they deliberately exaggerated the principal point to such an incredible extent that it was practically isolated. Since they treated the principal point as the only aspect, without regard to facts, how could they say that "their general orientation is correct"? Moreover, they never set the principal point according to the movement of opposites of objective things. But to meet their counterrevolutionary needs they often changed the principal points. They completely reversed the relations between the principal point and the nonprincipal point in their handling of the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure.

Materialist dialectics holds that the principal aspect of a contradiction is not fixed and unchangeable. However, the transformation of the principal aspect of a contradiction is conditional. And if we do not recognize the objective conditions that form the principal point, we will fall into the trap of sophistry and idealism. In contradictions such as those between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure, the principal aspects also can

be changed. As a dialectical materialist, one must first of all recognize that in the general process of historical development the productive forces and the economic base play the principal and decisive role, but at the same time one must also recognize that under given conditions the relations of production and the superstructure may react and play the principal and decisive role. However, with ulterior motives the "gang of four" regarded the reaction of the relations of production and the superstructure as absolute and turned them into things which play the principal and decisive role under all conditions. They thus denied the fact that during the period of socialism it is the productive forces and the economic base which exert the decisive effects on the relations of production and the superstructure. They refused to recognize that developing the productive forces is a vital task of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and they opposed pushing the national economy forward. They alleged that "the four modernizations" meant "turning to capitalism" and "the restoration of capitalism." In effect, they also denied the fact that throughout the period of historical development it is material things which decide consciousness. Aren't they precisely typical historical idealists? While talking volubly about the need to grasp the principal point, they abandoned the principal point on the most basic questions.

#### /Hoisting the Banner of the Philosophy of Struggle While Confusing Two Different Types of Contradictions/

The "gang of four" constantly paid lip service to "struggle" and trumpeted "horns on heads and thorns on bodies" and "working in opposition" in everything. They deliberately confused the contradictions of different nature and different forms of struggle and turned the spearhead against the revolutionary cadres and the masses of the people. Yet they flaunted the banner of "the philosophy of struggle" in order to hoodwink people and sell their sinister stuff.

Chairman Mao once pointed out that bourgeois politicians said that the communist philosophy was one of struggle. This is true. Nevertheless, the forms of struggle differ according to the differences in time. In this respect, Chairman Mao emphasized the absoluteness of the struggle of opposites. At the same time he pointed out that the forms of struggle differ according to the differences in time, location and condition. Provided that we understand this question comprehensively and not one-sidedly, we know that Chairman Mao's affirmation of the communist philosophy as one of struggle has a particular meaning. In the eyes of bourgeois politicians, all the activities of the Communist Party are directed at them and are aimed at the struggle against them. They therefore are instinctively angered by and attack our philosophy as the philosophy of struggle. In reply to the attacks of bourgeois politicians, Chairman Mao rightly said: That is one hundred percent correct, because we want to fight the bourgeoisie at every step of the way. It is also correct for them to say that the communist philosophy is one of

struggle when viewed in terms of the absoluteness of the struggle between opposites as recognized in dialectics. Nevertheless, it is necessary to add that attention should be given to adopting different forms of struggle according to the characteristics of a given time and the nature of a given contradiction. The "gang of four" attempted to garble Chairman Mao's words to distort the dialectic thinking he had expounded and thus to create a basis for their reactionary philosophy for usurping party and state power. But their attempt was completely futile.

To positively expound their comprehensive philosophic thought, the writers of Marxist classics always integrate the struggle of opposites with the identity of a contradiction to describe the movement and development of things. Chairman Mao said: /"Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change."/ ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") /"The combination of conditional, relative identity and unconditional, absolute struggle constitutes the movement of opposites in all things."/ ("On Contradiction")

Struggle is absolute. This shows that the struggle between opposites permeates a process from beginning to end and is ubiquitous. When struggle and identity are combined, specific identity controls the form of struggle. Therefore, to wage struggle correctly according to the dialectic law of things we must understand /"what specific position each aspect of contradiction occupies, what concrete forms it assumes in its interdependence and contradiction with its opposite, and what concrete methods are employed in the struggle with its opposite when the two are both interdependent and in contradiction, and also after the interdependence breaks down."/ ("On Contradiction") To fail to analyze these specific conditions is to disregard the essence of Marxism. If one fails to consider the specific identity and the nature of contradiction in the course of struggle, one will inevitably confuse the various forms of struggle or replace forms of antagonistic struggle with forms of nonantagonistic struggle or vice versa, and struggle aimlessly. The result will only be to violate the dialectical laws of objective things and undermine the development of things.

With ulterior motives, the "gang of four" talked about struggle without considering the specific identity of contradiction. They deliberately confused contradictions of a different nature and various forms of struggle. Their aim was to overthrow all and realize the counterrevolutionary scheme of usurping power amid chaos. They regarded as universal and absolute antagonistic forms of contradictions and fanned up armed fights among revolutionary mass organizations to start an all-round civil war. They created ill feelings between the leadership and the masses, saying, "We must turn our eyes upward, fixing them principally on the power holders," "First of all we must take a look at the No. 1 leaders," "Follow with our eyes one level after another," and "Ferret them out and struggle against them at every level." Inside the party they called for



"brutal struggle and merciless blows," shouting: "Let us knock the old cadres politically unconscious, so that we may take over their power before they regain consciousness." Such was their "philosophy of struggle." Apparently its spearhead was directed at the proletariat, and it served the counterrevolutionary political program of striking down leading cadres at all levels who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao said: /"Contradiction and struggle are universal and absolute, but the methods of resolving contradictions, that is, the forms of struggle, differ according to the differences in the nature of the contradictions."/ ("On Contradiction") To distinguish between contradictions of a different nature and between different forms of struggle is to hold the key to the correct resolution of contradictions. Our party's policies are based on such a distinction, and without it the policies cannot exist. Our principle is one of ruthlessness toward the enemy and kindness toward our comrades. In our struggle against the enemy we must pay attention to the distinction between the primary enemy and the secondary enemy, between the archcriminals and the accomplices, and between those who continue their stubborn resistance and those who make frank confessions. In dealing with the contradictions among the people we must start from the desire for unity and pay attention to the methods and extent of criticism and struggle.

In dealing with cadres who made the mistakes characteristic of capitalist roaders we must also distinguish between a handful who persistently practiced revisionism and splittism, engaged in intrigue and conspiracies and absolutely refused to mend their ways and the majority of good people who could be saved through education. Chairman Mao formulated for our party a series of policies for making such distinctions. These policies have been grasped by the whole party and have become mighty weapons with which to close our ranks and defeat our enemies.

However, over the past years, behind the smokescreen of the "philosophy of struggle," the "gang of four" advocated that "to struggle is our policy." They waged the struggle against the enemy among the people and even persecuted our party cadres and the masses in fascist ways that even our enemy would not use. This seriously undermined the party's policies and confused the people.

Some young comrades who do not understand the party's traditions and lack common knowledge of Marxist philosophy are unable to see that the forms of struggle vary with the nature of contradictions and that struggle may take either the form of violent and bloody struggle or the mild form of persuasion, education and warmhearted assistance. Some even think that, no matter who is dealt with, the fiercer the struggle, the more revolutionary the cause, and the higher the tone is set, the more revolutionary the cause. We must set to rights the concept of "struggle" distorted by the "gang of four," understand completely the

dialectics of Marxism and carry forward the revolutionary spirit of daring to struggle and knowing how to struggle.

/Hoisting the Banner of Supporting New Things While Totally Negating the Socialist System/

The "gang of four" styled themselves as "the supporters of new things" and even proclaimed that they were the "incarnation of new forces." Under the banner of "replacing the old with the new," they called for negating everything and overthrowing everyone. Whoever mentioned the brilliant achievements made in socialist revolution and construction since the founding of new China would be accused of "following the beaten track" and "singing the songs of the former dynasty" and would be persecuted in a ruthless way.

What are the new things? What are the old? Does replacing the old with the new mean that everything that now exists should be regarded as old and totally negated? These questions, on which confusion was created by the "gang of four," must be clarified.

Chairman Mao said: /"In each thing there is contradiction between its new and old aspects, and this gives rise to a series of struggles with many twists and turns. As a result of these struggles, the new aspect changes from being minor to being major and rises to predominance, while the old aspect changes from being major to being minor and gradually dies out."/ ("On Contradiction") This shows us that we must analyze the contradictions within things and the direction of their development in order to determine what is new and what is old.

Only by analyzing concretely and in the historical context the main contradiction in things at a certain stage and its trends of development can we determine which aspect of the contradiction is new and which is old. One who deals abstractly with new and old things without regard to concrete historical conditions can never reach any correct conclusion.

The era in which we live is an era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, an era in which capitalism will surely perish and socialism surely thrive. The main content of the contradiction and struggle of our time is the triumph of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and the replacement of capitalism by communism. Therefore, in the contemporary era, all things that are feudalistic, capitalist, imperialist and social imperialist are old things marked for history museums. /"Only communist ideology as a system and the communist social system, which maintain their vitality, are developing with the force of a landslide throughout the world."/ ("On New Democracy") The proletarian parties which are fighting for the cause of communism and the states under the dictatorship of the proletariat and their socialist systems which have been established in the course of struggle are new things thriving with each passing day.

Out of their need to usurp party and state power, the "gang of four" turned things upside down not only in the relationship between ourselves and the enemy but also in the relationship between new and old things. They praised to the skies the representatives and ideological systems of the exploiting classes that have long been relegated to history museums and described them as more progressive than communists and the Marxist ideological system. They praised Chang Tieh-sheng, Weng Sen-ho and their ilk, who were hostile to the Communist Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, as "representatives of the rising forces" and "heroes in going against the tide." They even came up with false examples and passed them off as "new things" in an attempt to "act against" such typical examples as Taching and Tachai, which were fostered by Chairman Mao himself. On the other hand, they described the country under the dictatorship of the proletariat as being under an "old government," claimed that the socialist economic system based on the system of public ownership was an "old system," and accused large numbers of our party's revolutionary old cadres of being "democrats upholding old things." Didn't they slander our revolutionary leading cadres as "specialists upholding old things"?

As a matter of fact, when they stretched out their necks and shouted aloud, "Support new things," they did not know that their bottoms already showed the marks of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. It was the "gang of four" who were really a band of specialists restoring the old feudalist, capitalist and revisionist things, a band of executioners strangling the new forces and new things!

One habitual tactic employed by the "gang of four" to strangle new socialist things was to deliberately present the process of new things removing their old traces and continuing to grow and develop as the process of old things declining, rotting and being replaced. They endlessly exaggerated some old traces in new things and attacked them without taking other factors into account. They confused the main aspects with the secondary aspects of things and distorted the nature of things. When you wanted to adjust certain defective parts of the state system, they proposed to "thoroughly improve" the dictatorship of the proletariat. When you pointed to the need to be alert against a handful of capitalist roaders within the party trying to usurp the leadership of the party and state, they said that "a bourgeois class" had already been formed inside the party. When you urged some old cadres not to remain ideologically at the stage of the democratic revolution but to go on making revolution, they said that the old cadres were democrats and democrats were capitalist roaders. In this way they turned the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat into a counterrevolution aimed at "changing the dynasty."

The "gang of four" were a bunch of counterrevolutionaries in disguise. Raising the most "revolutionary" banner and pretending to proceed from what they called the communist standpoint, they vilified the current

socialist system as "an old thing." This is a tactic which is even more cunning and insidious than that of openly opposing new socialist things from the capitalist stand.

Socialist society, the initial stage of communist society, of course contains many growing communist factors. With regard to new communist buds, we communists have all along taken the attitude of actively fostering them. In so doing we are aiming for the healthy development of the socialist system of the present stage in the direction of communism and for a greater victory over capitalism. Under no circumstances must we use the appearance of new communist buds as the basis for completely negating the current socialist system.

In his famous article "A Great Beginning," Lenin ardently praised the /"communist Saturday voluntary labor"/ initiated by the worker masses, taking it to be /"the actual beginning of communism,"/ a new thing which /"overcomes the conservative, lax and petty-bourgeois egoistic tendencies"/ and which /"overcomes the habits left behind for the workers and peasants by all-evil capitalism."/ However, Lenin never set the communist attitude toward labor, an attitude which /"demands no extra pay for extra work,"/ against the existing socialist principle of pay according to work; still less did he depart from historical conditions and take pay according to work as "an old thing." The reason the "gang of four" openly opposed and tampered with these profound expositions of Lenin was that they wanted to wholly negate the new socialist system. According to their logic, once a new thing appeared, everything else that existed became an old thing. When there were barefoot doctors, the existing doctors had to stand aside; when there were July 21 worker universities, the existing universities had to close their doors, and so on. Such logic obviously was designed to serve the counterrevolutionary plot of "overthrowing everyone" and usurping party and state power.

On the pretext that socialism was eventually to be replaced by communism, the "gang of four" did their best to distort, demean, slander and negate our socialist system. This basically twisted dialectics concerning affirmation and negation. Marxism holds that all concrete things in the world undergo the process of being born, developing and dying out. However, this does not mean that things that will be eliminated in the future should now be negated entirely. To affirm the many things at the present stage is to create the conditions for their future negation. Chairman Mao once said that judging by the long-range prospect of human progress the Communist Party and the state of proletarian dictatorship would be eliminated, but that at the present stage we must strengthen the state machine of the people and the party's leadership. Without vigorously affirming them now, they will not be negated in the future in a way that conforms with the law and in the manner of the fruit falling to the ground when it ripens.

The "gang of four" attempted to negate everything socialist to present themselves as more "revolutionary" than anyone else. However, this precisely exposes them as the most ferocious enemies of socialism, as general representatives of all decadent forces, and as counterrevolutionaries who opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Communist Party on behalf of the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and the new and old bourgeoisie. Historical dialectics is irresistible. The "gang of four," who attempted to negate everything connected with the people, have inevitably been completely rejected by the people!

THE FUNDAMENTAL WAY TO DO A GOOD JOB OF BUILDING POLITICAL POWER IS TO LINK WITH THE MASSES

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 78 pp 35-39

[Article by Mao Chih-yung [3029 5268 3938]]

[Text] Wise leader Chairman Hua has pointed out: "Doing a good job of building political power and of the rectification and building of the leadership groups of the state organs at all levels from the central to the local is an important aspect of grasping the key link in running the country well." Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we held the first session of the Fifth Hunan Provincial People's Congress in November 1977. The people's congresses of the various counties and municipalities are also being held one after another and are electing the new revolutionary committees. This is of momentous significance for politically and organizationally consolidating and developing the victorious achievements of smashing the "gang of four," strengthening proletarian political power and speeding up socialist construction.

To implement the strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well put forward by Chairman Hua and to follow Chairman Mao's theory, line, principle and policy on building the state's political power, it is quite essential to further do a good job of building the revolutionary committees.

Great leader and teacher Chairman Mao always paid very serious attention to building political power. Back in the period of the land revolution, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: /"All Revolutionary struggles in the world are for seizing political power and consolidating it."/ On the eve of winning victory throughout the country, Chairman Mao also profoundly pointed out: /"For the victorious people, the dictatorship of the proletariat is an indispensable thing, like food and clothing."/ ("Why It Is Necessary To Discuss the White Paper") The revolutionary committee born in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a creation of the working class and the people. As soon as the revolutionary

committees appeared, Chairman Mao highly praised them and instructed us to build a revolutionary power organ with representative nature and with proletarian prestige. The reason Chairman Mao paid such serious attention to the issue of political power is that proletarian political power is the protective talisman of the people: internally, it suppresses the resistance of the overthrown reactionary class; externally, it guards against imperialist subversion and aggression. The political power at all levels is also the organizer of the people's production and daily life. Not only must it mobilize and organize the masses to develop the national economy and build a powerful socialist state, but also it must be concerned for the masses' well being and help the masses solve all their problems.

As an integral part of the superstructure of socialist society, the state's political power corresponds with the economic base, but there is also contradiction. So long as we follow Chairman Mao's great theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, seriously solve the contradiction between them and do a good job of building political power, we can even better enable the superstructure to conform with the development of the socialist economic base, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Therefore, proceeding from the level of the basic theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism concerning the state, we must enhance our spontaneity in strengthening the building of political power.

Our party has gone through a fierce class struggle with the "gang of four" centering on whether to consolidate or to overthrow the proletarian political power. Proceeding from their need to restore capitalism, the "gang of four" engaged in conspiratorial activities to usurp political power at all levels of the state and localities. They greatly hated proletarian political power and babbled that "it is necessary to thoroughly improve the dictatorship of the proletariat" so as to "change the dynasty." They also greatly hated the newborn revolutionary committees at all levels and tried by every means possible to slander and sabotage them.

When our province's revolutionary committee was established, Chiang Ching noticed the participation of comrades, including Hua Kuo-feng, who loyally implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and they cursed the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee for being an "old conservative committee." The bourgeois factional force of the "gang of four" in Hunan frantically engaged in conspiratorial activities of usurping and seizing power and openly declared: "We indeed want to seize power, take over the administration and grasp the supreme leadership." They said that "to enter the leadership group is to grab and push. As in playing basketball, it is necessary to frantically grab as soon as the game begins; like seeing a film without an admission ticket, it is necessary to get in as many as possible."

Due to the interference and sabotage of the factional force of the "gang of four" in Hunan, some of the revolutionary committees were seriously impure in organization, ideology and style of work, damaging their prestige; they could not very well give play to their proper role.

After smashing the "gang of four" we have dug out the big root of evil that harmed the revolutionary committees. This has eliminated the obstacle to strengthening the building of the proletarian political power. However, we must not underestimate the pernicious influence of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four" in political power at all levels. At the same time, fundamentally speaking, the struggles between the two classes and two lines on the issue of political power are protracted throughout the entire historical period of socialism.

At present our country's socialist revolution and construction have entered a new historical period. The political organs at all levels shoulder the great historical mission of mobilizing and organizing the people and masses to work hard to build our country into a powerful, modern socialist state. Therefore, we must thoroughly eradicate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" and further strengthen the building of political power.

Chairman Mao taught us: /"The most fundamental thing in transforming the organs of state is to link with the masses."/ This instruction of Chairman Mao's has clearly and sharply put forward the issue from the base point, that is, the nature of the proletarian state's political power and the need to prevent and oppose revisionism. It is a development of Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and points out the orientation for us to do a good job in building political power.

Since the holding of our province's people's congress there have been many things for the revolutionary committee to do. The most important thing, however, is to grasp closely linking with the masses--the most fundamental thing--and do a good job of building ideology and style of work. Our country's political power is the dictatorship of the proletariat of the working class exercised through the leadership of the Communist Party on the foundation of the worker-peasant alliance. It represents the interests of the people. Therefore, the political power organs at all levels must maintain frequent and close ties with the people. This is the fundamental hallmark that differentiates the proletarian political power from the political power of all exploiting classes.

The great prestige of the proletarian political power comes from the masses. Whatever we do, we can only achieve it with the party and government mobilizing and organizing the masses. Without the active participation of the masses, we cannot do anything. Without close ties with the people, it is impossible for us to exercise effective dictatorship over the enemy, impossible for political power to be stabilized and impossible for us to fulfill the tasks of socialist construction.



All of the fine traditions and workstyle of political power organs created and nurtured by Chairman Mao in protracted revolutionary struggle have enabled the people's government to consistently link with the masses like flesh and blood. In the years of revolutionary war, despite the frequent battles and urgent tasks and dangerous environment, the cadres of the people's government always took root among the masses.

This was indeed the fish-and-water relationship with the masses which we relied on to defeat the enemy and develop production. The cadres and masses were happy; the political power organs were thriving; and the bases expanded daily.

In the socialist revolution period, Chairman Mao summed up the historical experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to insure that our country would never change her political color. He established for the first time the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao also continuously and sincerely educated the whole party and the leadership cadres of the government organs at all levels: /"We must be vigilant, we must not give rise to the style of bureaucratism and must not form an aristocratic stratum divorced from the people."/ ("Speeches at the Second Plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee") Our party has also stipulated a series of important measures for cadres to participate in collective productive labor. This prevents the cadres from being divorced from the masses.

The "gang of four" and their factional force in Hunan frantically countered Chairman Mao's teachings, made use of that part of power which they had seized to do all kinds of evil things, damaged our party's fine style of work and seriously sabotaged the ties between the revolutionary political power and the masses. Through the struggle to deeply expose and criticize the "gang of four," to do a good job of rectifying the party and style of work, to rectify the leadership groups and to rectify the organs, we must effectively revive and carry forward the fine tradition of political power organs closely linking with the masses.

Proceeding in everything from the interests of the people and wholeheartedly serving the people are the sole objectives of our political organs at all levels and the starting points of all our actions. Only by truly solving this fundamental issue of standpoint and world outlook can the work personnel of the state organs spontaneously persist in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and dare to resist the erroneous line. They must always put the people's interests in first place and mix with the people.

Our wise leader Chairman Hua is the brilliant example of wholeheartedly serving the people. He knows most completely the desires and demands of the people. Under all circumstances, in accordance with the objective of seeking the interests of the people, representing the people's

fundamental interests and being concerned for the sufferings of the masses, he is leading the masses to advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In 1958, under the illumination of the general line of socialism, the people throughout the country were high in spirit and worked hard to build socialism. However, Liu Shao-chi took the opportunity to whip up a gust of evil wind of exaggerating everything, seriously damaging the interests of the people. It was precisely at this moment that Chairman Hua went deep into the basic-level units to obtain a clear picture of production in the countryside and the masses' daily life. He accurately estimated real grain output and made proper arrangements concerning the masses' production and daily life, withstanding the evil wind of empty boasting whipped up by Liu Shao-chi.

Later, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Te-huai and company maliciously attacked the general line, the Great Leap Forward, and the people's communes and slanderously charged that the situation was completely black. In face of the challenge from rightist opportunists, Chairman Hua went deep among the masses, breathed the same air as the masses, shared their joint destiny, established Maotien, the progressive typical example which determinedly followed the spirit of the Great Leap Forward, and personally wrote the article "The Value of Working Up Drive." He taught the cadres and masses to have not only high revolutionary fervor but also a strict scientific attitude and to work up real drive, not false drive. This proletarian revolutionary principle of Chairman Hua's fundamentally represented the interests of the people and was praised by the great leader Chairman Mao.

In 1965, when Chairman Hua led the construction of the Shaoshan irrigation area, he always thought of the masses. He not only made careful plans to make use of barren land to build farmland and to increase the area of farmland by 1,500 mou for the masses in the irrigated area, but was also extremely considerate toward the masses. He even thought of building small bridges over the channels and piers from which water could be obtained for washing clothes and other purposes. This provided conveniences for the masses' labor and daily life.

The poor and lower-middle peasants said gratefully: "Commander in Chief Hua has thought of even this kind of trivial thing. He is really wholeheartedly serving the people!"

The "gang of four" and their factional force in Hunan seized all power and sought all interests they could lay their hands on. To seek the private interests of particular gangs, factions and individuals, they frantically engaged in conspiracy and intrigue, speculation and manipulation, and did all kinds of evil and ugly things. Whenever they had seized some power, they lorded it over the people and rode over the people's heads. Poisoned and influenced by the "gang of four," some comrades in the revolutionary ranks also weakened their ideology of serving the people and always placed their individual interests ahead

of the interests of the people. They even adopted some illegal tricks to seek private interests, becoming seriously divorced from the masses. This is worthy of our serious attention.

We must continue to determinedly conduct education in line and education in the revolutionary tradition among the work personnel of the state organs. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the instructions and decisions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee represent in concentrated form the fundamental interests of the people. We must unswervingly implement them. Only by so doing can we truly and wholeheartedly serve the people. The brilliant revolutionary practice of Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and Chairman Hua has greatly educated and encouraged the cadres. This is the brilliant example for us in wholeheartedly serving the people.

In 1968, soon after the establishment of our province's revolutionary committee, under the leadership of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, we set up study courses in Shaoshan to train the cadres by rotation all year round and organized the cadres to visit and study at the sites commemorating Chairman Mao's revolutionary activities. Through training by rotation and study, many comrades strengthened their concept of wholeheartedly serving the people, enhanced their awareness of continuing the revolution and were welcomed by the masses. We must determinedly follow such effective methods.

To closely link with the masses, the political power organs must persist in the work method of seeking truth from facts and in the mass line. In the past few years the metaphysics and idealism of the "gang of four" were rampant. The habits of lying and talking empty words, sabotaging democratic centralism, labeling others and punishing others were also rampant. Due to their interference and sabotage, subjectivism and metaphysics among some of our comrades increased rather than decreased. The style of seriously investigating and studying objective things and formulating concrete principles, policy and measures in accordance with the actual situation was weakened rather than strengthened. The bourgeois ideology and style of work of lording it over the people, refusing to consult with the masses, pursuing only form, refusing to talk about actual effects, reporting only good news and not the bad, or even making false reports and causing real harm while seeking sham fame still exist in varying degrees. They have damaged not only the prestige of the party and government but also the relations between the party and government on the one hand and the masses on the other and harmed the masses as well as themselves. Such incorrect styles of work must be resolutely corrected.

Seeking truth from facts and following the mass line is the concrete embodiment of dialectical materialism and historical materialism and is the fundamental method for the revolutionary political power organs to do their work. Chairman Mao pointed out: /"All the correct tasks,

policies and style of work conform with the demands of the masses at that time and in that place and are linked with the masses. All the incorrect tasks, policies and style of work do not conform with the demands of the masses at that time and in that place and are divorced from the masses."/ ("On Coalition Government") We have come to know in depth: whenever we follow Chairman Mao's teaching "Coming from and going to the masses" to do our work, we can obtain a clear picture of the situation and possess great determination and correct methods. We can thus reflect the desires and interests of the masses and are praised and welcomed by the masses. Otherwise, we will run into trouble and suffer.

Our province has learned its lessons in this respect. As Chairman Mao pointed out in December 1963 in his important directive "Strive To Learn From Each Other and Don't Stick to the Beaten Track and Be Complacent," /"For quite some time the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee made no attempt at investigation and study and issued a spate of subjectivist directives to the lower levels, ramming many things down their throats while getting little factual information in return, 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."/ Educated and inspired by Chairman Mao, leadership organs at all levels throughout the province persisted in seeking truth from facts and continued to strengthen their consciousness of the mass line. In particular, Chairman Hua set a brilliant example for us.

In 1969 Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta engaged in "left in form, right in essence," preached "cutting off the capitalist tail" and sabotaged the economic policy in the countryside. At that time Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, who presided over the work of the provincial revolutionary committee, went deep into the countryside on many occasions to make investigations. On the basis of grasping a lot of firsthand material, in accordance with the spirit of the "Work Regulations of the Rural People's Communes" personally formulated by Chairman Mao, he issued the "Proposals of the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee on Certain Issues Concerning Current Economic Policy in the Countryside" and answered a series of policy questions. These included ownership, profits and distribution, principles for increasing production, and management, issues which cadres and commune members were generally concerned about to stabilize the people's minds and effectively mobilize the socialist activism of the cadres and masses. This enabled the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture to develop well throughout the province. Production in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline products and fishing steadily increased every year.

In order to continue to persist in the method of seeking truth from facts and in the mass line pioneered by Chairman Mao, since the holding of the recent provincial people's congress we have further adopted certain measures, stressing that it is necessary to seriously study the

experiences of the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemical Industries, streamline the upper levels, augment the basic-level units, resolutely overcome the "five too manys," and effectively transform the style of the organs. It is also necessary to determinedly follow the system of transferring cadres from the organs at all levels, organize them into work teams and send them to the countryside and factories. We demand that the principal leadership cadres from the province, prefectures and counties and the various fronts stay at selected points at the lower levels with the exception of a small number of them who have to remain in the offices to handle routine work. They must conduct investigation and study, sum up experiences, solve problems, face the basic-level units and serve the basic-level units.

Work involving handling the people's letters and visits is an important channel by which political power organs can closely link with the masses. This must be grasped seriously and well. It is necessary to establish and put on a sound basis the system of having the principal leadership comrades at all levels personally read the masses' letters and receive the masses' visits. From the masses' letters and visits we can discover and solve some problems that exist in our work.

The work personnel of the state organs must give play to the style of arduous struggle and maintain the political nature of the proletariat. This is an important condition for closely linking with the masses. Following the teachings of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee, many of our leadership comrades have always maintained the fine style of arduous struggle, worked carefully and lived arduously and modestly. The masses are comparatively well satisfied with them.

Lota Commune in our Lungshan County is located on a mountain of limestone rocks more than 1,400 meters above sea level. In the past its output was very low due to water shortages and poor soil. But in the course of the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture the comrades of the commune led the masses to change the face of the land through arduous struggle. They appeared where work was the hardest. They led the way in digging ditches and opening up underground water resources. After 5 years of strenuous efforts they brought water up from an underground stream dozens of meters below the surface and built a canal around the mountain more than 260 li long, so that 80 percent of the farmland was irrigated with water and the grain output was doubled. In 1970 Chairman Hua made a special trip to the commune to conduct an investigation. After climbing miles of rugged mountainous paths, he arrived at the Nanchu Brigade, where he ate and lived with the poor and lower-middle peasants. Carrying a wooden stick, he climbed the mountain to learn about the heroic deeds of the cadres and members of the commune. He sized up this advanced model of arduous struggle and popularized it throughout the province; this had a profound educational impact on the vast number of cadres and masses.

Arduous struggle is an heirloom of the revolution. Fear of hardship, caring only for enjoyment and talking about grandeur and extravagance denotes the bad style of the landlord class and bourgeoisie and is extremely distasteful to the masses. If the cadres of government organs get involved with these kinds of bad workstyle, they will forget party discipline and state law, revolutionary tradition and the interests of the masses. This is bound to be opposed by the masses. Chairman Mao earnestly taught us: /"The cadres at county CCP committee level and above number several hundred thousand. The destiny of the state is in their hands. If they do not do a good job, get divorced from the masses and do not struggle arduously, the workers, peasants and students are justified in disagreeing with them."/ ("Speeches at the Second Plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee") The "gang of four" followed a dissolute style of life and work and unscrupulously wasted the state's wealth. They were vampires who sucked the blood of the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants. The masses hate them to the extreme. Therefore, it was unquestionably right to overthrow them. We must not underestimate the effects of the evil style of the "gang of four" on some of our cadres. We must be resolute and exert great efforts to resolutely overcome them.

By deeply exposing and relentlessly criticizing the "gang of four," we must obtain a clearer picture of the dangers of this kind of bourgeois style of work, effectively give play to the revolutionary and death-defying spirit of arduous struggle, and get rid of airs of bureaucracy, inertia, arrogance, and complacency and of the world outlook of shirkers and lazy men. At the same time we must stick to the principle of diligence and frugality and firmly oppose such undesirable practices as spending freely and extravagantly, giving dinners and presenting gifts, and erecting buildings and halls on a grandiose scale. We must show concern for the livelihood of the masses and share weal and woe with them. We must be careful with our budget and devote our limited material and financial resources to socialist construction. Cadre participation in collective productive labor is a fundamental issue under the socialist system and must be upheld. We must constantly make it known that rural brigade cadres must gradually enforce the system of subsidy for a fixed quota of work assigned to them, that cadres at the county, commune and brigade levels must meet the demand that they take part in collective productive labor for 100, 200 and 300 days, respectively, each year, and that cadres of factories, mines and other enterprises must work on the shop floor with the workers or as their substitutes. When cadres give a good account of themselves in labor, they will have revolutionary vigor. The masses, for their part, will feel satisfied and truly support us.

/Of the seven sectors of industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, government and party, the party leads everything./ Party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership over political power and continuously rectify and build the political power

organs in politics, ideology and organization. It is first necessary to make a success of the leadership groups of the political organs at all levels. We must establish capable revolutionary committees which resolutely implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and principles and the policies of the party Central Committee, closely link with the masses, fight in unity and possess prestige among the masses. They must follow the five requirements for successors put forward by Chairman Mao and the three-in-one combination of the old, middle aged and young. Without such a fine leadership group we cannot cultivate a force of cadres which wholeheartedly serves the people and energetically makes revolution day and night.

By holding this provincial people's congress we have elected to the revolutionary committee some progressive persons from among the workers, peasants, revolutionary soldiers, the revolutionary cadres and intellectuals who are considered outstanding elements by the masses, truly possess prestige among the masses and have truly made contributions to socialist revolution and construction. We have purged those who frantically engaged in usurping party and state power, fought, smashed and looted, and whose notion was that "those who have done well in causing uproars should be made officials." The prestige and fighting ability of the revolutionary committees have been greatly enhanced.

To be sure, the rectification and building of leadership groups cannot be accomplished overnight. As long as classes and class struggle exist, bourgeois ideology may invade the new leadership groups. This entails the need to seriously organize leadership groups to study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, continuously raise their consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, go on strengthening their ties with the masses, and adhere to the three basic principles, /"Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; and be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."/ This will insure that political power organs will truly exercise their power and functions on behalf of the people.

To closely link with the masses and do a good job of building political power is a regular and protracted task. Under the leadership of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, we are resolved to hold high Chairman Mao's great banner, determinedly follow the line of the 11th national party congress, give play to the fine tradition and style of work of the party, be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, further do a good job of revolutionizing the political power organs, give full play to the role of the revolutionary committees at all levels, grasp the key link in running the province well, fight in unity and win new and still greater victories.

## FURTHER DEVELOP THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT

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[Article by the theoretical study group of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee]

[Text] In his political report to the 11th CCP Congress, wise leader Chairman Hua, holding high Chairman Mao's great banner, defined the development of the revolutionary united front as one of the important fighting tasks of grasping the key link in running the country well. Not long ago, Chairman Hua and Vice Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing, as well as other party and national leaders, attended the seventh enlarged session of the Standing Committee of the Fourth CPPCC National Committee.

Delivering an important speech at the meeting, Vice Chairman Yeh concisely explained Chairman Mao's thinking on the united front. He reaffirmed the great guiding significance of the proletarian class policy, which has been consistently upheld by the party in making a success of united front work. The importance attached to united front work by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has produced significant political repercussions at home and abroad. The party Central Committee's loving concern over the progress of nonparty people has inspired all and put their minds at ease. Many elderly people have said with excitement: "Although we are in our advanced years, we won't fall behind in making belated contributions." Everyone has pledged to achieve new progress ideologically and make new contributions to the cause of socialist revolution and construction. Under the party's leadership and with its solicitude, the united front program is developing in a thriving manner throughout the country.

The revolutionary united front initiated by Chairman Mao served as the CCP's magic weapon for defeating the enemy in the Chinese revolution. During the period of the democratic revolution, the united front contributed greatly toward overturning the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. In the socialist period, it has achieved further development under the dictatorship of the proletariat by making significant contributions to socialist revolution and construction.

Chairman Mao's theory and tactics regarding the united front are an important part of Mao Tsetung Thought as a system and his revolutionary line, a precious asset left to us by Chairman Mao. We must inherit this treasure and carry it forward. Esteemed and beloved Premier Chou firmly and in an exemplary way implemented and defended Chairman Mao's thinking on the united front. He was so concerned with patriotic democratic parties and patriotic personages of various quarters that even when he was critically ill he was still very concerned with united front work. [paragraph continues]



His lifelong devotion and immortal contributions to promoting the revolutionary united front present a shining example for us to follow.

Driven by their counterrevolutionary motives of usurping party and state power and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao antiparty clique wildly opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Basically, they negated Chairman Mao's great strategic thinking on the united front, yelling: "What's the use of the stinking united front!" Reversing the relationship between the enemy and ourselves in an all-round way, they nonsensically alleged that patriotic democratic parties and patriotic personages and those of the national bourgeoisie who were willing to undergo remodeling were "monsters and demons," calling the intellectuals the "stinking ninth category." They did this to trample on the party's united front policy, impair the party's united front work and undermine the great unity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country. This caused serious ideological confusion and great harm.

Today we must earnestly study and grasp Chairman Mao's theory of and tactics for the united front, completely criticize the "gang of four's" fallacies and crimes and further develop the revolutionary united front on the basis of the plans drawn up by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. This is of immense significance in implementing the line of the 11th CCP Congress, carrying out the strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well and consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Uniting all that can be united under the CCP's leadership and forming the broadest revolutionary united front embodies Chairman Mao's consistent strategic thinking. He pointed out: "THE CHINESE PROLETARIAT SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT ALTHOUGH THEIR CLASS IS THE MOST CONSCIOUS AND ORGANIZED CLASS, THEY CANNOT SUCCEED IF THEY RELY SOLELY ON THE STRENGTH OF THEIR CLASS." ("The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party") Our party is the core leading the people of the whole country. But numerically, Communist Party members are in the minority in terms of the total population in the country while nonparty people are in the majority. In order to win the revolution, it is necessary to unite all that can be united at various revolutionary periods and mobilize a huge army of hundreds of millions. During the socialist period, the revolutionary united front is based on the worker-peasant alliance under working-class (through the Communist Party) leadership and includes patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Overseas Chinese. Without this united front, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated while victory in socialist revolution and construction cannot be won. Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out when criticizing the opportunist thinking of doing away with the united front: "HAS THE UNITED FRONT COME TO THE STAGE THAT ONE DAY IT HAS TO BE ABOLISHED? I AM NOT IN FAVOR OF ITS ABOLITION. ANYONE WHO TRULY DRAWS A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE ENEMY AND OURSELVES AND SERVES THE PEOPLE WILL BE UNITED BY US." ("Get Organized and Draw a Distinction Between the Enemy and Ourselves")

Our party and our country are now in the historical period of passing on the heritage in order to pave the way for future generations. In order to adhere to the party's basic line in the historical stage of socialism, grasp the key link in running the country well, continue the revolution and strive to build our country into a modern and powerful socialist state within this century we must implement the basic policy formulated by Chairman Mao, i. e. "MOBILIZE ALL POSITIVE FACTORS, UNITE ALL THAT CAN BE UNITED AND TRANSFORM AS MUCH AND AS FAR AS POSSIBLE NEGATIVE FACTORS INTO POSITIVE ONES IN THE SERVICE OF THE GREAT CAUSE OF BUILDING A SOCIALIST SOCIETY." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People")

This is a long-term strategic policy of the party and the guiding concept for further developing the united front in the socialist period.

The overwhelming majority in the united front are the workers and peasants, with the worker-peasant alliance serving as the cornerstone of the united front. We must not only rely on the workers and peasants but must also unite all those that can be united so as to mobilize all the positive factors in tackling the colossal task of socialist construction. Our country needs the services of as many intellectuals as possible. If the number is small, nothing can be achieved.

Since the founding of the state, an overwhelming majority of the intellectuals who have been assigned to work stations dealing with science, education, culture and other departments have supported the socialist system. Working tirelessly, many of them have been credited with inventions and innovations, thus contributing immensely to the cause of socialism. In the process of transforming their world outlook from bourgeois to proletarian and of gradually forming and establishing the proletarian world outlook, many of them have achieved progress in varying degrees. Only a few are opposed to socialism.

We must unite, educate and transform the intellectuals. We should trust those intellectuals who are really willing to serve socialism and welcome their progress. They should be given help in solving problems requiring solution so that they can give full play to their talents and contribute to building socialism. We must also try to win over and unite the majority of the upper-class petty bourgeoisie, those of the national bourgeoisie who are willing to accept socialist transformation and other patriotic democratic personages. Although these classes and strata form a minority in terms of the country's population, their political influence is unmistakable and their knowledge of culture, science and technology makes them a force not to be taken lightly. It is wholly necessary to unite and win them over to the revolutionary united front in the service of socialism.

It is not only imperative but possible to further develop the revolutionary united front and win over all those that can be united. Although the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie has become the principal contradiction in the country during the socialist period, this does not mean that there is no distinction between the national bourgeoisie and the bureaucrat bourgeoisie and that the former, without its dual nature, cannot be won over and transformed.

Chairman Mao concisely explained this question in dividing the Chinese revolution into two historical stages. In the period of the democratic revolution, he pointed out, the bourgeoisie of countries subjected to imperialist oppression was divided into the bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. After scientifically analyzing the latter's dual nature, he contended they could be won over. Does the national bourgeoisie still possess a dual nature in the socialist period when the socialist transformation of the means of ownership has been basically completed?

Chairman Mao took the affirmative in pointing out: "IN OUR COUNTRY THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE IS ONE AMONG THE PEOPLE. THE CLASS STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE IS, GENERALLY SPEAKING, THAT AMONG THE PEOPLE, DUE TO THE DUAL NATURE OF THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE IN OUR COUNTRY." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People")

It is possible for the national bourgeoisie to be forced to accept socialist transformation while exhibiting the reactionary nature of taking the capitalist road. In dealing with the antagonistic contradictions between the working class and the national bourgeoisie, our party and our country handle them as the contradictions among the people and resolve them through peaceful means. Practice shows that it was entirely correct for our party to adopt a series of policies for gradually eliminating the national bourgeoisie as a class while transforming the members of that class.

Patriotic democratic parties and many patriotic personages in our country long ago went through a prolonged period of cooperation with our party, contributing to the victory of the democratic revolution in our country. The socialist period has witnessed many movements, with the deepening of socialist revolution and construction, and particularly after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, many people wavered and even made a change of attitude in the violent, profound and recurring struggles between the two classes. Despite all this, the majority of the national bourgeoisie, patriotic political parties and patriotic personages, generally speaking, gradually forged ahead while accepting socialist transformation. Only a tiny minority stubbornly resisted socialist transformation. Since the "gang of four" were smashed, our friends in various quarters have done well, supporting Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee he heads and taking an active part in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." Therefore, as practice has shown, it is possible to unite the various patriotic political groups and patriotic personages as well as the national bourgeoisie in the revolutionary united front. Doing this is helpful to uniting, educating and transforming them, to isolating the class enemy to the maximum extent and attacking him, to accelerating socialist construction, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and to coping with social imperialist and imperialist subversion and aggression.

Trying their best to deny the distinction between the national bourgeoisie and the bureaucrat bourgeoisie, the "gang of four" disavowed the dual nature of the national bourgeoisie in the socialist period. They said that our policy of uniting, educating and transforming the national bourgeoisie meant writing off class struggle. According to their absurd allegations, the national bourgeoisie in the socialist period exhibit only the reactionary nature of taking the capitalist road for they are no longer willing to accept socialist transformation. By deliberately confusing the reactionary bureaucrat bourgeoisie with the national bourgeoisie, they openly opposed our party's proletarian policy of handling the contradictions between the working class and the national bourgeoisie as those among the people. This was a disgraceful alteration of Mao Tsetung Thought.

On the basis of Chairman Mao's scientific analysis of the national bourgeoisie, our party followed the policy of uniting, criticizing and educating the national bourgeoisie in carrying out socialist transformation. This was essentially a special form of class struggle conducted against the bourgeoisie under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and suited to concrete conditions. It did not mean writing off or conciliating class struggle, but was for the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Since the founding of the state, we have not only successfully transformed capitalist industry and commerce into a socialist economy owned by all the people but have also united and educated the majority of the national bourgeoisie, patriotic political parties and patriotic personages, enabling them to gradually accept socialist transformation. [paragraph continues]

In wildly opposing Chairman Mao's scientific analysis of the dual character of the national bourgeoisie, the "gang of four" pursued the criminal objective of wrecking the party's united front and driving away to the enemy's side all those who could be won over and united by the proletariat.

The "gang of four" willfully tried to confuse the two different types of contradictions. Trumpeting "struggle is the policy," they opposed our party's basic principle of uniting and struggling in the united front. Chairman Mao pointed out: "THE TWO-POINT PRINCIPLE OF THE UNITED FRONT IS FIRST UNITY AND THEN CRITICISM, EDUCATION AND TRANSFORMATION." ("The United Front in Cultural Work") "IT IS WRONG TO HAVE ONLY ONE ASPECT, FOR STRUGGLE WITHOUT UNITY IS A 'LEPTIST' MISTAKE, WHILE UNITY WITHOUT STRUGGLE IS A RIGHTIST MISTAKE." ("Some Historical Experiences of Our Party")

The six political criteria put forward by Chairman Mao in the socialist period (the most important are the socialist path and the leadership of the party) serve as the political basis of the united front. We want to unite and cooperate with all those who are willing to accept the CCP's leadership and take the socialist road and to arouse their enthusiasm for serving socialism.

Rabidly opposing the six political criteria, the "gang of four" resorted to indiscriminate labeling and bludgeoning in drawing a distinction between those who obeyed the gang and those who did not, sparing the former and dooming the latter. In perpetrating these misdeeds, their lawlessness and lack of discipline knew no bounds. They did not hesitate to identify all patriotic democratic groups, patriotic personages and intellectuals and those of the national bourgeoisie willing to accept socialist transformation with the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, rejecting and attacking them. They even cruelly persecuted the nonparty patriotic personages, thus gravely impairing relations between the party and nonparty people and causing utterly vile political repercussions.

In addition, the "gang of four" dished up the reactionary fallacy of the "dictatorship of the sinister line" to slander the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution as the predominance of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line in united front work. This is shameful slander, pure and simple. The party's united front work in the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution was conducted under Chairman Mao's personal leadership and concern. He formulated a complete set of theories, principles and policies for the revolutionary united front in the socialist period. Illuminated by Chairman Mao's brilliant concepts and with the efforts of the entire party, the party's united front work achieved great results.

The united front led by our party contributed immensely to forging the great unity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country, achieving socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, mobilizing all the positive factors in the service of socialism and strengthening the unity, education and transformation of the national bourgeoisie, patriotic democratic parties and other patriotic personages. While Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line interfered with and undermined the united front program, it was criticized and corrected in a timely way by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was always in the dominant position in directing united front work. Accusing the "capitalist roaders" of manipulating united front work, the "gang of four" viciously attacked and persecuted those cadres engaged in united front work. [paragraph continues]

Chairman Mao said: "THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE CADRES ARE GOOD AND ONLY A TINY MINORITY ARE NOT." This basic assessment was equally applicable to the contingent of cadres engaged in united front work. Like spiritual fetters slapped on the large number of cadres conducting united front work, the "gang of four's" theory of "dictatorship of the sinister line" must be smashed, repudiated and thoroughly discredited.

The Fifth NPC and the Fifth CPPCC will be held this spring. Holding these two major meetings is a matter of prime importance in the political life of the people of all nationalities in our country. This is of great significance in politically and organizationally consolidating and developing the fruitful gains in shattering the "gang of four," in accelerating socialist construction, in achieving stability and unity and in bringing great order across the land. We must follow the instructions of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, firmly grasp the key link in exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," use Chairman Mao's theory of the revolutionary united front to penetratingly repudiate the "gang of four's" fallacies and crimes in wrecking the revolutionary united front, stamp out their pernicious influence and effects, correct the right and wrong in line reversed by them, further develop the revolutionary united front based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class, win over and unite all those that can be united, mobilize all positive factors and try in every possible way to transform negative factors into positive ones in the service of the great cause of building socialism.

Therefore, an important task for united front work is to strengthen our unity with the patriotic democratic parties, nonparty patriots, patriotic intellectuals, national bourgeois elements who are willing to accept socialist transformation and other patriotic personages, to give them more help and encouragement in education and remolding, to help them study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the works of Chairman Mao, and to encourage them to contribute to the building of socialism. "THE POLICY OF LONG-TERM COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR PARTY AND DEMOCRATIC PERSONAGES OUTSIDE IT MUST BE ESTABLISHED IDEOLOGICALLY IN THE WHOLE PARTY AND IN WORK." ("Report to the 2nd Plenary Session of the 7th CCP Central Committee")

We must restore and carry forward the good tradition of democratic consultation fostered by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, strengthen our cooperation with persons outside the party, develop the democratic work style and seek criticism and opinions from them. We must strengthen the party leadership over the various patriotic democratic parties, adhere to the principle of "LONG-TERM COEXISTENCE AND MUTUAL SUPERVISION" and enliven the work of the patriotic democratic parties so they take an active part in political activities. We must see to it that the CPPCC and the related people's organizations work well and play their full role.

We must correctly carry out our all-round policy toward the patriotic intellectuals. We must unite with them, educate and remold them, attach great importance to their role, respect their work and fully arouse enthusiasm. At the same time, we must give them sincere assistance and encourage them to remold their world outlook in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. We must encourage them to integrate with the workers, peasants and armymen and to become both Red and expert. We must help all those of the national bourgeoisie who are willing to accept transformation gradually, through study, work and labor, to remold themselves into self-supporting laborers.

We must earnestly implement the party's nationalities policy, do our work well among the minority nationalities and develop the great unity of the people of all nationalities in our country. This is of tremendous significance for strengthening the building of border defenses, consolidating national defense and achieving the four modernizations. The minority nationalities are an important force for socialist construction. It is very important to give them wholehearted help in their economic and cultural construction. We must train and use nationality cadres, pay attention to the use of their spoken and written languages, respect their customs and habits and their religious beliefs, and effectively guarantee their rights to equality and autonomy. We should continue to unite, educate and remold upper class patriotic personages of the minority nationalities. Chairman Mao said: "WHETHER IT IS BIG HAN CHAUVINISM OR LOCAL NATIONALISM, NEITHER IS BENEFICIAL TO THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE OF VARIOUS NATIONALITIES." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") We should conduct constant and extensive education in the proletarian policy toward nationalities, opposing big Han chauvinism, as well as local nationalism. We must continue to implement the party policy toward religion and do a good job of uniting, educating and remolding patriotic personages from religious circles.

Our party and our people are concerned about Overseas Chinese, returned Overseas Chinese and their families. We must continue to strengthen our unity with them and carry out the party's principles and policies guiding Overseas Chinese affairs. We must strengthen the patriotic united front against hegemonism among our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao. To liberate Taiwan and reunify our motherland is the sacred duty and common aspiration of the people of the whole country, Taiwan compatriots included. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. We must further enhance our unity with Taiwan compatriots, place our hopes with the Taiwan people, and at the same time win over patriotic military and political personnel of the Chiang gang in Taiwan and abroad so that they can contribute to the liberation of Taiwan and the reunification of the motherland. "All patriots belong to one big family, whether they come over early or late." We welcome and unite with all those who are patriotic.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "ALTHOUGH THE REACTIONARY FORCE IS A NEGATIVE FACTOR, WE MUST DO OUR WORK WELL AND STRIVE TO TRANSFORM NEGATIVE FACTORS INTO POSITIVE ONES." ("On the Ten Major Relationships") Regarding the enemies who have laid down their arms, such as the puppet Manchukuo emperor and KMT prisoners of war held in custody, they have all been set free after undergoing prolonged remolding and renouncing evil and changing for the better. Regarding the bourgeois rightists, we adopt the policy of isolating, splitting and remolding them and removing the label of rightist on the basis of their showing, and making proper arrangements for them. Chairman Mao's policy of splitting and disintegrating enemies and of transforming negative factors into positive ones is a source of immense power. We must continue to do this work well.

Strengthening party leadership serves as a fundamental guarantee for making a success of revolutionary united front work. Under the centralized leadership of party committees and understanding the importance of united front work from the plane of the party's strategic policy, we must grasp united front work as a matter of prime importance similar to grasping the key link in running the country well. We must proceed from the viewpoint of making overall plans and proper arrangements. The whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are firmly implementing the line of the 11th CCP Congress. Work on all fronts is advancing in triumph. Therefore, the party's united front work must catch up and overtake it. Let us hold high Chairman Mao's great banner, closely rally round the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and further develop the revolutionary united front, striving to strengthen the great unity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country and to build a modern and powerful socialist state.

GIVE FREE REIN TO THE MASSES TO SMASH THE ASSAULTS OF THE URBAN AND RURAL CAPITALIST FORCES

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[Article by Liao Chih-kao, first secretary of the Fukien Provincial CCP Committee]

[Text] In his political report at the 11th party congress, wise leader Chairman Hua pointed out: "Safeguarding socialist public ownership and smashing the attacks of urban and rural capitalist forces involve intense struggle."

"It is necessary to arouse the masses boldly and energetically in order to deal relentless blows at the appropriate time to embezzlers, speculators and all those engaged in illegal capitalist activities." In accordance with the instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, in the light of the actual situation in Fukien and in connection with the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we have unfolded throughout the urban and rural areas of the province a struggle to hit at the sabotage activities of class enemies and at the assaults of capitalist forces. This has effectively smashed the frantic assaults of new and old bourgeois elements, safeguarded socialist public ownership, further stimulated the movements to learn from Taching in industry and from Tachai in agriculture, and developed the excellent situation in the urban and rural areas of the province. Practice has proved that Chairman Hua's instruction is completely correct and extremely important.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" were the agents of the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and new and old bourgeoisie who wormed their way into the party. In order to overthrow our country's socialist system and restore capitalism, they made every effort to support and protect the assaults of capitalist forces in the urban and rural areas in a vain attempt to sabotage and wreck the socialist economy and throw socialist production into chaos. Hence, in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," choosing the

appropriate moment to expose and criticize the various crimes of the "gang of four" and their confidants in supporting and protecting urban and rural capitalist forces and dealing resolute blows at the illegal activities of new and old bourgeois elements constitute major battle tasks.

In recent years, with the support and protection of the "gang of four" and their confidants, the situation of capitalism running rampant was rather serious in parts of Fukien. A handful of landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and new and old bourgeois elements organized links between inside and outside and between the urban and rural areas, launching attacks on socialism. These reached a state of great frenzy. Some engaged in corruption and embezzlement, misappropriating and stealing large amounts of state and collective property. Some carried out illegal transactions in state materials and went in for speculation in a big way. Some made use of their powers to engage in malpractices, take bribes, and blackmail and extort people. Some started underground factories and shops and organized underground transport teams and contract labor forces, engaging in all kinds of criminal activities for sabotaging the state plans and socialist construction.

Under the frenzied assaults of capitalist forces, some factories and enterprises halted work and production and ran at a serious loss year after year. Certain factories and enterprises were controlled by a handful of bourgeois elements and thus degenerated and changed their nature. In some places free markets ran rampant and the position of commerce was under the control of a handful of speculators. In some rural areas and fishing areas, certain communes and brigades divided up the land and boats in order to go it alone, and also went it alone in sideline occupations. Some areas indiscriminately cut down the mountain forests, seriously sabotaging state resources. Hiring labor for exploitation and issuing high-interest loans and so on occurred in some places. Freaks and monsters crawled out to engage in feudal superstitions, openly organizing gambling. At one time, they made the atmosphere foul.

Due to the frantic assaults of capitalist forces, industrial and agricultural production were seriously sabotaged. Procurement plans could not be fulfilled. Revenue fell sharply.

This seriously affected the fulfillment of the national economic plans and the improvement of the people's living standards. The deluge of capitalism seriously corrupted a number of party members and cadres. Some people, hit by sugar-coated bullets, became prisoners of the bourgeoisie. Some became newborn bourgeois elements, doing all kinds of evil things. What a startling and shocking class struggle this is!

The facts of the fierce struggle in the past few years show that the "gang of four" were the political representatives and backers of the urban and rural capitalist forces, while the urban and rural capitalist



forces were the social basis of the "gang of four." In 1975, following the instructions of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee, we carried out education in the party's basic line in the urban and rural areas throughout the province, criticized revisionism and capitalism, hit at corruption, embezzlement and speculative activities, corrected the capitalist trends of dividing up the land to go it alone, abandoning agriculture for commerce and so on, and also got to work to straighten out the enterprises, communes and brigades. This struggle arrested the sinister wind of capitalism and won back those positions which had been occupied by capitalism. It mobilized the socialist activism of the masses and promoted the development of industrial and agricultural production. The masses and cadres applauded this and resolutely supported it.

However, the "gang of four" and their confidants were furious at their ruination, feeling that it was digging their grave. They attacked unfolding education in the party's basic line as "pointing the spearhead downwards, punishing the rebels, dealing blows at newborn forces" and so on. They also carried out all kinds of sabotage activities. In February 1976, at a conference convened by the central authorities, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching stripped still further for action and slandered our province's actions in dealing blows at urban and rural capitalist forces and correcting the wind of going it alone as "the big bourgeoisie punishing the small bourgeoisie, making the people of Fukien suffer." They openly wanted us to apologize to those active counter-revolutionaries and elements engaged in corruption, embezzlement and speculation who had been punished and whose guilt was certain.

In accordance with the instructions of their masters, the "gang of four's" confidants and claws in Fukien openly complained on behalf of those counterrevolutionaries, embezzlers and speculators, and tried to get their verdicts reversed. They also forced their release from custody. After his release had been forced, one corrupt element, far from repaying all the money and materials he had embezzled, wildly shouted that he should be paid back the wages he missed during his imprisonment, at the rate of one and a half day's wages per day. Another big embezzler, after his release had been forced, had the gall to censure a responsible comrade of the county CCP committee, saying: "What does it matter that I embezzled a few thousand yuan? Your fault is that you grasp everything else but fail to grasp the key link."

With the support of the "gang of four" and their confidants, these scoundrels went even further in their evil deeds and stepped up their efforts to counterattack in order to reverse verdicts. Some of them frenziedly carried out class revenge. Hence, in 1976 illegal capitalist activities became even more flagrant in the urban and rural areas of our province. The root of evil causing the capitalist deluge in some places in Fukien in recent years to be so serious is precisely the "gang of four."

The "gang of four" and their factional network not only supported and protected urban and rural capitalist forces in launching frenzied assaults on socialism, but many of them also directly took part in all kinds of illegal capitalist activities, engaging in many criminal dirty dealings. These dual-skin tigers made up a considerable proportion of the "gang of four's" bourgeois factional network. They worked hand in glove with each other and closely colluded. The "gang of four" and their confidants resorted to all methods to support and protect new and old bourgeois elements in engaging in all kinds of illegal activities, while these bourgeois elements provided funds and materials for the "gang of four's" bourgeois factional network to carry out activities for usurping party and state power. Therefore, capitalist activities were particularly serious wherever factional activities were rampant. This shows that in order to thoroughly destroy the "gang of four's" bourgeois factional network it is necessary to deal blows at the illegal activities of urban and rural capitalist forces.

The above-mentioned shocking facts of class struggle show that in the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" it is extremely necessary, in the light of the actual situation, to choose an appropriate moment and concentrate a certain period of time and certain forces to give free rein to the masses to unfold the struggle to hit at the class enemies' sabotage activities and at the assaults of capitalist forces.

The province's struggle to hit at class enemies' sabotage activities and at the assaults of capitalist forces gradually unfolded after the busy summer reaping and sowing season of 1977 under the unified plan for the whole province. Previously, in connection with implementing the spirit of the National Railway Security Conference and while dealing hard blows at the sabotage activities of class enemies, we also cleaned up some corruption, embezzlement and speculation activities floating on the surface of society. Following the deepening of the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we achieved great success in investigation work. The factional network which had been run in Fukien for many years by the "gang of four" and their confidants started to collapse. In general, the class alinement became clear. Readjustment and strengthening of the leadership groups at all levels were also gradually carried out. This created excellent conditions for dealing blows throughout the province at the assaults of capitalist forces.

Due to the fact that conditions varied in different places and units, the timing of specific arrangements also varied. In regard to the whole province, although this struggle has not been in progress long, the achievements scored have been outstanding. This campaign has hit at the reactionary social foundation of the "gang of four" and their factional network. It has facilitated the unfolding of investigation work and the smashing of the "gang of four's" bourgeois factional network, and effectively stimulated the movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four." This campaign has smashed the criminal activities of new and old bourgeois

elements, safeguarded socialist public ownership, stabilized order in society, benefitted the mobilization of the socialist activism of the cadres and masses and the strengthening of the ideological and organizational building of the leadership groups at all levels, and greatly stimulated the implementation of Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well. As a result, a remarkable all-round turn for the better has occurred in industrial and agricultural production in the province within a short period of time.

The province's grain production in 1977 set a new record, while the total value of industrial output showed a comparatively great increase over the previous year. The province overfulfilled the revenue plan ahead of schedule.

Order in society became more and more stabilized and the atmosphere was transformed. An excellent situation of prosperity appeared everywhere. The demand of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee to achieve initial success in 1 year in grasping the key link in running the country well has been victoriously realized.

As a result of the experience gained in this period of struggle, our main appreciation is that it is necessary to firmly grasp exposure and criticism of the "gang of four"--the key link--and closely combine the struggle to hit at urban and rural capitalist forces with investigating the people and events connected with the "gang of four's" conspiratorial activities for usurping party and state power and with smashing the bourgeois factional network. The "gang of four" closely colluded with the urban and rural capitalist forces. Hence, the struggle to hit at capitalist forces and investigation work are two things and are also one thing. The two are closely connected and stimulate each other.

Chinchiang and Putien prefectures in Fukien are places which were seriously sabotaged by the "gang of four." Capitalism was seriously rampant there. These prefectures unfolded the struggle to hit at capitalist forces at a suitable time and closely linked it with investigation work. As a result, both the struggle to hit at capitalist forces and investigation work have been done fast and well. These two seriously afflicted areas have rapidly advanced from great chaos to great order.

In some places, at the start, some comrades lacked sufficient understanding and simply regarded the struggle to hit at capitalist forces as an economic campaign. As a result, the movement could not develop in an all-round way. Later, they paid attention to this problem and rapidly developed the movement in an all-round way.

As a result of penetrating investigation work, we have exposed the local core figures and backbone elements of the "gang of four's" bourgeois factional network and beaten down their arrogance. This meant that the

urban and rural capitalist forces lost their backers and found themselves in a desperate situation. As the masses put it: "When the tree falls, the monkeys scatter; when the gang fails, the clowns can be seen." At the same time, by hitting at urban and rural capitalist forces we have further exposed the core figures and backbone elements of the "gang of four's" bourgeois factional network. Some backbone elements who were very deeply hidden and skilled in doubledealing have been dug out precisely through exposing problems in the economic field. By hitting at the urban and rural capitalist forces we can further expose the criminal ambitions and ugly features of the "gang of four" and their bourgeois factional network, giving the masses a profound class education so that they can have still greater hatred for the "gang of four" and their bourgeois factional network. This effectively stimulates the development of the movement.

It is necessary to give free rein to the masses and combine the urban and rural areas, inside and outside and upper and lower levels to fight a people's war. By mobilizing the masses to the full, unfolding mass criticism, exposure and denunciation, and creating a powerful revolutionary atmosphere of frightening the enemy, we can fully expose all kinds of capitalist activities and succeed in hitting steadily, accurately and hard. In the struggle to hit at capitalist forces, all places have held large mobilization rallies or oath-taking rallies. At these rallies, some places have arrested and charged on the spot several seriously criminal elements against whom evidence is firm and who have refused to confess, or else ordered people with serious problems of corruption, embezzlement and speculation to undergo screening.

Party committees at all levels have publicly dealt in a timely way with a handful of bad persons interfering with and sabotaging the movement, who spread rumors, cursed and threatened the cadres, caused incidents and assaulted or murdered people in revenge. As for certain leading cadres who have suppressed the masses and hindered the movement, especially bad people who wormed their way into the leadership groups, readjustments and dismissals have been carried out in good time.

Political and legal departments at and above county level have held sentencing rallies at appropriate times, fully embodying the party's policies. In accordance with the law they have sentenced embezzlers and speculators whose crimes are serious and at whom the people's wrath is great. At the same time, they have selected typical case histories and launched the masses' awareness.

These measures have played a very good role in supporting and encouraging the masses' fighting spirit and in frightening and disintegrating the enemy. However, in some places, some of the masses who were long oppressed by the "gang of four" and their confidants have worries of various kinds. Some fear that the movement cannot be carried out in a thorough way and that reversals may occur. Some fear that the snakes

will not be beaten to death and will bite. The leadership at all levels should carry out patient persuasion work and adopt decisive measures to mobilize and support them in rising up to struggle. There are also some people who are worried because they were affected by the sinister wind of capitalism. They are afraid of getting involved and of being unable to make a clean breast of things. It is necessary to carry out more meticulous ideological work and teach them to draw clear lines of demarcation, lay down their burdens and plunge into the battle. When these people are mobilized, they always provide much important information and clues.

In short, we should firmly rely on the great majority of the masses and cadres, pay attention to the party's policies, help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack.

In the struggle we must hit at the class enemies' sabotage activities and also solve problems of capitalist trends among the people. This is an important task for consolidating and developing socialist public ownership. This problem involves a lot of people; the situation is complex, and the sense of policy is strong. We must be extremely serious and cautious in order to handle it well.

While concentrating on hitting sabotage activities of class enemies, we must actively step up education in the party's basic line for the masses and cadres. In connection with the struggle to expose and criticize the counterrevolutionary crimes of the "gang of four" and their bourgeois factional network, we should adopt all effective forms to teach the masses to distinguish between socialism and capitalism and to understand from their own experiences and appreciation the great truth that only socialism can save China, and to be firmly resolved to follow the socialist road.

While correcting the problems in some communes and brigades--e.g., dividing up the land to go it alone, going it alone in sideline occupations and abandoning agriculture for commerce--strengthening the management of industry and commerce in the towns, and straightening out the markets, we must actively adopt the method of education and criticism and guide the masses to eliminate capitalist tendencies, correct the management orientation of the enterprises, communes and brigades, and further consolidate and expand the socialist position in the urban and rural areas.

In solving problems of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, we must strictly distinguish between and correctly handle the two different kinds of contradictions and seriously implement the party's policies. Sabotage activities of urban and rural capitalist forces, including serious corruption, embezzlement and speculation, come under the category of contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. We must hit hard at them. Ordinary problems of capitalist trends come under the category of contradictions among the people, and we should mainly adopt

the method of criticism and education and carry out meticulous political and ideological work. As for rural capitalist trends such as dividing up the land to go it alone and going it alone in sideline occupations, we should mainly rely on the methods of stepping up education and enhancing people's awareness to solve them. However, we should deal severely with the ringleaders in scheming at going it alone. We must deal resolute blows at class enemies who incite people to go it alone. Acting in this way is beneficial for winning over and uniting the great majority, disintegrating the enemy, and isolating and dealing blows at a handful of the most stubborn restorationist forces.

In the struggle we must persistently adhere to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production and stimulate the development of the mass movements to learn from Taching and Tachai. The ceaseless victories in hitting at urban and rural capitalist forces have greatly mobilized the socialist activism of the masses and cadres. We must in a timely way guide the masses' activism into working hard to build socialism and organize it into the great mass movements to learn from Tachai and Taching. We must work out production and construction plans in the light of local conditions, display the spirit of Taching and Tachai, overcome the various difficulties caused by the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage, and rapidly promote industrial and agricultural production.

In view of the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage, we must adopt effective measures to implement the party's economic policies. In the rural areas, we must seriously implement the principle of taking grain as the key link and of insuring all-round development. While vigorously grasping grain production, we should actively develop diversification and strengthen the collective economy of the people's communes in order to establish a strong material base for socialist public ownership.

Our wise leader Chairman Hua pointed out in his instructions on work in Fukien: "It is always the case that places which have been gravely sabotaged can achieve rapid improvement so long as their line and methods are correct, they mobilize the positive factors and fully launch the masses." Chairman Hua's instruction has given us tremendous encouragement and strength and has also pointed out the orientation for advance. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and with the vigorous support of the PLA Fukien front, we have achieved a certain degree of success in work. The situation is getting better and better. In the new year we will hold high Chairman Mao's great banner, unswervingly and closely follow Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, tightly grasp exposure and criticism of the "gang of four"--the key link--speed up our efforts and strive for new victories in socialist revolution and construction.

RAILWAYS MUST FUNCTION AS THE VANGUARD IN THE HIGH-SPEED DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 78 pp 49-53

[Article by Minister of Railways Tuan Chun-i [3008 0689 3015]]

[Text] With the "gang of four" crushed to bits, China's socialist revolution and construction have entered a new period of development. The call by wise leader Chairman Hua to speed up the development of the national economy and to build our country into a great, modern and powerful socialist country has to a very large extent aroused the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people in their hundreds of millions. In industry, agriculture, commerce and all other trades and professions people are trying hard to outperform one another. Heartstirring scenes of booming activity are prevalent all over the country. The leap forward of the national economy has placed new demands on communications and transportation, and the substantial development of industrial and agricultural production must be effectively guaranteed by transport. Our comrades on the railway front must clearly recognize the situation, work with vigor, grasp the key link in ordering rail transport, continue the revolution and strive to raise railway work to a new level.

Part I

Railways are one artery for the national economy. The rapid development of the national economy requires that railway enterprises advance at high speed. Lenin pointed out: /"Railway transportation is a crucial question, one of the clearest indications of the linkage between cities and the countryside and between industry and agriculture. Socialism is entirely built on this linkage. If we are to set up such a linkage to systematically carry out work for the whole people, it is necessary to have railways."/ ("Conference of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol XXVII, p 284)

Chairman Mao compared food and iron and steel to two "marshals" in the national economy and electric power and railways to two "advance agents"

which must march in the van. These teachings from great revolutionary teachers defined the vital position of the railways in the national economy and indicated the direction for the development of railway enterprises.

Some economically developed countries invariably went through the stage of large-scale railway construction in the course of achieving industrialization. If we are to develop the national economy at high speed and accomplish the four modernizations, we must also set up railway networks across the country, using advanced technical equipment. Our country is vast, with a deep and broad heartland in the interior, and long-distance transportation of large quantities of materials depends mainly on the railways, which carry a very large proportion of the volume of freight handled by modern means of transportation, which include highways, shipping by sea and air, and pipelines. Over 80 percent of the total freight by rail consists of materials in aid of agriculture, light industrial products for the market, and raw materials for industrial production, particularly coal, iron and steel and refined materials. Iron and steel are the "marshal" of industry, and coal is its "food." When we push rail transport forward, provide good transport facilities for the production of iron and steel and coal, and supply the necessary means of transport for the development of agriculture and light industry and for the livelihood of the people, the rapid development of the national economy as a whole will be given a dependable guarantee.

Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee always attached tremendous importance to railway work. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line always occupied the leading position on the railway front. Since the founding of new China, the party Central Committee has on many occasions drawn up documents and promulgated decisions on strengthening the party's leadership over railway work. During the periods of the several five-year plans for the development of the national economy, state investments in railway construction were always greater than those made in various sectors of the national economy. Thanks to the efforts of the whole party, railway enterprises have developed substantially during the past two decades and more.

Compared with the early days of liberation, the traffic mileage has been more than doubled, the length of lines extended and developed more than tripled, passenger transport more than quadrupled, cargo transport increased more than eightfold, and cargo turnaround raised more than tenfold. All this has given a powerful impetus to the development of the national economy and contributed in a significant way to China's socialist revolution and construction.

However, in recent years the development of rail transport in our country was seriously interfered with and disrupted by Lin Piao and particularly by the "gang of four." In 1976, the year in which the "four pests" were rampant, many key railway sections were blocked, with transport



partially paralyzed. This gravely hampered industrial and agricultural production and affected the livelihood of the people. At one time rail transport became an acutely weak segment of the national economy.

With the "gang of four" crushed into pieces and the productive forces greatly liberated, railway work has also gone from disorder to order and entered a new historical period. In February last year, with the personal attention of wise leader Chairman Hua, the State Council convened a national conference on railway work. The party Central Committee promulgated a new document on railway work and formulated the principles and policies for grasping the key link in bringing order to rail transport. This marked a major turning point for the development of China's railway enterprises. For the past year the masses of railway workers, led by party committees at all levels, have seriously implemented the directives of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, greatly stepped up progress in railway work and won new victories in grasping revolution and promoting production.

The volume of cargo handled last year showed a 13-percent increase over 1976. The daily number of loaded cars at the end of the year was 36 percent over the early part of the year. The passenger transport plan for all lines was fulfilled 34 days ahead of schedule and that for cargo 24 days ahead. New records were set both for the tonnage of cargo delivered and for the daily average level of loading. The excellent railway situation and its fast development exceeded our expectations. This was a victory for Chairman Hua's policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well.

Although we have achieved initial successes in one year of grasping the key link in running the country well, there is still a long way to go before we can achieve major successes. There is still a wide gap to fill compared with such advanced units as the Taching Oilfield and the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemical Industries. At present, under the situation of a new leap forward in the national economy, railway work has again encountered not a few contradictions and uncovered many new problems. There are several main problems. Although the "external wounds" to the railways caused by the "gang of four" have gradually been healed, the "internal injuries" are far from being cured. Considerable efforts are still required to completely stamp out the pernicious influence and effects of the "gang of four."

Fundamental work in the political, ideological, organizational and technical fields is still rather weak. Much remains to be done to rectify the party and work style, the leadership groups, enterprise management, and rules and regulations and to build up the rank and file. The speed with which new lines are being built is not fast, the capacity of many trunklines is inadequate, and there is little room for maneuverability of transport. Technical equipment is outdated and backward, the progress of technical transformation is slow, and the level of operational

mechanization, electrification and automation is still relatively low. The organizational command of rail transport is not sound, transport efficiency is not high enough, and the potential of existing equipment has not been fully tapped.

These conditions are incompatible with the requirements for the accelerated development of the national economy, with the requirements of the four modernizations and with the rising socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses. They must be changed as quickly as possible. Otherwise, this "advance agent"--railways--may still lag behind, acting as a drag on the entire national economy. We railway workers must see the heavy responsibility on our shoulders, squarely face the problems arising from the development of railways, and exert ourselves to bring about a substantial development in railway transportation, combining a revolutionary spirit with a death-defying spirit.

## Part II

/"The line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything else falls into place."/ To advance at high speed, railway enterprises must persist in grasping the key link in bringing order to rail transport, do a good job of revolution in the sphere of the superstructure, and carry through to the end the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four."

The railways have always been an important target of struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. During the 11th line struggle of the party, railways were a "serious disaster area" where grave damage was done by the "gang of four." Chang Chun-chiao, the Kuomintang agent, yelled: "The railways are a place of contention, and they must be properly controlled." They stretched their sinister hands into the organs of the Ministry of Railways and into some railway bureaus, engineering bureaus, designing institutes, railway equipment manufacturing plants, and railway colleges. Their sinister cronies and henchmen collaborated with a handful of so-called veteran cadres who sold themselves out, rigged up a bourgeois faction and usurped some leadership power of the railway departments. They pushed a counterrevolutionary revisionist ultraright line, attacked revolutionary cadres, persecuted the masses of workers, and practiced fascist dictatorship, thereby creating great chaos politically, ideologically, organizationally and in transport operations.

To get back to the right track and realize great order, railway departments must firmly grasp the key link of the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," learn from Taching, tackle the fundamental issues and carry out sweeping rectification in all aspects of railway work in accordance with the party's policies and by relying on the broad masses. Rectification means revolution. It means applying Chairman Mao's great theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the

proletariat to the concrete practice of railway work in order to promote a substantial development of railway enterprises.

To continue to fight well the third battle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and, in close connection with reality in rail transport, to thoroughly criticize the ultraright essence of the gang's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and its manifestations in rail transport--this is the primary task for rectification of the railways. To sabotage rail transport, the "gang of four" concocted all sorts of counterrevolutionary fallacies to create ideological confusion, to a degree that was most extraordinary. They frantically attacked the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Strengthening Railway Work," a document that was read and approved by Chairman Mao. They negated the party's leadership over railway work and vainly attempted to lead the railways onto the capitalist sidetrack.

They slandered the centralized and unified command of rail transport as "dictatorship by rules and regulations," "bourgeois dictatorship" and "dictatorship by capitalist roaders." They vainly tried to cut off this big artery of the national economy. They cursed the rectification of rail transportation and restoration of peace and order as "counter-attack in revenge" and "dictatorship by the big bourgeoisie over the petty bourgeoisie." They protected and condoned bad people and encouraged the spread of capitalism. They attacked the railways' "unimpeded running, access to all areas, arriving at destinations safely and punctually, and performing successfully as an advance agent" as promoting "the theory of productive forces." They called for the "late arrival of socialism rather than punctual arrival of capitalism."

They maligned the strict organizational discipline of railway transport as "control, check and suppression." They denied the paramilitary nature of railways, undermined a whole set of rigorous rules and regulations and promoted anarchism in a big way. They babbled that to catch up with and surpass the best level in history was to "spread the view that the present is not as good as the past," and that to catch up with and surpass the world's advanced level was to "promote the comprador slavish philosophy." They seriously interfered with and disrupted the development of rail transport enterprises.

All these counterrevolutionary fallacies concocted by the "gang of four" must be criticized seriously and in depth. It is necessary to set to right what they reversed with regard to the political line. This is a long-term and formidable fighting task, one that must be done properly. Otherwise, it will be impossible to distinguish between what is right and what is wrong in political line, to break the spiritual chains binding the masses or to fully arouse the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses. It will be impossible for the railway enterprises to advance in broad strides along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao taught us: /"Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined."/ To rectify the party and style of work successfully, to rectify the party's organizations and the cadre ranks properly, and particularly to rectify and build up the party's leading groups at all levels well—this is yet another important task of rectifying rail transport. It is also an organizational guarantee for the consolidation and development of the achievements of the 11th line struggle.

We must firmly purge the leading groups of the "gang of four's" cronies and henchmen in railway departments, of those elements with "horns and thorns" who took to beating, smashing and looting, of bourgeois careerists who "excel in making trouble and become officials," and of those so-called veteran cadres who sold out principles and their souls. We must thoroughly criticize the counterrevolutionary revisionist line they pushed and the crimes they perpetrated and thoroughly criticize the bourgeois factional network they formed. We must thoroughly investigate them and completely smash them, so that all evil roots are removed and no potential danger is allowed to linger. We must boldly promote to leading posts at all levels good cadres and good workers who satisfy Chairman Mao's five requirements for being successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause, who take a firm stand and a clear-cut attitude, who are neither afraid of ghosts nor believe in superstitions, and who dare to stand up against the "gang of four." Provided that we can remove all the dirty mud and filthy water of the "gang of four" and build the leading groups at all levels into combat command posts which are firm and strong and enjoy the support of the masses, we shall be able to press on irresistibly from a commanding height and lead the vast numbers of cadres and masses to make a success of both revolution and transport.

We must not only make a success of ideological and organizational rectification but also do a good job of rectifying enterprise management and rules and regulations. There is a particular need to build up the workers ranks properly. It is only when we have a good workers contingent that we can successfully carry out work in various fields. We must set up and strengthen an effective political work system so that political work will be carried out deeply in the process of transport operations. It will then be possible to commend advanced groups and advanced individuals with great fanfare and to enable workers to heighten their sense of responsibility as masters, observe strict organizational discipline and do their duties meticulously. It is also necessary to set up and strengthen an effective transport command system so that leading cadres and transport command personnel at all levels will not only be politically conscious but also strive to master professional skills, strictly organize all links of transport operations, including stations, mechanical maintenance, rolling stock, work schedules and electrical affairs, and fulfill transport tasks accurately and without delay.

It is necessary to strengthen and rigorously enforce various rules and regulations centering on the system of personal responsibility and step

up training in basic technical skills. In accordance with paramilitary requirements, we must establish a /particularly dynamic/ force of railway workers capable of withstanding cold and heat and all kinds of tests under complicated conditions. In this way the trains will run smoothly and arrive at their destinations safely and punctually; they will be able to carry more cargo and run faster; and they will be better able to serve the development of industrial and agricultural production and the broad masses of the people.

### Part III

With a view to bringing about substantial development of railway enterprises, it is imperative to further strengthen the leadership of provincial, municipal and autonomous regional party committees and to persist in having a nationwide centralized and unified command for rail transport.

Chairman Mao taught us: /"Having initiatives from central and local sources is much better than having initiatives from only one source."/ /"It is necessary to encourage the practice of consulting local authorities in doing things."/ Chairman Hua has directed us to push rail transport forward and have the whole party and local party committees exercise stronger leadership. Vice Chairman Yeh has also pointed out that to operate the railways successfully requires the support of the whole country--the party, the government, the army and the people.

Railways link the cities with the countryside and industry with agriculture, and they maintain the most constant and closest ties with the people of the whole country. We cannot operate railways successfully without the leadership of the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional party committees and without the support of all other trades and professions of the national economy and the broad masses of the people. Practice since the implementation of the spirit of the national railway work conference proves that it is only by carrying out the policy of having the whole party operate railways under the unified leadership of the party Central Committee and with the joint efforts of the Railways Ministry and the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional party committees that we can better implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, better execute the spirit of the directives of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee and better grasp the key link in bringing order to the railways in order to realize a rapid development of rail transport.

Practice also proves that with the whole party operating railways it is possible to strengthen the cooperation and coordination between the railway departments and the production and consumer departments and, through the intermediary link of transport, to establish a new-type, "one dragon" relationship between production, supply, transportation and marketing. As far as communications and transportation are concerned,

having the whole party take a hand makes it possible to greatly strengthen the close connections between rail transport, highway transport, seaborne transport and other forms of transport among the people and to develop the comprehensive capacity of a variety of means of transport.

Judging from the present condition of rail transport, 70 percent of the loading and unloading operations are carried out on special lines of various manufacturing and mining enterprises. With the whole party operating railways, it is possible to greatly raise the efficiency of loading and unloading operations and to speed up the turnaround of rolling stock. With the whole party operating railways, it is also possible to greatly raise the awareness of the masses of people of the need to cherish the railways so that, led and organized by the local party committees and public security organs, all of them will play a part in safeguarding the peace and order of the railways and better guarantee the safe and unimpeded flow of rail traffic. In short, having the whole party operate railways is consistent with Chairman Mao's teaching on developing central and local initiative and with the requirements of the development of railways, and significant achievements have been made. We must adhere to this policy now and in the future.

It is absolutely necessary to better safeguard and strengthen the nationwide centralized and unified command over rail transportation. Engels pointed out in his article "On Authority": /"Having a dominant will that settles all subordinate questions"/ is the /"first condition"/ for the successful operation of rail transport. ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol II, p 553) The railway is a huge transport machine, having a long line and many junctions. Its links are related to and affect one another. An obstruction at one junction affects the whole line, and an obstruction on one line affects many areas. Every department and every section must carry out work according to the same timetable and with strict precision. This characteristic feature of railways determines that they must be centrally managed and commanded in the course of fulfilling transport assignments.

Under socialist conditions the railway is also an important means by which the state develops the economy in a planned and proportionate way. The transportation of essential materials, including materials in aid of agriculture, light industrial products, iron and steel, coal, petroleum and timber, is arranged by the state in a unified manner--in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and according to the requirements of the entire situation in the national economy. The duty of the railways is to satisfy the needs of industrial and agricultural production according to the national economic plan. Lenin pointed out, /"Normal distribution depends on normal transportation."/ ("Speech at the Congress of Committees of Working People," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol XXVII, p 374) And normal transportation must be guaranteed by nationwide centralized and unified command. The Railways Ministry must

arrange rail transport according to the national economic plan, and railway bureaus must submit themselves to the unified transport arrangements made by the Railways Ministry. Only thus will it be possible to enable rail transport to better promote the rapid development of industrial and agricultural production.

Chairman Hua recently instructed us to make a success of rational transport by reducing transport of materials between two places where the same kinds of materials are available, transport of materials that flow back to the places from which these materials were originally shipped, repetitive transport and excessively long distance transport, and to make every effort to economize on transport capacity. This requirement, too, can be realized only by strengthening the nationwide centralized and unified command of railways and by organizing transport according to the national economic plan. Every cadre and worker in the railway department must profoundly recognize the importance of having a centralized and unified transport command and solidly establish the concept of having the part submit to the whole. This is an immutable principle of making a success of railway work.

#### Part IV

To meet the needs of a new leap forward in the national economy, the railway front must first and foremost fully tap its potential, raise its efficiency, bring man's enthusiasm into play, and use the existing transport capacity to fulfill more transport tasks. This is our point of departure as well as the basis for making our work a success at present. From the long-range point of view, to construct our country's railways at high speed it is also imperative to set an ambitious goal, vigorously adopt new techniques, employ new methods, intensify the transformation of old lines and accelerate the construction of new ones in an effort to bring about a substantial development of our productive potential and to enable China's railways to join the front ranks of the world as soon as possible.

The modernization of industrial and agricultural production and of communications and transport are mutually complementary. To push rail transportation forward is an essential condition for achieving the four modernizations. When the level of modernization is raised, it will in turn provide the material foundation for the adoption of modern techniques to equip railways. After more than two decades of efforts, our country has completed an initial socialist industrial system, and now is the time to use new techniques, new methods and new machinery to equip and transform railways. We must, in a relatively short period of time, realize a reform in hauling power, energetically develop electric power locomotives and internal combustion engines, increase the traction tonnage, increase train speeds, and save on the consumption of fuel. We must, in a planned and systematic manner, introduce electrification and build double tracks so as to greatly increase the transport capacity on all busy railways.

We must step up our efforts to acquire large, light and modern rolling stock in order to accommodate the ever-growing volumes of both passenger and cargo transport. We must intensify the transformation of communication and signaling equipment and adopt such advanced techniques as automatic closure, concentration of electric power, concentration of coordination, car shunting by radio, and cables of similar axis in an all-out effort to raise the level of railway automation. We must transform the existing lines by separate stages and groups, use seamless steel tracks, increase the number of cross-junctions, improve the structure of bridges, and create conditions for high-speed operation of long, large and heavy trains. We must direct more efforts at mechanization of loading and unloading, track maintenance and construction, make a success of rounding out all types of machinery with subsidiary parts, and expand their production according to plan. We must gradually reduce and abolish heavy physical labor. We must make a big effort to improve the work of transport organization, increase the proportion of through trains, increase joint shipping by rail, highway, and waterway, and develop containerization so that China will catch up with and surpass all industrially developed countries with respect to rail transport quality and efficiency.

Simultaneously with intensifying the technical transformation of railways, it is necessary to rapidly develop rail transport networks so as to make the speed of railway construction keep pace with the leap forward of industrial and agricultural production. Our needs include adding more trunklines crisscrossing the whole country to meet the transport requirements of regions where industrial and agricultural production is concentrated; increasing transport access to all industrial bases and making railway construction compatible with the geographical distribution of industry; building needed branch lines and contact lines and increasing the room for maneuverability of rail transport; linking the railways of neighboring provinces to promote economic and cultural exchanges between them; filling the blank spots in the railway networks to facilitate the development of the interior and construction in border regions; strengthening the linkage of railways with inland river shipping and coastal ports to fully develop joint shipping by water and land; simultaneously undertaking construction of large railways, small railways and handy railways, and furthering the ties between industry and agriculture and between cities and the countryside.

At the same time it is necessary to achieve proper coordination between railway operations in wartime and peacetime, increase the capacity of railways to cross rivers and lofty mountains, and make preparations against surprise attacks by imperialism and social imperialism and for the liberation of our sacred territory Taiwan.

Viewed from the world history of railway development, high-speed construction of railways and the adoption of new techniques are generally carried out in two stages. We must take one step instead of two, make unified and all-round arrangements and march ahead on all fronts. Only



thus will it be possible to meet the demand for achieving the four modernizations in our country before the end of the present century. To fulfill this formidable and heavy task requires considerable efforts, the same death-defying spirit as was displayed in the war years, and the same persistence as the Taching people show in defying all sorts of difficulties and carrying work to the finish once it is started.

We must uphold the principle of /self-reliance and hard struggle./ We must at all times rest our work on the basis of our own strength. Instead of "waiting for help, relying on others and demanding help," we must "work, blaze a new path and create something new."

Some units in railway departments have broken down superstitions, liberated their thought, engrossed themselves in work and engaged in technical innovation and technical transformation in a big way. In a very short period they have realized mechanization or semimechanization of their operations, with some also achieving automation or semiautomation and increasing their productive capacity by many times or even by dozens of times. Their experiences show that as long as we trust and rely on the broad masses, fully tap potentials within the enterprise, and work hard and ingeniously, we can fulfill the task of building and modernizing the railway networks in our country relatively quickly and with smaller investments.

We must not only seriously sum up our own experiences but also be good at learning from the experiences of other countries. We must emulate the successful experiences in building and transforming railways in other countries and import advanced technology. We must also take warning from the lessons of their failures. We must combine learning with independent creation and, proceeding from the actual conditions of our country, blaze our own path in promoting the development of China's railway enterprises with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Chairman Mao taught us: /"The Chinese people have aspirations and ability, and they will certainly catch up with and surpass the advanced level of the world in the not distant future."/ Under the leadership of wise leader Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, we will certainly be able to rapidly build railway networks of an advanced world standard upon our vast land, meet the requirements of the development of the national economy, and make our due contributions to building China into a great, modern and strong socialist country before the end of the present century.

## MAKE A SUCCESS OF STANDARDIZATION, SERIALIZATION AND VERSATILITY OF FARM MACHINES

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[Article by the Policy Research Office of the State Standards Weights and Measures Bureau]

[Text]

I

Wise leader Chairman Hua recently pointed out: /"Seek standardization, serialization and versatility in farm machine production."/ To achieve standardization, serialization and versatility is not just the demand of the masses of workers and peasants; it is also needed by planned socialist economy. We must understand the problem of "these three aspects" of farm machines from the high level of the line. We must pay serious and proper attention to this task and speed up farm mechanization.

The "three aspects" of farm machines primarily call for: 1) product quality meeting standard requirements; 2) products being classified by size and serialized so that relatively few varieties or specifications can meet wide-ranging needs; 3) for the main accessories, especially fragile ones, of machines of the same type, the maximum degree of interchangeability being achieved. In a word, product quality must be standardized, varieties or specifications serialized, and accessories and parts so versatile as to be interchangeable. Achieving the "three aspects" of farm machines is an important technical and economic policy of the party and the state. This is of especially great significance to farm mechanization. Farm machines scattered everywhere in the countryside are subjected to rough use. Maintenance facilities compare poorly with those in cities and in industrial and mining enterprises. This calls especially for farm machines that are of good quality, durable, cheap and easy to maintain and repair. The "three aspects" must therefore be properly effected. Farm machines used to be produced on a large scale. Only on the basis of the "three aspects" can we organize specialized production in a better way, increase output by large margins, improve quality, lower costs and raise labor productivity.

Take the farm diesel engines produced in Shantung Province, for instance. On the basis of the "three aspects" having been achieved, the province has organized specialized production and obtained remarkable results. It has mainly developed diesel engines with cylinders having a diameter of 95 mm. Its products, ranging from one cylinder to two, four and six cylinders, have been basically serialized. On the basis of standardizing the main fragile accessories, the province has organized 44 factories in a united effort to share the concentrated production of accessories and parts. (One factory is devoted to one or several varieties.) Apart from assembly, factories producing machine frames undertake to produce accessories and parts on a limited scale. After this province began specialized production, output of farm diesel engines in 1976 rose by 23 times over 1965. Costs dropped more than 50 percent. Quality was greatly improved, giving us every convenience in use and maintenance. The Serial No. 95 diesel engine produced by the province itself and the tractors fitted with it showed a perfection rate of around 90 percent. Shantung's experience shows that the realization of the "three aspects" in farm machine production helps to produce farm machines with greater, faster, better and more economical results. It also saves us trouble in use and maintenance. It is an important measure to accelerate farm mechanization.

Since the founding of the state, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and with the development of farm mechanization, certain results have been achieved in the "three aspects" of farm machinery throughout the country. Certain farm diesel engines and tractors; plowing, raking and spiral-type power cultivating machines; hanging-type carts and many other farm machines have been serialized. Rubber-wheeled handcarts have long been produced according to a uniform national design. For certain farm machines, fragile accessories have been standardized and quality standards set. In addition, many provinces and municipalities have reorganized locally produced and used medium-sized and small farm implements and unified their models.

But, generally speaking, the "three aspects" level of our farm machines is relatively low. It falls short of the demands of increasing farm mechanization. This slows down farm mechanization to a certain degree. Three main problems exist: First, there are numerous types of machines with overlapping purposes. There are too many models with similar horsepower. For instance, the farm diesel engine of 10 horsepower being produced in our country at present comes in over 10 types. In fact, only two or three will suffice. Hand-operated tractors come in eight or nine types. Actually, two will do. As to models used in society, more numerous varieties are involved. According to statistics, a certain province is using as many as 46 varieties of tractors (including types formerly produced and imported) and over 110 varieties of farm diesel engines. As a medium-sized tractor has over 700 parts and a diesel engine over 300, a lot of difficulties arise in their production and supply. Second, accessories for tractors and diesel engines that can be standardized have not been standardized. Those that can be

interchanged have not been substituted for each other. Leaving imported and copied products aside, even those designed and manufactured domestically are in some cases incapable of being interchanged. For instance, for the 495-type diesel engine designed by a certain area and the 495-type diesel engine recommended on a uniform national basis, a great number of accessories are not interchangeable. This adds to the difficulties in accessory production. Third, quality is poor and the lifespan short. Many farm machine products fall short of established standards of quality.

Thus, with numerous varieties and specifications involved and with few parts of the same type in demand, organized specialized production is made difficult. This does nothing to help improve quantity and quality. Because accessories are poor in quality, have short lifespans and are hard to obtain or unfit for the intended purpose, a timely repair of machines often cannot be made. The percentage of machines in good running condition is relatively low. At present a fairly large number of farm machines are either "defective" or just limping along. This dampens mass enthusiasm for farm mechanization. The pace of farm mechanization also suffers.

The poor and lower-middle peasants said: A large number of parts and accessories for rubber-wheeled handcarts and bicycles can be standardized. Why can't those for tractors and diesel engines be standardized? A bicycle can be fixed at any service shop with the needed accessories. Why can't a farm machine?

Apart from the shortcomings in our work, these problems are attributable mainly to the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and especially of the "gang of four." In the past, when you wanted to seek "three aspects" and make plans for serialized and simplified machine types and standardized accessories and parts, you were accused of promoting "dictatorship over everything" and dampening local activism. When you doggedly called for attention to standards and quality, you were accused of "control, checks and suppression" and of killing mass creativity. The gang incited anarchism and interfered with the "three aspects" of farm machines. Therefore, certain farm machines that should be standardized have not been. Standards that should be set have not been. Great chaos has resulted. We must further expose and criticize the "gang of four," set straight the right and wrong in line they reversed and righteously do a good job of the "three aspects."

## II

To do a good job of the "three aspects" of farm machines it is imperative to handle well the following relations:

First, the relations between the "three aspects" and different local conditions: measures for farm mechanization must be geared to different local

conditions, different natural factors and different farming systems. Since local factors must be taken into consideration, should and can we bring about the "three aspects"? The answer is yes. Chairman Mao said: /"Universality is found in peculiarity of contradictions."/ Such universality found in peculiarity is the basis for our "three aspects." By "three aspects" we do not mean standardizing everything. We mean standardizing what should and can be standardized and leaving alone what should not and cannot be standardized. We mean producing different machine types for accessories to meet different needs. Therefore, the contradictions between the "three aspects" and different local conditions can be solved. It is wrong to consider different local conditions as incompatible with the "three aspects" and to mechanically set the two in opposition. We know that the plow is a farm tool relatively marked by different local features. But the problem of standardization in spite of different local conditions can be solved relatively satisfactorily, as a series of plows for paddy fields in South China were jointly designed by the relevant units of 14 provinces (municipalities and autonomous regions) including Fukien. On the basis of investigation and study, they made an analysis. With the different demands made on the plowshare by different areas in mind, they designed five different plowshares to meet different natural needs and different farming systems' needs. As to the plow's frame and other parts marked by relatively great universality, they were put on a uniform basis. For the series of paddy field plows designed, they adopted 12 basic types in place of the original 40 or 50 varieties of paddy field plows. This not only cut down the number of machine types but also enabled 80 percent of the accessories to be interchangeable. For tractors ranging from 20 to 75 horsepower, proper plows were provided. This won the praise of the poor and lower-middle peasants. Since plows relatively marked by different local needs can be subjected to the "three aspects," other farm tools of course can. As to diesel engines and tractors, they should especially be put on a uniform national basis. Even certain farm products that can only be standardized in one province often have accessories and parts, especially fragile ones, that can and must be standardized over a wider area.

Second, the relations between the "three aspects" and an urgent demand for farm machines: despite its rapid growth, farm machine production still falls far short of actual needs. This is a prominent contradiction. Therefore, certain people hold the view that "the main problem at present is the availability of farm machines and not the 'three aspects.'" They set the "three aspects" and the "availability" of farm machines in opposition and farm machine quality and output in opposition. This is not right. Shantung and other provinces have effected the "three aspects" and stimulated the production of diesel engines with greater, faster, better and more economical results. This fact is eloquent proof that, in a certain sense, the realization of the "three aspects" provides the solution to the problem of the availability of farm machines and is an important measure for satisfying urgent needs. A higher "three aspects" level will further help to achieve organized

specialized production, the adoption of new techniques and automation and semiautomation in production. It will also improve quality, lower costs and spur a big increase in production. Therefore, the problem of "availability" cannot be separated from the "three aspects." Without quality, quantity means nothing. If we can greatly improve the quality of farm machines, prolong their life and make one unit into the equivalent of two or even several, then we can not only save manpower and material resources but also raise output in a big way. Otherwise, the more the output, the greater the waste. Hereafter the pace of farm mechanization will be considerably accelerated. If we don't make an early commitment to the realization of the "three aspects" and wait until after a big increase in production capacity, then we will have to pay a still greater price than now.

Third, the relations between the "three aspects" and technical development: certain comrades worry lest the "three aspects" might hamper technical development. Practice shows that this is an unnecessary worry. The "three aspects" process is one of advanced techniques being introduced and the mass experiences in technical innovation being continuously summed up and developed. The realization of the "three aspects" can not only help popularize the results of scientific and technical research but also stimulate the development of science and technology. The design of the aforementioned plows for paddy fields in South China involved a process of summing up the practical experiences of the laboring people. Experiments and research led to the initial discovery of the law requiring the curved shape of a plow to meet general purposes. This was put in a standardized form and popularized. It should be noted that the demands of the "three aspects" are not fixed and inflexible. They change with changes in production techniques. Not only must products be continuously improved, with every effort made to catch up with and surpass advanced world levels, but also there must be a period of relative stability in production and use, a period in which frequent changes are undesirable. In scientific research we should let 100 schools of thought contend. In production we should launch an extensive mass campaign of technical innovation and revolution. In designing products we must pay attention to the "three aspects." Through a process of selecting the best, we should incorporate in our designs the results of scientific research and "technical innovation and revolution." When cleared for production, a design must in particular fit in with the demands of the "three aspects." As to the practice of freely altering what has been standardized, only to create new, unimproved versions with many accessories incapable of being interchanged on the pretext of "improving on a product" and "not sitting down to a prepared meal," this is especially wrong. The more the "freedom" for such unauthorized alterations and versions, the less the freedom for workers to manufacture and for peasants to use. We must commend the typical examples of those who have collective interests in mind. We must resolutely oppose and eliminate the wrong idea of those who verbally voice support for the "three aspects" but actually put the interests of a particular unit or even an individual above collective interests.

### III

The "three aspects" effort in farm mechanization is not only scientific and technical work but also part of production management. Therefore, under the unified leadership of the party, scientific and technical departments, production management departments and planning departments must concern themselves with the "three aspects" and make overall arrangements for scientific research, planned production, capital construction, etc. In line with the principle of combining the "three aspects" with specialization, they must subject enterprises to reforms and take up "three aspects" work in a down-to-earth and proper manner.

We must combine the "three aspects" with the designing of new products and the reorganization of old products. The low or high "three aspects" level of a product depends basically on whether the "three aspects" principle has been adhered to in its design. This is an important link in the proper handling of "three aspects" work. For farm machines produced on a large scale to suit general purposes over a wide area, serial development plans must be formulated so that new products can be serialized to approach or catch up with advanced world levels. Meanwhile, concerning those old products involving so many types or numbers as to be confusing, vigorous reorganization efforts must be made to meet the demands of the "three aspects." As to those marked by a relatively low "three aspects" level and backwardness in performance, we must energetically create conditions to facilitate a switch in production within a given period of time. Regarding those old products which are marked by a relatively satisfactory "three aspects" level and are relatively advanced in performance, we must also try to further raise their "three aspects" level. For farm machine products we must gradually achieve uniform type numbers, uniform main performance parameters, uniform sizes, uniform fragile accessories and parts, and uniform technical demands and methods of testing. After a period of uninterrupted effort, main farm machine products must be serialized to meet the demands of the "three aspects."

We must combine the "three aspects" with the "three fixities" (fixed types, fixed points and fixed quotas for approved products) and organize specialized production well. Specialized production is an indication of modernized mass production. Without specialization there is no modernization or high speed. With products serialized and accessories interchangeable, extremely favorable conditions are created for specialized coordinated production. Meanwhile, only with specialization can we consolidate the results of the "three aspects" and fully tap the expected economic potential of the "three aspects."

"Three aspects" work must be managed at different levels. A clear distinction must be drawn between those products standardized on a national basis and those standardized on a provincial (or municipal or autonomous regional) basis. Proper examination and clearance systems must be

formulated for new series and new machine types designed, trial-produced and formally produced. Hereafter, diesel engines, tractors and other main farm machine products must be cleared by the relevant departments for design and manufacture and must meet the demands of the "three aspects." Only then can they be incorporated into state plans to qualify for allotted funds, required materials, proper parts and accessories, etc. In addition, we must assign proper unit numbers to relevant product series and establish blueprint control regulations so that the development of new series and new machine types and the improvement of old products can proceed in a well-led and planned manner.

Farm machine products are produced in large quantities and used over a wide area. The "three aspects" process has many problems. There are contradictions between parts and the whole and between immediate and long-term interests. There are also many ideological awareness problems. Certain difficulties really confront us in practice. We must seriously sum up past experiences and lessons and conscientiously study these problems. Under the leadership of the party, we must rely on the masses, combine revolutionary enthusiasm with a scientific approach, adhere to materialist dialectics, get rid of metaphysical ideas and overcome all the difficulties in achieving the "three aspects." We must do a good job of standardization, serialization and popularization of farm machine products and make a still greater contribution to the realization of farm mechanization in the main by the end of 1980, doing so under the leadership of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee.



## DISTINGUISH BETWEEN RIGHT AND WRONG AND CONTINUE THE REVOLUTION

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 78 pp 58-59

[Commentary by Yen Ping [0917 1627]]

[Text] The educational and cultural fronts have sounded the clarion call for criticizing the theories of "two assessments" and "dictatorship by the sinister line" concocted by the "gang of four" and have further pushed the third campaign to criticize and expose the "gang of four." The cadres and masses are freed from the spiritual shackles imposed by the "gang of four" and various positive factors have been brought into play. In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must follow Chairman Mao's thought to further distinguish right from wrong and continue the revolution with still greater efforts.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the whole party and people throughout the country waged acute struggle between the two classes and between the two lines and constantly overcame the disturbances and sabotage of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Guided by Chairman Mao's great theory on continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, they persevered with continued revolution. As a result, in the 28 years since the founding of new China, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has been dominant and great achievements have been made. It was Chairman Mao's consistent teaching that we should treat our tasks with the **dialectical** analytical method of one dividing into two. We primarily made achievements in our revolution and construction, but there were also shortcomings and mistakes. Take for example the sphere of education and literature and arts. Chairman Mao confirmed that achievements made during the 17 years before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were primary. In the meantime, in light of disturbances and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi's counterrevolutionary revisionist line and the shortcomings and mistakes in our work, Chairman Mao made many criticisms and led us to make revolutions in the educational, literary and arts and other cultural spheres.

The "gang of four" were sworn enemies to the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. With a view to ultimately opposing and sabotaging the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, they dished up the fallacies of "dictatorship by the sinister line" and "two assessments." Flaunting the sign of "continued revolution," they wantonly distorted, withheld and fabricated Chairman Mao's instructions, totally tampered with Chairman Mao's great theory on continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, spared no efforts to confuse the right and wrong on all fronts so as to confuse the thinking of the people. That made it convenient for them to usurp party and state power and restore capitalism. On the pretext that there were disturbances from Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and shortcomings and mistakes in our work, they painted the 17 years in dark colors. They put up the sinister banner to "work against the 17 years." Taking Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as the sinister line and the achievements as errors, they criticized them and totally negated Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the socialist revolution and construction of our country. In ideology, organization and work, the serious damage done by the "gang of four" in confusing right and wrong and creating chaos went far beyond that experienced in all other line struggles in our party history.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," we have cleared away the great hindrance on our road of continued revolution. The rights and wrongs of the line, ideology and theory were confused by the "gang of four." According to the arrangements of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we should now rectify each one of them, turn them back to the correct course and clarify the source. We must win complete victory in the major political revolution of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four." [paragraph continues]

We must not only thoroughly smash the "gang of four's" bourgeois factional organization but also penetratingly criticize the "gang of four's" reactionary revisionist ideological system.

In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and strive to completely and accurately understand and grasp its ideological system. In particular, we must properly study Chairman Mao's great theory on continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to guide our practical struggle in continued revolution. In the meantime, we must seriously and practically sum up the positive and negative experiences in the past 28 years, confirm the achievements and experiences gained in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, negate the erroneous things caused by the disturbances and sabotage of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," comprehensively and correctly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and continue to make the revolution in educational, cultural and other spheres properly so as to enhance the great socialist cause.

## CREATE A HIGH SPEED

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 78 pp 59-60

[Commentary by Tung Yuan [5516 0626]]

[Text] A new high tide to take full-scale strides forward in national economy is rising. Hundreds of millions of people are determined to build our country into a powerful, modern socialist country by the end of the century. We have to achieve not only greater speed in development than that of the capitalist countries but also greater speed in the first 8 years of the remaining 23 years than we made in the past 28 years. Is it possible for us to realize such a high speed? How can we realize the high speed? Some comrades have not yet found complete answers to these questions.

Wise leader Chairman Hua inspected Tangshan this New Year's Day. He highly praised the revolutionary spirit of the Tangshan working class and praised the Tangshan people's high speed in restoring and expanding production. Chairman Hua said: In the new year, we must grasp the key link of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," strengthen the people's ideological revolutionization, speed up the realization of the four modernizations and create a high speed. This call, which has great strategic significance, has charted the course for realizing high speed.

In order to create high speed, we must be bold enough to break away from conventions and initiate a new course. The heroic Tangshan people have done that. Tangshan was seriously affected by earthquakes. Almost all ground structures collapsed and all the coal pits were flooded. At that time, the "gang of four" and class enemies at home and abroad gloated over our disaster. They thought Tangshan would disappear from the earth and it would be many years before it could again produce coal. However, facts proved their predictions wrong. The Wailuan workers said gallantly: Earthquakes can sabotage our production and disrupt our lives, but they will never shake our determination to strive for high speed. They dared to break away from old conventions and initiate a new course. With the strong support of army-men and people throughout the country, it took them only 8 months to drain away the more than 160 million tons of flood water from the ground. They saved the pits and the coalfields, and set a new record in restoring mines. It took them only 17 months to overcome the effects of the quake and to bring the average daily output of coal back to 70,000 tons. The capitalist countries found these achievements unthinkable. The Tangshan working class and the Chinese people took pride in these achievements.

In blazing new trails and creating high speed, we are bound to encounter all sorts of difficulties. We must create conditions by all means to overcome predicaments. The Kailuan coal miners learned the Taching people's "pioneering" spirit--the spirit to "go ahead with work when the conditions are available and, when they are not available, go ahead by creating the necessary conditions." They set a typical model under which the old enterprise creates conditions, grasps the measures and realizes high speed. Before the quake, they doubled the coal output through tapping latent power, reform and transformation. In 6 years' time, one Kailuan was turned into two and the latent power contributed in developing high speed. After the quake, under even greater difficulties, they again created high speed in overcoming the effects of the quake and restoring and expanding production.

At present, we can see the exceedingly favorable situation of grasping the key link in running the country well and achieving initial success in 1 year. Meanwhile, we should also make an adequate estimate of the various difficulties resulting from the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four." It is certainly no easy task to achieve great success in 3 years and to speed up the realization of the four modernizations. Only by working energetically and ingeniously can we progress vigorously and quickly. For example, take the industrial front. There are inexhaustible latent powers in these enterprises. We must depend primarily on the present foundation and, like Kailuan, increase production through economy and achieve high speed by tapping latent powers. The newly developed and expanded enterprises are still insufficiently equipped. They have all the more need to create necessary conditions to go ahead. They must rely mainly on self-reliance. In preparing for the difficulties, they must bring the people's creativity and initiative into full play and exert all-out efforts to make revolution. We cannot create any condition or get hold of any fruit by just sitting there doing nothing and saying empty words and bragging. The idea of "waiting for help, depending on help and asking for help" crops up in the minds of some comrades whenever high speed is mentioned. They look to their superiors and stretch out their hands for help. They ask for investment, equipment and materials. It seems that in the absence of these conditions, they cannot make high speed. This is incorrect.

Should we follow the conventions and take the beaten track, or should we break away from conventions and blaze new trails? Should we brag, make a lot of noise and "wait for help, depend on help and ask for help," or should we work hard and enthusiastically and create conditions by all means?

These are the struggles of two kinds of ideologies for high speed. How should we settle this problem? It is of key importance to do a good job of people's ideological revolutionization. We must first grasp the leading body's ideological revolutionization. Miracles created in Kailuan supply the best proof. In Kailuan, they had a strong leading body and a **SPECIALLY MILITANT** heroic contingent which deserved the praise of great leader and teacher Chairman Mao. In 1977, they won two great victories. They won a victory in exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and won a victory in fighting the quake and in providing relief to disaster victims and restoring and expanding production. They realized a leap forward from **MATTER TO CONSCIOUSNESS AND FROM CONSCIOUSNESS TO MATTER** and their ideological revolutionization brought about high speed in production.

Let us respond with determination to the call of Chairman Hua. In the new year, let us join in the drive for ideological revolutionization and create high speed with bold actions.

AN INQUIRY INTO THINKING IN TERMS OF IMAGES--STUDYING 'CHAIRMAN MAO'S LETTER TO COMRADE CHEN I DISCUSSING POETRY'

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 78 pp 61-65

[Article by Pu Man-chun [3184 3341 2504]]

[Text] Like a clap of spring thunder, the publication of "Chairman Mao's Letter to Comrade Chen I Discussing Poetry" caused quite a big stir across the land. It inspired the vast number of revolutionary literary and art workers, who for many years had suffered deeply from the vile effects of the theory of the "dictatorship of the sinister line in literature and art" trumpeted by the "gang of four" and the bourgeois cultural despotism they practiced. After studying Chairman Mao's letter, they were fired with enthusiasm and worked all the more energetically.

In his letter Chairman Mao fully affirmed and gave a high rating to the importance of using images to convey ideas in artistic creation. He pointed out that /"poetry uses images to convey ideas"/ and said: /"Most Sung poets did not understand that poetry must convey ideas by means of images, and they disregarded the tradition of Tang poetry, with the result that what they wrote was quite flat."/ He added: /"To write modern poetry we must use the method of conveying ideas through images in reflecting class struggle and the struggle for production."/ This clearly shows that thinking in terms of images is the law and method of artistic creation. To produce fine works of literature and art we must follow this law and apply this method. Otherwise, works of literature and art will lose their artistic appeal and sound flat.

On the controversial question of conveying ideas by means of images, some comrades published articles which held that "the theory of using modern images to convey ideas contradicts the Marxist theory of knowledge and is based on the theory of cognition of the modern revisionist trend of thought in literature and art." In negating the use of images to convey ideas and heaping charges on it, they caused confusion regarding the issue. Now, earnestly studying Chairman Mao's letter to Comrade Chen I and conducting a searching inquiry into the question of conveying

Ideas by means of Images are of immense significance in making clear the right and wrong regarding this issue, in grasping the laws of artistic creation, and in promoting a flourishing development of socialist literary and art creation.

### /Conveying Ideas Through Images in Literary and Art Creation/

According to the Marxist theory of knowledge, thinking is a reflection of being, using images or logic to convey ideas as the two different methods of man's understanding of reality. Generally speaking, those engaged in scientific research convey their ideas mainly by means of logic, while those engaged in artistic creation think primarily in terms of images. These two different methods of conveying ideas have to follow the general laws of cognition, though the latter is different from the former and has clear-cut characteristics.

Conveying ideas by means of images is a prerequisite for literary and art creation. In reflecting reality, literature and art do not rely on concepts as science does but depict actual life by means of images so as to portray typical images of marked individuality. Thus, artistic generalization rather than scientific abstraction must be used to select and refine, from a large amount of phenomena in life, data of sense perception of individual characteristics, and these must be recast into vivid artistic images in order to reveal certain essential aspects of life in society. Therefore, in the process of artistic generalizations, what is essential and what is individual are interpenetrating and closely interwoven with each other, and the process of thinking is always accompanied by images.

Speaking of his own experience in creative writing, Comrade Liu Pai-yu said: "To a writer, it is the concrete and moving images in life that strike him and give him ideas and knowledge. Only through these complex images in life can he refine his understanding and give himself some ideas and some poetic feeling, this being the soul of his work. However, these can be achieved only when their typical images and details are most appropriately expressed to give a bright luster to artistic images that reflect life. What is particularly noteworthy is that both often appear together in a writer's mind." ("A Writer on His Experience in Creative Writing," China Youth Publishing House, First Edition, 1959, p 31)

What Comrade Liu Pai-yu referred to in the above passage distinguishes the use of images to convey ideas from the use of logic for the same purpose, and artistic generalization from scientific abstraction. This is because what is scientifically abstract tends to reject vivid data of sense perception and to incorporate essence into abstract concepts. It is clearly impossible to accomplish artistic creation without using images to convey ideas.

Of course, advocating the use of images to convey ideas does not imply that literary and art creation can go against the logic of life. Unlike conveying ideas by means of logic, using images to convey ideas is particularly rich in imagination, is good at association and permits exaggeration. What is virtually impossible, irrational and untruthful in using logic to convey ideas is not only possible, acceptable and logical in thinking in terms of images but is real in the artistic sense. These are manifested in poetic analogy and association, the exaggeration of art, personification of things of nature, fantasies in fairy tales, etc.

For example, the folk song "Singing of Mao Tse-tung" likens great leader Chairman Mao to "the rain for transplanting rice, the summer breeze, the never-setting red sun and the wind that fills the sails." This poetic approach by means of analogy and association, like association in art, is impossible if inference by logic is used. But in conveying ideas by means of images it is man's feeling that associates the two images in a natural way. The use of these cleverly put similies in a song is responsible for arousing the people's unbounded feelings of gratitude and love for great leader Chairman Mao.

Another example is this line in a poem by Li Po: "White hair that stretches as far as 30,000 feet." This is something illogical, but in terms of using images to convey ideas this kind of overstatement is fully in accord with logic. Everyone knows that an apprehensive person tends to get gray hair. Therefore, the line "white hair that stretches as far as 30,000 feet" graphically, strikingly and forcefully shows the depth of the writer's anxiety, and this is permitted in art.

As another example, a writer of fairy tales often depicts many things that are quite improbable in this world, things that scientifically do not correspond to logic. As Mr Lu Hsun said, "Even in the case of portraying demons, such as the monkey Sun Wu-kung turning a somersault across hundreds of thousands of li and the pig becoming a groom at Kaolaochuang, not improbably there is someone among us who resembles them in spirit." ("Collected Works of Lu Hsun," Vol VI, p 422) This means that regardless of the fact that fairy tales are simply fantasies, they are rooted in practical life and correspond to the logic of life. This is because art seeks to achieve not only "resemblance in form" but also "resemblance in spirit" to reality.

In short, the process of conveying ideas by means of images is the process of artistic generalization, i.e., the process of typification. Using its particular form, following the general laws of the thinking process and employing artistic generalization and typification, it achieves in works of art the unity of image, sentiment and substance of things. It is entirely groundless to disavow the characteristics of thinking by means of images and to negate its existence.

/Is Using Images To Convey Ideas "A System That Contradicts the Marxist Theory of Knowledge"?/

The question of whether thinking in terms of images runs counter to the Marxist theory of knowledge is an important issue that must be clarified. Some people view the use of images to convey ideas as "a kind of intuitionism that is allied to mysticism," "a system that contradicts the Marxist theory of knowledge."

Are the facts really so?

In the history of aesthetics, Belinskiy holds that "poets convey their ideas by means of images" and that art is "thinking that resides in images." Before him, many people had conducted studies on the special functions of thinking in the creation of art based on the relationship between imagination and intellect. For example, early 18th century Italian philosopher Vico set imagination and intellect apart. He held that "the weaker the reasoning, the more powerful imagination will be" and asserted that "poetry can be explained only by its flight of fancy and its acceptance of the verdict of perception." He contended that "the nature of poetry determines that nobody can be both a great poet and a great philosopher." ("A Collection of Translations of Classical Literary and Art Theories," Vol XI, People's Literature Publishing House, 1966 Edition, pp 22, 23) This interpretation of artistic creation as a mere manifestation of perceptual knowledge was the prevailing view at that time. With this view in mind, Hegel called for "unity of spiritual and perceptual aspects in artistic creation." He said, "The materials for fashioning art are not ideas, as in philosophy, but are the external images of reality." (Ibid., pp 42, 43) He added, "Esthetics is the perceptual manifestation of ideas." ("Esthetics," Vol I, People's Literature Publishing House, 1962 Edition, p 138)

Here Hegel for the first time clearly unified image and perception with idea and reason, though he did not use the phrase "thinking in terms of images." This shows that Hegel's esthetic viewpoint incorporated dialectical and rational elements. However, Belinskiy's view of "conveying ideas by means of images" was developed from Hegel's view mentioned above. As regards nonrational intuitionism, with Croce as its exponent, it directly evolved from Vico's esthetic viewpoint. This shows that viewing the use of images to convey ideas as intuitionism and mysticism in promoting literary and artistic creation is not in accord with the realities of the history of esthetics.

A struggle between idealist and materialist theories has in fact existed in the past in defining the use of images to convey ideas. Although the views held by Hegel and Belinskiy embrace dialectical and rational elements in defining the relationship between image and thinking, their reasoning did not go beyond the bounds of idealism. However, conveying ideas by means of images, which we advocate, rests on the concept of



dialectical materialism, and this wholly conforms to the Marxist theory of knowledge.

The Marxist theory of knowledge defines man's knowledge as derived from practice. It is through practice that people accumulate a vast amount of data of sense perception and form the perceptual stage of knowledge. But /"the perceptual stage of knowledge remains to be developed into the rational stage"/ ("On Practice"), for rational knowledge can dynamically guide practice. The whole process of knowing embraces making the two leaps from matter to spirit and from spirit to matter. Conveying ideas by means of images in the process of literary and art creation embraces making the first leap in the process of knowing.

In "On Practice" Chairman Mao pointed out that to make a leap from perceptual to rational knowledge called for /"the exercise of thought to reconstruct the rich data of sense perception, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside."/ Thinking in terms of images wholly corresponds to the general laws of this process of knowing.

When artists select from the rich data of sense perception they have obtained from practical life, grasp those phenomena that can effectively reflect the nature of life, and generalize them into artistic images, are they not discarding the dross and retaining the true? They must use their creative imagination to go from one aspect of the phenomena of life to another so as to discover the internal relations of all aspects. Only then is it possible to refine the many aspects of the phenomena of life and recast them into vivid patterns of typical images of individual characteristics. Such images are no longer isolated phenomena in life but a reflection of certain essential aspects of life. Isn't this a process of "from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside"?

A successful work of art is by no means a hodgepodge of certain data of sense perception but is a product of human knowledge in its rational stage. However, the rational knowledge of works of art is not an expression of abstract concepts but manifests itself in concrete images. Conveying ideas by means of images, as applied in artistic creation, thus wholly corresponds to the principle of the theory of reflection of "from perceptual to rational knowledge." It is by no means a "system that contradicts the Marxist theory of knowledge."

The opponents of using images to convey ideas on the one hand rejected thinking in terms of images as a "system that contradicts the Marxist theory of knowledge" and, on the other, "evolved" the following formula: "The general thinking process of writers engaged in creative work embraces: appearance (direct images of things)--concept (idea)--appearance (newly created images). In other words, this consists of:

individual (multitudinous)--general--typical." They called this formula a derivative of the application of the Marxist theory of knowledge to the definition of literary and art creation. It appears that their formula was the only correct one. Let us, then, contrast this formula with the Marxist theory of knowledge to find out what will come out of it.

This formula contains two "appearances." According to the person who evolved it, the first appearance "is the middle segment of matter to ideas," while the second appearance is the reverse, i.e., "from ideas to matter." In this sense the former is identified as the stage of "from matter to ideas" and the latter as that of "from ideas to matter." What, then, is the stage of "from ideas to matter," and how can ideas be converted into matter?

Marx said, /"Once theory is in the grasp of the masses, it will also become a material force."/ ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol I, p 460) Chairman Mao said, /"Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world."/ ("Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?") This shows that, fundamentally speaking, to become a material force an idea must be /"grasped by the masses."/ As far as literature and art are concerned, this means they are accepted by the masses, who are informed and educated by works which /"awaken the masses, fire them with enthusiasm and impel them to unite and struggle to transform their environment."/ ("Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art") Only thus can literature and art turn into a material force. The formula referred to above is identified with the process of artistic conception and creation and is not related to the social functions of literature and art beyond making the first leap of "from matter to idea." This is because such works have not yet been accepted by the masses. Since they have not produced any impact upon the objective external world, how can it be said that they have become a material force which changes society and changes the world? Won't this interpretation contradict the Marxist theory of knowledge?

Contrasting the formula cited above with the two stages defined by Chairman Mao in the first leap of knowing, perceptual and rational knowledge, the first "appearance" or "individual" should be identified as the perceptual stage, while "concept" or "general" should be identified as the rational stage. However, as which stage of the first leap of knowing will the second "appearance" or "typical" be classified? Will there be a "third stage"? This three-stage theory of artistic creation, conceived with the intention of splitting the rational stage of knowledge, separated concepts from typical images and interpreted the latter as having been transformed from the former. No wonder the person who evolved this formula unabashedly declared: "When necessary, people can proceed from concepts back to perceptual images."

Is it true that concepts can transform into typical images? No. Chairman Mao taught us: /"Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society."/ ("Talks at the Yenai Forum on Literature and Art") Typical images are derived solely from life, not from concepts, much less from concepts plus images. The three-stage theory of artistic creation, which artificially tears apart the process of molding typical images organically linked with character and individuality and requires writers to abandon first of all phenomena in life so as to gain abstract concepts, dresses these concepts with images. If this theory is followed in artistic creation, it will be impossible to portray typical images that embody the essence of life and strikingly individual substance. Consequently, only false impressions of people and events are produced to illustrate certain abstract concepts. Clearly, this theory for creative work will result in repetitiveness and stereotyped formulas and concepts and lead socialist literature and art into a blind alley.

/Will Conveying Ideas by Means of Images Negate the Guiding Function of the Marxist World View?/

The world outlook guides men's thinking, speech and actions. In the thinking process, whether it is to convey ideas by means of logic or images, man is guided and restrained by his world outlook. The relationship between the world outlook and thinking in terms of images is one between the guide and the guided. This is an incontrovertible question. However, some people regard conveying ideas by means of images as irreconcilably opposed to the Marxist world view. They contend that to advocate using images to convey ideas is to contradict "the potential guiding function of the Marxist world view."

It is true that there are people who fall into the category described above, such as certain revisionist literary and art theoreticians abroad and Hu Feng at home. However, this is due to their distortion of conveying ideas by means of images and not to the fault of the process itself. We advocate the theory of using images to convey ideas without rejecting the guiding function of the Marxist world view. On the contrary, we have always stressed the guiding role of the Marxist world view regarding literary and art creation. This is because under present historical conditions one is guided and restrained either by the Marxist world view or by the non-Marxist or anti-Marxist world view. There is nothing in between.

The Marxist world view is the most correct, scientific and advanced world outlook. Only by arming himself with this world view can a revolutionary writer or artist correctly and deeply understand and reflect complex and complicated practical life, correctly and effectively apply the process of using images to convey ideas in the production of works of unified ideological and artistic content. Therefore, Chairman Mao enjoined us when advocating the use of images to convey ideas in literary

and art creation: /"Marxism-Leninism is a science which all revolutionaries should study. Literary and art workers are no exception."/ ("Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art")

The opponents of using images to convey ideas argued that failure to use logic to convey ideas in producing works of art was to reject guidance by the Marxist world view. This meant equating the use of logic to convey ideas with the Marxist world view. As a branch of science the Marxist world outlook represents the highest achievement of human thinking, while using logic to convey ideas is a method for exercising thought, or an ideological form. How is it possible to equate ideological gains with ideological forms?

As regards the use of logic or images to convey ideas, the two are parallel and not conflicting methods of expressing ideas. In the ideological process of understanding the objective external world, men can use both alternatively, supplementing one with the other. However, there is no distinction between using logic or images to convey ideas, such as elevating one and subordinating the other, much less the relationship between the guide and the guided. Both require guidance by the Marxist world view. This is because only under the guidance of the Marxist world view can the process of thinking (regardless of whether logic or images is used to convey ideas) be correctly and more effectively carried out.

While we stress the guiding role of the Marxist world view in literary and art creation, we are not in favor of using the Marxist view as a substitute for using images to convey ideas. Chairman Mao said, /"To study Marxism means to apply the dialectical materialist and historical materialist viewpoint in our observation of the world, of society and of literature and art; it does not mean writing philosophical lectures into our works of literature and art."/ ("Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art")

Using images to convey ideas is an objective law of artistic creation. Only by following this law and employing the method of using images to convey ideas in the process of producing works of art can Marxism give full play to its role of guiding artistic creation and make works of art achieve /"unity of revolutionary political content with the greatest possible extent of perfect artistic form."/ ("Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art")

Using images to convey ideas is an important question in literary and art theories and creation. What is using images to convey ideas and what are its characteristics? What role does it play in artistic creation? What is its relationship with using logic to convey ideas and with the Marxist world view? These problems require searching exploration and discussion before they can be made clear.

However, in order to trumpet the revisionist theories and methods for creative work, such as manipulating literature and art and using them for conspiratorial purposes, "the theme playing the leading role," "proceeding from the line" and "giving prominence to three things," the "gang of four" ran completely counter to the laws for creative work and opposed the use of images to convey ideas. This caused serious harm to artistic creation.

We maintain that making clear the question of using images to convey ideas is helpful to criticizing the "gang of four's" revisionist line in literature and art and stamping out its pernicious influence. In this article we put forward some crude views on the question of using images to convey ideas in line with the policy of /"letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend"/, in the hope that through discussion and study we can gain a correct understanding of using images to convey ideas. Led by wise leader Chairman Hua, let us advance in big strides along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art and greet a spring of blossoming flowers!

CERTAIN MATERIAL REGARDING 'THINKING IN TERMS OF IMAGES'

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 78 pp 66-73

[Article by the literary and art theory group of the Institute of Literature]

[Text] /I. Some Expositions in Ancient China Concerning the Characteristics of Ideas of Literary and Art Creation/

The term "thinking in terms of images" did not exist in ancient China. "Chairman Mao's Letter to Comrade Chen I Discussing Poetry" pointed out: /"Poetry uses images to convey ideas"/ and /"so we cannot dispense with pi (similies and metaphors) or with hsing (association)."/ The concepts of "pi and hsing" were found in the book "Propriety of Chou." In it, the chapter on "Officials in Charge of Rites and Maestros" said: "There are six ways of writing poetry. They are: feng (description), fu (direct statement), pi, hsing, ya (sophistication) and sung (acclamation)." According to Cheng Hsuan's explanations, pi means "speaking of an object by comparing it to another similar object," and hsing means "persuading someone with the example of good deeds." What he meant was that pi and hsing were comparisons and similes or metaphors. In his annotation of "Great Introduction to Poetry," Kung Ying-ta took the view that "feng, ya and sung are the different bodies of 'poetry,' while fu, pi and hsing are its different rhetorics." It can be seen that both he and Cheng Hsuan regarded fu, pi and hsing as methods of expression in poems and songs.

Liu Hsieh of the Liang dynasty devoted a whole chapter of his book "The Literary Mind and Carving of Dragons" to the discussion of pi and hsing. He thought that pi meant that "one who argues with a reason presents his viewpoint through an analogy," and hsing meant that "one expresses his feelings by referring to an object." He revealed more definitively the relationship between the application of similes and metaphors and the presentation of reason by means of images in the creation of poems and songs. He said: "As hsing means the use of analogies, they are written in a persuasive manner; the subject may be small, and there is a wide variety of analogies to choose from." "The reason of pi is grounded in

ever-changing analogies: analogies as to the sound, the appearance, the heart or deeds."

Chung Jung in his "On Poetry" also contended that the poet in the course of creation must attach equal weight to fu, pi and hsing. He said: "Therefore, poetry has three meanings: hsing, pi and fu. When the lines reach their end and the implication is still to be pondered, that is hsing; when an object is used to illustrate the intention, that is pi; when an event is narrated in a straightforward manner, that is fu. When these three means are used generously and with discretion, a poem will have the force of the wind and the luster of red bamboo. Those who like its flavor will have the ultimate; those who hear it will be touched. That is the perfection of poetry." He related the artistic nature of poems and songs directly to the means of expression of pi, hsing and fu.

Poets of the Tang dynasty paid extremely serious attention to pi and hsing. Chen Tzu-ang said: "If pi and hsing are applied to poems, how can they not be remarkable?" ("Preface to Songs of a Drunken Man Who Likes Horses and Enlists in the Army") Pai Chu-i went further and said: "What is the meaning of poetry? With the six ways complementing one another, and with feng, ya, pi and hsing applied, there can be no poems without meaning." ("Reading Chang Chi's Classical Musical Score") Chiao Jan said in his "Forms of Poetry": "Of the six ways, pi and hsing may be briefly discussed. Pi means the drawing of images and hsing the drawing of meaning, and meaning is that of images. Among all the phenomena of nature, including beasts, fish, grass, trees and men, similar meanings and categories are all included in pi and hsing....." The phrase "the meaning of images" may be said to touch the characteristics of using images to convey ideas: the linkage between image and meaning.

Chu Hsi of the Sung dynasty in his "Collections of Poems and Classics" said: "Pi means comparing this object with that object." "Hsing means speaking first of something else to lead up to the main theme." Although these explanations of pi and hsing differ slightly in concrete terms, on the whole they are taken to mean that either in the case of pi or in the case of hsing the image of an object is used to convey a definite meaning. Subsequently, many talks on shih and tzu\* also touched on the problems of pi and hsing, but in theory they rarely gave any new notion.

Apart from pi and hsing in poetry, ancient China also offered certain expositions concerning the process and characteristics of thinking for literary and art creation.

In the Chin [2516] dynasty, Lu-chi's "Wen Fu" was the first systematic theoretical work in the history of literary and art thinking in our country. In the preface the author said: "Whenever I think of writing

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\*shih: poems with largely an equal number of characters in each verse;  
tzu: poems with unequal numbers of characters in each verse.

an essay, I pay particular attention to the feeling. I am constantly worried that the meaning may not fit the object, and in such a case the essay will not carry its idea." Concerning the relationship between the object, the meaning and the words, he demanded that the idea correspond with the external object and that the words convey the idea. Having the idea correspond with the external object embodies the need to reflect the implication and image of the external object. Dealing with the process of creation, he said that when one began to write one had to concentrate on thinking, and the world of thinking was extremely broad, that in the course of forming an idea one's emotions would become clearer and clearer and so would the images, and that these emotions and images were to be expressed by skillful language. He showed that the process of thinking in literary and art creation not only could not depart from images but was also accompanied by strong feelings. This is a most noteworthy point.

Later, the chapter "Skillful Thinking" in Liu Hsieh's "The Literary Mind and Carving of Dragons" explained the process of thinking in literary and art creation in more concrete terms: "Thinking can go very far. One can think quietly, with his thought going back to the past thousand years and seeing ten thousand li beyond. As he thinks, words flow from his mouth and scenes float across his eyes, and then he can write volume after volume. As he thinks, consciousness and matter become identified, and with ideas formed in his mind he feels the urge to write, words flowing to his pen...." This likewise shows that the writer in the course of his creation did not suffer from any inhibitions of time and space for his thinking and imagination, and his mind was full of lively and vivid images. It also shows the relationship between such thinking and its expression in language. The last section, "Tsan," of the chapter "Skillful Thinking" sums it all up by saying: "Thinking is conceived in image and in the change of feelings. As the object is judged by its appearance, the mind responds to reason." These characteristics of "Skillful Thinking" were close to the characteristics of conveying ideas through images that people of later generations discussed. The chapter "The Color of the Object" in "The Literary Mind and Carving of Dragons" also revealed that artistic ideas came from the perceptual impressions of things, from the author's reception of things surrounding him, but that it was anything but easy to have the ideas accurately reflect the image of the object, so that the accomplishment of this task varied from one individual to another. In the preface to his work "On Poetry," Chung Jung maintained that the changing scenes and objects of the four seasons affected the feeling of the poet as did the vicissitude of social life. And so, he added, the poet had to vent his emotions in his poems or songs. The images of scenes and objects could not but affect the poet in the creation of his works.



## /II. Brief Introduction to Expositions on "Thinking in Terms of Images" in European History/

The term "thinking in terms of images" was also absent in literary and art and philosophical works in the history of Western Europe. In the Chinese translation of Hegel's "Esthetics," Vol I, p 6, the original text of "freedom of creation and thinking in terms of images" is this: "Die Freiheit der Produktion und der Gestaltungen." In this sentence the word "gestaltungen" meant only "formation," "the structural form" or "image molding." It was quite inappropriate to render it as "thinking in terms of images."

However, before such terms as "thinking in terms of images" appeared, scholars often had similar views concerning literary and art creation. For instance, the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) regarded literature and art as the "imitation" of the external world by men. ("Poetry") He believed that "imagination is faded perception." ("Rhetorics") This shows that he more or less observed the connection between literary and art creation and the perceptual images. The Greek philosopher Philostratus (circa 170-245) of the Roman period introduced in his works the Aristotlean theory developed by the ancient Greek philosopher Apollonius (circa the first century), linking "imagination" with the art of type molding and calling it "image created by the heart." ("The Life of Apollonius of Tyana")

The Italian philosopher Mazzoni (1548-1598) expounded on "imagination" with the characteristics of literary and art creation, saying: "Poems and songs are composed of fiction and imagination, because they are based on the power of imagination." "Imagination is a psychological function needed both for dreaming and for the vividness of poetry." ("In Defense of the Song of the God") The German philosopher Leibnitz (1646-1716) believed that among the ideas of men there was one kind which was devoid of images and another which contained images. He described the application of the former kinds of ideas as "thinking without eyes or symbols," and he regarded the knowledge of the application of the latter kind of ideas as "knowledge of images." ("Meditation Over Knowledge, Truth and Ideas") This came close to the subsequent distinction between "abstract thinking" (or "logical thinking") and "thinking in terms of images." The Italian philosopher Vico (1668-1744) further developed this viewpoint, saying: "Philosophy removes the soul from the sensation, while poetry should soak the entire soul in the sensation." He thought that the meaning of poetry was to "use images to express generic or universal concepts" (generi o universali fantastici). ("New Learning") The German philosopher Hegel (1770-1831) also expounded a similar viewpoint, saying: "The philosophical form is unnecessary to the artist. If the artist thinks according to the philosophical form, he will, as far as the form of knowledge is concerned, interfere with a thing that is antagonistic to art. This is because the task of imagination consists merely of knowing the ideas rationalized as concrete images and individual

practical objects and not in knowing them in the form of universal propositions and concepts." ("Esthetics," Vol I, p 349)

The practice of definitively linking the two words "image" and "idea" first appeared in the works of the Russian literary critic Belinskiy (1811-1848). In his "'Russian Children's Tales' Told by Ivan (Vaninko)," published in 1838, he said: "Poems and songs are nothing but ideas that reside in images." In an article entitled "Conception of Art," published in 1840, he further asserted: "Art is observation of truth by direct sensation, or an idea that resides in images." In an explanatory note to this article he particularly pointed out: "This definition is seen in the Russian language for the first time." When he wrote these words, Belinskiy was still under the influence of Hegel's objective idealism. Here the so-called "truth" actually meant "an idea" that existed objectively. And talking about the process of literary and art creation, Belinskiy also adopted this proposition in some of his writings: "To think in terms of images." For instance, in "The Pain of Wisdom," written in 1839, he said: "The poet thinks in terms of images; he does not prove truth but reveals it." "What appears in the mind of the poet is an image, not an idea, and because of the image he fails to see the idea." After 1841 Belinskiy no longer mentioned "thinking that resides in images," and his general usages with regard to literary and art creation were "imagination" and "creative imagination." Nevertheless, he still discussed "to think in terms of images" or "to think in terms of images and pictures." In his "First Essay of 'Collected Works by Derzhavin,'" published in 1843, he observed: "In poetry, imagination is the principal active force, and the process of creation can be accomplished only through imagination. There is discussion and thinking in regard to poems and songs, and this is good, because their content, like that of images, is also truth. However, poems and songs are discussed and thought over in terms of images and pictures, not in terms of the trisection theory and the two-end theory. All feelings and all ideas must be expressed in terms of images before they can have rich poetic meaning." He also said: "No one can become a poet if he does not possess creative imagination that enables him to turn ideas into images and to think, discuss and feel in terms of images, even though he has wisdom, feeling, faith and the strength of belief and his works have reasonable and rich historical and contemporary content." Speaking of literary and art creation, he also held this viewpoint: "The poet never deliberately develops a certain idea and never fixes himself a subject: his image occurs in his imagination beyond his control." ("The Pain of Wisdom") Although these views of Belinskiy were influenced by idealism that he embraced in his early days and certain of his viewpoints were not entirely correct, his intention was clear: to show the characteristics of literary and art phenomena through such propositions as "thinking that resides in images" and "to think in terms of images." This rational element was inherited in later years.

After Belinskiy, some Russian writers such as Turgenev (1818-1883) and Goncharov (1812-1891) touched on the meaning of "thinking in terms of images" when dealing with their creative experience. The literary critic Chernyshevskiy (1828-1889), though mentioning only "imagination," identified himself with Belinskiy on the image of "imagination" and its distinction from scientific thinking. Another literary critic, Dobrolyubov (1836-1861), however, further developed Belinskiy's viewpoint in the context of the relationship between literature and art and literary and art creative activities. He said: "The differences between the method of writing poems and that of writing specialized theoretical treatises are usually these. These differences are in accord with the differences in the ways of thinking between the artist and the thinker: the former thinks concretely and never misses any phenomenon or image, while the latter strives to generalize everything and turn individual characteristics into common formulas." ("A Ray of Light in the Kingdom of Darkness")

Plekhanov (1856-1918), on the premise of critically dealing with Belinskiy's idealism in his early life, introduced Belinskiy's viewpoint in an affirmative tone and, moreover, amplified it. When dealing with the characteristics of images of literary and art phenomena in his early years, Plekhanov generally pointed out the dialectical relationship between men's "logical power" and "intuitive power." He said: "A real artist always seeks the help of intuitive power. A tendentious work always tries its best to arouse in us consideration of the general interests; in other words, in the final analysis it reacts on our logical power." ("Letter Without an Address")

After the 1920's, other propositions similar to "thinking that resides in images" and "to think in terms of images" were advanced. For instance, in his writings in 1925, Lunacharskiy (1875-1933) introduced a proposition by Krupskaya (1869-1939): "To think by means of images." ("The Road of Contemporary Literature") The great proletarian writer Gorkiy (1868-1936), aside from "thinking in terms of images," in his letter to Y. B. (Poligutov) in 1927 used this proposition, "explore in thinking by means of images," and set it against "explore in thinking by means of spoken words." In the article "How I Study and Write," published in 1928, Gorkiy also mentioned "thinking by means of images" in order to explain "imagination." He said: "Imagination in its essence is also thinking of the world, but its thinking is mainly by means of images, that is, thinking of 'artistic nature.'"

So far as we know, the earliest example of turning the definitive words "images" for "thinking" into a term, namely, the later-known term "thinking in terms of images," was found in a speech entitled "Strive To Become a Dialectical-Materialist Artist" delivered in 1930 by writer Fadeyev (1901-1956). Criticizing the hollow abstractions in literary and art creation, he said: "This is no longer thinking in terms of images." Explaining "thinking in terms of images," he pointed out:

"While the scientist thinks in terms of concepts, the artist thinks in terms of images. What does this mean? It means that the artist transmits the essence of a phenomenon not through the abstraction of the concrete phenomenon but through concrete revelation and portrayal of what directly exists. The artist reveals the law through the revelation of the phenomenon itself, reveals the general through particular revelations and reveals the whole through partial revelations, so as to seemingly create the fantasy of life in the direct reality of life." After that, Lunacharskiy in his article "Heine--the Thinker," written in 1934, used terms similar to "thinking in terms of images": "thinking in terms of concrete images" and "thinking in terms of sensational images." And he regarded their opposites as "thinking in terms of concepts." In 1935 Gorkiy, in a letter addressed to A. S. Shcherbakov, also used the term "thinking in terms of images." He said: "The artist's thinking in terms of images is based on his broad knowledge of real life, supplemented by the intuitive desire for the most perfect form of material--supplementing the present things with the possible and desired things. Such thinking in terms of images also can be 'foreseen.' In other words, art of socialist realism has the right to exaggeration--'speculation.'"

In short, these propositions and terms emphasize the characteristics of artistic thinking. While explaining "thinking in terms of images," Fadeyev mentioned the phrase "intuitive impression," which also reflected this demand. He said: "A work of art is a system composed of many images"; and "the process of creation begins when the artist derives intuitive impression from the existing reality." But to the socialist writers, this of course does not mean rejecting conscious socialist ideas as the premise for literary and art creation. After pointing out the effect of the writer's world outlook on "intuitive impression," Fadeyev said: "Needless to say, the artist is not an automatic recording machine, because he is a social man who has his own inherent class mentality. Therefore, the impression he derives from reality is an expression of his social individuality, his class world outlook and his personal characteristics and temperament. However, the artist cannot merely confine himself to intuitive impression, for by this means he cannot gain an insight into the essence of a phenomenon." When discussing "thinking in terms of images," Gorkiy emphatically pointed out that "thinking in terms of images" embodies "prediction" or "speculation," and it also embodies "comparison" and "study." Yet creative literary and art activities "also must be subordinated to abstract laws." ("How I Study and Write") Gorkiy placed great emphasis on the role of "reason" and "logic" in literary and art creative activities. He ridiculed those who believed in "subconsciousness" and in "intuition more than reason." He advocated: "The artist should make an effort to balance his imaginative power with his logical, intuitive and rational power." ("Conversations With Young Writers")

### /III. The Debate on "Thinking in Terms of Images" in Our Academic Circles After the Founding of the PRC/

In our country, since works on literary and art theories by Gorkiy, the Russian revolutionary democrat Belinskiy and others were translated and introduced, the term "thinking in terms of images" began to be used in some related works. After the liberation, many works on literary and art theories and textbooks on liberal arts in institutions of higher education discussed thinking in terms of images, as did the press. The main problems touched on and the views of a representative nature discussed are now summarized below:

#### 1. Does thinking in terms of images exist? If so, why does it exist?

The majority of opinions affirm the existence of thinking in terms of images, but views are not entirely the same when it comes to the question of why it exists.

Some people, basing themselves on the peculiar objects reflected in, and the forms of, literature and art, say: "As literature and art are peculiar not only in the portrayal of objects but also in the forms of reality reflected, the way of thinking in knowing reality in literature and art differs from the way of thinking in knowing reality in science. In general, this peculiar way of thinking in knowing reality in literature and art is known as thinking in terms of images in order to distinguish it from logical thinking in knowing reality in the field of science." ("New Theories of Literature and Art (Revised Edition)," Shantung People's Publishing House, 2d printing, p 221, 1962)

Others, basing themselves on the images of works of literature and art, say: "As images are lively and concrete pictures of life shown in the works and have individualized perceptual forms, the writer in creating these images cannot use the logical form of abstraction in working out his plot but must apply the perceptual form, which in itself is lively and concrete. This way of working out a plot we call the way of thinking in terms of images." ("On the Characteristics of Literature and Art," Shanghai New Literature and Art Publishing House, 1957 printing, p 53)

Still others, basing themselves on the different psychological types of men, say: "Is there thinking in terms of images? The answer is yes. Many grounds for this can be found in psychology. For instance, Pavlov, in light of the different characteristics of the mutual relationship between the first and second signal systems, divided man's higher nervous activities into three types: the artistic type, the analytical type and the intermediary type." "For people of the artistic type, when they are in the process of thinking, the activity of the first signal system occupies a more outstanding position. These people are good at imagination; in the activity of thinking there are always many concrete

images floating across their minds." "This is one of the characteristics of the artist and artistic creation: 'a stream of ideas surfaces,' good at linking them in a creative way, good at making concrete imagination of concrete images, namely, good thinking in terms of images." ("A Tentative Discussion on Thinking in Terms of Images," LITERARY REVIEW, 1959, No 2, pp 101, 102)

Among those who deny the existence of thinking in terms of images, there are mainly two bodies of opinions:

One holds that the term "thinking in terms of images" is incorrect and unscientific. "If man's thinking refers to the correct thinking of a normal person, there is but one basic characteristic and law, but the content of thinking can be of different kinds. So far as thinking is concerned, the characteristics of literature and art, like those of other things, are shown not in the way of thinking but in the content of thinking." "It cannot be said that, apart from the differences in things under observation and study, the writer and the artist have any particular ideas which are different from those of the masses in the course of observing and knowing reality. The writer or the artist devotes his attention to catching the image of things, but in no way should this be described as thinking in terms of images." "The activity of thinking is man's rational activity in knowing reality, and what is called thinking must mean the cerebral activity moving from one stage to another. Therefore, there can be no thinking without concepts, judgments and deductions. It may be asked: If there are only some images but no concepts, judgments and deductions, and if one follows with his eyes from one image to another, how then can one think? And how can this be called thinking?" Comrades who hold these opinions also argue that the term "thinking in terms of images" may cause a series of misunderstandings: "that art is very mysterious and the writer or the artist has his own unique thinking, that all one has to do is to collect the images through his sensory organs without having to carry out penetrating study of practical problems of society, that the writer or the artist requires only quick sensation without having to have lofty ideas and feelings or to be guided by progressive ideas, and even that all rational activities are hostile to literature and art." ("On the Characteristics of Literature and Art," People's Literature Publishing House, 1958 edition, pp 135, 137, 139, 150, and 145)

There is another body of opinions which holds that "what is known as thinking in terms of images is none other than an anti-Marxist theory of knowledge, a theoretical basis for the modern revisionist trend of thought for literature and art." "This so-called theory is merely fabricated by one who ignores commonsense and departs from reality." "To think and to discover the essence of things, it is necessary to apply the method of abstraction. There can be no thinking without abstraction. The theory of thinking in terms of images takes 'not through abstraction' as the characteristic of thinking in terms of

images. This is the most basic error of this 'theory.'" "The theory of thinking in terms of images, a theory of knowledge which dispenses with concepts, abstraction and logic and which attempts to recognize the essence of things from one image to another, is obviously a kind of intuitionism and therefore also a system of mysticism. Such thinking does not exist at all in the world." "The general process of thinking for the creation of a writer is this: superficial phenomena (direct reflection of things)--concepts (thinking)--superficial phenomena (newly created images); this also means: individual (numerous)--general--model." Those who cling to these opinions denounce the theory of thinking in terms of images for "creating for the thinking of a writer a particular formula of 'from the concrete to the concrete, from image to image,' and for not allowing abstract thinking or concepts to be 'inserted in between.' This leaves no room in the mind of a writer for all rational ideas, giving rise to the possibility of negating the party's leadership and the guidance of the Marxist world outlook in the realm of literary and art creation and causing literary and art criticism to be in vain. The dissemination of this antiscientific intuitive and mystic theory can only benumb the worker's rationality, throttle his consciousness and cause spontaneous domination of literary and art creation by the bourgeois ideological system in the course of class struggle in the ideological sphere during the transitional period." ("The Marxist Theory of Knowledge Must Be Upheld in the Realm of Literature and Art," RED FLAG, No 5, 1966, pp 34, 37, 38, 47, and 51)

## 2. What are the characteristics of thinking in terms of images?

Some people maintain: "Logical thinking means that through the form of concept the law governing the essence of individual concrete things is abstracted from them in the midst of reality so as to derive the general principles. On the other hand, thinking in terms of images means that through the form of image the law governing the essence of real life is revealed in individual concrete events and personalities with special characteristics." "It is lively and concrete, and with the perceptual form of the lively life itself generalizes the essence of real life." ("On the Characteristics of Literature and Art," Shanghai New Literature and Art Publishing House, 1957 edition, pp 55, 82)

Some people contend: "Thinking in terms of images also means 'creative imagination' referred to in 'psychology.'" ("A Tentative Discussion of Thinking in Terms of Images," RECONSTRUCT, May 1956 issue, p 39)  
"Thinking in terms of images is also a process whereby man in his psychological activity transforms, by means of creative imagination, the superficial phenomena produced in his consciousness based on practical life into a kind of new images." ("A Tentative Discussion of the Process of Thinking in Terms of Images," RECONSTRUCT, January 1957 issue, p 55) "For thinking in terms of images, imagination--both practical and fantastic--has an outstanding meaning." "We may also say that imagination--both practical and fantastic--is the main form of thinking in terms

of images." ("The Basic Principles of Literature," Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House, 1963 edition, p 191)

Others hold that "the process of thinking in terms of images is a process of typification." "In the entire process, thinking will never depart from the activity and imagination of perceptual images. On the contrary, in this process the imagination of images becomes ever more concrete, lively and individualized. For this reason, thinking in terms of images proceeds at the same time it is individualized and its essence clarified. This is what Engels praised Hegel for, saying 'this one': typical creation." ("A Tentative Discussion of Thinking in Terms of Images," LITERARY REVIEW, 1959, No 2, p 104)

Still others are of the opinion that "thinking in terms of images is not image plus thinking nor the other way round. Rather, it is thinking that has turned into an image, or an image that has turned into an idea." "It gives prominent expression to a characteristic of art--image. But the characteristic of the image of art is not separated from another characteristic of art--thinking." "While we take art as thinking in terms of images and apply the concept of thinking in terms of images as a fixation (namely, the noun), we mainly point out the two factors that constitute the essence of art--the dialectical relationship between ideas and images and the identity and individuality of the ideology in art. However, when we are speaking of the creative process of art, the concept of thinking in terms of images is used as a process of knowing (namely, the verb), and this mainly points to the essence and the peculiar form of the process of knowing in art." ("On the Question of Thinking in Terms of Images," RECONSTRUCT, May 1958 issue, pp 58, 59)

3. What is the relationship between thinking in terms of images and abstract thinking (or thinking in terms of logic), and what role do the two play in the creative process of art?

One school of thought holds that although thinking in terms of images has its characteristics and advantages, it must be based on and guided by logical thinking in the creative process. For instance, some say: "Thinking in terms of images may render more effective and dynamic aid to logical thinking in the illustration of problems." "But it also has its inhibitions. Therefore, not only can it not replace logical thinking, but also it cannot depart from logical thinking. What, then, are its inhibitions? First of all, it is restricted in its scope of activity. There are things we basically cannot ponder by means of thinking in terms of images." "Although there are things we can ponder by means of thinking in terms of images, it is nevertheless much more troublesome than logical thinking, and the effects will be much poorer." "However, the most important question does not lie here; it is that thinking in terms of images basically cannot depart from logical thinking, for it must proceed on the basis of logical thinking." "This means that thinking in terms of images and thinking in terms of logic not only



interpenetrate and complement one another, but also that thinking in terms of images aims at creating artistic images on the basis of continually utilizing the fruit of thinking in terms of logic." ("On the Characteristics of Literature and Art," Shanghai New Literature and Art Publishing House, 1957 edition, pp 83, 84) "Thinking in terms of logic is the foundation of thinking in terms of images." "The artist's thinking in terms of images...must be based on the extremely solid and protracted logical meditation, judgment and deduction. Its law is determined, regulated and dominated by the law of its foundation (logical thinking)." "Another implication of logical thinking as the foundation of thinking in terms of images is that logical thinking frequently intrudes into the entire process of thinking in terms of images so as to regulate and guide it. This also means that in the course of thinking in terms of images, the artist at any time and place consciously uses logical thinking to prepare, consider, assess and evaluate the images he is attempting to create or is presently perceiving, imagining, portraying with regard to content and form and to ideas and technique." "This does not mean that logical thinking can replace any part of thinking in terms of images." ("A Tentative Discussion of Thinking in Terms of Images," LITERARY REVIEW, 1959, No 2, pp 110, 111, 112)

Another school of thought takes the view that, in the course of art creation, thinking in terms of images and abstract thinking are used alternately and also complement one another. It is said, for instance, that "in literary creation the writer follows the law of thinking in terms of images and applies the form of thinking in terms of images. But this does not reject the application in the course of creation of abstract thinking at a certain stage, just as authors of scientific works sometimes also use thinking in terms of images." "Thinking in terms of images and abstract thinking are not mutually antagonistic to and mutually exclusive of one another; under certain conditions they may even complement one another." "To neglect thinking in terms of images and to negate the characteristics of artistic ideas would lead to conceptualization in the course of creation, to the opposition between thinking in terms of images and abstract thinking and even to the rejection of abstract thinking. It can only lead to literary works devoid of ideas." ("The Basic Principles of Literature," Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House, 1963 edition, pp 196, 197)

There is still another school of thought which contends that the relationship between thinking in terms of images and logical thinking varies from case to case in the course of concrete creation. "In the writer's process of creation there is a close relationship between thinking in terms of images and logical thinking. This close and yet complex relationship cannot be explained in terms of a formula, stages or percentage figures. It varies with the variations of the concrete situations and conditions of the subjective body (the writer) and the objective body (the object to be portrayed). For instance, in the creative process of different writers or even in the creative process of the same writer in producing

two works, the relationship between thinking in terms of images and logical thinking will not be the same. Again, it varies with the development of history and with the variations of the creative methods. For instance, the creative process of critical realism and that of socialist realism manifest salient differences in the relationship between thinking in terms of images and logical thinking." ("New Theories of Literature and Art," Shantung People's Publishing House, 1959 edition, p 19)

Finally, there is one school of thought which holds that while the scientist should do more logical thinking, the artist should do more thinking in terms of images. "These two different forms of thinking, thinking in terms of images and logical thinking, are the mechanisms and products of the human brain. They exist as a unity in the mind of the scientist or the artist. In the process of their mental activity, thinking in terms of images and logical thinking jointly play a role, the only difference being that the leading aspects of such a role differ from each other. While they are observing, studying, analyzing and summing up real life, the things they note, select, keep or discard also differ from one another. By devoting himself more to thinking in terms of logic, the scientist, through his conceptual judgment and deduction, arrives at scientific conclusions, laws and principles. On the other hand, by devoting himself more to thinking in terms of images, the artist, through making reality reappear by means of artistic typical images, reveals the law and essence of life. Thinking in terms of images and logical thinking are neither antagonistic to one another nor are they identified with one another. Without logical thinking, 'pure' thinking in terms of images cannot exist; without thinking in terms of concrete images, any science which 'solely' uses the form of logical thinking is inconceivable. Any genuine art embodies philosophical ideas; any concept must also be linked with the concrete images that constitute it and which can be felt and touched." ("General Summary of Articles Contributed on the Question of the Relationship Between Thinking in Terms of Images and Abstract Thinking," ACADEMIC MONTHLY, 1958, No 11, p 72)

Postscript:

This article, as a brief introduction, cannot avoid shortcomings or omissions. Moreover, the relevant problems (including those in the history of thinkers) need further academic exploration. If there are any doubtful points in the introduction to and quotations on these problems, we invite the readers to criticize and point them out.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROLETARIAN LITERARY AND ART MOVEMENT WILL SHINE FOREVER--CRITICIZING THE 'GANG OF FOUR'S' THEORY OF LITERARY AND ART 'BLANKNESS'

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 78 pp 74-78

[Article by the mass criticism group of the Hupeh Provincial CCP Committee]

[Text] In the battle to criticize the "gang of four's" theory of the "dictatorship of the sinister line in literature and art," the vast number of literary and art fighters, brimming with proletarian wrath, vehemently criticized the theory of literary and art "blankness" trumpeted by the "gang of four." This theory, supplementary to and developed from the theory of the "dictatorship of the sinister line in literature and art," became an important weapon in the arsenal of the "gang of four's" conspiratorial literature and art.

Chiang Ching once yelled, "The proletariat has, since the Paris Commune, been unable to solve the question of orientation for literature and art." Chang Chun-chiao also howled: There is a "blank" between "The Internationale" and model stage productions.

Reversing history and confounding right and wrong, they completely negated the history of the proletarian literature and art movement in our country and elsewhere. They wildly opposed Marxist concepts of literature and art and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art. They were unbridled in strangling works of proletarian literature and art, and this caused the entire garden of literature and art to wither and lose its freshness. Therefore, the theory of "blankness" advocated by the "gang of four" must be thoroughly reckoned with so as to clear the ideological confusion and reverse the reversal of history for which they were responsible.

The theory of literary and art "blankness" advocated by the "gang of four" ran completely counter to Marxism and historical facts. Literature and art serve as the forward post of class struggle. Revolutionary

literature and art of the proletariat constitute an indispensable part of the entire proletarian revolutionary cause. As Chairman Mao said, /"Without literature and art in the broadest sense and of the most common type, the revolutionary movement cannot move forward and cannot be successful."/

In the course of the rising and developing proletarian revolutionary movement, literature and art consistently played an important role, a function that must not be overlooked. Back in the 1830's and 1840's, the proletariat changed from a class in itself to a class for itself. Once it mounted the political stage it took up literature and art as a weapon. The appearance of a literary movement championed by the Chartists in England was followed by the publication of fine poems and songs denouncing cruel capitalist exploitation and oppression and portraying the aspirations and feelings of the working class. In the book "A Condition of the Working Class in England," Engels cited a poem by the Chartist school, "King of Steam," praising it as /"having accurately expressed the prevailing sentiment of the workers."/

At a time when the proletarian literary and art movement flourished in Germany, Wirth, described by Engels as /"the first and most important poet of the German proletariat,"/ contributed many militant works to the NEW RHINE NEWS, edited by Marx. In the weaving workers movement in Silesia, many battle songs for the workers were composed. Marx was full of praise for the song "Bloody Slaughter," terming it /"a brave, militant voice," "a song of the proletariat which declares its opposition to the society of private property in an unambiguous, sharp, straightforward and powerful voice."/ ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 483)

With the help and under the influence of Marx, Heine, a revolutionary and democratic German poet, also participated in the proletarian literary and art movement at that time. He wrote the famous "Song of Silesian Weavers." With the continuous deepening of the revolutionary struggle waged by the proletariat, the proletarian literary and art movement likewise kept forging ahead. In 1871 the French working class succeeded in toppling the bourgeoisie and conducted the great experiment of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Paris Commune, the first proletarian regime in the history of mankind. Matching this great struggle was the appearance of Paris Commune literature, with Eugene Pottier, a fine proletarian song writer, as its outstanding exponent. His immortal epic, "The Internationale," embodies the basic Marxist stand and viewpoint, outlines the historical tasks and goals of struggle of the proletariat, and expresses the dauntless proletarian spirit of striving to liberate all mankind. Its impact on the world at large was beyond estimation. Lenin praised Pottier as /"the greatest propagandist who used songs as a tool."/ He extolled "The Internationale" as /"the song of proletarians the world over"/ and /"a real monument not erected by human hands."/ ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol II, pp 434, 435)

Revolutionary teachers not only highly rated the fighters of proletarian literature and art and fully affirmed the new proletarian literature and art which appeared in the history of human civilization with a completely new outlook, but also gave warm encouragement and specific guidance to progressive petty bourgeois writers at the time.

In his letter to Harkness, an English woman writer, Engels praised her novel "City Girls" for its depiction of the real bravery of artists. However, he was critical of her negative approach to portraying the workers and asked writers to /"truthfully recapture the typical characters in typical settings"/ and to reflect /"the working class' rebellious resistance to their oppressive surroundings"/ in order to enable the revolutionary struggle of the working class to /"have its position in the field of realism."/

Engels was sharply critical of the tendency to extol "small people" of every description, /"rather than praise unyielding and confident people and revolutionary proletarians."/ The series of instructions from revolutionary teachers laid the theoretical foundation for proletarian literature and art and indicated the orientation. Despite the historical limitations imposed at that time on proletarian literature and art in their early stages, resulting in their immaturity and imperfection, they, as emerging new things, displayed their immense vitality. These historical facts were a resounding slap in the face for the advocates of the theory of "blankness."

With the steady decline and decay of capitalism from the end of the 19th century to the early 20th century, the center of the revolutionary storm shifted to Russia on the eve of the world proletarian revolution. The proletarian literary and art movement likewise entered a new stage. In 1905 Lenin, in the article "Party Organization and Party Literature," penetratingly criticized literary and art concepts of every description that were above classes. He comprehensively explained the nature and tasks of proletarian literature and art, for the first time issuing the /"party literature"/ slogan. He pointed out that revolutionary literature and art should become part of the proletarian cause as a whole, and as /"cogs and screws"/ of the entire revolutionary machine they should serve the hundreds of millions of toiling people and accept the party's leadership and supervision. This brilliant work, a fighting program of the proletarian literary and art movement, was fraught with immense significance in developing the cause of proletarian literature and art.

Led by Lenin and under his care, Gorkiy's representative work "Mother" came out in 1906. This literary epic of the proletariat graphically and penetratingly depicted the workers movement from its spontaneous to conscious historical progress. It successfully portrayed the typical heroes of the working class and symbolized a new peak in the development of proletarian literature and art. Gorkiy's literary achievement was given a high rating by Lenin, who praised him for /"using his great works

of art to unite solidly with the Russian and worldwide workers movements."/ ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol XVI, pp 101-102) Gorkiy was also hailed as /"the most outstanding exponent of proletarian art."/ (Ibid., p 202)

After the victory of the October Revolution, Soviet literature and art under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin developed and flourished. A large number of proletarian writers grew up amid struggle. Brimming with political fervor, they extolled revolutionary leaders and teachers Lenin and Stalin and the Bolshevik Party they led. Praising the Soviet people for defending the motherland, safeguarding the dictatorship of the proletariat and conducting the great struggle to build socialism, they produced a great number of fine works of literature and art. These included Furmanov's "Chapayev," Serafimovich's "Iron Torrent," Fadeyev's "The Rout" and "The Youth Guard," and Ostrovskiy's "How Iron and Steel Are Made." These novels and Mayakovskiy's epic poem "Vladimir Ilich Lenin," etc. contributed in an exemplary way to educating and inspiring the proletariat and the revolutionary people in the Soviet Union and the world over. They serve the same function now.

Soviet literature and art later became revisionist because the Soviet revisionist renegade clique betrayed Marxism-Leninism and caused the Soviet Union to turn from a socialist into a social imperialist country. So we must not disavow proletarian literature and art in the Soviet Union that Lenin and Stalin led. Thus, the theory of "blankness" trumpeted by the "gang of four" completely negated Soviet literature and art that flourished during the period of Lenin and Stalin. This shows that despite their different showings they and Khrushchev and Brezhnev essentially are jackals in the same lair.

In the same vein, the historical facts about the inception and development of the proletarian literary and art movement in our country serve as a strong rebuttal to the "gang of four's" "blankness" theory. China's new democratic revolution had its beginnings in "4 May" and erupted under the influence of the October Revolution, being part of the socialist revolution of the world proletariat. After "4 May" the new culture in our country, influenced by communist ideology, was also /"part of the socialist revolution of the world proletariat."/ The advent of the new Chinese political force, i.e., with the Chinese proletariat and the CCP mounting the political stage, a completely new cultural contingent, including literary and art detachments, joined forces with all potential allies to launch vehement attacks on decadent imperialist and feudal-comprador cultures, completely routing them.

Lu Hsun's "Outcry" and Kuo Mo-jo's "The Goddess" sounded the uncompromising clarion call during the "4 May" period in the battle against imperialism and feudalism. After "4 May," communists like Yun Tai-ying and Teng Chung-hsia defined the progressive views of revolutionary literature. In the late 1920's the Creation Society and the Sun Society

formally issued militant slogans regarding the "revolutionary literature of the proletariat." Lu Hsun and other revolutionary writers studied Marxist theories of literature and art and publicized them. This promoted the proletarian literature and art movement.

The leftwing literary and art contingent, with Lu Hsun as its exponent, began to gain in strength after its formation. The vast number of literary and art workers were active in spreading Marxism, hailing the October Revolution and praising the revolutionary struggle led by the party. They exposed the dark aspect of the old world, lashed out at the evil of the old system and contributed to both the theoretical and practical application of literature and art. This was responsible for completely routing the KMT's counterrevolutionary cultural "encirclement and suppression" drives. In the struggle to counter this "encirclement and suppression," Lu Hsun the communist became a giant in China's cultural revolution.

Apart from creating works which produced an impact on the world, such as "The True Story of Ah Q," Lu Hsun dedicated his lifetime to the production of a large number of essays, novels, poems, songs and prose. His later essays were by far /"the most compelling and forceful, without being shallow,"/ being symbolic of the flowering in this period of China's proletarian literature and art. Mou Tun's "Midnight" was a major contribution to literary creation at this time. Young leftwing writers such as Li Wei-sen, Ying Fu, Jou Shih, Hu Yeh-pin and Feng Keng, etc. risked their lives and were unafraid of shedding blood in contributing heroic and moving episodes to the literary and art undertaking of the proletariat.

Influenced by these leftwing writers, Pa Chin, Lao She, Yeh Shao-chun, Tsao Yu and other writers also produced significant works. At the same time, revolutionary literature and art of the masses achieved initial development in both the soviet area and in the Red Army. After the war of resistance against Japan broke out, revolutionary literary and art workers formed groups and penetrated the battle zones so that they could continue writing while chatting with the armymen or rural folk. In this effort they produced a large amount of literature and art with the war of resistance as the theme. All this contributed significantly to the anti-imperialist and antifeudal revolutionary struggle.

Of course, the literary and art movement conducted in the 1930's, due to the persecution and restrictions imposed by the KMT reactionaries and as a result of an erroneous line pursued in the party, failed to properly solve problems regarding the integration of literary and art workers with the workers and peasants and the transformation of their world outlook. Consequently, the ranks of writers and artists in the main remained petty bourgeois. Nevertheless, the main current was good, and the results achieved were definitive.

In "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art," published in 1942, Chairman Mao pointed out: /"Literature and art have been an important and successful part of the cultural front since the 4 May movement. During the 10 years' civil war, the revolutionary literature and art movement grew greatly. That movement and the revolutionary war both headed in the same general direction."/ Here Chairman Mao used the most explicit language to fully affirm the literature and art of the 1920's and 1930's. In obliterating the gains of the proletarian literature and art movement in China after "4 May" and wildly deprecating the revolutionary literature and art of the 1930's, weren't the "gang of four" playing a contrary tune to counter Chairman Mao?

In "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art," Chairman Mao explicitly stated that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. This further solved the question of orientation for proletarian literature and art. This great development of Marxist world outlook and theory of literature and art, like a beacon lighting up the path of advance for the proletarian literature and art movement, had a great and far-reaching impact on the proletarian literature and art movement in China and elsewhere.

Guided by "Talks," the vast number of literary and art workers actively threw themselves into the struggle between the two classes and two lines on the literature and art front. They also proceeded to the frontline, went deep among the grassroots levels and headed for factories and rural areas, integrating themselves with the workers and peasants and striving to depict /"new persons and the new world."/ This paved the way for China's proletarian literature and art movement to enter a new historical stage.

With the flourishing development of literature and art in the liberated areas, mass literature and art movements were conducted on a broad scale. New Yangko dance, curbside performances, songs accompanied by quick patter, folk songs, ballads and other literary and art forms flourished. The masses happily sang the praises of the party, its leaders, the victory of the revolution and their emancipation followed by a new lease on life. The song "The East Is Red" reverberated across the land, echoing the common aspiration of the people of China and the world over and becoming the rallying call of our time.

Nourished by the refreshing and lively forms of mass literature and art, the works of professional writers also underwent profound changes. A large number of new works depicting the revolutionary struggles and extolling worker-peasant-soldier heroes appeared. Examples of this type of fine works included the opera "The White-Haired Girl," the epic "Wang Kuei and Lihsiang-Hsiang" and the novel "The Rainstorm." The Peking opera "Driven to Join Liangshan Rebels" reversed the reversal of history that occurred over the past thousands of years. This marked an epochal beginning of the revolution in the old opera.



Influenced by the new literature and art that flourished in the liberated areas, literary and art workers in KMT-occupied areas also assiduously studied Chairman Mao's "Talks." They persisted in struggle and produced many new works exposing Chiang Kai-shek's dark rule despite repressive actions taken by the reactionaries. With completely new content and form, China's proletarian literature and art in that period contributed forcefully to boosting the cause of the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, filling a shining page in the history of proletarian literature and art in our country. Summarizing the achievements of the literature and art front after the publication of "Talks" at the First National Congress of Literary Workers held in 1949, Premier Chou said: "We should be thankful to Chairman Mao for giving us the new orientation for literature and art and enabling us to win a great victory in literature and art." This served as a forceful rebuttal to the theory of literary and art "blankness" advocated by the "gang of four."

Our great leader Chairman Mao not only used Marxist theories to guide China's literature and art movement but also personally took part in the great practice of literary and art creation. From the democratic revolution period to the socialist revolution, he contributed dozens of brilliant poems, setting a noble example of combining revolutionary political content with perfect artistic forms. As great epics in the era of the proletarian revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao's poems sound the militant clarion call in the battle against imperialism and revisionism; they are the paragon of proletarian literature and art.

The proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, such as Chu Te, Tung Pi-wu, Yeh Chien-ying and Chen I, likewise produced a large number of magnificent and stirring poems. These have become gems of art for the proletariat. How utterly reactionary and blatant the "gang of four" were in writing off the poems by Chairman Mao and the poetic works of the proletarian revolutionaries of the old generation in peddling their "blankness" theory!

The "gang of four" also did everything possible to malign socialist literature and art in our country after liberation, maliciously attacking them in the previous 17 years as the "dancing of demons and growing apace of poisonous weeds" and completely rejecting the party-led literature and art undertaking. All this was futile.

We should see that, due to the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and attacks unleashed by the bourgeoisie in the 17 post-liberation years, the sphere of literature and art abounded in erroneous tendencies of a serious nature, while moves for socialist transformation were frequently blocked. This gave rise to a violent struggle between the two classes and two lines. However, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art always occupied the dominant position, while the main current of the proletarian literature and art movement remained sound.

Chairman Mao initiated and personally led a series of major political struggles to criticize the bourgeoisie and repudiate revisionism. This struck successive telling blows at the class enemies and opened a broad path for developing proletarian literature and art. The policies of /"letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools contend," "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China," and "weeding through the old to bring forth the new"/ formulated by Chairman Mao and the creative method he advanced of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism indicated the correct orientation for achieving in our country a flourishing development and creation of socialist literature and art.

Under Chairman Mao's great banner, veteran writers displayed youthful vigor, while young writers exhibited the same vigorous spirit. With the formation of groups of amateur worker-peasant-soldier literary and art workers, a new-type literary and art contingent grew in strength. The vast number of literary and art fighters headed for the frontline of the three great revolutionary movements, taking the road of integrating with the workers, peasants and soldiers and striving to serve them. They identified themselves with the great cause of socialist revolution and construction, without precedent in history, and produced a large amount of fine works worthy of our time. With various artistic forms developing in their own ways, the whole garden of socialist literature and art flourished as never before. All this clearly shows that China's socialist literature and art, guided by Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, have made uninterrupted revolution and continuously advanced in the struggle between the two classes and two lines. Is it true that this fact, laid before the world, can be obliterated by the rumors and sophism of the "gang of four"?

Although the "gang of four's" theory of literary and art "blankness" is attached with fancy labels, it is nothing new, but trash picked up from the counterrevolutionary Hu Feng clique. Long ago this clique wildly attacked the party's policy on literature and art, slandering Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" as an "object of worship" for "slaughtering living things" and accusing the literature and art movement led by the proletariat of being a "literary forum dominated by corpses"--"a plot of land where nothing is clean." Look you! There is a striking resemblance between this remark attributed to the counterrevolutionary Hu Feng clique and the "gang of four's" theory of "blankness." Was it a coincidence? No. It was purely determined by their common reactionary class nature and reactionary world outlook.

Everybody knows that the counterrevolutionary Hu Feng clique was formed by secret agents, renegades, Trotskyites and reactionary army officers as the backbone force, a counterrevolutionary sinister gang hiding in the revolutionary camp. The antiparty clique of the "gang of four" was formed by renegades, secret agents, alien class elements and new

bourgeois elements, implacable sworn enemies of the proletariat and the revolutionary people. This is responsible for their bitterly spiteful counterrevolutionary attitude toward proletarian literature and art. The two diametrically opposed evaluations of the history of the proletarian literature and art movement reflect two radically opposite world views. Marxism urges us to respect history and the objective realities and to conduct class, historical and dialectical analyses of the phenomena of literature and art in history. Such analyses should be based on historical circumstances and conditions, taking into consideration which class' appeal is made as a whole and in what role in history; they require the approach of "one divides into two" to distinguish the main current from the side issues and achievements from shortcomings. Negating or affirming everything should be ruled out.

In affirming the great gains achieved by proletarian literature and art over the past 100 years and in affirming the main current as good and sound, Marxists have never overlooked the existence of certain shortcomings and errors in the course of their development, nor have they neglected making a specific analysis and assessment, based on seeking truth from facts, of individual writers and their works. In this regard, revolutionary teachers of the proletariat have set examples for us. Correctly assessing past cultural heritage and adopting the Marxist approach to critically accepting it is of immense significance in developing the new proletarian culture.

Lenin once pointed out: The proletariat /"did not conceive the new proletarian culture but carried forward the fine examples, traditions and achievements of existing culture on the basis of the Marxist world outlook and the proletarian viewpoint on the life and struggle conditions during the period of dictatorship."/ ("Lenin on Literature and Art," Vol II, p 609)

Undoubtedly, we should critically carry forward the "fine examples, traditions and achievements" known in the history of mankind's civilization; otherwise it will be impossible to create and develop proletarian literature and art. We should all the more treasure the "fine examples, traditions and achievements" reflected in the history of proletarian literature and art over the past 100 years and carry them forward in the new historical period of creating revolutionary literature and art of the proletariat. Approaching history, including the history of the development of the revolutionary literature and art of the proletariat, with the nihilistic attitude of negating everything is wholly anti-Marxist. The literary and art "blankness" theory concocted by the "gang of four" is representative of their sweeping negation and overthrowing of everything. This fact alone suffices to show that they are the sworn enemies of Marxism.

Clearly, the "gang of four" were keen on trumpeting the theory of literary and art "blankness" in order to push their counterrevolutionary

political program and achieve their wild ambition to usurp party and state power and restore capitalism. That is why they willfully distorted and altered historical facts and Marxist concepts. In disavowing the history of the proletarian literature and art movement, the "gang of four" and their literary retainers prated about the myth of ushering in a "pioneering period" and a "new epoch" in a vain bid to deck out renegade Chiang Ching as a "pathbreaker" of proletarian literature and art. This was aimed at making a breach in the literature and art front so that they could usurp the supreme party and state power.

However, they lifted the rock only to let it fall on their own feet. The "gang of four" were crushed to bits with one blow by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and they were swept onto the rubbish heap of history, along with their "blankness" theory and the myth of ushering in a "pioneering period" and a "new epoch." With the cause of proletarian literature and art entering a completely new stage of development, it will fill a new page in the history of the proletarian literature and art movement!

STUDY THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF THE PARTY COMMITTEE OF A CERTAIN AIR FORCE DIVISION

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 2 Feb 78 pp 79-80

[Two short articles contributed by readers Hsu Cheng and Liu I-cheng]

[Text] Editor's Note: We received a lot of comments after we published an article in our magazine on how the leading body of a certain division of the air force maintained and carried forward the fine traditions and workstyle of our party and army. Some readers were overwhelmed with excitement. They sent us articles and letters praising the model actions of this leading body and expressing their resolute support for the call of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. They expressed their determination to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," restore and carry forward the fine traditions and workstyle of our party and army, which were sabotaged by the "gang of four," maintain the fine political qualities of plain living and hard work and persevere in continued revolution. We publish here two of the articles.

I

The leading cadres of a certain division of the air force found pleasure in living in their small and simple rooms. Why were they so happy? For one thing, when compared with Wang Kuo-fu's "huts of long-term laborers" and compared with those at the time of the revolutionary wars, their living conditions were much better. But since they were cramped for room, the cadres on the lower floors had even worse housing conditions, and how happy they would have been to let the cadres on the lower floors have the better rooms instead! During several reallocations of rooms in the division, they all stayed in the old ones so that others could have the better ones. How noble was this style of plain living and hard work and their concern for the rank and file!

This reminded me of Taching's tamped-earth houses. The Taching people took pride in building the tamped-earth houses and found pleasure in living in them. These leading cadres of a certain division of the air force have an attitude similar to the Taching people toward the matter of housing!

Also, I remembered the Yen-an cave dwellings of the time of the war of resistance against Japan. In those days many people belittled the cave dwellings, but the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao liked them very much. He said in all earnestness: The Yen-an cave dwellings are revolutionary. Marxism-Leninism can be found in these dwellings, and the instructions for the nation to wage the war of resistance against Japan can be issued from there. Chiang Kai-shek is now living extravagantly. He owns tall buildings and Western-style houses and has electric lights, too. But what is the use of all this extravagance when nobody in the country ever listens to him? We must not belittle ourselves. Neither shall we belittle the cave dwellings. At present the country pins its hopes on us. It is also pinning its hopes on these cave dwellings. How well said were these words by Chairman Mao! They were incisive and profound. The house one lives in does not mark the occupant's thinking, sentiment or prestige, no matter whether it is indigenous or Westernized, low-lying or tall, old or new. On the contrary, the position and value of the house is determined by the thinking, sentiment and prestige of the one living in it. People speak highly of these cave dwellings because the revolutionaries lived there. Chairman Mao spent countless sleepless nights in his cave dwellings. There he completed one brilliant work after another and conducted the great war of resistance against Japan. Countless revolutionary predecessors lived in the cave dwellings. They assiduously studied Marxism-Leninism and worked selflessly. Then they came out of their cave dwellings and joined in the fighting against Japan.... The Yen-an cave dwellings affected the future of China. Outstanding people were trained there. These dwellings shine with the Chinese communist revolutionary spirit of plain living and hard work. What matchless happiness one would find in studying, working and living in these cave dwellings! Even the revolutionary successors who have never lived in these cave dwellings can feel the same affection when they recall those remarkable days their predecessors spent inside the cave dwellings!

Present conditions are certainly much better than those in the past. While they are now living happily under socialism, it is admirable that the Taching people remember the Yen-an cave dwellings and that the leading cadres of that certain division of the air force have thought of the living conditions in the days of revolutionary war. They are maintaining and carrying forward the very Yen-an style of plain living and hard struggle advocated by Chairman Mao, that heirloom of our party and army for defeating the enemy and winning battles. In the past our predecessors worked hard and perseveringly. They worked with all-out efforts. Fearing neither hardship nor death, they defeated the strong enemies at home and abroad.

Today, in conducting socialist revolution and construction and in carrying out Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision of grasping the key link in running the country well, we must work hard and perseveringly and carry forward the Yen-an workstyle. A comfortable and easy life will not make good socialism, vigorous work or rapid progress. To leap forward again and again we must make both revolution and all-out exertions. But in the past few years the "gang of four" damaged the party's style of work. They turned glory into shame and confused right and wrong. This made some people put away the tradition of plain living and hard work and singlemindedly pursue good lives. In the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" we should think of the past in terms of revolution, think of the time of revolutionary wars, and penetratingly criticize the "gang of four's" criminal acts in opposing the revolutionary veteran cadres and in damaging the fine tradition and workstyle of our party and army. We should heighten our fighting will, spur ourselves on and forge ahead with that revolutionary spirit displayed by our predecessors in starting undertakings the hard way.

[By] Hsu Cheng of a certain unit of the Canton units

## II

After reading the story of how the party committee of a certain division of the air force lived plainly and struggled hard and continued with the revolution, I was deeply moved by their revolutionary spirit. They "take the lead in study, exert all-out efforts in work, make life easier for others, and do not compromise on principles." I saw in them the unique political qualities of communists.

The cadres of our party have always kept the glorious tradition of being the first to charge forward and suffer but the last to back away and enjoy life. Let's think of the past. So many cadres fought for the people to the last minute of their lives. Let's take a look at the present. There are many cadres who are aging and feeble, but still they keep on making revolution and work painstakingly for the party for the rest of their lives. We should learn and carry forward the revolutionary spirit of /"working with the most faithful and true efforts for the nation, the class and the party."/

We should persevere in hard struggles, closely link with the masses and set good examples for the masses. We need the guidance of the cadres to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. If the cadres are unable to march ahead of the masses and set themselves as good examples for the masses, how can they guide the masses to accomplish the tasks the party entrusted to them? Poisoned and influenced by the "gang of four," some leading cadres experienced a weakening of revolutionary will. They lacked revolutionary enthusiasm. Their spirit to serve the people wholeheartedly and with all-out efforts and to fight waned. As a result, they talked a lot but did very little. They asked the people to work

without leading them. The people sharply criticized them, telling them to "do something instead of shouting at the top of your voices. We do not appreciate cadres who only pay lip service." Indeed, how can the cadres give the masses the lead if they only issue orders inside their office, do not go deep into reality and do not direct work energetically and perseveringly themselves? How can they lead the masses if they only pay lip service to carrying forward the fine tradition and workstyle of our party and do not set a solid example for the masses themselves?

The leading cadres of a certain division of the air force set themselves as examples. They would not ask the masses to do what they were unable to do. They put into action the ideology of serving the people wholeheartedly. They have set themselves up as the example. This is really important. With the leaders setting the pace, the masses following suit and the initiative and creativity of the masses brought into full play, there is no difficulty which is insurmountable.

Chairman Mao said: /"We need a great party and many very good cadres to guide the great revolution."/ Since the "gang of four" were overthrown, socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country have entered a new period of development. In facing the new situation in revolution, the leading cadres at the various levels must follow the example of the party committee of that certain division of the air force. We must carry forward the traditional workstyle of our party and army-- the traditional workstyle of plain living, hard struggle and getting in touch with the people. We must think in terms of the interests of the people and make ourselves the good examples in words and deeds. We must fulfill our duties as cadres of the party with heart and soul, forever march in the van of the revolutionary contingent, be the "locomotive" that sets the pace for the advance of the masses and strive to struggle for the realization of the four modernizations!

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