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No. 5, 3 May 1978

Complete translation of the monthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Peking. Passages between slantlines printed in boldface type.

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SPEECH AT THE NATIONAL EDUCATION WORK CONFERENCE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 3 May 78 pp 2-6

[Speech by Teng Hsiao-ping at the National Education Work Conference on 22 April 1978]

[Text] Comrades!

There is much that is new on the educational front since the overthrow of the "gang of four" and particularly since the reform of the college enrollment system and the criticism of the "two assessments." The achievements should be fully affirmed. Both in educational circles and in society at large, however, people are hoping for even faster progress in education.

At the recent Fifth National People's Congress and the National Science Conference, Chairman Hua pointed out that in order to accomplish the general task for the new period as set forth in the constitution adopted by the congress it is imperative to train a large contingent of working-class intellectuals and to greatly raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation. To achieve this, many questions have to be settled and much remains to be done in our educational work. The crux here is how, under the new historical conditions, to further implement the fundamental principle set forth by Chairman Mao that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor."

This principle was formally put forward by Chairman Mao in 1958. In fact, it had been followed all along in the educational work led by our party under Chairman Mao's guidance from the period of the agrarian revolution (1927-37) and the war of resistance against Japan (1937-45) right down through the war of liberation (1945-49). It was further developed after countrywide liberation, and particularly after 1958. The basic idea underlying Chairman Mao's letter to the Kiangsi Communist Labor University, the Spring Festival talks of 1964, the May 7 directive, the July 21 instruction and his talks in the summer of 1971 was to get rid of the interference arising from erroneous lines and to further implement this

principle. For over two decades, large numbers of cadres, teachers, students, staff members and workers in schools and colleges, guided by this principle, have carried out many experiments and introduced many reforms with great success.

The "gang of four," under the cloak of Mao Tsetung Thought, willfully distorted and trampled on this principle and led the educational revolution astray, causing grave damage to education. We not only have to straighten out confused thinking; we must also take strong measures to carry out this fundamental principle more effectively in the light of the new situation and new requirements.

Today I should like to offer some opinions on this question.

First, we must improve the quality of education and raise the level of teaching in science and culture so as to serve proletarian politics better.

Our schools are places for training competent personnel for the proletariat. Are there any criteria for judging the quality of this training? Yes, there are. As Chairman Mao put it, we must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture.

The "gang of four" were opposed to making strict demands on students in their study of science and culture and making such studies their main pursuit, insisting nonsensically that this would "put intellectual education first" and be "divorced from proletarian politics." They declared that "it's preferable to have laborers with no culture," saying that "the more knowledgeable, the more reactionary." They slandered workers and workers' children who had become knowledgeable as bourgeois intellectuals. Great efforts are still needed at present to eliminate the pernicious influence of these absurdities spread by the gang.

Lenin repeatedly emphasized that workers could not for a minute forget their need for knowledge; that without knowledge the workers are defenseless, while with knowledge they are a force. The importance of this truth has become even clearer today. We must train workers with high attainments in science and culture and build a vast army of working-class intellectuals who are both Red and expert if we are to master and advance modern science and culture and the new techniques and technologies of all trades and professions, if we are to create higher labor productivity than that under capitalism, and transform China into a powerful, modern socialist country and, what is more, ultimately defeat the bourgeoisie in the spheres of the superstructure. These demands themselves are in the interests of proletarian politics.

There is no doubt that schools should always attach primary importance to a firm and correct political orientation. This, however, does not

mean devoting many classroom hours to ideological and political education. In his May 7 directive Chairman Mao said that the students' main task is to study; they should also learn other things, that is to say, they should not only learn book knowledge but industrial production, agricultural production and military affairs as well; they should also criticize the bourgeoisie. The criticism of the bourgeoisie undoubtedly comes within the province of ideological and political education, and so, in part, does the learning of industrial production, agricultural production and military affairs. Nevertheless, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out that the main task of students is to study, to learn book knowledge, i.e., science and culture. Students must give first place to firm and correct political orientation, but this does not exclude the study of science and culture. On the contrary, the higher their political consciousness, the harder the efforts and the greater the voluntary efforts the students should make to learn science and culture for the revolution. Therefore, the "gang of four" were not only absurd in the extreme, but they were negating and betraying proletarian politics when they opposed what they termed "putting intellectual education first," which was really an effort to improve the quality of education and raise the students' scientific and cultural level on the basis of a firm and correct political orientation.

It is not good to put too great a load on the students. We should continue to take effective measures to prevent and remedy this. But it is equally obvious that we cannot succeed in raising our science and culture to a much higher level unless we abide by the workstyle of being honest toward the revolutionary cause, honest in words and honest in deeds and of setting strict standards, taking a serious attitude and having a close-knit organization and firm labor discipline, and unless demands are exacting and training is rigid. If we are to catch up with and surpass advanced world levels in science and technology, we must improve not only the quality of higher education but, in the first instance, the quality of secondary and elementary education. In other words, we must fill out the courses in primary and secondary schools with advanced scientific knowledge within the capabilities of the students.

Examinations are an important method of checking on studies and on the efficacy of teaching, just as checking the quality of products is a necessary system for insuring factory standards. Chairman Mao never opposed examinations as such; the kind of examination he opposed was one in which the students were regarded as the enemy and were subject to "surprise attack," having to answer odd and catch questions. Of course, we must not put blind faith in examinations and consider them to be the only method for checking on studies. Moreover, conscientious studies and experiments should be made on how to improve the content and the form of examinations to make them more effective. We must encourage and help students who have not done well in their examinations to continue the effort and not to worry needlessly about them.

Second, great efforts must be made in the schools to strengthen revolutionary order and discipline, to bring up a new generation with socialist consciousness and thus help to revolutionize the general mood of society.

The sabotage of education by the "gang of four" not only caused an alarming decline in the quality of scientific and cultural education but also seriously debased ideological and political education in the schools, undermined school discipline and contaminated the revolutionary atmosphere of socialist society. The "gang of four" talked glibly about politics, but in fact they went in for counterrevolutionary, anti-socialist politics and used the most decadent and reactionary ideology of the exploiting classes to poison the minds of the young people, trying to make them "illiterates plus hooligans." Complete eradication of the vicious influence of the "gang of four" is a very serious political task vital to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Revolutionary ideals and communist virtues should be fostered from childhood. There has been a fine tradition in our party's work on education. Members of the children's corps and the Communist Youth League performed heroic and stirring deeds during the revolutionary war years. After countrywide liberation, this fine tradition was carried forward in our educational work and in the work of our Youth League and Young Pioneers. For a long time, children and young people studied well and progressed every day, developed an ardent love for the motherland, the people, physical labor, science and public property, and struggled heroically and ingeniously against enemies and bad elements. The new spirit of a generation was thus fostered. The revolutionization in the spirit of the schools promoted revolutionization in the spirit of society as a whole. This spirit, unprecedented in the history of China, won admiration from people the world over. We hope that the comrades engaged in educational work, comrades of departments concerned and every family will pay close attention to the ideological and political progress of children and young people, so as to restore and develop the fine, revolutionary traditions undermined by the "gang of four." Chairman Mao said: "All departments and organizations should shoulder their responsibilities in ideological and political work. This applies to the Communist Party, the Youth League, government departments in charge of this work, and especially to heads of educational institutions and teachers." Teachers in primary and secondary schools and kindergartens, in particular, are entrusted with a heavy responsibility for training young revolutionary successors. We should work hard to inculcate in young people the revolutionary style of learning diligently, observing discipline, loving physical labor, taking pleasure in helping others, working hard and daring to fight the enemy so that they will be trained to be fine and competent personnel, loyal to the socialist motherland, to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Then, some day when they take up a post, they will become workers with a high sense of political responsibility and collectivism, firm revolutionary ideals, the workstyle of

seeking truth from facts and following the mass line, will be able to observe discipline strictly and will work wholeheartedly and actively for the people.

We encourage everyone to strive for progress, but progress depends, after all, on whether the individual makes the effort. A collective effort is the sum of individual efforts. There will be differences in individual efforts even in communist society. Chairman Mao once said that ten thousand years from now there will still be a gap between the advanced and the backward. Therefore, while encouraging and helping everyone to work hard, we have to admit the disparity in the abilities and moral qualities of different people, which will surface in the course of their development. We must treat them accordingly and do everything possible to enable everyone in his particular circumstances to advance toward the general goal of socialism and communism. At the same time strict measures should be taken in a conscientious effort to correct and reform those who seriously undermine revolutionary order and discipline and refuse to mend their ways after repeated education, and in no case should we let a tiny handful of such persons damage the schools and society as a whole.

From now on, not only secondary schools and colleges must make an over-all examination of the applicants in respect to their moral, intellectual and physical levels and enroll only those who are outstanding, but all departments should gradually do likewise and, in increasing their work force, give priority to those who are outstanding. That means carrying to its logical conclusion Chairman Mao's policy of enabling everyone to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture; it means carrying out this policy in all aspects of life in society. This will play a tremendous role in raising the political, scientific and cultural levels of our workers and staff, in meeting the special requirements of different trades and professions and in creating a revolutionary atmosphere among the young people and in society as a whole, an atmosphere in which everyone is eager to make progress, hard working and loath to lag behind.

Third, education must keep pace with the requirements of national economic development.

To train qualified personnel for the proletariat we must study carefully how to implement the policy of combining education with productive labor more satisfactorily under the new conditions. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao all paid great attention to combining education with productive labor. They held that this is one of the most powerful means for transforming capitalist society. They considered that after the seizure of political power by the proletariat this becomes the fundamental path to the training of a new generation that integrates theory with practice and study with application and that attains all-round development, and they regarded it as an important measure for gradually abolishing the distinction between mental and manual labor. As far back

as 80 years ago, Lenin said: "Neither training and education without productive labor, nor productive labor without parallel training and education, could be raised to the degree required by the present level of technology and the state of scientific knowledge." Today's speedy economic and technological development demands rapid improvement in the quality and efficiency of education and constant new developments in the content and the methods of combining education with productive labor.

To this end, schools of all kinds and at all levels must make the proper arrangements as to what kind of labor the students should engage in, how to arrange for their going to the factories and the countryside, how much time they should spend there and how to combine such labor with teaching. What is more important, education as a whole must keep pace with the requirements of the growing national economy. Otherwise, if what the students are learning cannot meet the needs of their future profession, and if their study is completely divorced from their work, wouldn't that fundamentally violate the principle of combining education with productive labor? In that case, how could we arouse the students' enthusiasm for study and labor, and how could education meet the gigantic demands raised by the general task for the new period?

Our national economy is developing in a planned and proportionate way. To correspond with this, we must carefully plan the training and bringing up of experts and labor reserves. Not only must we bear in mind immediate needs, but we must also foresee the needs of the distant future. Not only must we make plans to cope with the needs of growing production and construction, but we must also take into full account the trends of development in modern science and technology.

The State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Education and other departments should work together and incorporate the plan for educational undertakings into the national economic plan as an important component. We should take into consideration the proportionate development of various types of schools at various levels and in the plan should particularly increase the proportion of agricultural middle schools, various other kinds of specialized middle schools and technical schools. We should also tackle the problem of what kinds of institutions of higher learning to develop and how to readjust the specialties, arrange the courses on basic theory and improve teaching materials. Measures should be worked out to accelerate the development of modern educational media such as television and radio, which merit full attention as important channels for developing education with greater, faster, better and more economical results. We should make an intensive study of how to organize productive labor, scientific experiments and scientific research in a more planned way in school education so that they meet the needs of the economic plan and the education plan still better. In order to speed up the training of qualified personnel and raise the level of education as a whole, we must consider the need to concentrate forces and strengthen the key universities and secondary and primary schools so as to raise their level and the quality of teaching as quickly as possible.

Our country will strive to open new channels and add new trades so as to serve the modernization of agriculture and the other three modernizations of industry, national defense and science and technology more effectively. We should combine the education program with the state labor plan and earnestly consider the needs posed by the growth in employment.

Lastly, the question of respecting the work of the teachers and of raising their level.

Teachers hold the key to a school's success in training qualified personnel for the proletariat, i.e., training workers with both socialist consciousness and culture and who are developed morally, intellectually and physically.

In the past two decades we have built a contingent of people's teachers. There are 9 million teachers throughout the country. The overwhelming majority of the teachers and other school workers love the party and socialism, serve the cause of proletarian education assiduously and have made great contributions to the nation, the country and the proletariat. Educational workers serving the people are lofty, revolutionary laborers. We extend our regards and respects to the vast numbers of educational workers for their diligent efforts. We offer particular regards and respects to the primary school educators who have worked tirelessly under more difficult conditions and helped bring up revolutionary successors.

We must raise the political and social status of the people's teachers. They should command the respect not only of the students but also of society as a whole. We urge students to respect their teachers and at the same time call on teachers to love their students. To respect teachers and love students for the benefit of both--this is the comradely, revolutionary relationship between teachers and students. Commendations and rewards should be extended with wide publicity to outstanding educational workers.

It is necessary to study the wage scale of teachers and, first of all, that of primary and secondary school teachers. Proper steps should be taken to encourage people to dedicate their whole lives to education. Particularly outstanding teachers may be designated as teachers of a special grade. Considering the limited economic strength of the country, we cannot bring about a very marked improvement in the material life of teachers and other school workers for the time being, but we must actively create the conditions that can bring this about. Party committees at various levels and administrative departments in charge of education should, first of all, run collective welfare as well as possible.

Party committees at all levels and party organizations in the schools should show warm concern for the teachers' ideological and political

progress and give them assistance, helping them study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought assiduously so that more teachers will have a firm proletarian, communist world outlook. We must take a positive attitude toward admitting outstanding teachers into the party. The tasks in the field of education are becoming increasingly heavy. The departments of education at all levels must strive to raise the ability of existing teachers and improve the quality of teaching. The Ministry of Education and local education departments should adopt effective measures to train teachers and raise their levels. For example, they must make full use of radio and television, run various types of training classes and advanced courses, compile teaching reference materials and so forth. We hope that the broad masses of teachers will work hard to steadily raise their political and professional level and advance along the road of becoming both Red and expert.

Comrades, I hope that this conference will fully discuss some of the major problems in educational work. We advocate the revolutionary spirit of daring to think and to speak. It does not matter if opinions differ. We can compare various proposals. We must follow the mass line in everything we do. There must be full democracy within the ranks of the people. This is the only way to produce good ideas. Of course, no good idea can turn into reality by itself. Bright prospects may become empty talk if we do not take effective measures and make an effort to realize them. In order to accomplish the general task for the new period and realize the four modernizations in not too long a period, we must energetically advocate a practical, down-to-earth revolutionary style of work that will help us turn lofty ideals into reality step by step.

I believe that under the leadership of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, by relying on the efforts of the teachers, students, staff members and other school workers, and by carrying the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end and working in a down-to-earth way, more and more people of a new type will come to the fore, and good news will pour in from the educational front, which will thrive just like all the other fronts of our work.



IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE INDUSTRY AND COMMUNICATIONS FRONT FIGHT A PEOPLE'S WAR TO ELIMINATE THE PERNICIOUS INFLUENCE OF THE 'GANG OF FOUR'

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 3 May 78 pp 7-12

[Article by RED FLAG contributing commentator]

[Text] In his report on the work of the government delivered at the Fifth National People's Congress, Chairman Hua pointed out: "The primary task for the people of our country at present and for some time to come is still to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' and carry this great struggle through to the end." To begin a new Long March in large strides, we must firmly grasp the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the key link. We must do so absolutely and without the slightest letup. If we do not win this battle, we will be confronted with stumbling blocks during the Long March, and we will not be able to develop our industry with vigor and at a fast pace.

In accordance with the unified plans laid down by Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, the industrial and communications front has deepened the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" over the past year or so under the leadership of party committees at all levels. The masses have been fully aroused, and the movement has developed soundly. All enterprises have studied Taching's experience, launched "the three stresses" activities, compared the correct line with erroneous ones, and in close connection with the "ten shoulds and shouldn'ts" on the economic front, criticized the counterrevolutionary revisionist line and political program adopted by the "gang of four." This has enabled staff members and workers to raise their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and to deepen their understanding of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Some major issues on right and wrong in the political line have begun to be resolved. A great victory has been achieved in investigative work. The bourgeois factional setup of the "gang of four" and their followers has collapsed. Investigations of individuals and incidents associated with the gang's conspiracy to usurp party and state power are near completion, and class

alignments have also been clarified for the most part. However, the development of the movement is uneven. Some departments and enterprises have made rather slow progress or have failed to do a good job, and other departments and enterprises are still trying to conceal problems and suppress the masses. The people are dissatisfied and their enthusiasm restricted. With regard to these units, it is necessary to strengthen leadership, arouse the masses to the fullest extent, and grasp the work of investigation firmly and well in order to finally eliminate all hidden dangers. Problems even exist in some units that have done well in this movement; they must continue to grasp the movement firmly and well and never lower their guard. In the course of investigation it is necessary to act on every policy enumerated by Chairman Hua in his government work report at the Fifth NPC session, as well as related instructions issued by the central authorities, strictly distinguish and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions, deal with each case on its own merits in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, and help more people by educating them and narrowing the target of attack.

Those units that have carried out investigations relatively well should now focus their struggle on exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" in 1978 and on eliminating their poisonous influence. This is an even more protracted and arduous task. For a long time the "gang of four," in collusion with Lin Biao, seriously interfered in and sabotaged the industrial and communications front. Their poisonous influence permeated all fields of work, seriously corroded the ideology of our ranks and ruined the party's fine traditions and workstyle. We must not underestimate the damage caused by the "gang of four's" poisonous influence. We must also not underestimate the arduousness of the task to eliminate their poisonous influence. We have sustained "external injuries" as well as "internal injuries." In treating "external injuries" it is necessary to have some skills, while in treating "internal injuries" it is necessary to have even more proficient skills. We must act according to the plan of the central authorities and do a good job in carrying out the third campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and win complete victory in this movement.

The "gang of four" tampered with Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, and in particular with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They spread anti-Marxist fallacies about the industrial and communications front. In the course of criticizing the "gang of four" and eliminating their poisonous influence, we must continue to thoroughly criticize and discredit their counterrevolutionary fallacies about the "ten shoulds" and "ten shouldn'ts" on the economic front and raise our criticism to a new level. On the industrial and communications front, some major issues concerning right and wrong still need to be further resolved. It is necessary to eliminate confusion, restore order and liberate people's minds by smashing the spiritual shackles imposed upon them by the "gang of four."

Lin Piao and the "gang of four" completely negated work on the industrial and communications front. At the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, after making their counterrevolutionary assessment of the educational-cultural front, which they concluded was under "the dictatorship of a sinister line," they nonsensically declared that industrial and mining enterprises could not be described as better than the educational-cultural front and called for criticism and eradication of the view that "Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has been implemented in the main on the industrial and communications front." This is a distortion of history, an extremely vicious slander against the staff members and workers of the industrial and communications front and a complete negation of the great victories won in China's socialist revolution and construction. After liberation, Chairman Mao, who was extremely concerned about the development of socialist industry in China, formulated a correct line, principles and policies for us to follow. Chairman Mao wrote "On the Ten Major Relationships" and other brilliant articles, formulated the general line for building socialism, wrote an important comment on the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and issued the great call to learn from Taching in industry, thus pointing out the direction for developing China's socialist industry. All policy decisions were made by Chairman Mao himself. He consistently led us in criticizing the practice of simply aping foreign methods of enterprise management and in criticizing revisionism and the bourgeoisie. His revolutionary line has remained dominant on the industrial and communications front for the past 28 years, including the 17 years before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. During this revolution, profound changes occurred on this front as a result of criticizing the counterrevolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, and the "gang of four," and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was implemented in a still better way. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" tried very hard to discredit the work on the industrial and communications front by slandering Marxism as "revisionism" and socialist principles, policies and regulations for running socialist industry as "capitalism." They directed the spearhead of their attack at Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, and their criminal aim was to usurp party and state power, ruin China's socialist economic base and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Coming under their poisonous influence, some comrades became ideologically confused. They dared not uphold what was correct or carry forward our fine traditions and dared not restore good practices. Only by thoroughly discrediting the "gang of four" and eliminating their poisonous influence can we consolidate and develop the victorious fruits of the Great Cultural Revolution, enhance people's revolutionary spirit and encourage them to build socialism in a big way.

Following their negation of the dominant position of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" dealt blows at and persecuted industrial and communications cadres and workers. They also openly promoted the criticism and eradication of the view that "the working class is good," thus maligning veteran workers and model workers as "those having vested interests and refusing to make revolution." They asserted that new

workers "cannot be depended upon," slandered veteran cadres as "democrats" and "capitalist roaders," engineers and technicians as "the stinking ninth category" and "reactionary authorities," and advanced units as "sinister examples." They committed despicable fascist crimes by cruelly persecuting many workers, cadres and technicians. On the other hand, they gave the name of "representatives of the working class" to people like Chen Ah-ta, Weng Sen-ho and Chang Hung-chih and called a handful of degenerates like Ma Tien-shui, who sold themselves to the gang, "revolutionary leading cadres" and regarded them as their "forces to depend on." This was a complete reversal of the relationship of the people to the enemy and a confusion of right and wrong.

The attitude to be taken toward the working class is a major question concerning whom to depend on and which class line to follow. On the eve of nationwide liberation, Chairman Mao indicated that in urban work we must wholeheartedly rely on the working class. The working class is the leading class. Negating this class means negating the revolution. An attack on it means an attack on the revolution. By negating the working class and splitting its ranks, the "gang of four" revealed themselves as the general representatives of the new and old bourgeoisie and as out-and-out counterrevolutionaries.

Our working class ranks include veteran workers, young workers, engineers, technicians and cadres who have made important contributions in socialist revolution and construction. During the Great Cultural Revolution, in particular, when Lin Piao and the "gang of four" ran rampant and acted unreasonably, the overwhelming majority of our comrades waged a tit-for-tat struggle against them, resolutely defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, persisted in grasping revolution and promoting production, underwent rigorous tests and demonstrated a high level of political consciousness. This good contingent of persons is our main force for undertaking the new Long March.

In the course of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and eliminating their poisonous influence, we must more firmly foster the viewpoint of wholeheartedly relying on the working class, further implement the party's policies on cadres, veteran workers and intellectuals, and warmly care for the growth of young workers. All slanders and false charges leveled at them by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" should be repudiated and overthrown. It is necessary to bring all positive factors into full play and make continuous efforts to strengthen the revolutionary unity of the working class.

Lin Piao and the "gang of four" arbitrarily distorted the basic task of industrial enterprises. In recent years they created widespread confusion on whether a factory should center its efforts on production and on the relationship between revolution and production on the one hand and politics and professional work on the other. Anyone who talked about production was attacked as practicing the "theory of the all-importance

of the productive forces." Anyone who did professional work was slandered as trying to "sweep aside politics." And anyone who paid attention to management was accused of following the revisionist way of "controlling, restricting and suppressing the workers." They also attacked efforts to fulfill quotas for profit as "putting profit in command," the study of professional skills as taking the "White and expert" road, and the implementation of the principle of "to each according to his work" as advocating "material incentives." All their fallacies were diametrically opposed to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Marxism holds that economics is the foundation of politics and politics is the concentrated expression of economics. In class society, politics has never existed in isolation from economic interests, nor have economic activities been carried out in isolation from politics.

Chairman Mao always stressed: "Grasp revolution and promote production." He taught us: "Socialist revolution aims at liberating the productive forces." "Ideological work and political work are the guarantee for accomplishing economic work and technical work, and they serve the economic base. Moreover, ideology and politics are the commander, the soul." In a talk in August 1972, Premier Chou made the sharp comment: "Empty, extremist and formalist talks about putting proletarian politics in command are at variance with Mao Tsetung Thought." He pointed out clearly: "The political movement and vocational work are linked and should not be placed in opposition to each other. What should proletarian politics command? It should command vocational work."

These instructions clearly show us how we should correctly understand and handle the dialectical relations between politics and vocational work and between revolution and production. We should persistently put proletarian politics in command at all times, firmly grasp class struggle as the key link, and put politics in command of production, vocational work and technology. If we overlook this, our enterprises will lose their bearings and our work will go astray. The fundamental task of an enterprise is to do a good job in production. Its most fundamental practical activity is production. We should put politics in command of production and vocational work. Political work must be done in connection with economic work. It must serve production and insure the fulfillment of state plans. If this is denied, talk about putting politics in command will be a sham. If a socialist enterprise wants to be politically good, it must be good in production. The status of production is an important criterion for evaluating the status of political work. We should oppose "practical men who have lost their bearings" and "armchair politicians who are divorced from reality." We should achieve the unity of politics and economics and of politics and technique. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" trampled underfoot fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles and fanatically acted in direct opposition to the instructions of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou. They separated and counterpoised politics and economics in theory and practice. They opposed "putting politics in command of production and vocational work" and denied that the

fundamental task of an enterprise was production. They defined politics in a highly abstract way, uttering such nonsense as "from politics to politics," "from the soul to the soul" and "from education of man to education of man" and spread such fallacies as "we should not produce products for the erroneous line," "so long as the line is correct, it will be all right not to turn out products" and so on. According to their reactionary logic, a factory does its utmost in "putting politics to the fore" by not producing any goods and is the most "revolutionary" when it stops production. The basic task of an enterprise is not to turn out products but to manufacture lies and rumors or to get hold of so-called "capitalist roaders." The sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" almost pushed China's national economy to the brink of collapse. In pursuing their goal the gang tried to write off proletarian politics, promote bourgeois and fascist politics, undermine China's socialist economic base and restore capitalism. Under the pernicious influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," political work and vocational work have been seriously divorced from each other in recent years. The situation is exactly as the masses have said: Putting politics in command remains an empty verbal or written slogan. We simply haven't put politics in command of production and vocational work. Some comrades mistakenly believed that "it is a form of insurance to take up politics, but it is dangerous to grasp production." Some talked volubly about "politics" but knew nothing about production. Some knew neither how to work on the bench nor how to carry out political work. And some did nothing but tell lies and make empty speeches. This caused grave harm to work.

Chairman Hua has admonished us: "We must adhere to the principle of 'grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and being prepared against war' and simultaneously press on with the three revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. To tackle production and scientific experiment without at the same time waging class struggle will not lead to success in the former two, since in that case it would be impossible to keep to the socialist orientation, foster stability and unity, sweep away the obstacles to the four modernizations and activate the revolutionary spirit of the people. But to wage class struggle without at the same time carrying on the struggle for production and scientific experiment would not do either, since in that case the four modernizations would be just so much idle talk, and support for the party line would consist of nothing but spurious avowals."

We must seriously study and profoundly understand Chairman Hua's instructions and do a still better job in grasping revolution and promoting production. We should emulate Taching in paying great attention to the revolution in the realm of the superstructure, the revolution in the realm of the relations of production and technical innovation, and revolution in order to develop the productive forces. We should emulate Taching

in simultaneously pressing on with the three revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. We should emulate Taching in ideologically arming the people with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We should emulate Taching in doing ideological and political work in the course of production and scientific experiment and in the midst of the everyday lives of the staff and workers, so that politics will fully play its commanding and guaranteeing role, so that the staff and workers will become vigorous and so that production will increase every year.

While criticizing the ultrarightist line of the "gang of four," we must thoroughly expose them as pseudoleftists and repudiate the ultra-"leftist" trend of thought spread by them. Chairman Hua pointed out: The "gang of four" "pushed an extreme ultraright line which manifested itself in an ultraleft as well as in an ultraright form. As a rule, it was when they struck an ultraleft pose that their capacity to deceive became quite great." For a long time the "gang of four" forbade criticism of the ultraleft because such criticism would have hurt them. They would accuse anyone who did so of "negating the Great Cultural Revolution" and of "criticizing the masses." Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed things which were "left" in form but right in essence. Those things have caused much damage, been a very serious and pernicious influence and confused people's thinking. As a result, some comrades hold the erroneous views that "left" deals with methodology while being on the right deals with political position, that the more one is "left," the more one is revolutionary, and that they would rather be "left" than right. Such erroneous views have caused extensive ultra-"leftist" trends of thought, anarchism, idealism and metaphysics. They have seriously undermined the socialist legal system, disrupted the normal process of production and violated our party's fine traditions of seeking truth from facts. Now this pernicious influence is still an important reason some of our departments and units have not quickly implemented those policies that should be implemented, have not strictly observed those rules of discipline that should be observed, have not rigidly enforced those systems and regulations that should be enforced, have not firmly carried out the orders of superiors, and have not dealt strong blows against the bad elements.

To eradicate the chaos created by the "gang of four" on the economic front, various departments and units learned about the "10 do's and don'ts" in 1977. This education has produced very good results in eliminating the pernicious influence and clarifying right and wrong. We should expand our studies this year and unfold a mass movement to publicize, study and discuss the "10 do's and don'ts." We should emulate such units as Taching in daring to criticize the present situation and concentrate our criticism on matters in which the pernicious influence of the gang and the damage they did have been the worst in our department or unit. For example, the "gang of four" blustered: "The general orientation calls for directing our spearhead upward" and "kick aside the party committees in making revolution." Under their influence, some persons lack a sense

of organization, disobey the party leadership and wantonly disregard decisions made by higher authorities. Under their influence, some party organizations cannot enforce their instructions and lack all authority. The "gang of four" split the workers' ranks and instigated bourgeois factionalism. As a result, some persons tend to gang up, form small factions, love their faction but not the party, and repudiate the proletarian party spirit. They have seriously affected revolutionary unity. The anarchism advertised by the "gang of four" has caused some units to display poor organization and discipline. Some persons have disobeyed orders and disregarded organizational discipline. It has become quite common for rules and regulations to be ignored and for those who violate rules and regulations to go unpunished. The "gang of four" took the lead in fanning up evil capitalist winds. As a result, perverse trends have become common in some units. There are many serious cases of illegal bartering, profiteering at the expense of the public interest, violating laws and discipline and undermining the state's financial and economic situation. The "gang of four" sabotaged the party's fine tradition of doing political work. Under their influence, party branch secretaries in some units don't know how to do political and ideological work, party members are afraid to make situation reports to the party branch, and they don't even know how to hold party branch or group meetings. The "gang of four" protected bad people, covered up their misdeeds and said that "to direct the spearhead downward is to suppress the masses." As a result, some cadres are afraid to criticize capitalist tendencies and to struggle against perverse trends. "They hide the truth from the higher level and make empty promises to the lower level. They strive to do good things and cover up their bad deeds. They are very tactful in doing things." Intimidated by the gang's bludgeoning, other cadres lack initiative and creativity. "They neither walk in front nor fall behind. First they walk slowly, then they look out, and finally they cross the bridge."

The "gang of four" perverted the party's fine workstyle in seeking truth from facts. As a result, some units are doing sloppy work. They are dishonest in thought, word and deed. They have failed to set strict standards for work, organization, attitude and observance of discipline. They even tell lies, forge records, make false reports and deceive both their superiors and their subordinates.

Those are the general problems. If we don't thoroughly eradicate the remnant pernicious influence, we will not be able to give full play to the party's fine tradition and workstyle, establish a powerful leading group and build a good contingent of workers, not to mention building Taching-type enterprises. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that as a result of the "gang of four's" long playing such tricks, some comrades still do not know that they have been poisoned or have not disinfected themselves after being poisoned. They have either repeated the mistakes for which they were criticized or have reverted to their former selves while doing their work. This is extremely dangerous.



We should follow Taching's example to educate the people by contrasting the correct with the erroneous line, analyze typical cases, consider matters on the basis of ideology, line and their relationship to continuing the revolution, and penetratingly criticize the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four" in philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. We should totally smash the reactionary ideology of the "gang of four" and further distinguish between right and wrong in questions of theory, line, policy and workstyle.

To eradicate the gang's pernicious influence, it is necessary to solve people's problems and stress education. It is necessary to combine study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with mass criticism and exchange of experiences. All units and comrades should conscientiously sum up their experiences. In the protracted struggle against the "gang of four," some comrades disdained all fallacies and took a firm and clear-cut stand. We should mobilize them to introduce their experiences in the struggle, sum them up and advance together. Some comrades were basically good in the struggle against the "gang of four," but they said some wrong things and made some mistakes. Regarding those comrades, we should lead them to seriously sum up their experiences and draw useful lessons from them. In this way they, along with other people, will gain from the lessons. As for those comrades who were seriously poisoned by the fallacies of the "gang of four" and who committed serious mistakes, it is very important to mobilize them to eradicate the pernicious influence. To unite them we should enthusiastically help them, work hard to transform them and encourage them to reveal all their problems, change their stand and correct their mistakes in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." We should welcome them when they have raised their understanding and distinguished between right and wrong. We shall thus be able to help more people by educating them, unite all those who can be united, and fight a people's war in eradicating the pernicious influence of the "gang of four." We shall be able to seek truth from facts, sum up both positive and negative experiences, further establish correct lines, principles, policies and methods of work for all departments on all fronts, and be able to greatly improve our ideological level and quality of work.

We must make repeated efforts to eradicate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four." Criticizing their counterrevolutionary revisionist fallacies once or twice is not enough. We must constantly fight against those fallacies. Some comrades have not completely solved their ideological problems. They are presently doing well but in a new situation would again make mistakes. This is nothing strange. It only tells us that the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" is very serious and that our work is very arduous. As leading cadres we must do our work patiently, meticulously and tenaciously and exert repeated efforts to help those comrades in solving their repeated problems in order to consolidate our victories in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four."

The current situation on the industrial and communications front is quite good. A new leap forward is developing. However, despite the improved situation, we must remain soberminded, act carefully and thoroughly, strive to improve our work, and work hard and well. We must never be complacent. We must see to it that the eradication of the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" is still a very arduous and heavy task. To fight this battle well hinges on whether we can win complete victory in the movement and on whether we can implement the general tasks in the new period. Party committees at various levels must strengthen their leadership and lead the broad masses to deepen the third battle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," fight a massive people's war to eradicate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four," further develop the excellent situation, bring all positive factors into full play, advance courageously on the road of the new Long March, win new victories on the industrial and communications front and make still greater contributions to grasping the key link and running the country well, achieving great results in 3 years and building China into a powerful and modern socialist country.

YOUTH OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY, UNITE, MARCH ON UNDER THE BANNER OF MAO TSE-TUNG

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 3 May 78 pp 13-15

[Article by Liao Cheng-chih [1675 2110 1807]]

[Text] The May 4 youth festival has arrived with news about the forthcoming 10th National CYL Congress. This is really cause for jubilation.

Young people are the most active and vital force in society. Whether in the period of democratic revolution, in the period of socialist revolution, in the period of revolutionary war, or in the period of peaceful construction, our young people have performed many epic deeds and made valuable contributions. The "gang of four" were the greatest abettors of the poisoning of young people. They made a mess of youth work. They created confusion in people's minds and disrupted the party's fine traditions. They corrupted social morals and led the young people to crime and degeneration. The precious youth of many young persons was wasted. This situation filled every upright man with infinite resentment. The party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua smashed the "gang of four" at one stroke and removed the source of evil for us. After the great political revolution to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," after the arduous struggles of the party and the people on the political, economic, military, cultural and various other fronts, and after the 11th National CCP Congress, the Fifth NPC and the Fifth CPPCC--conferences of historic significance--our country has in the past year or so basically overcome the chaos created by the "gang of four" and started on the road to great order across the land. The masses of young people have smashed the spiritual shackles imposed on them by the "gang of four" and are taking great strides forward along the Red and expert road. I believe that the upcoming 10th National CYL Congress will be a starting point for the new Long March undertaken by our young people in realizing the general task for the new period under the leadership of Chairman Hua.

At this moment I cannot help recall the scene at the First National CYL Congress when esteemed and beloved Premier Chou gave us his admonitions.

It was in May 1949, when the war of liberation was soon to be crowned with national victory and the Chinese revolution was entering a new historical period. Attaching great importance to youth work, Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee decided to call the First National CYL Congress in Peking that year on May 4, Youth Day, and to establish the All-China Youth Federation. The young heroes and models on various fronts, intellectuals and Overseas Chinese from abroad got together and summed up the experience of the youth movement in the previous 30 years. Fundamental tasks were defined for the youth movement in the new period. Chairman Mao wrote an inscription for the congress: "Unite the young people in various fields to participate in new democratic construction work." He made clear the orientation of advance for the youth of the whole country. Commander Chu spoke at the congress on behalf of the party Central Committee. Premier Chou had especially concerned himself with every problem. He often received the comrades responsible for leadership work connected with the congress. He conscientiously helped us prepare for the congress. He patiently persuaded certain comrades to correct their erroneous ideas. This insured the successful convening of the congress. On 7 May Premier Chou gave a political report at the congress and put forward the resonant slogan, "Youth of the whole country, unite, march on under the banner of Mao Tse-tung." He led the young people of the whole country to triumphantly advance along the road charted by Chairman Mao.

Drawing on his own experiences and lessons in the Chinese revolution, Premier Chou cited many cases to drive home the point that advancing with Chairman Mao's banner held high is of immediate and far-reaching significance in building the new China. He stressed: "Facts of the revolutionary movement in the past 30 years show that our Chinese people have their own leader in Mao Tse-tung." "Chairman Mao was correct in the four revolutionary stages of China, representing as he did the correct direction of the Chinese people." "The whole party recognizes this leader and obeys him willingly and sincerely. He has the support of the people."

Premier Chou taught the young people that in "studying Mao Tse-tung" and "studying the whole system of Mao Tse-tung's thinking" we must not only adhere to the orientation, principles and truths pointed out by Chairman Mao but also implement the concrete policies and strategies formulated by Chairman Mao and combine political firmness with strategic flexibility.

The premier admonished the young people to "practice rather than preach," just as Lenin said, "Be less of a glib talker and give more time to everyday affairs." This is to say that we must acquire Chairman Mao's study attitude and his workstyle--studying assiduously and ceaselessly and without ever becoming complacent. We must acquire his down-to-earth spirit and his style of guarding against arrogance and rashness. The premier said that the young people must "be frank and honest, down to earth and sure footed, and advance in a steady and at the same time brave manner."

The premier also defined Chairman Mao's idea on the united front and stressed the great significance of uniting the masses of young people to participate in building the new China. The premier pointed out that at any time our policy and slogans must represent the interests of the great majority of the people. We must take care of the great majority, always think of the "90 percent" and strive to rally the broadest masses of people around the proletariat instead of confining ourselves to the narrowest circle. The premier taught the delegates to the congress not to abandon and exclude those young people who are ideologically backward. Instead, we must rally them well and organize them to study together, seek a higher level together and advance together. He concluded by singing aloud with everyone: "Their hearts overflowing with warmth, the young people follow Mao Tse-tung in advancing, closely follow Mao Tse-tung in advancing."

The premier's poignant teachings greatly educated and inspired the delegates to the congress and the young people of the whole country, who have advanced triumphantly in socialist revolution and construction. For several decades the premier dedicated his life to the great revolution, setting a shining example to the people and the youth of the whole country in "studying Mao Tse-tung" and "advancing under the banner of Mao Tse-tung."

Though 29 years have elapsed since then, the premier's instructions are still of great realistic significance to the young people of our country today.

We have now entered a new historical period in our socialist revolution and construction. Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee have defined the general task for the whole party and the people of the entire nation. This is to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, launch the three great revolutionary movements--class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment--and build China into a great and powerful socialist country with modernized agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology by the end of this century. At the National Science Conference, Chairman Hua stressed that in realizing the general task for the new period we must greatly raise the scientific and cultural levels of the entire Chinese nation. Chairman Hua pointed out that we must launch a new and lasting study campaign. In doing so we must raise the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to a new level and, at the same time, strive to take up cultural studies, acquire modern scientific knowledge and master labor techniques and management methods that are required in modern production. We must turn the masses of young people into laborers with socialist consciousness and culture and continuously train from among them Red and expert scientific and technical personnel, so that our scientific and technical undertakings can grow and thrive with an endless crop of new talent. At the National Education Work Conference, Vice Chairman Teng also stressed that we must restore and carry

forward the revolutionary traditions vitiated by the "gang of four" and energetically promote among young people and adolescents such revolutionary virtues as learning diligently, observing discipline, loving physical labor, taking pleasure in helping others, working hard and daring to fight the enemy, and pursuing the down-to-earth revolutionary style of gradually turning lofty ideals into realities. We must train young people and adolescents into elite elements who are loyal to the socialist motherland, loyal to the proletarian revolutionary cause and loyal to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The general task for the new period and the call by Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee hold out a bright and rosy future for the young people of the whole country and also impose more exacting demands on youth. The 23 years from now to the end of the century are for the youth of the whole country an extremely precious period and a good opportunity for them to work hard and demonstrate their abilities to the fullest. Young people envy the revolutionary forerunners their participation in the world-famous Long March led by Chairman Mao and their participation in a bloody war to seize the land for the proletariat and to render meritorious services. The fact that young people can now take part in the new Long March led by Chairman Hua toward the great goal of a modern and powerful socialist country and can devote the best years of their lives to a greater and more arduous struggle by climbing new "snowclad mountains" and crossing new "grasslands" is likewise a source of pride. Every ambitious youth should be a glorious fighter worthy of this great new Long March. We must hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, bear Premier Chou's admonitions and fervent expectations in mind, actively respond to the call of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, rid ourselves of all kinds of fears and difficulties and the idea of being unable to do anything, aim high, cherish great ambitions, devote vigorous efforts to building socialism with "wings spread wide," strive to scale the heights of science and technology, be "frank and honest, down to earth, and sure footed and advance steadily," and contribute our youth to the realization of the behests of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and to the building of a powerful socialist country modernized in four fields.

Youth of the whole country, unite, closely follow Chairman Hua and advance under the banner of Mao Tse-tung!

ACT STRICTLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 3 May 78 pp 16-18

[Article by Chiang Hua [3068 5478]]

[Text] The Fifth NPC, a congress of unity and victory, adopted a new constitution. This is a major event in our people's political life. The whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are elated and inspired by the new constitution and enthusiastically support it. Holding aloft Chairman Mao's great banner, the new constitution sums up the historical experience of our people in protracted revolutionary struggle, and especially their experience in socialist revolution and construction in the 28 years since the founding of the PRC. It fully embodies the line of the 11th National CCP Congress and the strategic policy decisions of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua on grasping the key link and running the country well. The general task for the new period is laid down in legal form in the new constitution. Thus, the new constitution points out a grand goal for the people of all nationalities throughout the country to achieve through struggle and charts a correct course for them to follow.

The constitution is the fundamental law of the state. Many basic socialist laws formulated in our country over the past 28 years have provided guarantees and impetus for the smooth development of the socialist revolution and construction. Our country's new constitution is an inevitable product of the new period of development of these laws and serves as the basis for drawing up new laws, decrees, rules and regulations covering various subjects.

To fulfill the general task for the new period we must not only strictly enforce the new constitution but also gradually improve and add to the various socialist laws in accordance with the new constitution in order to further strengthen the socialist legal system. With the birth of the new constitution, a new period has begun in building our socialist legal system.

The new constitution is a general charter for running the country in the new period. In carrying out socialist revolution and construction we must never ignore or negate the role of the socialist legal system. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Our laws are formulated by the working people themselves. They are designed to maintain revolutionary order and protect the interests of the working people, the economic base of socialism and the productive forces." Our country is a socialist country with one-fifth of the world's population. If there were not a steadily improving socialist legal system or if we failed to enforce the existing one, there would be anarchy, and it would be impossible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat or to build a modern, powerful socialist country. We must use the constitution as a weapon for protecting the socialist system, combating and preventing revisionism, suppressing all forms of treason and counterrevolutionary activity, punishing all traitors and counterrevolutionaries, new bourgeois elements and other bad elements, and compelling class enemies to act in compliance with the law. This will insure stability and good social order for national construction and for the people's well-being. We must also use this weapon to protect the people's personal freedoms, democratic rights and rightful economic interests, correctly handle contradictions among the people, strengthen their unity and heighten their enthusiasm for socialism. The new constitution has a very important role in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, protecting socialist public ownership, promoting the rapid development of productive forces and victoriously fulfilling the general task for the new period.

It is imperative to insure that both the letter and spirit of the new constitution are enforced. The "gang of four" defied both human and divine laws, and the people suffered greatly. All people desire that the new constitution be enforced and the socialist legal system be further strengthened. Great results have been achieved in strengthening the socialist legal system in the last year and a half under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and party committees at all levels. A steady effort has been made to right the wrongs in cases fabricated by the "gang of four." Counterrevolutionaries and criminals guilty of every conceivable atrocity have been brought to justice, serious violators of the law have been punished by the state, and party members violating party discipline have been dealt with accordingly. Rules and regulations in various fields have been or are being revised and improved. Stability, unity and good social order, which are necessary for the fulfillment of the general task for the new period, are taking shape. The anarchy created by the "gang of four" in some areas and organizations has given way to order, as has the anomalous situation in which counterrevolutionaries and bad elements ran amuck with impunity while the people's democratic rights were jeopardized. All this fully shows that the socialist legal system is being strengthened with each passing day through the concerted efforts of the people of the whole country after smashing the "gang of four"--the root of evil. The new constitution will certainly be implemented comprehensively.



We should note that Lin Piao and the "gang of four," in particular, vilified and undermined the socialist legal system. Their influence was deep seated, widespread and pernicious, and it created serious ideological confusion. To enforce the new constitution to the letter, we still have to do a great deal of arduous and meticulous work and must do it persistently and thoroughly. While following the instructions of the party Central Committee, profoundly studying and publicizing Chairman Hua's report on the work of the government and publicizing the general task for the new period, we should use whatever time is necessary to energetically and widely publicize the new constitution and educate everyone in the country on its contents. We should vigorously lecture on Chairman Hua's instructions on strengthening the socialist legal system, lecture on Vice Chairman Yeh's report on the revision of the constitution, and lecture on the new constitution itself--especially on its preamble, general principles and the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. Through such publicity and education we should make the new constitution known to every family and every person. We should enable the cadres and masses to continuously raise their political consciousness, enhance their consciousness of being the masters of their own affairs and increase their awareness of the socialist legal system. We should create an atmosphere in which cadres take the lead in obeying the law, in which the masses consciously do so and the leading organs and judicial departments act in strict accordance with the law. While publicizing the new constitution, educating the people on it and promoting its enforcement, we must encourage correct behavior by vigorously commending and supporting those cadres and masses who are exemplary in abiding by the constitution and the law and who struggle bravely against bad people and bad deeds. At an appropriate time, localities should choose some typical cases in which people have undermined the socialist legal system, endangered the interests of the state and the people and encroached on people's rights, and should deal firmly with those involved, punish them according to the law and widely publicize these cases in order to strengthen law and discipline.

The effort to publicize the new constitution and educate the people on it should be linked with the current struggle to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four." The "gang of four" placed themselves above the party and the people and acted like overlords not bound by party discipline and the laws of the state. They raved about "smashing the public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts" and acted on their words. They vilified our country's socialist legal system as "capitalist" and "revisionist" and completely negated the nature and role of the socialist legal system. They frenziedly incited anarchy and acts of smashing and grabbing in an attempt to create chaos in the land of the proletariat and thereby to usurp power amid the chaos. Under the influence of the reactionary fallacies spread by the "gang of four," some people failed to distinguish between a capitalist legal system and the socialist legal system and to realize the importance of strengthening the latter. Thus, they regarded the socialist legal system as insignificant

or nonessential. Some who did not understand the legal system failed to obey the laws of the state and even committed major crimes. By publicizing the new constitution and educating the people on it, and through the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we should enable the cadres and masses to increase their understanding of the great significance of enforcing the new constitution, to eliminate the "gang of four's" pernicious influence, to enhance the people's understanding of the socialist legal system and to resolutely struggle against violations of the law and criminal acts.

The new constitution is a great fruit of victory achieved in smashing the "gang of four" and represents the vital interests of the people. We must treasure and cherish it, defend it and consciously abide by it. For the masses of people, the new constitution is a code of conduct to be observed voluntarily. This is one of the basic differences which distinguishes the constitution of our country from those of all capitalist and revisionist countries. Voluntary observation of this code of conduct is a manifestation of the spirit of being our own masters and a manifestation of our love for our country, people and socialism. Obeying the constitution and the law is a fundamental obligation of every citizen. Enjoying our rights and fulfilling our obligations are complementary modes of behavior and manifest the identity of individual and state interests. When everybody voluntarily obeys the constitution, stability of the social order can be insured, and a favorable condition will evolve for revolution, production, work and study, for exposing the criminal activities of class enemies, and for effectively struggling against our enemy and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Obeying the constitution and the law is not an insignificant matter; it is vital to the restoration of great order across the land to the fulfillment of the general task for the new period.

The people of our country have high political consciousness. They have a fine tradition of observing discipline and the law. However, this fine tradition was undermined by the "gang of four's" perverted actions on the issue of rule by law, and they poisoned many people. In handling the few existing lawbreakers, we should mainly be concerned with whether to criticize and educate them or subject them to disciplinary action. Those who have violated criminal laws must be punished accordingly. As for offenders among the people, implementation of socialist rule by law is obligatory by nature. Of course, the nature of such an obligatory practice is basically different from our dictatorship over antagonistic classes and from the obligatory measures taken regarding class enemies. It is necessary to deal firmly with the few offenders among the people in order to defend the interests of the majority who obey the law. If we appease and connive with offenders, not only will the people and the state be jeopardized, but the work to reform the offenders will be hindered. Violations of the law reflect the class struggle throughout the historical period of socialism and are inevitable. Struggling against such activities is a long-range task in the implementation of socialist rule by law.

In his "On the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China," written in 1954, Chairman Mao said: "Once the constitution is approved, the whole nation, one and all, should observe it. State personnel particularly...should take the lead in observing it. To fail to observe the constitution is to violate it." Chairman Hua pointed out in his report on the work of the government that "cadres should be law abiding, as should the masses and indeed everyone." All state institutions and functionaries must act strictly in accordance with the constitution and the law. Cadres of the state, particularly those who are also party members, regardless of their positions, are all servants of the people. They must strive to become models in implementing and observing the constitution. Leading cadres at all levels are also ordinary citizens of the state. Aside from the basic rights to which every citizen is entitled, they do not have any special privileges other than those prescribed in the constitution. Our party is the ruling party. The policies of the party and the law of the state must be implemented through various party organizations and by the broad masses of cadres who are also party members. We must realize that the ability of cadres who are also party members--particularly high-ranking cadres--to take the initiative in implementing and observing the constitution and the law has a direct bearing on the party's prestige among the masses, on the close ties between the party and the masses, and on whether or not the work of the party and the people can be done smoothly.

The great majority of our cadres are good. They observe the constitution and the law conscientiously. However, there are people who abuse the power they wield and violate the law and party discipline. They may have harmed the public interest for personal profit and private interests and embezzled the wealth of the state and the people; they may have undermined socialist democratic principles and infringed on the people's rights; they may have seriously violated party policies and the law of the state and replaced them with their own regulations and policies; they may have repressed and retaliated against those who have exposed their wrongdoings; or they may have undermined the state's economic plan and the financial and economic system and harmed socialist public ownership, and so forth. We must wage a firm struggle against all violations of the law and breaches of party discipline which have seriously jeopardized the cause of our party and the people. Installing people's procuratorates as stipulated in the new constitution is a major organizational measure against violations of law and discipline. An offense by a cadre is more serious and has a more detrimental influence than one by an ordinary citizen. Any cadre who violates the law or party discipline must be duly punished, no matter how long his years of service or how high his position.

Strong supervision from the masses is of great importance in insuring that state functionaries abide by the constitution and the law. The constitution prescribes: "Citizens have the right to lodge complaints with organs of state at any level against any person working in an organ

of state, enterprise or institution for transgression of law or neglect of duty. Citizens have the right to appeal to organs of state at any level concerning any infringement of their rights. No one shall suppress such complaints and appeals or retaliate against persons making them." This article manifests the socialist principle of democracy and is absolutely essential to insure that state cadres faithfully do their duty and serve the people wholeheartedly, and to insure the implementation of the constitution and the law. The masses must be guaranteed the right to expose bad people and bad deeds in state institutions. Accusations and appeals from the masses must be actively supported, seriously treated and conscientiously handled. Anyone who abuses his position and power and suppresses such accusations and appeals or resorts to retaliation is violating the constitution and undermining the socialist legal system and must be dealt with severely. A serious offender must be punished by state law and by party discipline if he is a party member.

The people's courts are important instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They exercise judicial authority, which is part of the state's authority and comes from and is supervised by the people. The constitution prescribes: "In accordance with the law, the people's courts apply the system whereby representatives of the masses participate as assessors in administering justice. With regard to major counterrevolutionary or criminal cases, the masses should be drawn in for discussion and suggestions." This is an important aspect of the people's participation in running the state and an embodiment of the party's mass line in judicial work. It must be implemented resolutely. The people's courts are one of the institutions that implement the law. They are directly responsible for the important tasks of implementing and defending the new constitution. Implementing the new constitution is a sharp class struggle. By administering justice in accordance with the law, the people's courts deal resolute blows at class enemies engaged in sabotage, punish minor and major offenders, protect the people's rights, safeguard the socialist system and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. The people's courts must use various methods to actively carry out propaganda and education on socialist rule by law. The broad masses of judicial cadres must take the initiative in observing the constitution and the law. Whether handling a counterrevolutionary case or a criminal or civil case, the courts must act strictly in accordance with the constitution and the law, strictly follow the trial system and procedures prescribed by law and strictly follow the system of reviewing the case and determining the verdict. Verdicts reached by the people's courts in criminal and civil cases must be carried out in order to maintain the dignity of the state law. In the handling of a case, stress must be given to the weight of evidence and to investigation and study. The practice of obtaining confessions by force and then giving them credence is strictly forbidden. Only thus can the people's courts effectively play their important role in strengthening the socialist legal system.

The implementation of the new constitution will certainly heighten the morale of the people and deal serious blows to the enemy. It certainly will powerfully stimulate the revolutionary vigor of people of all nationalities throughout the country and bring about a rapid development of the three great revolutionary movements. We deeply believe that in the course of the great struggle to build our country into a modern socialist power, the new constitution certainly will show its enormous power.

CONTINUE TO FIRMLY GRASP AND IMPLEMENT THE PARTY'S POLICY ON CADRES

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 3 May 78 pp 19-23

[Article by Huo Shih-lien [7202 1102 1670], first secretary of the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region CCP Committee]

[Text] The party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua greatly loves and cares for the vast number of cadres. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," it has often instructed us to seriously carry out the party's policy on cadres and to eliminate the serious evil consequences created by the gang's interference and sabotage. In his government work report to the Fifth NPC, Chairman Hua once again stressed: "It is necessary to continue to firmly implement the party's policy on cadres."

The question of cadre policy is an important one bearing on the overall situation. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined." The party's historical experience has repeatedly proved the cadre line and policy of "appointing people by merit" laid down by Chairman Mao for our party are important guarantees for the victory of the revolution. As shown by the events of the struggle between the two lines since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the struggle over how to view and use cadres and whether it is necessary to implement the party's cadre policy has been an important part of the struggle waged by our party against Lin Piao and the antiparty "gang of four." It has also long been the crux of the violent struggle between the two lines in Ningsia.

As early as the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution, the "gang of four's" agents in our region and their associates had actively pushed the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Lin Piao and the "gang of four." They slandered, attacked and persecuted veteran revolutionary cadres and vigorously agitated for "pulling down the temples and banishing the gods." When the autonomous regional Revolutionary Committee was set up in 1968, all but one of the secretaries and Standing Committee members of the former regional CCP Committee and the chairman and vice chairmen of the autonomous region were rejected and excluded. The one admitted into the three-in-one leading group was old and chronically ill. Less than 10 percent of the cadres at bureau and departmental levels were retained. At the time of preparations for the third autonomous regional CCP Congress in 1971, the party Central Committee sternly criticized them, saying: "You haven't done enough in carrying out Chairman Mao's line. The various policies of the party have not been properly implemented and the development of farm production is slow. It was only through resolute struggle by cadres and masses with the great concern and support of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee that a group of cadres was later used. Yet they never resigned themselves to this and in 1974 they took the opportunity to mount a wild counterattack when they struck at the implementation of party cadre policy as "restoring rites and recalling to office those who had fallen into obscurity." [paragraph continues]

As a result many cadres who had been given jobs found it impossible to carry out their duties. Particularly in 1976, they frantically pushed the "gang of four's" counter-revolutionary political program, energetically peddled Chiang Ching's sinister remarks, and viciously accused Vice Chairman Teng of "stretching a sinister hand into Ningsia" and "protecting or recruiting capitalist roaders" in a bid to provide the "gang of four" with ammunition for usurping party and state power. They used their power as well as various despicable tricks to throw out, attack and persecute cadres reluctant to follow them, especially those who opposed them. They also wantonly tampered with Chairman Mao's five requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause, set their own factional standards and did the best they could to foster factional forces. These perverse acts seriously disrupted revolution and production and, along with the effects of natural calamities, accounted for the big drop in the region's farm output and the heavy loss sustained by the socialist cause that year.

It is quite clear that the implementation of cadre policy is an important link in the penetrating exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and in the effort to grasp the key link in running the country well. Whether cadre policy is implemented has a direct bearing on the overall work of a region or a unit and on the smooth development of the socialist cause as a whole. Now, since we must rally the whole party and people of all nationalities to fight for the fulfillment of the general task for the new period, it has become more urgent and important to continue to grasp the implementation of party cadre policy and to speedily adjust and properly build the contingent of cadres and the leading groups at all levels.

Over the past year or so, in accordance with instructions by Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee and amid the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we have seriously implemented the party's cadre policy. A number of comrades who for a long time had not been given jobs or who had been given the wrong jobs were reassigned, while some veteran cadres relieved of their posts, dismissed or forced to resign or retire during the heyday of the "gang of four" were reinstated in their posts. With few exceptions, job arrangements have now been made for the 215 cadres throughout the region who had held leading positions at bureau, departmental or higher levels before the Great Cultural Revolution. In addition, by rechecking the problems left over from the past screening of cadres, we have drawn factual conclusions on more than 150 cadres. In accordance with the implementation of party cadre policy, the majority of leading groups at county or higher levels have been reinforced or rectified. This has effectively promoted the stability and unity of the entire region, aroused revolutionary enthusiasm among cadres and masses, advanced work in various fields and developed the excellent situation.

In carrying out the instructions of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we have profoundly realized:

The implementation of party cadre policy involves a sharp struggle over distinguishing between right and wrong, restoring order from disorder, and massive destruction and massive construction. We must firmly grasp exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the key link to eliminate their pernicious influence and to sweep away obstacles.

Failure to implement party cadre policy is mainly due to interference and sabotage by the gang. It was due to their pernicious influence that some erroneous ideas and tendencies appeared within revolutionary ranks. [paragraph continues]

These must not be overlooked. Here, an important problem to be solved seriously is thoroughly exposing and criticizing the gang's ultra-"leftist" counterrevolutionary tactics, exposing their reactionary features of being sham leftists and real rightists, distinguishing right from wrong in line, and smashing their spiritual shackles.

Stalin once said: "Covering up opportunist acts with a sham 'leftist' mask is one of the most salient characteristics of all oppositionists within our party after it seized political power." The "gang of four" is precisely such a group of sham leftists and real rightists who opposed the Red flag by waving the Red flag. It was also by assuming the posture of ultra-"leftists" that their agents in Ningsia and their bourgeois factional network wildly sabotaged the party's cadre policy. Holding the banner of "supporting the Great Cultural Revolution," they negated Chairman Mao's scientific assertion that the vast majority of the cadres of the party were good or relatively good, and energetically incited "suspecting everything and overthrowing everyone." They not only accused principal responsible comrades of the former autonomous regional CCP Committee prior to the Great Cultural Revolution of being "renegades," "spies" and "unrepentant capitalist roaders" and politically persecuted them, but they also branded party and government organs before the Great Cultural Revolution as "old party committees" and "old people's councils," smearing functionaries and revolutionary cadres in leading positions at various levels as "belonging to the sinister organization." This reactionary theory of "sinister organization" had for many years been a huge bludgeon used to hit at and suppress people. It was also a spiritual shackle used against the vast number of cadres in Ningsia. Influenced by such reactionary views, some comrades were so worried about the implementation of cadre policy that they were slow in taking action; while they readily gave their consent during abstract discussions, they hesitated and wavered when confronted with concrete problems.

In the course of implementing cadre policy, we first of all tackled this theory of "sinister organization," which has had the deepest influence and caused the greatest harm in the region, and exposed and criticized it substantially by linking it with the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary political program. In addition, we waged a resolute struggle against and dealt telling blows at those factional backbone elements involved in evildoing. They had aroused the great indignation of the people and had various serious political problems but were protected and given important jobs by the gang's agents in our region. By putting facts on the table, exposing crimes, criticizing absurdities and comparing and evaluating, we made everyone realize that how to assess our party's contingent of cadres was a basic difference between our party and the "gang of four." In our region as in the rest of the country the vast number of cadres are good or relatively good, and this is an objective fact long ago confirmed through successive political movements since the PRC was founded and particularly through the tempering and testing of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

By smearing cadres, the gang's agents sought to confuse black and white and right and wrong. Their criminal purpose was to attempt to basically negate the dominant position of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in Ningsia, to strike down leading cadres at all levels in our region who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and to sweep away obstructions to their effort to consolidate and seize power. On the basis of clarifying right and wrong, we categorically and completely renounced the reactionary "sinister organization" theory, inspiring the vast number of cadres and masses and jolting the whole region. Those revolutionary cadres previously persecuted were liberated. They were truly grateful to Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee. [paragraph continues]



After clearly seeing the reactionary features of the "gang of four" and their agents in our region, cadres and masses were more determined than ever to carry this struggle through to the end. Having liberated their thinking and overcome anxieties, some leading comrades boldly grasped this work and speeded up the implementation of cadre policy. Some cadres at the section or higher levels of organs under the former regional CCP Committee were branded as a "verdict-reversing clique" because they held different views from those of the gang's agents in our region. They suffered disciplinary measures. Some were not given any jobs for more than 10 years. Smashing the reactionary "sinister organization" theory and breaking through the "forbidden zone" in the implementation of policies removed pressures on these comrades, making it possible to quickly make satisfactory arrangements for their employment.

Eliminating the pernicious influence of the factional style and spirit is also an important issue that must be solved in the course of implementing cadre policy. For some years the gang and their agents in our region advocated such reactionary fallacies as "there are new changes in class relations," thereby creating great confusion in regard to relations between one man and another. They sowed seeds of discord, fanned up factionalism and sabotaged unity within revolutionary ranks, dividing cadres into different factions. This highly corroded the body of the party and cadre thinking. Even though the "gang of four" have collapsed, such pernicious influence is still far from elimination. Some comrades are fully aware that some cadres present no problem for the implementation of the cadre policy in their favor, yet these comrades try to obstruct policy implementation because of personal grudges or factional interests. When arranging for cadre employment, some comrades often let themselves be guided by their likes and dislikes and circumvent party policy. In doing their work, some comrades always think in terms of their own group interests instead of truly relying on the party and the vast majority of cadres and masses. All of these are obstacles to the implementation of cadre policy.

The factional style and spirit were a gust of evil wind whipped up at the instigation and under the influence of the "gang of four." It was as incompatible with the righteous and fair work style consistently promoted by Chairman Mao as water and fire. It ran counter to Chairman Mao's cadre line of "appointing people on merit." Failure to eliminate factional style and spirit will make it impossible to implement the party's cadre policy in a down-to-earth manner and there may even be potential danger and reversals. In particular, a greater danger will be posed for the revolutionary cause when the principal leading comrades at the county and higher levels fail to firmly overcome the factionalist spirit after they have acquired it. For this reason, we must pay attention to linking the implementation of party cadre policy with the rectification of the cadres' way of thinking. We must urge cadres, especially leading ones, to stick to the basic principle of "three-do's and three-don'ts" set down by Chairman Mao, safeguard the party's centralized and unified leadership, and overcome individualist and doctrinaire notions. We constantly remind everyone: Cadres are the party's precious asset and should not be regarded as the forces of a particular faction; since it is always better to have more people join the revolution, we must be good at uniting with the cadres, including those comrades who wrongly opposed us in the past; and at no time should we substitute sentiment for policy or continue to build mountain strongholds. We have also constantly warned everyone in the following terms: [paragraph continues]

In carrying out the instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, one must not only talk but must take action so as to be consistent in word and deed. When it comes to examination and criticism of cadres, it is essential to give play to the party's fine tradition of taking care of its cadres, and to stress the need to have adequate discussion by the party committee and enforce democratic centralism. If there are differences of opinion on the cadre question, these should be put on the table and an ideological debate actively developed.

The bourgeois factional forces of the "gang of four" in Ningsia tried to prevent us from reinstating a leading comrade of the former regional CCP Committee the second half of last year, and some comrades, failing to distinguish right from wrong, followed them and tried to stop us. Confronted with this situation, we firmly adhered to party principle, exposed all sorts of rumors, and led everyone to speak their minds freely. We realistically analyzed the entire history of this comrade and all his work. We also had separate talks about him with some comrades. In this way all of us were able to gradually distinguish right from wrong and to unify our views. We not only implemented the party's cadre policy, but also enhanced unity among comrades.

The policy of all-round consideration and overall arrangements set down by Chairman Mao is the fundamental guideline for us in implementing party cadre policy. Implementation of this guideline calls for historical, dialectical analysis and understanding of the conditions of cadres.

Ningsia is a minority nationality region that was liberated rather late. Before the autonomous region was set up in 1958, there were several changes in administrative divisions. Its cadres, including old, middle-aged and young cadres, Han cadres and cadres of minority nationalities, came from all parts of the country. In the past due to interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," many old cadres were attacked and persecuted, the enthusiasm of middle-aged and young cadres suppressed and many cadres from outside the region did not work with easy minds. After more than a year of the struggle to expose and criticize the gang, the vast number of cadres have brightened their outlook and doubled their zeal. But since they differ in revolutionary experience, work capabilities, ideological level and physical conditions, it is extremely important for us to seriously study and master Chairman Mao's concept concerning unified planning and all-round consideration, and to be good at knowing and using all kinds of talent and at assigning people to jobs best suiting them.

With a view to giving full play to the backbone role of old cadres, we have conducted a general survey of the old cadres throughout the region who in the past were not assigned work or who were not given the right kind of job. In light of current work requirements and their concrete conditions, we have made appropriate arrangements for each of them and given them the right kind of jobs. Moreover, those comrades who showed a firm stand and a clear-cut banner during the 11th line struggle were given more responsibilities so they might bring their role into better play.

There were some comrades who exerted a certain unwholesome influence on the masses, because they themselves had shortcomings and made some mistakes, plus the fact that they were the subject of vicious slander by the bourgeois faction of the gang in Ningsia. We worked on them in a positive way and created conditions for them to take up work as soon as possible. [paragraph continues]

Regarding those leading cadres who were for a long time attacked and persecuted by the gang, we started by criticizing the gang's counterrevolutionary political program, distinguished between right and wrong, removed the resistance and then let them come forward and work boldly. We also gave thought to the fact that many old comrades were deprived of the right to work during the heyday of the gang. While they were not so familiar with current affairs, the development of the situation placed still higher demands on them. In dealing with such comrades, we must not be satisfied with only making suitable organizational arrangements. What is even more important is to grasp ideological education and guide them to recognize their heavy responsibilities during the Long March of the new period. We must not interpret the party's concern merely as that for solving personal problems, nor must we one-sidedly take the implementation of the policy as simply reinstatements to original posts. We must encourage them to be humble and prudent, to guard against arrogance and rashness, to display a thorough revolutionary spirit, to make an effort to adjust their thinking, work style and work methods to the needs of the revolutionary situation, and to ardently teach, help and lead young cadres.

Simultaneously with firmly implementing policy toward old cadres, we have also given attention to thoroughly carrying out the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young, and stepped up the training of middle-aged and young cadres. Chairman Mao pointed out: "If our party does not have unity and cooperation between the vast number of new cadres and old cadres, then our work will come to a halt." In the past the "gang of four's" agents in our region, wantonly tampering with Chairman Mao's cadre line and policy, advocated that in regard to cadres it was necessary to "take the young as the mainstay" and "the younger the better." They promoted cadres and admitted them into the party on a "shock" basis. As a result the contingent of cadres was seriously corrupted and undermined, new cadres, particularly cadres of minority nationalities and women cadres, were retarded in their growth, and the succession problem for leading groups at various levels was rather serious. It has become a matter of extreme urgency to vigorously train and promote middle-aged and young cadres and to augment and strengthen leading groups at all levels.

However, some comrades do not adequately understand this. First, troubled by rightist conservative notions, they complain about the shortage of cadres, failing to see that a large number of fine cadres have emerged or are emerging from the three great revolutionary movements. Second, they nitpick and are not good at observing cadres on the basis of the essence and main aspects. In view of this, on the one hand we have organized cadres and masses to seriously study the directive of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua on strengthening the building of leading groups and to fully realize that stepping up the training and promotion of middle-aged and young cadres is essential to the revolutionary cause and to the accomplishment of the general task of the new period and that is different in nature from the "shock promotion and shock entry" vigorously practiced by the "gang of four." On the other hand, firmly adhering to the standard set by Chairman Mao for cadres, we widely solicited opinions from the masses and discovered talented people in the course of the line struggle. Through careful observations, we gradually promoted to higher positions more than 100 middle-aged and young cadres who met Chairman Mao's five requirements for successors and who had definite practical experience and work capability. Now, most party committees at the prefectural, municipal, county and banner levels and nearly half of the leading groups of industrial and mining enterprises in counties and at higher levels under the jurisdiction of the regional authority have been provided with additional new blood. [paragraph continues]

In Kuyuan Prefecture in the Liupan Mountains, through which the Workers and Peasants Red Army led by Chairman Mao passed during its Long March, revolution and production were in a backward state for a long time because its leading group was disrupted by agents of the "gang of four" in our region. Last year, we took strong measures to readjust and strengthen the leading group of the prefectural CCP Committee. We removed bad elements who had sneaked into it, reinstated the secretary of the former prefectural CCP Committee who had been tested in prolonged revolutionary struggle, and promoted four middle-aged and young cadres, two of whom became deputy secretaries, to the Standing Committee. With new and old cadres united in fighting and filled with vigor and vitality, a new atmosphere has appeared in all kinds of work.

Work regarding cadres is extremely solemn and delicate work. Adhering to the work method of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line has a great bearing on the implementation of party cadre policy.

To undermine the party's cadre policy, the "gang of four" and their agents in Ningsia did not hesitate to distort facts, raise minor issues to the level of principle, fabricate charges out of thin air, frame people by planting stolen goods and resort to every possible dirty trick. An effective means to deal with them is to be determined to work in the most meticulous way and to explain actual conditions correctly. Chairman Mao said: "We should do things honestly; it won't do to accomplish several things in the world without having an honest attitude." This is even more pertinent in the implementation of cadre policy. No problem can be solved by merely having good intentions and making general arrangements without penetrating and careful investigation and study.

We have from beginning to end stressed the need for leading cadres to go deep into reality and among the masses, and to have firm faith in, and rely on, the masses. Whatever the personal problems, facts must be clearly investigated and there must be no room for ambiguity. Responsible comrades of our regional CCP Committee take the lead in action. With work and responsibility divided among themselves, they call various types of report and discussion meetings to determine the conditions of employment of cadres and existing problems. They personally receive and handle letters and visitors. And they call on cadres for separate talks and listen to their opinions and demands. When studying cadre problems, we must insist on a clear statement of the facts and a factual basis for charges regarding bad deeds. We will never allow things to be done by subjective imagination or estimation. We deeply feel bureaucratism in work regarding cadres can cause considerable harm to the party's cause, and if this problem is not solved, the party's cadre policy will not be carried out properly. The more violent and complicated the struggle, the greater the need for leaders to keep their heads and to prevent subjectivism or guard against being taken in by rumors. We must do this work with a high sense of responsibility to party and people and by fostering a sense of readiness to struggle against the "gang of four."

We must clearly understand the situation and have great resolve and the right methods to deal with problems. Whenever the problems of a cadre are solved, more evidence is collected against the crimes committed by the gang and their agents in Ningsia. We must press ahead and not procrastinate; we must work seriously and not rashly. Here, the key issue is to make a success of investigation and study. [paragraph continues]

Some leading comrades in state organs at the regional level originally had no problem, but the gang's agents leveled many charges against them, distorting their political history and current behavior in such a manner as to give the impression that their problems were very difficult to solve. However, when we directly relied on the masses in carrying out meticulous work and checked on every one of the "charges" leveled against them and the so-called "evidence," truth quickly came to light and problems were readily solved.

Problems left over from past screening of cadres are not only numerous but also complicated. With a view to implementing party cadre policy completely and correctly, and on the basis of making a success of investigation and study and of the policy of "correcting mistakes whenever and wherever they are found," we must concretely analyze concrete problems. Those judgments completely wrong must be completely rectified; those partially wrong must be rectified too. Those cases in which facts are confirmed but which were handled improperly must be reexamined and rehandled. Cases in which facts and conclusions are correct must be upheld. Where some people have indeed made mistakes or had problems of political history, the correct conclusions drawn about them in the past also must not be allowed to be negated. Only by so doing can we discover the truth and be responsible to the party.

Although we have done some work in implementing the party's cadre policy over the past year or so, there are still many problems to be solved. Those comrades who made mistakes during the 11th line struggle also should be handled in accordance with the party's policies and by taking their different conditions into account; those who can be rehabilitated must be promptly rehabilitated. Now, wise leader Chairman Hua is leading the people of all nationalities throughout the country on a new Long March. The tasks are heavy and the situation pressing. Time waits for no one. We are resolved to further raise our consciousness in carrying out the line and policies set at the 11th CCP Congress, redouble our efforts, increase our pace, continue to do this work well, mobilize all positive factors to the maximum extent and strive to build our country into a powerful and modern socialist country!

## GIVE FULL PLAY TO THE TRADE UNION'S PROPER ROLE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 3 May 78 pp 24-28

[Article by Ma Chun-ku [7456 4783 0657]]

[Text] Under the wise leadership of the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, our working class and the people of the entire country have embarked on the new Long March to make China a modern and powerful socialist country. Socialist labor emulation is sweeping every part of the country. Reports of new records set and high yields achieved keep pouring in. Large numbers of ironman-type heroes and models are appearing. A new leap-forward situation has appeared. The prevailing excellent situation and the glorious tasks confronting us call for trade unions to hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," to clarify the right and wrong in line reversed by the gang, to sum up positive and negative experiences in the past 28 years, and to take practical measures to set trade unions at various levels in order, build them well and give full play to their proper role in order to meet the needs of the general task for the new period.

### I

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, why should trade unions be organized and what is their mission? This should have been very clear. But for a long time the opportunists, especially the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four," made this a very confusing issue. Without first putting this problem in proper perspective in regard to both theory and practice, we cannot give full play to the trade union's proper role.

In our country, as mass organizations of the working class, trade unions have been established and developed in heated class struggle under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. With political power seized, the proletariat has changed from ruled to ruling class. But the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not ended. The historical mission of the proletariat to ultimately triumph

over the bourgeoisie has not been accomplished. Therefore, Marxists hold that the trade union as a mass organization of the working class established under the capitalist system inevitably exists in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. The proletarian regime must, through trade unions, organize the masses of workers on a comprehensive scale to form a strong class force to act "in close cooperation" with administrative organs and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance. Then the proletarian regime can be built on a strong base and can exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, build socialism, gradually create conditions in which the bourgeoisie can neither exist nor reappear, and ultimately realize communism. Lenin pointed out: "Without such a foundation as the trade union, we cannot exercise dictatorship and cannot carry out the functions of the state." ("On Trade Unions and the Prevailing Situation and Kautskiy's Mistakes," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 403) Chairman Mao set great store by the important role of trade unions. He pointed out that the workers of the Soviet Union organized a strong class trade union which was the pillar of the Soviet regime. Since the founding of the state, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has always dominated our worker movement and trade union work. Under the leadership of the party, trade unions at various levels have energetically mobilized and organized the working masses to participate in taking over factories, in suppressing counterrevolution and in the democratic reform, in the struggle to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, in the movement against three evils and the movement against five evils, in the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, in the campaign to rectify the style of work and fight the rightists, in socialist education, in the Great Proletarian Revolution and other movements, and in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism on the international scene. In these respects, great success was achieved. The clear-cut class nature of trade unions and the major role they played under the dictatorship of the proletariat inevitably aroused the implacable hatred of that sinister gang--the "gang of four"--consisting of new and old counterrevolutionaries. They suggested and set about the "crushing of old trade unions." Their plot was to establish their own gang trade union as a tool to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. This is nothing strange.

The trade union is the best organizational form to forge a close link between the Communist Party and the entire working class and other laborers. Through its own activities and work, the trade union can rally the masses of workers around the party committee and obtain a comprehensive idea of the working masses' opinions and demands as a basis for the formulation of party guidelines and policies. It can also closely combine the party's central tasks with preaching the party's programs and its general lines and specific policies in order to turn them into the conscious action of the masses. Meanwhile, the trade union plays an important role in educating the masses, in caring for the masses' livelihood, in protecting the workers' democratic rights and in other respects. The working masses' everyday and personal interests sometimes suffer

violation from bureaucratic and capitalist operations. Some workers who dare to adhere to principle and dare to fight also sometimes receive vengeful blows from the wrong leadership. This demands that, in accordance with the party's policy and stipulations, the trade union, while protecting the fundamental interests of the working class, protect the personal and proper material interests of the working masses and their proper democratic rights. Lenin aptly said: "If the trade union as a link between the Communist Party and the masses is not properly established, or if it commits errors in its work, then our socialist construction will inevitably suffer a great disaster." ("The Role and Functions of the Trade Unions Under the New Economic Policy," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 589) When the "gang of four" ran wild, certain trade unions dominated by their flunkeys energetically disrupted the ties between the party and the masses, causing a great disaster to our socialist cause. This shows us by negative example how important it is to build trade unions well and to give full play to their role!

Practice shows that the trade union is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a bridge linking the party with the masses and a communist school. Chairman Hua has shown great concern for the worker movement and trade union work. He has repeatedly pointed out that the party committee must strengthen leadership over trade unions and that the revolutionary committee must attach importance to their role and, through them, maintain close ties with the masses of people and do various tasks well. Chairman Hua's instructions have imposed more exacting demands on trade unions and expressed great support and encouragement for trade union workers. We must show revolutionary spirit and work hard.

## II

To give full play to its proper role, the trade union must be guided by the party's basic line under the party's leadership and at the same time persist in launching the three major revolutionary movements--class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment--and perform well in an overall manner all the mass tasks that are the trade union's responsibility.

On this question there raged a heated struggle between the masses of workers and trade union cadres on the one hand and the "gang of four" and their flunkeys on the other. That sinister lieutenant planted by the "gang of four" in the All-China Federation of Trade Unions' preparatory group for the Ninth National CCP Congress stubbornly opposed incorporating in the constitution of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions the stipulations calling for persistence in the three major revolutionary movements. He struck out these stipulations after they were inserted and attacked their inclusion as a case of putting class struggle and the struggle for production "on an equal footing" and a case of "right deviationist reversal of verdicts." In May 1976 the gang dished up sinister antiparty articles in the newspapers they dominated and freely



reversed the relations between the enemy and ourselves. They maintained that the trade unions' job was to "struggle against the capitalist roaders within the party," in a vain attempt to turn the trade unions into their tool for usurping party and state power. Anyone who resisted their line was slanderously accused of "letting the key link be destroyed by everything else" and "replacing the key link with everything else." It was along these lines that the flunkeys of the "gang of four" in various areas acted. Due to their serious interference and sabotage, many trade union workers were at a loss to know what to do. Various mass tasks came to a halt. The gang's pernicious influence was widely felt. The damage caused to the worker movement front was very serious. Many trade union workers are still frightened by the thought of it.

Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: "Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country." After the smashing of the "gang of four," Chairman Hua issued a call for launching the three major revolutionary movements simultaneously. Our trade unions must resolutely respond. We must grasp not only class struggle but also the struggle for production and scientific experiment. We must grasp not only the key link but also everything else, so as to make the key link guide everything else and do various tasks well. Without taking class struggle as the key link, we will lose our bearings, and various tasks will definitely not be done well. If we just grasp struggle without taking up various other tasks, without building the contingents of workers, without engaging in production well and without caring about the livelihood of the masses, class struggle will likewise not be handled well, and the call for giving full play to a trade union's proper role will be nothing but empty talk. Experience tells us that, in doing trade union work, only by taking class struggle as the key link, grasping revolution, stimulating production and doing well in an overall manner all mass tasks that should be done can we correctly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

In the whole historical period of socialism, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie is the main contradiction which dominates, restrains and affects various aspects of social life. By taking class struggle as the key link in doing trade union work, we mean getting a firm hold on this main contradiction as a means of observing and coping with problems and unfold a proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie. Liu Shao-chi pushed the counterrevolutionary revisionist line, spread the theory of the dying out of class struggle, promoted economism and syndicalism, advocated the "extinction of trade unions" and interfered with and disrupted the worker movement and trade union work. Under the banner of grasping "class struggle," the "gang of four" attacked the proletariat and disrupted the revolution, production and trade union work. We must thoroughly expose their seemingly "leftist" but actually rightist reactionary features. At present and for a certain period to come, we must keep a tight grip on the exposure and criticism

of the "gang of four" as a key link and mobilize the working masses to actively plunge into the political movements launched by the party and to take an active part in the "double-strike" struggle. The trade unions on their part must continuously purge their own ranks and purify the trade union organizations. In doing various trade union tasks they must put politics in command, adhere to the correct orientation, continuously overcome all nonproletarian ideas in actual life and raise the working masses' political consciousness.

Lenin pointed out: "With state power obtained by the proletariat, there is the greatest change in trade union activities. Trade unions become the main builders of a new society" and "builders of a new life." ("Report at the Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, pp 404, 406) Lenin also clearly demanded that class struggle and economic construction work be taken as a "two-in-one task." Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: "In factories the party should exercise unified leadership over the work of the party organization, the management, the trade union and the Youth League, with the fulfillment of production plans as the central task." ("Main Points of the Resolution Adopted at the Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 5, p 36) The grasping of production by the trade union does not mean doing away with class struggle. If we do not grasp the struggle for production and do not develop the socialist economy at high speed, and thus fail to have a strong material foundation for the dictatorship of the proletariat, then how can we call for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat? The "gang of four" willfully set revolution and production in opposition and slanderously linked the trade union's arousing workers to handle production well with "a production trade union." It may be asked: What do the party and the masses want the trade union for if it just shouts about "revolution" without taking up production? Since the founding of the state, simultaneously with arousing the masses of workers to actively plunge into the many political movements led by the party, the trade union organizations at various levels have, through various media, aroused the workers to actively participate in the mass production movement and organized and channeled into production the revolutionary fervor aroused in the masses of workers in political struggle, thus in turn serving political struggle with splendid economic results. With things handled this way, trade union work is full of life, the party committee is satisfied, the management offers support and the masses are happy. What is wrong with this? In the struggle to build a modern and powerful socialist country, the trade unions have a greater share of the responsibilities. Various trade unions should thoroughly implement the guideline of grasping revolution and stimulating production, properly handle the job of arousing people ideologically, organize socialist labor emulation well, launch mass activities to emulate the advanced, learn from and overtake them and help the less advanced, vigorously strive for technical innovation and technical revolution, quickly raise the productivity of labor, and handle mass production activities in a lively and down-to-earth manner.

Only with the development of production can the livelihood of the masses be improved. The greater the work enthusiasm of the masses, the greater the need to be concerned about the livelihood of the masses. Chairman Mao has always taught us to show concern for the masses and pay attention to solving their problems. He also directed the trade unions to properly handle the mutual-aid savings fund and other schemes and to use the masses' own strength to solve certain difficulties. Premier Chou personally attended various conferences on livelihood, work, etc. called by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. Together with the trade union cadres in various areas, he studied concrete measures to improve the workers' livelihood. He taught us to perform this task well. In the past, trade unions at various levels, especially at basic levels, paid serious attention to mass livelihood work. They brought Chairman Mao's and the party's concern to myriads of households and cemented the ties between the party and the masses. The "gang of four" slanderously linked the trade unions' grasping mass livelihood work with "a welfare trade union." That was a sheer case of calling black white. Trade unions must show concern about the various livelihood problems encountered by the masses. Regarding certain collective welfare undertakings and certain reasonable mass demands that can be taken care of by the relevant unit without state help, the trade unions must support such mass demands and actively help the management to handle the cases well. Concerning certain livelihood problems which require no financial help from the state and the management and which can be solved by the trade unions by organizing the working masses to help themselves and help each other, the trade unions should especially seek a timely solution. While opposing bureaucratic indifference to the distress of the masses, we must oppose economism, which lays one-sided stress on welfare without regard to state interests. In doing mass livelihood work we must insist on putting politics in command and teach the workers to develop the communist spirit, to fight amidst hardships, and to correctly handle the relationship between long-term and immediate interests and between collective and individual interests. On the basis of the development of production, we must insist on gradually improving the material life and cultural life of the masses and, with the total situation in mind, make overall arrangements and handle well the workers' livelihood and welfare problems in order to help consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

### III

To build a highly revolutionary and professionally proficient production army is the most fundamental, consistent task of the trade union as a communist school.

Over a century ago, in the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels called for the "establishment of a production army" as a means or measure to change the whole pattern of production. The working class must run the country well, run various enterprises well, take good care of culture and education, give full play to its own leading role, gradually reform

other classes, and create conditions for the ultimate elimination of other classes. With this end in view, it should continuously strengthen its own forces to become a highly revolutionary and professionally proficient, powerful army. One important factor explaining why Taching has become a typical example in following the road of developing our own industry is the building of a Red and expert workers' contingent represented by ironman Comrade Wang Chin-hsi. If through our work we can make more workers become ironmen like Wang Chin-hsi, establish more groups like the Mao Tse-tung Engine Group and make more enterprises become Taching-type enterprises, then we can have a solid mass foundation for the thorough implementation of the line of the 11th National CCP Congress and the realization of the general task for the new period. This is a most fundamental task of far-reaching significance and an extremely difficult task. It will take a long period of hard work. The trade union must devote great efforts to it.

Taching's experience tells us that the key to building a production army lies in arming the workers with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We must study and draw on the PLA's political work experience, persistently use persuasive and educational means to instill communism in the masses of workers, criticize capitalism, criticize revisionism and resist and overcome various bourgeois ideas. We must thoroughly criticize the "gang of four's" crime in disrupting the workers' efforts to study works by Marx and Lenin and Chairman Mao, organize the workers to seriously study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and continuously raise the consciousness of the masses of workers. We must strengthen group work in a down-to-earth manner, take practical measures for the proper transformation of workers, and do political and ideological work in a penetrating and conscientious manner and bring it to production and life and to all routine work. Only by continuously raising their class consciousness can the masses of workers assume a communist labor attitude toward socialist construction and achieve the aim of "getting ahead where conditions exist and getting ahead just the same where conditions do not exist" and "building socialism with communism in mind." Only a contingent like this is more capable of fighting.

To build a production army we must raise not only the political consciousness of the workers but also their scientific and cultural levels. Chairman Mao pointed out: "To raise the scientific and cultural levels of the entire Chinese nation is a tremendous task confronting the whole people. This is a strategic task. If we do not solve this task, the general task for the new period cannot be accomplished." We must resolutely criticize the "gang of four's" obscurantist policy, "We would rather have laborers without culture," and seriously organize the workers to study culture, technology, science, economics and management matters for the revolution. The trade union must energetically support the workers' march toward the modernization of science and technology, do concrete organizational work in a down-to-earth and proper manner, and adopt various measures that enable the masses of workers to gradually achieve in a planned manner a

middle-level college standard or a university level. The trade union should cooperate with the scientific and technical departments in constantly holding scientific and technical forums, keep the workers informed of scientific and technical developments at home and abroad, and give lectures on new scientific and technical achievements. Thus the worker masses can always be reminded of advanced scientific and technical achievements at home and abroad and can strive to catch up with and surpass advanced world levels. The trade union should also combine administrative measures with summing up and popularizing the advanced experiences of the working masses, hold on-the-spot meetings and demonstration meetings, organize the young workers to learn from veteran workers, promote respect for teachers, concern for apprentices and hard work to improve fundamental skills, and arouse the masses of workers to launch emulations in studying and mastering new techniques.

Such a school as the trade union is no ordinary school. Lenin pointed out that the trade union "must be the educator of millions upon millions of people and enable them to learn how to avoid mistakes and give up prejudices in light of their own experience and how to run the state and manage production in light of their own experience." ("Report at the Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, p 406) The trade union must be good at enabling the masses of workers to make comparisons between positive and negative aspects and to receive vivid and actual education through practice in the three major revolutionary struggles and through participation in various trade union activities. It must be good at discovering and popularizing typical experiences, planting red banners and citing pace setters. It must attach importance to the role of labor models and veteran workers, thoroughly refute all the slanders that the "gang of four" made against them, and take them as a backbone force in influencing and arousing the masses of workers. It must show warm concern for the growth of young workers and give full play to their shock role. It must also consolidate the activity programs for clubs, cultural palaces, libraries and reading rooms and create various conditions enabling the workers to continuously raise their political consciousness and cultural and technical levels.

#### IV

To persist in accepting party leadership and to rely on the masses in a down-to-earth manner are two fundamental principles in doing trade union work well, as well as two fundamental trade union work experiences in the past 28 years.

Chairman Mao said, "The party is the vanguard of the proletariat and the supreme form of proletarian organization. It should lead all other organizations like the army, the government and the body politic." Only under the leadership of the party can the trade union, in complicated and heated class struggle and line struggle, take a firm stand, resist the influence of the bourgeoisie and revisionism, give up certain narrow

professional views, overcome certain tendencies of indifference toward politics, make a break with the deep-seated habit of staying in the rut, etc. To neglect the leading role of the party over the trade union and set store by the spontaneity of the worker movement is to fundamentally go against communism theoretically. This will surely lead to acceptance of the domination of revisionism, so that one will become a tool of the bourgeois conspirators and careerists and run away from the revolutionary mission of the working class. The "gang of four" and their flunkys in the trade unions advocated that "the trade union be the combat headquarters of the working class" and clamored, "Well, the trade union can issue commands. It is wrong for the party organizations not to act on them." Thus, the trade union was placed above the party and the government. They even called for the trade union to "control through the workers" the party committee and the revolutionary committee. They wanted to replace the party with their "mass organization." This heated struggle with the "gang of four" profoundly tells us that the trade union must accept party leadership. This is a major issue of life or death. Each of our trade union workers must be specific about that and must not waver in the least. Party cadres working in trade unions should greatly strengthen proletarian party spirit and oppose bourgeois factionalism. They must clearly understand that they are not the trade union's representatives within the party and still less the representatives of a given faction, but simply persons sent by the party to work in the trade union. All working personnel in trade unions must resolutely obey the party's commands and guarantee party leadership over trade unions.

For the trade union to obey party leadership means that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought must be taken as the guide in all work and all activities, that the party's line and general and specific policies must be thoroughly implemented, that the trade union's activities must center around the party's political tasks, and that the principle of combining primary attention to the leadership of the party committee at the same level with acceptance of the leadership of the trade union at a higher level must be adhered to. The "gang of four" instigated "kicking out the party committee in making revolution" and opposed party leadership. Their aim was to make people accept their revisionist leadership. The trade union's acceptance of party leadership does not in the least smack of a weakening in the organizational role of the trade union. Nor does this affect the spontaneity of trade union work. Still less is it a case of promoting Liu Shao-chi's theory of a submissive tool. On the contrary, led by the party and guided by the features of a mass organization, the trade union should rely on the masses of activists, take the initiative in launching activities, work creatively and strive to fulfill the various tasks with which it is charged by the party organization.

An important idea that permeates Chairman Mao's theory on the worker movement calls for believing in the masses and relying on the masses. In doing various tasks the trade union must fully arouse the masses, vigorously launch mass movements, and rely on the wisdom and talent of

the masses of workers and on the masses of activists keen on mass work, so as to provide the trade union with a strong mass foundation and make it an organization which is solid and full of life. Trade union cadres must wholeheartedly serve the working masses, be the bosom friends of the masses and work as one with them. They must be well acquainted with the life of the workers, always keep abreast of their views, demands and aspirations, analyze them, put forward their own views and make reports to the party organizations. They must also make known the party's instructions to the working masses in a timely manner so that the trade union can become a good link enabling the party to come from the masses and go among the masses. So long as we rely upon party leadership and upon the masses of workers, we can surely bring about a brandnew change in trade union work and make positive contributions to the realization of the general task for the new period.

## CRITICIZE THE 'GANG OF FOUR'S' SOCIAL FASCIST ECONOMICS

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[Text] The economic theories of Marx are the main content of Marxism. Engels said that "the entire theoretical existence of the proletarian political party proceeded from the study of political economy." ("Karl Marx: 'The Critique of Political Economy,'" "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 116)

To negate scientific socialism and smash the theoretical basis of our party's program, the "gang of four" for many years used mean tricks to distort and mutilate Marxist political economy. They rigged up a counter-revolutionary revisionist economic system as a theoretical tool for opposing the party and socialism. Chairman Hua pointed out: "In order to completely expose the ultraright nature of the 'gang of four's' revisionist line, it is necessary to penetratingly repudiate the reactionary theoretical basis of that line." For this reason, we must make an in-depth analysis of and repudiate the "gang of four's" economic system and expose its reactionary class nature. Here we will give our introductory views.

### A Subjective Idealist System

Political economy is a science for studying production relations. Whether the movement of production relations is viewed as an objective process subject to certain laws or as the outgrowth of accidental occurrences under the influence of man's will determines whether an economic theory is scientific.

Marxist political economy holds that the movement of social economic relations and the change from one social economic form to another, like the natural world, are guided by their own laws. These laws not only are independent of man's will but determine man's will, thinking and desire.



Therefore, Marx pointed out explicitly in the preface to the first edition of "Das Kapital": "From my standpoint, the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history." This view has cleared up the dogma and confusion that have fettered men's thinking for thousands of years and firmly put political economy on the scientific basis of the materialist concept of history.

Historical materialism views the economic structure of society as production relations and identifies it as the realistic basis of other social relations, including political and ideological relations. Then, what determines production relations? Since production relations in the final analysis change with the development of the productive forces, they and other social phenomena can only be explained in terms of the condition of the productive forces. "Only the reduction of social relations to production relations and of the latter to the level of the productive forces provide a firm basis for the concept that the development of the formations of society is a process of natural history. And it goes without saying that without such a view there can be no social science." ("What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social Democrats," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 8)

However, the "gang of four" stubbornly opposed the basic concept of historical materialism as explained above. Their economic concept was based on philosophical views running counter to Marxist economics. They totally denied the existence of the objective world beyond man's awareness and were completely ignorant of objective economic laws. They viewed the development of social economy as being subordinate to man's will, and in particular to the will of their handful of "empresses" and "elite"--things they could manipulate as they pleased. They were the successors of fascism, the Junkers and Nietzscheans. Monopoly bourgeois philosopher Nietzsche once ranted: "All organic functions are merely basic expressions of will, i.e., the manifestations of the will to power." "A strong will dominates a weak will, and there are no other cause and effect except from will to will." ("On Will to Power," par 658) The "gang of four" also blatantly preached the idealist fallacy that "power determines everything" and "will determines everything." Chang Chun-chiao said: "The concept that spirit is everything cannot be criticized, for this idea is correct in given circumstances and at a given time." ("Speech Given in 1972") Here Chang Chun-chiao appeared to take note of both the place and the time, but this was merely a camouflage. If the concept was "everything," there was no need to talk about place and time. Yao Wen-yuan put it more bluntly, saying: "Given the leadership of advanced ideas and an advanced party (i.e., the superstructure), society (the "economic base") can make a flying leap and skip the stages." ("Speech Given in 1967") The economic system established by the "gang of four" on the basis of this world outlook could only be a subjective idealist system.

The "gang of four" categorically denied that development of the economic formation of society is a process of natural history. In their view, the development of history was like a mass of rubber they could mold into any shape. Back in 1958, Chang Chun-chiao teamed up with Chen Po-ta in advocating changes in socialist production relations and in preaching the subjective idealist fallacy that "communism" could be realized at any time they pleased. They favored the immediate abolition of the relations between commodities and money and distribution according to work. This "wind of communization" they whipped up was considerably disruptive. They spared no efforts in peddling their idealist trash over the past decade or so. Brandishing the big stick of the "theory of productive forces," they wildly attacked the Marxist principle that production relations are determined by the productive forces, which ultimately determine overall social relations. They termed those who called for a material foundation to change production relations "revisionist" "materialmaniacs." In preaching the absurd view that "the superstructure determines everything," they meant that changing the production relations required no material foundation on the grounds that "dictatorship is the foundation." Putting it bluntly, this is what Lin Piao believed in: "Having political power means having everything." As long as one has seized political power, one can use it to impose one's will on the entire objective world and do as one pleases.

This is like the mad clown who wants the earth to stop rotating. Of course this sounds ridiculous to sane people, but a maniac who thinks he has the power to command everything is elated at being able to do so. In the "gang of four's" "Socialist Political Economy" and in the places they controlled, instances of similar absurdities can be found.

The planned and proportionate development of the national economy is the objective law of the movement of the socialist economy. In order to insure the coordination and development of various segments of the socialist national economy, it is necessary to make plans conform with the proportionate relationship of objective requirements. However, to idealists like the "gang of four," the proportionate relationship of objective requirements never existed. Lin Piao and his cohorts said: "What plans? What I say is the plan." The gang also said that their "struggle and what it calls for is the plan." They completely ignored the objective law of the socialist economy.

The law of value plays an important part in the socialist economy. Ma Tien-shui, known as an "economic expert" to the "gang of four's" pawns, chastised people for having unduly dwelt on this law. He said: "If the law of value corresponds to our objective, we use it; otherwise, we don't." The law of value is the law that underlies commodity production and the exchange of commodities. Since they exist in the present stage of socialism, the law of value will play its part, even if people are not aware of it. People can only recognize it and learn to apply it with skill, but they cannot annul or alter it. Therefore, Chairman Mao

exhorted us in these words: The law of value serves as a great school. Only by using it will it be possible to demonstrate it to our tens of millions of cadres and hundreds of millions of people. Only then will it be possible to build socialism and communism. Otherwise, they are beyond us. However, in the "gang of four's" "political economy" this important objective economic law became something the gang's overlords used to summon their attendants or to send them away.

In short, all categories and laws in the "gang of four's" "Socialist Political Economy" no longer reflect the objective reality of socialism nor are they based on the actual state of the economy in our country. Rather, they were conceived by the gang's handful of "geniuses" and "supermen" according to their own free will and in a moment of frenzy when they were carried away by their frantic bid to seize power. Lenin, pointing out that Marx regarded the development of social economy as a natural historical process, once said: "Marx put an end to the view of society being a mechanical aggregation of individuals which allows of all sorts of modification at the will of the authorities (or, if you like, at the will of society and the government) and which emerges and changes casually, and he was the first to put sociology on a scientific basis." ("What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social Democrats," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 10) The "gang of four" played the same tune that had been discarded by Marx in a vain attempt to deprive political economy of its scientific basis so that they could altogether disavow Marxist economic science.

While doing their best to undermine Marxist economic science, the "gang of four" spared no efforts to concoct their own economic theory. Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan assumed personal command in Shanghai and ordered Ma Tien-shui to direct the work of compiling the so-called "Socialist Political Economy" by the writing group of the former Shanghai municipal party committee. The gang's sworn supporter in Liaoning also took part in the planning. He was responsible for holding many forums to discuss the theoretical aspects of economics. All this shows that they were anxious to establish an economic system that had nothing to do with economic science but involved fascist economics in the service of the gang.

From the economic articles dished up by people like Liang Hsiao, Lo Szu-ting, Chih Heng and Tang Hsiao-wen, it is very clear that the gang's economics at best served as footnotes to what Chiang Ching desired and as an elaboration of what Chang and Yao taught and of what Wang Hung-wen said. It merely served as a tool for defending the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary political program and for providing some proof. Marx once spoke of Malthus, a reactionary British economist, and said that "his scientific conclusion was drawn at the 'bidding' of the ruling class, and especially of the reactionary elements of that class. This means that Malthus fabricated science in the interest of these classes." ("On Surplus Value," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, p 127)

Thus, the gang's economics, a false science serving the interests of the landlord and bourgeois classes, was concocted at the bidding of Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao.

Vilifying Socialist Production Relations and Vainly Trying To Set Up a "New Dynasty" of Feudalism, Capitalism and Revisionism

The "gang of four's" methodology of subjective idealism provided them with ample "freedom" to distort socialist production relations as they pleased. They used this idealist method to compile their "Socialist Political Economy."

To serve their counterrevolutionary need to subvert socialism and restore capitalism, the "gang of four's" economics had to accomplish the dual task of vilifying socialist production relations and creating public opinion for wrecking the socialist system, on the one hand, and of embellishing the gang's utopia and establishing the dictatorship of the landlord and bourgeois classes, on the other. The gang tried in vain to accomplish this task by fabricating a theoretical system focusing on "bourgeois rights."

Back in 1958, Chang Chun-chiao, in league with Chen Po-ta, slandered the socialist system as an "unequal bourgeois system of gradation" and wildly attacked the two major principles involving the exchange of equal values in the socialist economy and distribution according to work. They were severely criticized and refuted by Chairman Mao.

However, the "gang of four" did not give up easily. They stopped at nothing until they discredited socialism. Once they had access to greater power, they spared no efforts to spread the fallacy equating socialism with capitalism.

After reviewing the first draft of "Socialist Political Economy" by the writing group of the former Shanghai municipal party committee in 1972, Chang Chun-chiao left word that the key point of the paper should be that "there are capitalist factors in socialist production relations." Despite the writing group's efforts to satisfy Chang Chun-chiao's wish, it was found that since socialist and capitalist production relations are incompatible with one another, equating socialism with capitalism would fall short of being convincing. A solution must be found. Later, the concept of "bourgeois rights" was used as a ploy to achieve what the gang had in mind.

Yao Wen-yuan said: "The problem centers on bourgeois rights." He stressed that "this is the focal point" and urged that articles play up this central theme. Then both he and Chang Chun-chiao acted in concert in dishing up two sinister articles about "bourgeois rights" as examples for secretly vilifying socialist production relations. With this as the

basis, the writing group of the former Shanghai municipal party committee was told to quickly produce the so-called "Socialist Political Economy."

Let us now see how the "gang of four" played the trick of equating socialist production relations with capitalist production relations. They used complicated arguments to prove their point, but they can be boiled down to two basic assumptions. The first involves the prevalence and predominance of "bourgeois rights" in socialist production relations, with "bourgeois rights" being no different from capitalism. The second contends that "bourgeois rights" will continuously engender capitalism and the bourgeoisie and thus bring about a capitalist restoration.

Regarding socialist production relations, Chang Chun-chiao babbled: "Bourgeois rights regarding the ownership of the means of production have not been completely wiped out. They still exist to a serious extent in men's interrelations and continue to predominate in the area of distribution." Many comrades have already exposed the absurdity of these assertions. What must be emphatically pointed out here is that the "gang of four" exhibited unusual interest in "bourgeois rights," and they misused this concept everywhere. Fundamentally, this was because they thought they could use this term to obliterate the essential difference between socialism and capitalism. At a "theoretical session" their sworn follower in Liaoning based his position on the existence of bourgeois rights by saying: "In socialist production relations, capitalist factors exist to a serious extent." This conclusion was necessary to the "gang of four."

In arriving at this conclusion the "gang of four" cited certain remarks by Marx, but they ran altogether counter to Marxism. Marx pointed out that equal right arising from distribution according to work "is still--in principle--bourgeois right." What he meant is that the economic relations of distribution according to work, in terms of exchange of equal amounts of labor, follow the same principle as the exchange of commodities.

However, he also accurately pointed out that the economic content embodied in this form of right--the relationship of exchange of an equal amount of labor--"has changed in both substance and form."

Marx used the word "bourgeois" to define the general principle underlying the exchange of commodities involving an exchange of an equal amount of labor, without any intention to equate the socialist relations of distribution according to work with the capitalist relations of exploitation. His theory of surplus value categorically shows that the relationship of the exchange of equal values between the holder of capital and the holder of labor power is merely a superficial phenomenon in the process of circulation. In the production process the scene changes radically to nakedly

reveal the nature of the relationship of exploitation whereby the capitalist gratuitously appropriates the surplus value created by the laborer. Is there anything in common between the relations of distribution according to work based on public ownership of the means of production and designed to eliminate exploitation and the capitalist relations of exploitation?

Marx noted that the production and circulation of commodities were characteristic of very dissimilar forms of production, and he said: "Therefore, if we are acquainted with nothing but the abstract categories of circulation, which are common to all these modes of production, we cannot possibly know anything of the specific points of difference of those modes, nor pronounce any judgment upon them." ("Capital," Vol I, "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, footnote to p 133) On the pretext of the existence of the exchange of commodities under the socialist system, the "gang of four" unreasonably and in a blanket way attributed to the socialist mode of production the classical Marxist writers' references to the exchange of commodities produced by individual private labor and of capitalist commodities.

Socialist production relations have evolved as an antithesis to capitalist production relations. However, in the "gang of four's" economics they became production relations in which "capitalist factors exist to a serious extent." Totally absurd as this appeared to be, the gang was still not satisfied, trying to prove that these production relations in which "capitalist factors exist to a serious extent" would inevitably become capitalism in every way.

After Yao Wen-yuan developed the formula alleging that "the existence of bourgeois rights provides an important basis for engendering new bourgeois elements," the "gang of four" lost no time in setting all their propaganda machines in motion to present, according to the formula, an "end of the century" view of the development of socialism. They said: As long as the exchange of commodities and distribution according to work exist, "the exchange of equal values and exchanging a given amount of labor in one form for an equal amount of labor in another form will nonetheless engender capitalism." With the development of this capitalism, a new bourgeois class is bound to appear. Moreover, when this bourgeois class has developed its economic strength to a certain degree, "its agents will ask for political rule and overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system; they will ask for a complete change of the socialist system of ownership and open restoration and development of the capitalist system." What if their trick had worked? Since our country's present socialist system will definitely lead to all-round capitalist restoration, should it not be completely smashed and totally eliminated?

After "proving" our country's socialist system to be a "hotbed of vice," the "gang of four" offered their prescription. This involved taking prompt action to "wipe out bourgeois rights" across the land, to uproot

the present system in which "capitalist factors still exist to a serious extent," and to establish a "new dynasty" without "the soil for breeding capitalism" and "conditions for engendering classes" and without what Chang Chun-chiao referred to as "the 'vestiges' and 'defects' of the old society."

Eliminating the defects regarding the different degrees of people's affluence under the condition of distribution according to work, i.e., realizing communism, is the lofty ideal we have been striving for. The problem rests in the fact that right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and the cultural development conditioned by the economic structure of society. In turn, the economic structure is determined by the condition of the productive forces.

Therefore, Marxists have always maintained that the final realization of communism is determined by the optimum development of the productive forces under the socialist system and that all those who are truly devoted to the cause of communism are keen on the development of the productive forces in our country. However, the "gang of four" wanted to "wipe out bourgeois rights." They not only strongly resented developing social productive forces under the socialist system but became very apprehensive of it. They spoke of developing socialist production in the same vein as "making a 'gift' to the bourgeoisie when they assume power again." They also said: "Production in the rural areas has gone up and so have grain yields. This development is likely to engender capitalism." "On the day the four modernizations are achieved, capitalism will also be restored."

When the Tangshan area was hit by strong earthquakes in 1976, Yao Wen-yuan recited with malicious pleasure a poem about the happy omens the earth's tremors would bring to the establishment of a "new dynasty." He even remarked that the earthquake disaster had provided a convincing argument for the need to "wipe out bourgeois rights and scrap the material basis." He contended that since Tangshan after the quake had no material basis of its own, there would be nothing left of bourgeois rights. The truth is that the "gang of four" had always wanted to "wipe out bourgeois rights." They did so by stifling the productive forces, not by providing the necessary material basis to enable socialism to gradually move on to communism. In the final analysis, what was this all about?

Marxists hold that class difference is a product of the productive forces having achieved some but not full development. They maintain that "only when the social productive forces have developed to a certain stage, even to a very high stage in terms of modern conditions, will it be possible to raise production to a similar level and achieve real progress in abolishing class differences." ("The Document of the Exiled," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 18, p 610) Society will turn back if productive forces have not achieved a high degree of development and if, on the contrary, they are held back by talk of "eliminating the class

difference," etc. Marx and Engels also pointed out: "Without such development there could only be widespread impoverishment, and in conditions of utter poverty it will be necessary to start afresh the struggle for daily necessities; in other words, all the decadent things will be revived." ("The German Ideology," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol I, p 39) The same is true of abolishing "bourgeois rights." If steps are taken arbitrarily to "wipe out bourgeois rights" when the productive forces decline or are disrupted, the result will only be a major regression in history and the reappearance of the most decadent and reactionary things of the old society. This is exactly what the "gang of four" had in mind when they were preaching against having a "material basis."

A bare outline of the "new dynasty" the "gang of four" very anxiously tried to establish can be found in Wenchow and Futien when they were running wild. Its essential features can also be spotted in the gang's "Socialist Political Economy."

What kind of ownership system is advocated in the "gang of four's" "new dynasty"? It may be determined on the basis of the forms of exchange adopted and men's interrelations in the laboring process.

The form of exchange is a manifestation of ownership. Our present socialist economy is based on the socialist system of ownership by the whole people and by the collective. The exchange of commodities under present conditions is the only form of economic relations between agriculture and industry acceptable to the peasants. It is plain to everybody that without commodity and monetary relations it is impossible to conduct an exchange of material supplies between town and country, and it is impossible to build a firm socialist economy.

However, the "gang of four" called for the abolition of commodity production and the exchange of commodities. Under present conditions, using forcible measures to abolish commodity production and the exchange of commodities is essentially the same as expropriating the peasants and disavowing the socialist system of collective economy. How can the economic link between town and country be achieved without going through an exchange of commodities? The "gang of four's" agent in Kansu appropriately referred to the gang's practice as "using dictatorial measures to run agriculture." This showed the gang's intention in a concentrated way. In handling the economic relations between industry and agriculture, as in handling the internal contradictions of the socialist economy, only measures based on equality and cooperation and benefiting the parties concerned, not dictatorial means, should be employed. By insisting on "using dictatorial measures to run agriculture," the "gang of four" were in fact using supraeconomic coercive measures on the peasants.

The "Haerhtou experience" dished up by the "gang of four's" sworn supporter in Liaoning provides a clear instance of their "dictatorial"



handling of the economic relations between town and country. Led by the leading members of communes and brigades, they forced commune peasants to attend the so-called "big fairs" so that collective economic organizations and commune members could purchase farm and subsidiary products at high prices and then fulfill the obligation of delivering them to the state at low prices. Clearly, this form of "exchange" has nothing in common with the socialist interflow between town and countryside. If the "gang of four" had had their way in usurping party and state power, they would have implemented the "big fair" concept throughout the country, so that the vast number of rural commune members would have changed from being masters of collectively owned assets to the lowly status of peasants in forced service to the gang and required to pay taxes to the handful.

Men's interrelations in the laboring process also express the nature of the ownership system. Did the "gang of four" not advocate "using dictatorial measures to run agriculture"? As a matter of fact, they were not confined to agriculture but encompassed industry, commerce and men's interrelations in enterprises involving the laboring process.

Weng Sen-ho, the "gang of four's" pawn in Chekiang, suggested applying the principle of "the Legalist way to run factories." He described "Legalist tactics" as effective means to manage factories. In his own words, what he called "Legalist tactics" meant the use of "cane sticks and iron clubs" to exert "pressure." The gang made their own laws and set up jails without authorization, frequently criticizing and struggling against the workers, cadres and technicians, ransacking their homes, arresting and jailing them as well as torturing them. That is why the "gang of four" clamored for the use of "dictatorial measures" to deal with the problem of managing the socialist economy. What they really intended to do was to appropriate the toiling people's right to run the socialist economy (an important manifestation of the ownership of the means of production) and to relegate them from being masters of the socialist economy to servitude to the "gang of four" and their agents. Didn't the "gang of four" try to introduce in areas they controlled "factories and enterprises not subject to rules and regulations" and to promote "experience in running enterprises through political work and without recourse to rules and regulations"? The heart of the matter was to disavow the laboring people's control of the production processes. Since socialist management is carried out with the participation of the laborers, certain laws by which everyone must abide are required. Therefore, the democratic nature of socialist management must find expression in the socialist legal system, including rules and regulations. The "gang of four" did their utmost to oppose the socialist legal system and to oppose all rules and regulations in order to negate the common rules of democratic management. In enterprises under the gang's control, it is true that no rules were required, since the wishes of the gang and their agents were law. Didn't Wang Hung-wen's sworn brothers, Weng Sen-ho's "Legalist party" followers and Chen Ah-ta's hooligans and hatchetmen go on the rampage, and didn't they do as they pleased, such as behaving outrageously toward the laborers?

Within the "gang of four's" factional network, subordinates at every level were required to submit themselves and "pledge allegiance" to their superiors. Chang Chun-chiao said: "A hundred schools of thought can contend, but there is only one voice from Chiang Ching, who has the final say." Chih Chun remarked: "You are responsible to me, and I am responsible to Chiang Ching." The subordination of one group of people to another in strict accordance with a rank order was exactly the type of gradation they wanted to establish.

But it is impossible to completely restore the feudal order in our country based on the individual economy of the 1970's, when the productive forces have developed to a certain extent. Even when the feudal forces prevailed toward the end of the Ching period, colluding with foreign capitalists and forces of aggression was still necessary before compradores could be recruited so that they could adapt themselves to productive forces that differed from those of ancient times. Therefore, the "gang of four" had to revise their "utopia" blueprint according to this model and to establish an economic system geared to the state's monopoly capitalism and based on feudal-compradore principles.

When the "gang of four" were involved in their economic scheme in 1976, they went wild in inciting anarchism under the pretext of "opposing direct and exclusive control of the enterprises by the ministries concerned." This was aimed at countering socialist leadership based on the centralization of authority. In "On the Ten Major Relationships," Chairman Mao instructed us to develop the initiative of the local authorities, arouse the enthusiasm of those directing the enterprises and pay attention to their interests. However, the gang maliciously slandered these instructions as being "liberal" and "revisionist." This shows that in their utopia there was no room for independent operation and adaptation of enterprises run by the local authorities.

As a matter of fact, the "gang of four" were more despotic than anyone else in units and areas they controlled. They wildly promoted cultural despotism in cultural departments in order to produce a model they could popularize on a broad scale throughout the country. They placed overriding power in the hands of their own small group of people and wanted the local authorities and enterprises to take orders from them. All their absurdities and sheer nonsense had to be taken as "golden rules." They forced a number of enterprises to produce items for their own enjoyment in eating and drinking and for usurping party and state power. In the words of the gang's sworn supporter, "you push production whenever we want you to." Therefore, in departments the gang controlled, and particularly in Shanghai, they ordered one enterprise to change its operation and another to stop production as they pleased. In rapid succession a "Wang Hung-wen project" would be followed by a "Chang Chun-chiao project," a "Yao Wen-yuan project" or a "Chen Ah-ta project." The assets of the state and the collective were thus turned into private property to be disposed of at the gang's discretion. For a long time old China was

an autocratic country based on the centralization of power. In the same way the gang attempted to establish a state monopoly capitalist economy having the same features.

How was distribution in the "gang of four's" "new dynasty" handled?

They were against distribution according to work and suggested that it be replaced by a system "without the defects of bourgeois rights." According to the Marxist interpretation of political economy, the so-called disappearance of bourgeois rights implies that all members of society practice a system of distribution according to need in which they can freely obtain consumer items on the basis of fully developed requirements. But this can only be achieved when there is a great abundance of products.

However, the "gang of four" wanted to realize their "distribution according to need" at a time when the productive forces had slumped and were disrupted. This is definitely not the communist version of distribution according to need, but egalitarian distribution accompanied by widespread impoverishment. This is because the gang had preconceived notions about the laboring people's "needs." They could not imagine that the laboring people wanted more than subsistence in their struggle for survival. Therefore, they were doggedly against raising the people's living conditions, often giving lipservice to such idle talk as "it doesn't matter at all if the 800 million population suffers," "farm for the revolution and don't bother about work points," and other nonsense publicized as the "communist spirit." Whoever desired an improvement in material life would be branded as a "bourgeois element" "obsessed with bourgeois rights."

Regarding the "gang of four" themselves, a totally different interpretation of "needs" was the rule rather than the exception. Living extravagantly, they squandered the state's assets and the fruits of the people's toil to an appalling degree, indeed "far beyond the limits of bourgeois rights." Chen Ah-ta frankly admitted: "Money means nothing to us!" In other words, they could appropriate the fruits of the toiling people's labor as they pleased without being subjected to legal sanctions or the state's financial and budgetary restrictions. Chiang Ching said she could not carry on without the special privileges required for her work. If this can also be termed "distribution according to need," then the gang could hardly claim credit for this desirable form of distribution, because it was invented long ago by feudal emperors.

Here we have an outline of the "new dynasty" envisioned by the "gang of four." But this "new dynasty" is nothing new, for an example of such an economic system can be found in history. Hitler once established a fascist economic system strongly tainted with feudalism on the basis of the Junkers or monopoly bourgeois economy. The gang's old master, Chiang Kai-shek, also practiced bureaucratic capitalism in China, i.e., imposing a feudal, compradore, state monopolist and capitalist rule. The only

difference is that the gang's "new dynasty" was more feudal than Hitler's and more monopolistic than Chiang Kai-shek's.

### The Theoretical Basis of the Fascist Program

In looking at the "gang of four's" economic theory, it is inevitable that we will come upon what they called "the new changes in class relations" based on their theory of class struggle and the so-called state philosophy of "all-round dictatorship."

Any class relations change with changes in economic relations. Since the "gang of four" had radically distorted socialist economic relations, the conclusion they arrived at regarding socialist society's class relations would surely be one of confusing the enemy with ourselves.

On the basis of his scientific analysis of socialist economic relations, Chairman Mao clearly stipulated the criteria for distinguishing between the people exercising dictatorial powers and the enemy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said: "The classes, strata and social groups which favor, support and work for the cause of socialist construction all come within the category of the people, while the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction are all enemies of the people." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People")

On the basis of their own "theory" of the socialist economic system, the "gang of four" evolved a different set of criteria for distinguishing between dictatorship itself and the target of dictatorship. They said: "The struggle for restricting bourgeois rights and against extending them is very violent. It is a focal point of the class struggle in the historical period of socialism and of the line struggle." Therefore, "whether to restrict and reduce bourgeois rights or to safeguard and extend them is a watershed separating revolution from nonrevolution." "It is an important mark of either continuing the revolution, not doing so or even opposing the revolution." In other words, all those branded by the gang as "safeguarding bourgeois rights"--i.e., safeguarding the socialist system--were nonrevolutionary and counterrevolutionary elements. As such, they were the target of the gang's "all-round dictatorship." Conversely, those described by the gang as being firmly opposed to "bourgeois rights"--i.e., all types of antisocialist elements--were termed "revolutionaries" who should exercise political power.

According to the "gang of four's" explanation, the target of dictatorship should include the workers on the grounds that they "have been more deeply influenced by the concept of bourgeois rights"; the peasants because they "want to use bourgeois rights to promote capitalism"; and of course the intellectuals, who in the gang's eyes virtually "personify bourgeois rights."

Even within the party the "gang of four" held that whether one upheld "bourgeois rights" should be regarded as the "economic criteria for distinguishing the bourgeoisie." They said: "Those party members who put the rope of bourgeois rights around their necks become the target of the revolution and the bourgeoisie instead of being the revolution's motive force." Those leading cadres adhering to the revolutionary line of the proletariat and upholding the socialist system are the mainstay of socialist society, the major obstacle to the gang's bid to establish a "new dynasty" based on feudal, compradore and state monopoly capitalism. That is why the gang regarded them as the main target of their attacks.

The "gang of four" dished up a counterrevolutionary political program equating revolutionary veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist roaders," attacking them for being the "apologists for bourgeois rights" and accusing them of forming a "bourgeois class inside the party." In short, the gang's "all-round dictatorship" was aimed at all those who upheld socialism.

This is not a joke. The "gang of four" not only provided the theoretical basis for their actions but actually did what they wanted to do wherever they could. Didn't they tell their agents in the organs of dictatorship to direct the spearhead of dictatorship at the revolutionary leading cadres adhering to the proletarian revolutionary line? In areas they controlled, weren't those who sabotaged socialism given credit and those who upheld socialism pronounced guilty? Weren't workers given long prison terms for having put up wall posters approving of the socialist system of incentives? During the days of mourning for esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, didn't the gang accuse those who expressed the hope of achieving the four modernizations at an early date in their condolence messages of being "active counterrevolutionaries" and put them in jail? This occurred at a time when the gang had not yet seized the supreme leadership of the party and the state. If they had assumed power, they would have imposed a more brutal dictatorship on the vast number of toiling people on a countrywide scale.

Who, then, should exercise the power of "all-round dictatorship"? According to the "focal point" and "watershed" theories, such a heavy task should naturally fall upon the "gang of four," who were dead set against the socialist system, and on a handful of antisocialist diehards at the gang's beck and call. Chairman Hua pointed out: "They recruited a number of secret agents, renegades, counterrevolutionaries, hooligans and all types of bad elements who had seriously disrupted social order, proclaiming themselves 'leftists' and 'revolutionaries' but directing the spearhead of their attacks at leading cadres at all levels and at the revolutionary masses firmly taking the socialist road." The gang thus radically confused the relations between the enemy and ourselves and secretly replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat with the counterrevolutionary dictatorship of the landlord and bourgeois classes.

This shows that the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary theory of "all-round dictatorship" was the inevitable conclusion drawn from their economic theory, which in turn is illustrative of their counterrevolutionary theory of "all-round dictatorship." Furthermore, the gang's attempt to establish a system of state monopoly capitalism based on feudal and compradore practices also determined the fact that their counterrevolutionary dictatorship would inevitably be the most cruel form of fascist dictatorship.

The "gang of four" vainly attempted to bring ruin to a promising socialist China and to cause it to once again plunge into the abyss of a semi-colonial and semifeudal status. Such counterrevolutionary perverted actions cannot but be firmly opposed by the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, revolutionary cadres and other patriotic personages who make up over 95 percent of the country's population. The gang's utterly isolated position in the entire nation made them dependent on brute force alone to establish their domination. Therefore, they not only trampled on socialist democracy but also rejected bourgeois democracy. The parliamentary system of democracy was once the best political shell for capitalism. But to the gang--the most decadent, reactionary and isolated bourgeois factional network--any semblance of liberty and democracy was extremely dangerous. In order to maintain their rule, the only way was to deny the masses all democratic rights and to quash all opponents by resorting to White terror and repressive actions. Chairman Mao raised a very thought-provoking question at a central work conference held in January 1962. He pointed out: If our country does not build a socialist economy, "the dictatorship of the proletariat will become a bourgeois dictatorship, even a reactionary and fascist-type dictatorship."

The "all-round dictatorship" that the "gang of four" wanted to establish was exactly such an evil fascist dictatorship. Chang Chun-chiao ranted: "Dictatorship must be exercised in all realms," not just in certain spheres; "in all stages," not just in a certain stage; and it must be dictatorship "over all concepts" coming from the laboring people through socialist production relations, not just dictatorship over "all social relations" of socialism. His answer to the question of "how to consolidate political power" was: "Kill people." This means that not only did he deny the toiling people any freedom of speech and action, but he also deprived them of the freedom to entertain socialist concepts. This was no different from practicing the principle of feudal despotism advocated by the venerable Hsun Tzu, on whom the gang lavished praises: "The death penalty will inexorably be meted out to those who oppose talented people of good conduct." ("Hsun Tzu--the Monarchic Institution")

Despite the fact that the "gang of four" used "the most revolutionary" language and flaunted the banner of "dictatorship over the bourgeois," they were unable to conceal their ferocious features of imposing on the masses the fascist dictatorship of the landlord and bourgeois classes.

Stalin once pointed out that what Hitler called the "National Socialist Party" was not a socialist party but one disguised as "socialist"-- "reactionary forces of the Middle Ages variety and a party for fomenting black gang violence." ("The 24th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution") The "gang of four" did exactly the same thing. They took great pains and went to great lengths to rig up such a counter-revolutionary revisionist economic system in order to create public opinion in our country for establishing a social fascist system.

The "gang of four" have now been crushed. However, to wipe out all traces of their evil we must penetratingly repudiate their social fascist theoretical system in the service of their restoration conspiracy, above all completely eliminating the pernicious influence of their economic system so as to build a promising China into an even more thriving country!

TO FAN UP ANARCHISM IS TO SUBVERT THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

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[Article by Shih Chiao [4258 2890]]

[Text] As the "gang of four" ran amuck, the anarchist trend of thought stirred up by a handful of old and new counterrevolutionaries, like rapidly flowing floodwater and raging muddy rivers, pounded away at the party leadership at various levels, at socialist revolutionary order and the organization and discipline of the proletariat, and at socialist production and socialist construction projects. This shows that anarchism and the dictatorship of the proletariat are mutually exclusive, as are fire and water, and that anarchism paves the way for the restoration of a bourgeois dictatorship.

Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao always maintained great vigilance against the harm of anarchism. When the Great Cultural Revolution was in full swing, Chairman Mao sharply criticized the anarchist slogan of "suspecting all" and "overthrowing all" advocated by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." He pointed out: "We must be good at guiding those people in our ranks with petty-bourgeois ideology on to the path of the proletarian revolution. This is crucial to the success of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." After the collapse of the Lin Piao antiparty clique, Chairman Mao stressed on several occasions: "It is imperative to oppose anarchism." However, because of interference and sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," Chairman Mao's instructions were not carried out. Thus, anarchism spread unchecked.

The "gang of four's" conspiracy to restore capitalism failed long ago. Rights and wrongs reversed by them in line and ideology are being gradually corrected. It is also time to thoroughly repudiate their incitement to anarchism.



In inciting anarchism, the "gang of four" were aiming first at opposing party leadership and replacing the party with their gang.

When the gang stirred up the evil wind of "kicking aside party committees to make revolution," gang followers worked in concert with each other. They went everywhere to establish connections. When party committees held meetings, the gang stormed them; when party committee members spoke out, the gang attacked them; when party committees issued documents, the gang denounced such documents as teaching material by negative example; when party committees made decisions, the gang slandered such decisions as mental fetters. Many party organizations were vilified as stubborn bastions under the rule of a sinister line. They were stormed and smashed, and many leading comrades of party committees were slandered as "democrats" and "capitalist roaders" and were dragged out and struggled against. This antiparty adverse current was stirred up by the "gang of four," who used seemingly revolutionary ultraleftist slogans to deceive people.

The "gang of four" and their followers uttered this nonsense: "Party leadership means leadership of Mao Tsetung Thought, not leadership by any organization at any level." They thought they could rightfully kick party committees aside in the name of defending Mao Tsetung Thought.

We say: "Party leadership means leadership exercised by party organizations at various levels in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies." Chairman Mao's thought, line, and policies are guiding principles for party organizations at various levels to exercise correct leadership. Party organizations at various levels are the guarantee for implementing Chairman Mao's thought, line and policies. Chairman Mao's thought, line and policies on the one hand and the various levels of party organizations on the other are interrelated and inseparable. Had the "gang of four's" fallacies been implemented, party committees at various levels would all have been booted aside. Thus, who would have been relied upon to exercise so-called "leadership of Mao Tsetung Thought"? Wouldn't it then be reduced to an empty slogan?

People still recall that in areas where the leadership of party committees was seriously undermined, class enemies lorded it over the people and capitalism spread unchecked. In those areas there was no such thing as the leadership of Mao Tsetung Thought. Thus, it can be understood that rejecting the organizational leadership of the party means rejecting the leadership of Mao Tsetung Thought. Only through party organizations can the leadership of Mao Tsetung Thought be exercised.

The "gang of four" and their followers yelled: Whoever grasps Mao Tsetung Thought expresses party leadership! Thus, the leader of any faction or

any hooligan could point at himself and declare: "I alone am the revolutionary loyal to Mao Tsetung Thought," and seemingly gain the authority to exercise "party leadership" and issue orders. The "gang of four's" fallacy of setting the party's organizational leadership against its ideological leadership is aimed at basically abolishing party leadership. The "gang of four" and the followers blatantly argued that opposing party organizations did not necessarily mean one opposed the party or the party Central Committee and that this point should not be at issue. Therefore, should party organizations be opposed indiscriminately? Marxist theory on party building holds that the party "is the sum and substance of its various organizations--that is, a unified system of organizations." ("The Foundation of Leninism," "Collected Works of Stalin," Vol VI, p 153) Although the party organization of a certain level does not stand for the entire party, it certainly represents the party in the area or unit where it exercises leadership. Although it is not the incarnation of the party, it is a living cell of the organism--the party. When we say "party leadership," we mean the centralized leadership exercised by the party committee of a given area or unit. "Kicking aside party committees" is therefore tantamount to rejecting the party's centralized leadership. Such a conspiratorial tactic of setting the party against its organizations and of opposing the party by opposing its organizations at various levels was used by Trotsky long ago. With an ulterior motive, Trotsky raised the slogan in the 1920's of "struggling against party functionaries" in order to incite a small number of party members with little experience to oppose the party committees at various levels. Stalin pointed out: "Bolshevism cannot accept such contrasting of the party to the party apparatus. What, in fact, does our party apparatus consist of? It consists of the Central Committee, the regional committees, the gubernia committee, the uyezd committees." ("The 13th Conference of the RCP (B)," "Collected Works," Vol VI, p 15) The party committees at various levels direct the work on behalf of the party. Inciting struggle against a party committee at any level is in fact inciting struggle against the entire party. Therefore, Stalin called Trotsky's slogan "a rash anarchist Menshevik viewpoint."

The gang also used the slogan "Reject erroneous leadership" in their bid to disrupt party committees. They vociferously demanded: "Why shouldn't erroneous leadership be rejected?" In appearance this argument seems to be well founded, since Chairman Mao once said that erroneous leadership which endangers the revolution should not be accepted but resolutely rejected. However, whether leadership is correct or erroneous should not be decided on by subjective reasoning. Whether leadership is correct or erroneous is not subject to any one person's final say. Rather, it should be tested through objective practice, the one and only criterion.

Through the test of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it has been proved that the overwhelming majority of our leadership at various levels is good or relatively good and that it upholds Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies. Precisely because of this fact, Chairman

Mao's revolutionary line has been able to lead all fronts in our socialist revolution and construction. This leadership should not be rejected but supported and followed. Of course, even good or relatively good leadership sometimes has shortcomings or makes mistakes of one kind or another on specific issues. In such instances, those who are led, for their part, should offer their specific criticism or opinion or actively report them to a higher-level party organization. In addition, they are also allowed to maintain their views. However, there are two limitations. First, one must observe party discipline--the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire party is subordinate to the Central Committee. After a decision is reached by the party committee, it must be carried out resolutely. No act of disobedience is allowed. Secondly, organizing secret groups is not permitted, since this type of activity leads to the formation of factional cliques.

Then what should we do with the very small number of people who exercise erroneous, revisionist leadership? Our party has consistently advocated that we should fully mobilize the masses to expose and criticize them and, if necessary, struggle against them by exercising proletarian mass democracy. However, this struggle must be carried out under the direct leadership of a party committee at a higher level and in accordance with the principles, policies and plan of the party Central Committee. In carrying out such a struggle, no one is allowed to go his own way and deviate from party leadership; much less is one allowed to resort to such anarchist tactics as instigating work and production stoppages, disrupting revolutionary order and sabotaging organizations and discipline in order to resist struggle.

In their so-called "resistance to erroneous leadership," the "gang of four" paid no attention to the objective criterion of revolutionary practice but stressed their subjective need to usurp party and state power. Those who followed the gang were praised as "proletarian revolutionary leftists" and lauded to the skies. Anyone who refused to listen to the "gang of four" was branded a "loyalist" or "unrepentant capitalist roader." They made it known that they first wanted to strike down this type of person and then criticize and discredit him. They went everywhere to stir up the evil wind of "suspecting all" and "overthrowing all" and wantonly did all they could to disrupt and crush party organizations. Their so-called "resistance to erroneous leadership" had nothing in common with Chairman Mao's instructions; it willfully distorted and betrayed them.

The "gang of four's" sole aim in fanning up anarchism to oppose the party was to replace the party with the gang. Renegade Chiang Ching would unashamedly point directly at someone else and menacingly say: "Those who disobey me disobey the party!" The old and tricky counterrevolutionary Chang Chun-chiao went further and ordered his henchmen to lock up,

struggle against and brutally persecute those people in Shanghai who had once opposed him for "bombarding the proletarian headquarters." It can be seen that the "gang of four's" clamor about "kicking aside the party committee to make revolution" was a vain attempt to replace our party with their fascist gang and to establish a fascist dictatorship.

## II

In inciting anarchism, the "gang of four" also aimed to disrupt revolutionary order and erode the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chanting their incantations of disorder all day long, the gang alleged: "It is good for us if a little disorder exists," "Disorder shows our vigor and vitality," "Great disorder is good medicine for governing China," and so on and so forth. In their eyes disorder meant revolution: The greater the disorder, the greater the revolution; when great disorder prevails, the situation is excellent; when stability exists, revolutionary vitality is lacking. This bunch of pests was anxious to stir up trouble everywhere, determined to create chaos throughout our motherland and not let our people lead peaceful lives even for a day.

This anarchy and disorder is something that believers in anarchism have always wanted. In the past, Bakunin, the chieftain of anarchism, described revolution as "savage, continuous destruction." Krupotkin, another representative of anarchism, said: "The meaning of revolution is 'disruption of order.'" The only difference is that anarchists of the past always publicly said that they dreamed of an anarchist society which was fundamentally opposed to any form of dictatorship and viewed the elimination of any dictatorship, including that of the proletariat, as a precondition.

The "gang of four" described their creation of an anarchist state of affairs--disorder--as "aimed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat" and "aimed at establishing normal order under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Long ago we experienced such "normal order." The gang's henchmen ran wild, revolutionary people suffered, factories stopped operating and producing, the fixing of output quotas was based on the number of households in the countryside, production dropped and the economy was in a backward state. Had such "normal order" continued, the socialist legal system would have been completely disrupted, people's rights would have been trampled on, class enemies would have unscrupulously carried out sabotage activities, and the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat would have become chaotic.

Then what kind of normal order should be established under the dictatorship of the proletariat? Chairman Mao clarified this question long ago. He said: "The aim of this dictatorship is to protect all our people so

they can devote themselves to peaceful labor and build China into a socialist country with a modern industry, agriculture, science and culture." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol V, p 366) Obviously, normal order under the dictatorship of the proletariat should be a situation in which all people can devote themselves to peaceful labor with a view to realizing socialist modernization. It should be a state of stability and unity, "a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness." ("The Situation in the Summer of 1957," "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol V, pp 456-457) Whether or not such public order is established is a major indication of whether or not the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated. All revolutions that develop under a dictatorship of the proletariat should aim at further consolidating, improving and developing such public order. Precisely for this reason, Chairman Mao repeatedly stressed the importance of stability and unity after the 8 years of the Great Cultural Revolution.

Of course, during the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, class struggle will still exist and can become very acute at times. Therefore, disorder will still occur. Just as Chairman Mao pointed out, great disorder is followed by great order. But the disorder Chairman Mao had in mind was not anarchic or continual disorder but a means of bringing about great order across the land. The practice of class struggle proves that the more acute the class struggle, the more necessary the disorder and the concentrated leadership and united action of the proletariat and revolutionary people so that the struggle against the class enemy can be carried out. This disorder will confuse the enemy, educate the masses and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat; then we will be able to rapidly end the disorder after defeating the enemy and march toward great order. The "gang of four" distorted and tampered with Chairman Mao's instructions and preached the reactionary fallacy of "the more turbulent, the more revolutionary," in a vain attempt to turn our good socialist state into an anarchic society in which "earthquakes" would always occur and safety would be nonexistent.

Indeed, Lenin, teacher of proletarian revolution, once stated: "Revolutionary order is the most normal order in history." But Lenin used this remark to poke fun at those "revolutionaries" who objected to "excessive destruction" of the old order of bourgeois rule. However, the "gang of four" used it to mock the masses of people who staunchly defended the new order of proletarian dictatorship. This, in principle, twisted the meaning of Lenin's remark. As long as the bourgeoisie exercises dictatorship, it is the task of the proletarian revolution to overthrow the old system and shatter the old order. Whoever complains about the revolution "being excessively destructive" is an opportunist, no more and no less. But after political power is seized by the proletariat, its task is to

consolidate the new regime and build a new order. Moreover, it must march at full speed toward socialist modernization. However, the "gang of four" went all out in preaching "the more turbulent, the more revolutionary." This showed that they were the sworn enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Did the "gang of four" really want to establish such a "normal order" of anarchism? No. When they wanted to overthrow proletarian rule over the bourgeoisie, they urgently needed anarchy and preached disorder; but when they exercised dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, they opposed anarchy and disorder. This seemed contradictory but was a superb application of anarchism. Their counterrevolutionary strategy was to stabilize Shanghai, disrupt the entire country and seize power amid the disorder. Why did they want to stabilize Shanghai? Didn't they say: The more turbulent, the better? The reason behind their action was that, at that time, Shanghai had already established the dictatorship of the "gang of four." Under this dictatorship, of course, no anarchism was permitted. Their plot aimed to disrupt the entire country, seize power amid the disorder and establish a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie throughout the country.

### III

The "gang of four" stirred up anarchism precisely in order to undermine revolutionary discipline and unity.

At that time, no one was allowed to grasp revolutionary discipline; if anyone did, he was accused of treating the masses as slaves. No one was allowed to observe revolutionary discipline; if anyone did, he was accused of practicing slavery. While the "gang of four" ballyhooed that one should be the master instead of the slave, organizational discipline, rules and regulations and the practice of being "honest in three ways and strict in four aspects" were all regarded as shackles binding the hands and feet of the masses and fit for burning and smashing; only in this way could the masses become masters and liberate themselves.

Such outcries as "We must not become slaves" are not strange to people. During the early period in which Lenin was leading the building of the party, some anarchist intellectuals shouted hysterically at the mention of organization and discipline: "We are not serfs!" "We oppose turning people into 'wheels and cogs.'" In view of such pitiable and funny cries, Lenin pointed out that this group of people "always feels that any form of proletarian organization and discipline is like serfdom." ("One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol VII, p 349) The "gang of four" merely picked up what the anarchists had said and carried out vicious agitation.

History long ago proved that the road of anarchism is by no means the way to emancipate the proletariat and all other people. In the old society

the proletariat and other people were armed only with their bare hands. What did they rely on in overthrowing the bourgeoisie? They relied on their unity, organization and discipline, and the leadership of the Communist Party, the vanguard of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out that "in the struggle to seize political power, the proletariat has no other weapon except organization." ("One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol I, p 510) But anarchism aims to undo the organization of the revolutionary ranks, relax their discipline, disintegrate their unity, and weaken or even eliminate their combativeness. This reduces people to slaves.

In a socialist society, the proletariat and other people become masters of the state. They enjoy a great deal of freedom and democracy. This is inconceivable in a bourgeois country. "But this freedom is exercised under leadership, and this democracy is guided by centralism. These qualities do not constitute anarchism." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol V, p 367) Anarchism that negates centralism, leadership, organization and discipline is incompatible with the socialist system, because one important characteristic of this system is that it pays attention to planning and organization. In economics, it practices a socialist planned economy, not capitalist anarchy; this demands discipline. In politics, it practices democratic centralism of the proletariat, not bourgeois liberalization; in this regard, discipline is also necessary, especially because we are now in the new period of development in socialist revolution and construction. To fulfill the general task for the new period and build our country into a strong socialist state with modern agriculture, industry, defense, science and technology before the end of this century, we must rally more closely around the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and achieve unity in command and action. This task makes discipline all the more necessary. If we had listened to the "gang of four's" demagoguery, people would have been going their own ways at a time when strengthening of organization and discipline was most necessary; they would have been like a mound of loose sand when strengthening of revolutionary unity was essential. Under those conditions, it would have been impossible to rapidly develop the socialist economy, realize socialist modernization, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and defeat efforts to achieve capitalist restoration.

From their own experience, the proletariat and the masses fully realize that a revolutionary sense of organization and discipline was their weapon for extricating themselves from slavery in the past. It remains their magic wand in defending their position as masters of their own fate. Their efforts to consciously observe discipline, subject themselves to strict discipline and resolutely rally around the party are certainly not slavish actions; these efforts fully manifest the people's spirit of acting as masters of their own affairs.

But the "gang of four" incited the masses to "liberate" themselves by breaking away from centralism, leadership, organization and discipline. In doing so they merely preached the "absolute freedom" of individualism. "Absolute freedom" is a phrase repeated by the anarchists thousands of times. But who has seen such a "paradise" of "absolute freedom"? No one. Lenin said long ago: "One cannot live in society and be free from society." ("Party Organization and Party Literature," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol I, p 650) Those people who live in socialist society and who nevertheless want to be free from socialist organization and discipline are precisely the ones who haven't the least freedom. In the course of the struggle for production, to reject organization and discipline is to basically reject socialist modern large-scale production and the objective laws of the development of production. Anyone who does so will naturally be punished. In the course of class struggle, rejecting organization and discipline implied the strengthening of the bourgeois forces and the disarming of the proletariat, and this would lead to the restoration of capitalism and loss of the freedom won by the proletariat. Let us recall those "grave disaster areas" where anarchism assumed flood proportions and bad people ruled supreme, good people suffered, henchmen of factional networks ran amuck and even used dictatorial means to brutally persecute the vast number of cadres and the masses, and minimum safeguards for the personal safety of the people were absent. Was there any freedom we could talk about there?

Such doubletalk about such impossible "absolute freedoms" is, in fact, not taken seriously even by the speakers themselves. Lin Piao had his "small fleet" discipline, and the "gang of four" had their factional discipline. Didn't Chang Chun-chiao advocate "being the master of the house"? For the "gang of four," being the master of the house was one basic rule of factional discipline. Whoever violated it committed the gravest crime against the state or the party, being guilty of opposing the party and the revolution. He would suffer physical torture or even death! If it is said that the discipline of slaveowners was maintained by the bludgeon and that of the capitalists by hunger, then the factional discipline of the "gang of four" was maintained by fascist terror. We must smash the "gang of four's" spiritual shackles and strengthen the proletarian sense of organization and discipline. This is an important condition for winning new victories.

#### IV

Lenin once said: "Anarcho-syndicalism is but the twin brother of opportunism." ("The State and Revolution," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol III, p 209) This is because anarchism and opportunism share the same stand in the struggle against Marxism and in their attacks on the Marxist theory of class struggle and the theory of proletarian dictatorship. With respect to safeguarding bourgeois interests, they both serve the bourgeoisie through the destruction and disintegration of the revolutionary ranks and revolutionary movement from within. Because of this,



Lenin described the anarchist factions waving the Marxist banner toward the end of the 19th century as "revisionism coming from the left." ("Marxism and Revisionism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol II, p 8) Moreover, he pointed out: Anarchism and opportunism, "these two deformed things supplement each other." ("Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol IV, p 189) Despite the occasional recriminations between anarchism and opportunism, such superficial antagonism does not cover up the fact that they are essentially the same. While opportunism utilizes anarchism as its "twin brother," the latter serves as the former's "good assistant"--such situations are not rare in the history of proletarian revolution.

However, under the historical conditions of proletarian dictatorship in our country, anarchism fanned up by the "gang of four" during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had a special role to play in helping them to push the ultraright revisionist line in the guise of the "left."

The "gang of four" was a revisionist faction which developed during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. By criticizing the revisionism peddled by Liu Shao-chi, and through their tempering in the Great Cultural Revolution, the broad masses have greatly enhanced their ability to distinguish right from wrong with regard to political line.

To push revisionism, the "gang of four," a bunch of careerists, naturally could not openly take a rightist position. They had to disguise themselves as leftists. In this regard anarchism fully met the counter-revolutionary needs of the "gang of four." Anarchism opposes Marxism from a leftist point of view. Therefore, it is often called an ultraleftist ideological trend. Since its introduction into China, it has distinctly preserved this ultraleftist characteristic. For instance, an anarchist of the "4 May" period said: "I oppose the Bolshevik, not because he is a revolutionary, but because he is not a thorough revolutionary. It must be realized that a revolution which is not thorough is the same as 'reformism.'" At first glance the leftist, high-pitched radical words of anarchism seem even more revolutionary than Marxism, but they are very deceptive and demagogic. But anarchism as fanned up by the "gang of four" was not a simple reproduction of anarchism in history. Flaunting the banner of opposing revisionism, the "gang of four" fanned up anarchism. They called for efforts to rebel against revisionism and for refusal to carry out production for the revisionist line and to become the docile tools of revisionism. But when these anti-revisionist phrases were heard everywhere, anarchism ran rampant. This created a false impression in the people's mind: it seems that anarchism is the opposite of revisionism, to promote anarchism is to "work against" revisionism, to encourage ultraleftism is to criticize ultrarightism, and members of the "gang of four," the chief culprits fanning up anarchism and spreading revisionism, are the "antirevisionist" heroes!

The "gang of four" peddled anarchism because this reactionary ideological trend has its own social foundation. Stalin said: "The petty bourgeoisie is the best soil for breeding anarchists, semianarchists and ultraleftists." ("The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International," "Collected Works of Stalin," Vol IX, p 11) Since the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and the continuous deepening of the socialist revolution, the masses of petty bourgeoisie in China have constantly transformed their petty bourgeois ideas and steadfastly taken the socialist road under the leadership of the party. However, we must also realize that our state has many petty bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeois class nature as analyzed by Lenin and Chairman Mao not only has its deep-seated influence among the masses originating from the petit bourgeoisie, but also inevitably produces a corrosive effect on some sections of the workers, party members and personnel of state organs. Certain inherent characteristics of the petty bourgeoisie are manifested in various degrees by many people. Major manifestations are petit bourgeois selfishness, blind passion and disunity. With regard to selfishness, some people go along with the anarchist slogan: "Everything should be done for my own sake." The "gang of four" peddled the fallacy: "Those who excel in making trouble will be promoted and get rich." They also said: "Those who correctly instigate trouble should be promoted and given official positions; those who incorrectly make trouble should be properly dealt with." They utilized the selfish, petit bourgeois idea of "reaping profit" to incite people to become speculators, "climb upward" and engage in illegal practices so as to achieve their own selfish aims. Due to blind passion, some people adopt ultraleftist measures, become extremists and act impetuously. The "gang of four" made good use of this quality and instigated trouble. They utilized the ultraleftist slogan, "We must tilt 30 degrees to the left on everything," in order to confuse people so they would be unable to distinguish genuine leftists from sham leftists and genuine revolutionaries from sham revolutionaries and would deviate from the proletarian revolutionary path and follow anarchism. Because of disunity, the proletarian sense of organization and discipline is alien to some people. However, they echo the idea of absolute freedom peddled by anarchists. They do not understand the dialectical relationship between democracy and centralism, between freedom and discipline. They fail to draw the line between the extensive democracy of the proletariat and anarchism. They are fairly willing to accept the kind of reactionary slogans peddled by the "gang of four," such as "combat the practice of controlling, checking and suppressing the workers." The gang used anarchism to push the ultrarightist line of revisionism. In essence, they were vainly trying to win over to their side a large number of petty bourgeoisie in order to use them as tools for capitalist restoration.

The anarchism of the "gang of four" wrought havoc on all fronts and in all undertakings of socialist revolution and construction. This aroused the furious indignation of the masses a long time ago. However, Lin Piao

and the "gang of four" tried a thousand and one ways to prevent the people from criticizing anarchism, which harmed the revolution for as long as 10 years. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is deeply developing. We must march forward on the crest of victory, penetratingly and thoroughly criticize the anarchism incited by the "gang of four," completely eliminate its pernicious influence and penetratingly expose and criticize the ultra-right revisionist line promoted by the gang.

## A RANDOM TALK ON LITERARY AND ART CREATION

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[Article by Mao Tun [5403 4163]]

[Text] Smash Spiritual Shackles and Liberate Thinking

When the "gang of four" ran wild, the literary and art field was "a disaster area." The "gang of four" distorted the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution, which were dominated by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, as years dominated by the revisionist line. They vigorously pushed an obscurantist policy and practiced cultural despotism. They framed revolutionary writers and wildly persecuted them. Many fine revolutionary literary and art works were not allowed to be published or put on the screen. To hoodwink the masses of young people and young literary and art workers, the "gang of four" further concocted a series of idealist and revisionist taboos regarding creative work, such as "three prominences," "three supporting roles," "many profiles," "many crests," etc. When the literary and art field was completely controlled by them, they also concocted many literary and art works for conspiratorial purposes. They set their propaganda machine in motion, praising these works and forcing the literary and art workers to take them as "typical examples" in creation. Under the threats of the "gang of four," the masses of readers and writers dared not speak out. Many young writers became used to the same old stuff as time went on. This had the effect of restraining them spiritually. The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua led the people of the whole country to smash the "gang of four" at one stroke. Literature and art were liberated. Yet the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" remained deep and extensive. It is no simple thing to thoroughly smash the spiritual shackles they put on the masses of literary and art workers and to turn chaos into order. This involves a "destruction" process and also a "construction" process. There must be "construction" in "destruction." It is nothing strange if certain young writers feel temporarily at a loss. They are like persons long confined to a dungeon. Once free, they feel dazed by the sunshine. They find themselves temporarily unused to a quick walk

after their feet have been in chains for a long time. They want to write, but it is difficult to break a habit. They have not completely and thoroughly smashed their spiritual shackles. To put it more plainly, they have not been thoroughly liberated. They still do not understand the process of literary and art creation. This article in the form of a random talk based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought gives a few main facets of the process of creating literary and art works (especially novels) for the readers' reference. Wrong things may have been said in some places. This is unavoidable, and comments will be greatly appreciated.

#### The Decisive Role of the World Outlook

Literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers as well as proletarian politics. This is the determination of the masses of literary and art workers. Yet determination alone is no guarantee of the accomplishment of a given task.

In 1942 Chairman Mao taught us: Literary and art workers must "shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society." ("Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art")

Chairman Mao was then addressing the literary and art workers in Yen-an. The great majority of these literary and art workers were petty bourgeois intellectuals. Among them were some revolutionary literary and art workers who in the 1930's had waged an outstanding struggle against the men of letters in the Kuomintang's pay and hangers-on in the literary field and had succeeded in smashing Chiang Kai-shek's cultural encirclement. In addition, there were educated young people who had gone to Yen-an in the early days of the war of resistance against Japan. The great majority of them had more or less studied the fundamentals of Marxism and undergone a transformation in their world outlook. But in an environment of White terror under the Kuomintang, they could not possibly have gone out among the workers, peasants and soldiers. They were therefore divorced from the workers, peasants and soldiers in reality, in action and in feelings. With this situation in mind, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out the orientation of advance. In compliance with Chairman Mao's teachings, the literary and art workers in Yen-an went out of the caves and among the workers, peasants and soldiers and into the heat of struggle. As a result, they produced a number of good works that had the effect of uniting the people, educating the people, trouncing the enemy and annihilating the enemy. These works helped to create a new situation in Chinese revolutionary literature and art in regard to content, form and literary language.

This is a historical event of 36 years ago. But we recall it not without thinking of certain immediate problems.

The first problem is that of shifting our stand. In this regard, Chairman Mao called for "two deep involvements" and "two fields of study." This shows that "deep involvement" alone, without "study," is not enough and that "study" has first of all to do with the study of Marxism. In other words, without mastering Marxism as an ideological weapon, we cannot correctly solve the problem of studying society. Also, without mastering Marxism, even if we are deeply involved with the worker-peasant-soldier masses and with real-life struggle, we can hardly guarantee our being able to really unearth and analyze problems and to see essence through phenomena in a welter of phenomena. So, shifting our stand is a gradual and painful process, not an easy task.

Second, the study of Marxism or the transformation of world outlook must be combined with deep involvement with the worker-peasant-soldier masses and deep involvement with real-life struggle. Book learning alone will not lead to a real grasp of Marxism or the thorough transformation of one's world outlook.

Broadly speaking, world outlook is the sum total of all one's viewpoints about one's own surroundings, the natural phenomena and social phenomena, i.e., the sum total of one's viewpoints about philosophy, sociopolitics, ethics, estheticism, natural sciences and other things. It determines one's given class position and intellectual level in a given historical period. One's world outlook changes with social development. There cannot possibly be a unified world outlook in a society of antagonistic classes. World outlooks vary from the exploiting class to the oppressed laboring people. Even people from the same class in the same period cannot share a completely identical world outlook. It is a matter having to do with their personal experience. Given their share of hardships in the old society and their close ties with the laboring people, the world outlook of intellectuals has something progressive in it. For the younger generation born in the new society and raised under the red banner, world outlook cannot be claimed as being completely free from the influence of the old period. In our country, in the entire historical period of socialism, there exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and there exists the influence of the ideas of the bourgeoisie and the old exploiting classes. Therefore, in the political and ideological fields, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes will be of a protracted nature. The "gang of four's" many counterrevolutionary fallacies gave concentrated expression to landlord-bourgeois demands. Many people failed to see things clearly and were deceived. Does this not to a certain degree exactly serve to show the influence of old things on people's minds? This is one side of the problem. Another side is that real life is ceaselessly developing, and the new conditions and new problems continuously cropping up in real-life struggle also demand that we strengthen the study effort to

adjust our thinking to the changing objective situation. This shows that we must continue to pay great attention to the transformation of our world outlook today. Revolutionary literary and art workers must master dialectical materialism and historical materialism as an ideological weapon. Only in this way can they forcefully criticize the old ideological state, make a profound and correct analysis of the phenomena of class struggle in social life, and create literary and art works that really reflect actual life.

People are now unlikely to openly oppose the decisive role of world outlook. But the transformation of our world outlook cannot be achieved overnight. We fear that there are still people whose insights are not deep enough. Those engaged in literary and art creation, including myself, deeply feel from experience the need to live, learn and undergo transformation. Literary and art workers are called "the architects of the human soul." Without a sound Marxist world outlook, these architects will design and manufacture products that are poor in quality, unattractive in appearance and unable to withstand the test of time.

#### The Depth and Breadth of Life

For many years the "gang of four" not only deprived the masses of literary and art workers of their right to get deeply involved in life, but raved that only through writing so-called works on "capitalist roaders" could there be "depth," and the more amplified the role of "capitalist roaders," the greater the "breadth." Such confusion created in regard to the depth and breadth of life must be clarified.

Literary and art workers draw on social life, the relations between people of different social classes, the contradictions and struggle between them, their mental state, their ideology, etc., as sources of material. Therefore, needless to say, they must combine a sharp ideological weapon--Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought--with extensive and deep-felt experience of life. Chairman Mao taught us long ago: Literary and art workers "must for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyze all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work."

What Chairman Mao said is in simple and easy-to-understand language and yet has profound meaning. It is our motto. In my opinion, literary and art workers must not only stand at a great height and command a view of the whole picture in their approach to life, but also get deeply involved in order to acquire overall and thorough knowledge of the concrete things they write about. Standing at a greater height and getting deeply involved are not in conflict but complement each other. To get acquainted

with the many facets of life, we must first have an idea of the whole picture and then get deeply involved with a given corner. It can hardly be imagined that confined to a corner (such as a workshop in the factory or a production brigade in the countryside, or one side of life) and totally ignorant of life outside the corner, a person can find something to write about. Of course, we do not mean that he is incapable of even writing literary sketches which draw on existing things as raw material. No, he can write these, and even do so with flying colors. But when it comes to the portrayal of typical figures in typical circumstances, with life reflected in a work assuming universal significance, then life confined to one corner is not enough. Lu Hsun suggested that we must see more and not see one thing and immediately start to write about it. This also means that we must not only get deeply involved with one corner but also see the whole picture. What we want to reflect in creation is social life of universal significance, but the story and its characters must necessarily be set in concrete circumstances (such as a factory, a village or other things). Take "The Story of Ah Q," for instance. The village of Mo is an invented background. Ah Q is also an invented figure. Yet all that happened in the village of Mo is a microcosm of social life throughout China around the time of the revolution of 1911. The figure of Ah Q, in Lu Hsun's own words, is not just representative of one or two persons, but a composite of many faces found everywhere in the east, in the west, in the south and in the north. Ah Q is a worker doing odd jobs, i.e., a hired peasant. What befell him befell all hired peasants. Yet all the concepts pushed by the ruling classes in feudal society to deceive and poison the minds of the laboring people left a deep mark on him. He became a mirror in which people of all kinds could see their own images. If today we call Ah Q a backward person, we can say that he is very backward. For this very reason he was a typical hired peasant of 60 years ago. Though regarded as a slave, this backward peasant did not degenerate into being one. In the back of his mind was a desire to be liberated--a desire that cried out for fulfillment at the first opportunity. So he signed up for the Chinese revolution. Though he became involved with the revolution in a muddleheaded way, he could not be blamed. This was because the revolutionary party members at that time did not know how to bring the principles of revolution to the countryside and did not know that it was extremely important to wake up the overwhelming majority of still backward peasants.

Since the founding of the state, certain professional writers committed to a given theme (such as steel smelting, the reservoir, etc.) spend a long period of time in a chosen area doing labor and practicing the "three togethernesses." Only after they acquaint themselves with life do they start to write. This is called establishing a "life base." This approach to experience of life is in line with the aforementioned teachings of Chairman Mao. It is also a plan for creation formulated for writers by the literary and art leadership departments with the whole situation in mind and a rational way to allow the reflection of all important socialist construction undertakings in literature.



Even before setting up a "life base," these professional writers are not completely in the dark about contemporary social life, class contradictions, class struggle and the ever-developing cause of socialist construction. Instead, they are quite well informed. They have a wealth of experience in the business of creation. After a long period of time devoted to the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to the three great revolutionary movements--class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment--they have acquired a proletarian world outlook to various degrees and are quite able to see life correctly. Therefore, when it comes to deep involvement with a corner of the "life base," these professional writers are much more favorably placed than those young writers or amateur young writers who do not have such extensive experience of life or so much creative experience. If they are solely preoccupied with deep involvement in a "life base," with no attention given to the overall development of the domestic situation and without an understanding of the complicated social life outside the "life base," then what professional or amateur writers can derive from this corner cannot be guaranteed to be of great immediate significance, and their end products based on their observations and analyses of the current state of affairs cannot be of a universal nature. There often are cases like the following: These young writers are distressed because their admirable aspirations and their strong determination have not produced the desired results. What is the underlying cause? They often blame this on their own lack of writing skill, but the main reason is that they have not combined the depth and breadth of life and have not understood the dialectical relationship between the two.

In his teachings on deep involvement with the source of life, Chairman Mao stressed the five "alls." This shows that the breadth of life is a very important factor in the process of creation.

#### Creation Methods

Now that we have a clear picture of the decisive role of world outlook and of the dialectical relationship between the depth and breadth of the literary and art workers' life, let us now look at how to create, i.e., the methods of creation.

Creation methods are the principles and methods applied and used by writers in observing, analyzing, refining and synthesizing a proliferation of phenomena in social life. They involve a process of thinking in terms of images in order to reflect life and to create artistic images. Creation methods are affected by world outlook, but the latter is not the equivalent of the former.

In class society, due to different world outlooks, the creation methods used by the men of letters of the ruling class in selecting themes and creating artistic images are different from those adopted by the laboring people in creating folk literature. Men of letters belonging to the same

ruling class are basically unanimous in their world outlooks. But different viewpoints and ideas about literature and art account for different creation methods being used to produce works completely different in content, form and even in style. Such differences are known in history as different schools of literature and art. Creation methods vary with different schools of literature and art.

Creation methods with the greatest impact on the history of literature and art came from only two schools--romanticism and realism. There are many other "isms." On the surface they have their own competing features, but as far as their attitude toward life and their influence on mankind are concerned they belong to the same type and may generally be called formalism. Formalist literary and art works may be entertaining for the exploiting class and its hangers-on. They may be aimed at deceiving and poisoning the minds of the laboring people to consolidate the position of the exploiting class. They may also be motivated by the subjectivist aspirations of writers to create something new to attract attention. But except for a handful of followers, they hold no interest for the people. All of them share such features as the pursuit of pomposity, elegance in form (the kind loved by the feudal aristocrats and other exploiters), and the portrayal of the fabulous and the strange (carried so far that what cannot be understood is regarded as the ultimate in mystery), and they completely neglect the ideological nature of content and even favor complete freedom from ideology. Therefore, the formalist school of literature and art naturally lacks life and vitality and can only be a passing fad in one or two countries, like a new brand of makeup that soon falls out of fashion.

Classicism, which was the rage in Europe in the 17th century, may also be called formalism as far as its promotion of strict adherence to certain fixed artistic forms is concerned. Of course, the foremost classicists in France at that time, such as Racine and Moliere, were concerned with the ways of the world and their period. They opposed papacy and royalty (but did not oppose the bourgeoisie). Their works were what the people at that time were able to understand and appreciate. But except for certain writers imbued with materialist thinking as represented by Moliere, many classicist writers took rationalism, a very powerful school of philosophy in the 17th century, as the primary basis of their thinking.

Rationalists consider rationality as the only source of genuine knowledge and negate the necessity of experience (perceptual knowledge) in the process of cognition. Because they do not know or because they do not believe that experience is the first stage of cognition, they naturally divorce rationality from experience and put conception and thinking in absolute terms. Rationalists hold that truth comes directly from rationality and that the yardstick of truth is not practice but whether one's conception is clear. The classicist creation formula is an offshoot of the aforementioned way of viewing realities. It looks to

ancient Greek and Roman works as examples. Most of the social phenomena expressed according to such a formula are unreal. The characters so created are unstable in character and idealized by a writer's rationality.

With an idea of the origins of creation methods, we can easily see that creation "rules" such as the "three prominences," "three supporting roles," etc., advocated by the "gang of four" as "creative inventions," are nothing but crumbs picked up from the archives of classicism. They were prompted by a vain attempt to arbitrarily subordinate what is vivid and rich in real life to certain artistic stereotypes created artificially. Yet classicism of the 17th century played a positive role in history in opposing the papacy, royalty and medieval philosophy. Certain fine works by foremost classicists made a break with classicist taboos in content and form. They are still valuable today as references. The "gang of four" borrowed the residue of classicism of the 17th century, put it in a new form and publicized it as "a creative invention." This is a case of retrogression and restoration. As classicism opposes the recognition of social phenomena through experience of life, so the "gang of four" always refrained from advocating the need for writers to have extensive experience of life. Instead, they promoted "putting the theme first" and let writers stay indoors and create from imagination. As classicism advocates rationality as a basis for creating ideal and perfect heroic images, so the "gang of four" advocated that main heroic figures be "lofty, towering and complete." Total lack of development in their character from beginning to end was said to be what distinguishes set and unchanging figures. All such things as these were aimed at creating literature for conspiratorial purposes to usurp party and state power. They freely ran counter to Chairman Mao's teachings on creation methods and altered the correct theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought about creating typical examples.

Integration of revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism as advocated by Chairman Mao is a brilliant combination and development of fine literary and art traditions in the history of literature and art. We know that realism and romanticism have a long history. If the "pian-feng" [6239 7364] and "pian-ya" [6239 7161] in the "Book of Odes" can be taken as realistic, then the "li-sao" [7180 7510] can be called romantic. Commentators generally regard Tu Fu's works as chiefly realistic and Li Pai's as chiefly romantic. Realism is a writer's attempt to reflect what he considers to be the objective truth of social life based on his observation and analysis of the realities of society (class contradictions and class struggle). Here he also expresses his aspirations and political tendencies. On the other hand, a romantic writer, guided by how in his opinion social life should develop and using his own life experience as a basis, uses his imagination to create idealized figures in extraordinary circumstances, thus giving expression to his ideals, aspirations and political tendencies. But whether the objective truth reflected by the realistic writer fits in with the laws of social development is determined by his world outlook. A progressive

world outlook may result in works that cannot be taken as a guide to the future but which reflect the essence of reality. Only a Marxist world outlook can result in works that can not only reflect reality in a profound way but also provide guidance to the correct orientation of advance. Such realism is known to us as revolutionary realism. Whether a romantic ideal world is visionary or scientific is also determined by a writer's world outlook. Drawing on ancient stories as a source, the romantic writers in Europe of the 18th century gave vent to their deep dissatisfaction with social realities through idealized figures set in extraordinary circumstances, and they held in great respect those ideal figures created with an extremely great ability to put up resistance and wage struggle. Writing in a forceful style, they tried to make the image of an ideal figure inspire the spectators' or readers' resistance and struggle in a society full of contradictions and inequities. The characters and events used by these writers were often from ancient stories and could not possibly have been found in real life. Yet the impression left on the audience is of immediate significance as far as their resistance and struggle in an ugly and irrational society are concerned. This is a positive side of a romantic work. Such a work is called positive romanticism. Meanwhile, there are also idealized works based on medieval rustic life, but their purpose is to lure the spectators or readers to lose themselves in unrealistic thinking and run away from reality. A romantic work such as this has a negative effect on life. It is called negative romanticism. Of course, positive romanticism or negative romanticism is determined by a writer's world outlook. A progressive world outlook will result in works of positive romanticism. But as mentioned above, the ideals of positive romanticism, though expressive of a writer's admirable aspirations and though they may stimulate people in their pursuit of the future and of an ideal society, are after all unscientific and are a reflection in literature of the utopian socialism that appeared in Europe at that time. Only a Marxist world outlook can stimulate the development of positive romanticism to break away from wishful thinking and what is unscientific in order to bring its ideals in line with the natural laws of the development of human society. This is revolutionary romanticism.

In 1958 Chairman Mao put forward the creation method combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. In a new situation of socialist revolution and construction, he told us that socialist literary and art works must involve the dialectical relationship between ideals and realities, i.e., the leading role of revolutionary romanticism and the basic role of revolutionary realism. The progress of our socialist revolution and construction is spectacular. What is an ideal often turns into reality overnight. This provides an objective basis for combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. Of course, in real life every step forward is taken after heated struggle. Such struggle finds expression in the class contradictions and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and in man's struggle with nature. It also finds expression in the people's struggle to overcome

the old ideas remaining in their minds and to transform themselves into more perfect and more mature fighters for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. If we concern ourselves solely with the portrayal of the beauty and greatness of the future of communism and with the fighters' external struggle and neglect the internal struggle simultaneously being waged within them and their soaring communist spirit, then our literary and art efforts cannot reflect our revolution and construction in an all-round manner. Their educational value will be reduced.

The creation method combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism represents the historical laws of development of literature and art scientifically summed up on the basis of the proletarian literature and art movements and the practice of creation. It is a creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art and a new addition to the treasure house of Marxist literary and art theory. It has pointed out the correct direction of advance not only for our revolutionary literary and art fighters but also for revolutionary literary and art fighters the world over.

Chairman Mao's poems are typical examples of combining revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism in creation. Vice Chairman Yeh and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation such as Commander in Chief Chu and Marshal Chen I also wrote poems which provide us with examples of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism in creation. In their poems we can see not only the combination of revolutionary realities and revolutionary ideals but also a lofty and exalting style. Such a level of perfection in artistic beauty is not only a profound reflection of the great earth-shaking struggle of our revolutionary people but also a manifestation of the writers' lofty spiritual world, i.e., the proletarian world outlook, and their great personalities. If we refrain from studying the examples they provide of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism from the angle of the need for a higher ideological level and of revolutionary practice, and if we study them solely from the angle of training in literary language, then it is inevitably a case of putting the cart before the horse.

Regarding novels and dramas, since the creation method combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism was put forward, many writers have devoted great efforts to exploratory work and have achieved something in their respective fields. Amid an excellent situation marked by grasping the key link in running the country well and the campaign to let a hundred schools of thought contend which emerged after the smashing of the "gang of four," the people naturally have every reason to expect that literary and art workers will show more courage in practice and score new achievements as far as the application of the creation method combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism is concerned.

## On the Problem of Skills

Skills in creating literary and art works cover the analysis, synthesis and refining of the experiences of life as well as the determination of theme ideas, primarily by logical thinking and incidental thinking in terms of the images involved. As to the creation of typical characters in typical circumstances, such things as describing their traits in every detail, putting social backgrounds and the protagonists' scenes of action in concrete terms, etc., primarily call into play thinking in terms of images and incidental logical thinking.

In a writer's thinking process, logical thinking and thinking in terms of images do not consciously take place at different stages but mingle unconsciously. Take the maturity of a theme, for instance. A theme is inseparable from people and events in concrete circumstances. In selecting a theme a writer has settled on particular figures and events and not on others. On the surface this seems to be related to his experience of life (i.e., subject matter chosen from the social life with which he is most familiar). In fact, this is not so. It is a writer's world outlook that determines his selecting as subject matter what is most capable of reflecting the spirit of the period from the social life with which he is most familiar. This is logical thinking. Meanwhile, subject matter does not come from nowhere by abstract means. It is the result of a writer's long and deep involvement in life and heated struggle and of the impressions made on him by certain events and people. These impressions are so deep that he cannot get them out of his mind. Even in his dreams he relives these events and has heart-to-heart talks with the figures involved in them. At this stage, initial thoughts are formed about these events and people which he wants to write about and which he feels he knows. This is thinking in terms of images. It can be said that logical thinking and thinking in terms of images mingle in a writer's mind, so that in the process of creation not only is the spirit of the period reflected in thinking about the theme but typical figures in typical circumstances are created. The two sides of the entire thinking process are dialectically related. They are complementary and not antagonistic to each other.

In writing, from the first page to the last, logical thinking and thinking in terms of images alternate with each other. After the first draft of a chapter is prepared, revisions, deletions and additions also call into play the roles of logical thinking and thinking in terms of images. After the completion of the first draft of the whole book, final revisions to prepare the book for publication further involve the alternation of logical thinking and thinking in terms of images. But in writing the first draft the writer primarily depends on thinking in terms of images.

I think (in light of my own experience) that the above underlies the problem of skills. We should view the problem of skills from this high

level and polish our writing skills on the basis of it. Another problem--not basic but by no means unimportant--involves proper structural organization and clear, accurate and vivid description of background scenes and characters. This can be taken as an indication of a writer's craftsmanship.

A writer's craftsmanship is not something inherent. It grows gradually out of an accumulation of life experiences through deep involvement in life and heated struggle. It may be traced to life itself. Life in human society is the only source of literature and art. In the period of socialist revolution and construction, this source provides materials unprecedentedly inspiring, exalting, wonderful and varied. It is the crystallization of the masses' perseverance, wisdom and imagination. Writers good at learning from the masses can find it to be an endless source of treasures and learn something more practical and more lively than can be found in books. The key here lies in "good at learning." How can we be good at learning from life itself? This depends on a writer's ideological level and his sensitivity to things. A writer must first be mentally armed with a set of ideological weapons for the analysis and synthesis of things--weapons in the form of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Of course, this is a demand imposed on today's revolutionary writers. As far as an ancient writer is concerned, artistic skill embodies his unusual sensitivity to things and his uncommon faculties of comprehension and imagination. But these are also inseparable from his world outlook, his dissatisfaction with society and the passion with which he pursues ideals.

A writer's craftsmanship and his discernment are also two factors which complement each other. An important writer without discernment can hardly be imagined. To put it more plainly, there has never been a writer at home or abroad who produced fine literary works and yet showed a total lack of discernment about others' products. In fact, an important writer can often discover the good or bad points in a work unnoticed by others. If a writer reads well-known works by Chinese and foreign authors of all periods with a deep understanding of their distinguishing features, such as thinking, organization and image creation, and gains new insights every time he rereads them, then this shows his increasingly greater power of discernment. An increasingly greater power of discernment in turn helps improve his craftsmanship. If this writer rereads his own works to find defects unnoticed before and makes revisions to his own satisfaction, this is an indication of improved craftsmanship due to greater power of discernment. Of course, there are no limits to improvement. Besides, appreciating a well-known work is learning. We can learn such features of a work as its structure, its description of background scenes, its creation of the images of characters and its novel way of artistic expression. But learning is not imitation. Learning means that after achieving a profound understanding of others' strong points regarding means of expression and after assimilating them, we should strive for further progress and the creation of

new and better means of expression of our own. This calls for hard work and a continuous effort to raise our ideological level, i.e., the ability to observe, analyze, synthesize and refine the experiences of life.

A work's structure and its descriptions of the setting and the characters are rather technical questions.

The structure refers to the shell of the whole piece. Since it is a shell, all parts of it, the front, the back, the top and the bottom, must always be symmetrical and balanced and, moreover, organic. Symmetry refers to the local and integral beauty of the shell; in other words, the whole and the parts of the shell should blend in perfect harmony, both in an active and in a static sense, and yet not without twists and turns. What is meant by balance refers to the independence of various parts of the shell which, rather than hampering each other, respond to and complement each other. Having an organic nature means that every part of the entire shell, irrespective of size, is indispensable. If any part is missing, the beauty of the whole will be impaired, just as the organic body of the natural world will become a deformed monster if a small part of it is cut off.

The setting refers to the social background against which the story takes place, and this may be called the major setting. The setting may also refer to the place of activity for the characters, and this may be called the minor setting. Be it major or otherwise, a setting serves the development of the whole story or the development of the individual characters, and it is not a nonessential adornment. The concrete description of a small setting, such as the decoration of a room, should give the utmost expression to the personality of the hero, his likes and his mind. A discriminating reader will see from the furniture of the rooms of some characters in "The Dream of the Red Chamber" a fine example of setting description.

Characterization is the central problem of a work. Its theme is expressed not through the author's abstract preachings but through the activities of the characters and by the method of conveying ideas through images. This enables the reader to understand the theme of the work and feel happy over the victory or sad over the defeat of the hero in the course of his struggle. The reader is made to feel that he or she is the character in the book, and a warm, sympathetic resonance is struck.

While there is more than one character in a work, there is usually only one hero. Other characters also ought to be indispensable to the development of the story. The exceptionally complicated social realities of class relations, class contradictions and class struggle portrayed in the story determine that, apart from the hero, there must be other characters. These characters are indispensable parts of the organic structure of a work, for none is negligible. They exist independently in the work, each having his or her idiosyncrasies. Moreover, the



development of the story is accompanied by the development of such individuality, which is fraught with typical significance. Such secondary characters have nothing in common with those "supporting" characters played up by the "gang of four." It therefore follows that the gang's "three-word classics" was nothing but an utterly preposterous evil doctrine contrary to the Marxist theory of literature and art and was fabricated to serve the production of conspiratorial literature and art.

Some young writers often pose this question: During the conception of a work, should they first allow the characters to appear in their imagination and then write a story which is based on the activities of the characters, or first make up a story and then assign to it the characters who are given the individuality which the author thinks fits best?

I think the characters and the story appear simultaneously during the author's conception of a work. It is inconceivable that the image of a character may appear alone without being accompanied by his activities. Were this ever to happen, the so-called character would be nothing but a personification of a concept, not a living person with flesh and blood. It is unthinkable, too, that the assignment of characters should be preceded by the formation of the story. Naturally, what is meant by having the story first and then the assignment of characters does not mean to say that there is no character in the story created during the author's conception. How can there be a story without characters? The inquirers probably mean to say that although the characters in the story are active in the positions in which they are placed, their individuality is not clear-cut and will have to be properly projected by the author in the context of the story. It ought to be said that both these methods are contrary to the principle of creation, not to mention the fact that they are contrary to the Marxist requirement of creation of "a typical character in a typical setting."

On the question of techniques, there are also rather widespread erroneous views. One is to regard the question of techniques in literary works as a technical question applicable to industry and agriculture, that once the techniques are imparted, they can be applied. Another is to look upon techniques in literary works as something mysterious which suddenly "springs to mind" without the author knowing why, and there is no way to seek them. It even regards techniques as "something inborn," that some authors who have written a lot have nevertheless failed to become "proficient and skillful" because they are not endowed with this mysterious gift. These two erroneous views are idealistic and must be discarded.

Finally, refinement is vital to the question of techniques. Lu Hsun said that one must not stretch the material of a short story into that of a long story and should knock out all nonessential descriptions and narrations. This is what is meant by refinement. It is often heard nowadays that some young people have written a full-length novel running from a

hundred thousand to two hundred thousand words, only to have it rejected by the publishing house. The reason is that it is windy and dull. The story and the characters are of the primitive type, without being trimmed and synthesized. The author feels that all his life experiences were significant and so is reluctant to give up a few of them. But the author is rather clumsy with his pen and very often has to use a lot of space to explain one incident. The structure is loose and repetitive, and some characters are non-essential and many have nothing to do with the theme. Moreover, the dialog of the characters is anything but refined; whereas one or two sentences would be enough, ten sentences are spoken. The description of the setting is also separated from the development of the story or the development of the individual characters, and the author, if he so desires, merely depicts the scenery or the general condition of social life. In short, the author claims he has lived and worked in the village or in a factory for many years and has acquired such an abundance of materials that a hundred thousand to two hundred thousand words are not enough to express all he wants to say. This is because he does not know that the materials of literature must be refined. As to how to refine them, there is a question of ideological level. It is necessary to extract the essential and central things from the complicated social life and to find the common and individual characteristics from the activities of many people before typical characters can be synthesized in a work. This, apart from requiring the breadth and depth of life and a wide range of knowledge, demands serious efforts to study and master the sharpest weapon--Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

#### Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend

In May 1956 Chairman Mao enunciated the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. In his own writings Chairman Mao also explained time and again the significance and necessity of this "double-hundred" policy. It is precisely the implementation of this policy that has brought about a spectacular leap forward in the field of socialist literature and art and in that of science.

In order to usurp party and state power, the "gang of four" pushed cultural absolutism and a policy of prohibition. They were silent about the "double-hundred" policy and labeled and bludgeoned those who dared to resist. For many years this resulted in a situation in which a hundred flowers withered and ten thousand horses fell mute in literary and art circles. Today, under the leadership of wise leader Chairman Hua, the "double-hundred" policy has again seen the light of the sun. In his report on the work of the government delivered at the first session of the Fifth NPC, Chairman Hua emphatically pointed out: "'Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend' is the basic policy for making China's socialist science and culture flourish. Its essence is to adopt a policy of 'opening wide' within the ranks of the people while adhering to the six political criteria so as to constantly

expand the positions of Marxism in matters of ideology and to promote science and culture. Only by firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's policy of a hundred flowers and a hundred schools can people cultivate the ability to distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds through comparison and struggle and thus promote what is correct and overcome what is wrong. Only thus can different styles and trends in art and different viewpoints and schools of thought advance through discussion and mutual stimulation, and only thus can we turn out fine and competent people, register first-rate scientific achievements and produce fine literature and art."

During the Long March undertaken by the people of the whole country toward building a great, powerful and modern socialist country, an upsurge in socialist cultural construction has arrived in the wake of the upsurge in socialist economic construction. The season of spring, with all flowers in full bloom in literature and art, has already appeared on the horizon. Under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we must adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, stick to the "double-hundred" policy, thoroughly eliminate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four," warmly support and cherish new socialist things and foster their healthy growth. So far as literary and art works are concerned, we may publish them or adapt them on the stage provided they meet the six political criteria and are comparatively good artistically. We must not be given to nitpicking. After they are published or staged, we must also listen to the views and opinions of the masses in order to revise and improve our works. At the same time we must strive to "make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" and to "weed through the old to let the new emerge," not only promoting important subject matter but also paying attention to the variety of subject matter. I am confident that given the efforts of the vast masses of the old, middle-aged and young literary and art workers, our socialist literature and art will surely further prosper and make their due contributions to the great cause of the four modernizations.

GO DEEP INTO LIFE TO PROMOTE CREATIVE WRITING

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[Article by Chou Li-po [0719 4539 3134]]

[Text] May this year marked the 36th anniversary of the publication of great leader and teacher Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art." His "Talks," a milestone in the history of the development of proletarian literature and art, ushered in a completely new era of Chinese literature and art and had a significant effect on the worldwide movement of modern proletarian literature and art. This document has solved a number of problems regarding the creation and criticism of proletarian literature and art. On the two central issues of "for the masses" and "how to do it," Chairman Mao inherited and developed Lenin's thesis that literature and art should "serve the tens of thousands of toiling people" and established the orientation of literature and art for the benefit of the workers, peasants and soldiers. He also concisely and scientifically explained important matters relating to the viewpoint of literature and art workers and the transformation of their world outlook, the source of literature and art, the issue of learning from ancient and foreign literature and art works, the criteria for literary and art criticism, and the relationship between popularization and the raising of standards. He developed the Marxist theory of literature and art in this way.

The "Talks" concisely explain the scientific thesis that man's social life is the only source of literature and art. Chairman Mao's "theory of source" is a concrete application and development of Lenin's "theory of reflection" in literature and art. It is an important Marxist-Leninist principle for creative writing.

Chairman Mao exhorted us by saying: "China's revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise, must go among the masses; they must for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in

order to observe, experience, study and analyze all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work." This maxim must be followed by all revolutionary literature and art workers.

Responding to Chairman Mao's call, the vast number of literature and art workers in Yen-an and other liberated areas at that time were brimming with enthusiasm and left for the countryside and factories or made their way to army units carrying their personal belongings and wearing straw sandals. Not long afterward, many fine Yangko operas, including "Brothers and Sisters Reclaiming the Wasteland," were produced by literature and art workers in Yen-an. This was closely followed by the writing of a lot of fine fiction, poems, songs, prose and new versions of operas, such as "The Wedding of Hsiao Erh Hei," by Chao Shu-li; "Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang," by Li Chi; and "The White-Haired Girl," by Ho Ching-chih and Ting I. In the war of resistance against Japan, in the war of liberation and in succeeding revolutionary movements led by our party, a large number of literature and art workers plunged themselves into the heat of the struggle. They found their efforts richly rewarding.

In the 17 years after the founding of the PRC and preceding the Great Cultural Revolution, an overwhelming majority of literature and art workers adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art despite the interference of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line. They maintained the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and continuously went deep into life and struggle to produce many fine works. Their works remain, and these objective facts could hardly have been obliterated by the "gang of four" even if they had tried.

During the years in which the "gang of four" exercised fascist cultural dictatorship, they ostensibly waved Chairman Mao's banner but actually ran counter to and trampled on the important principle for creative writing formulated by Chairman Mao, i.e., going deep into life and struggle. They fabricated idealist and metaphysical rules and regulations such as the "three prominences," the "three contrasts" and "the theme as the leading factor," and they substituted these for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art and his principle for creative work.

When the gang were running wild, those writers who persistently went deep into life and among the workers, peasants and soldiers were either brought down or threatened with punishment. Those who followed the gang's sinister instructions produced works that "looked alike in every respect." The content of one work was similar to that of the others. What appeared on the screen or stage was always a person representing the "correct line," a woman in most cases. The audience knew from beginning to end about works in which a person was a born "Marxist" and

which portrayed an errant administrative cadre as a victim of deceit, with a wicked person making trouble thrown in for contrast. The "gang of four's" subjective and idealist conventions thus reduced literature and art to stereotyped patterns without a breath of life or a trace of vigor and vitality. Literature and art as manipulated by the gang viciously slandered revolutionary veteran cadres, becoming literature and art given over completely to conspiracy and in the service of their usurpation of party and state power. Although the "gang of four" have collapsed, their pernicious influence on literature and art has not been completely eliminated.

To promote creative work we must use the "Talks" as a weapon in continuing to eradicate the "gang of four's" pernicious influence and in adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art. Except for old, feeble, sick and physically disabled comrades, all of us must encourage the vast number of literature and art workers to go among the masses, into the heat of the struggle and to the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements, employing whatever means that are suitable. Young comrades who have already been assigned to the forefront should not leave their work posts but should try to do creative work in their spare time.

The comrades in literary and art circles have gained considerable experience from their personal contacts with the workers, peasants and soldiers. I wish to take this opportunity to talk about my own experience.

Over the past 20 years or so, from the publication of "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" to the eve of the Great Cultural Revolution, I often mingled with the workers, peasants and soldiers, living and working with them. In addition to going to army units and factories, I spent time in the rural areas. In particular, participating in the agrarian reform made a deep impression on me.

In the winter of 1946 I was in the northeast with an agrarian reform team working in the town of Yuanpao, Shangchih County, Sungchiang Province, which is now part of Heilungkiang Province. In "The Rainstorm," Yuanpao is really Yuanmaotun, a poor hillside village with 400 households consisting primarily of peasants. There were also handicraftsmen and primary school teachers. The land in the northeast was concentrated in the hands of big landlords who often owned areas in excess of 1,000 hsiang (1 hsiang equals 10 mou). There were no such big landlords in Yuanpao. The Han Lao-liu I wrote about is an example of a rich villager. I worked in Yuanpao for half a year. Battling and working every day with the peasants, I had no time to take notes. However, what I encountered in the spectacular movement, such as the events and typical persons, impressed me deeply.

When I first went to the northeast I was unfamiliar with the life of the peasants there. To make a success of our work we must become one with the peasants. During the days we were in the countryside we lived in the quarters for the work team. When we were still in bed in the morning, the peasants and activists flocked to our quarters, coming and going from dawn to dusk. Some of them came to discuss problems with us; others dropped in to chat with us or just to listen to our conversations. The quarters of the work team, which was later to become the district party committee, were packed with people.

In mobilizing the masses the agrarian reform work teams operating in the northeast began with those who were poor and whose lot was miserable. We picked the poor tenant farmers who suffered a great deal in the old society and called on them in their homes. By living, eating and working with them we became their friends. After holding frank talks with them several times and by patiently conducting propaganda work, we not only educated them and mobilized them but understood them more completely.

The peasants in Yuanpao often held heart-to-heart talks or frank discussions in their native language. The cold season in the northeast lasted 5 months. During these months farmwork was not pressing. In the evening members of different groups of both sexes often gathered around a family's kang [brick bed which is kept warm in winter by piping heat under it]. Lighting the oil lamp and smoking the traditional pipe, they started chatting. I often joined such small gatherings, listening to uninhibited talk about everything--ranging from struggle against the landlords and family affairs to local customs and personal experiences. This kind of gathering often went on until midnight.

Through the various means I employed during the movement, I came to understand in half a year things that normally I could not have completely understood in several years. I learned many things, including the lively vocabulary of the peasants in the northeast.

In May 1947 I was transferred to the provincial party committee in order to edit "Sungchiang Peasants." My impression of the fiery struggle for agrarian reform was so deep that I had the urge to begin writing fiction. In doing so I found that my understanding of some characters and close glimpses of their life were inadequate. As soon as I had finished the first draft of the first part, I took the manuscript to the countryside. I accepted the views offered by the provincial party committee and went to Chouchiakang in Wuchang County. There I revised my first draft. The revision took me 4 months.

The area was selected by the provincial party committee as a key one for agrarian reform. It was an amalgamation of wealthy villages at the time of the Japanese occupation. The incident involving "seven struggles against gangmaster Wang" occurred here. The background materials I gathered enriched and improved the content of the novel. Apart from

Yuanpao and Chouchiakang, I also visited villages in Lalin and Weiho and went as far as Changling in Hulan County. This is how I became familiar with rural conditions in the northeast.

Going deep into life, as in doing other party work, calls for linking work at a selected spot with that in an entire area. If one has worked and lived in one place for a long period of time, one will know more if one visits adjacent localities. The knowledge of hitherto unfamiliar things thus gained will deepen one's understanding of people and things one already knows. Understanding a person or a thing is not very easy. Repeated observation and study are often required. The best way is to make comparisons. "Where there is comparison there is distinction." Only by comparison can one discern typical cases with universal implications. Only then can one discard the false and keep the true, get rid of false appearances and recognize true features. If a writer stagnates in one locality and does not make comparisons, his outlook on life and his view and understanding of people and things will be considerably restricted. But if one moves about and sees different things without first establishing a firm base in very familiar surroundings, one's insight into and observation of people and things will still be very limited. Neither is conducive to creative writing.

When I went deep into life before writing "The Rainstorm," I combined work at key points with work in other areas. Some characters and episodes in the novel were based on materials obtained in Yuanpao. For instance, Lao Sun-tou, Pai Fu-shan and Kuo Chuan-hai were modeled on comrades in Yuanpao. The episodes about fighting evil people and dividing the land were also based on materials gathered in the same village. The battle against the evildoers was led by another work team. When we arrived in Yuanpao the smoke of the battle had dissipated. But the peasants had memories of a fierce battle that took place in a village quite distant from the county seat. They often talked about this incident and elaborated on it in detail.

Since I had been with army units, I was quite familiar with fighting. In view of these factors, the depiction of Han Lao-liu's family in the novel naturally led to the episode about fighting the evil people. The three struggles against Han Lao-liu evolved from the "seven struggles against gangmaster Wang" in Chouchiakang. Waging seven struggles was aimed at deflating the arrogance of the landlords at that time. It was necessary to do this. But waging seven struggles could lead to reversals, and this would pose problems of handling them appropriately in a novel. I therefore changed them to three struggles. The distribution of horses and clothing was also based on materials obtained in Chouchiakang.

In two volumes the book depicted many people. Here I will confine my discussion to the models of Chao Yu-lin and Lao Sun-tou.



When I was in Chouchiakang we were told that a poor peasant who had joined the CCP only a short time earlier had been shot dead by the enemy when he was going to another locality on an assignment. The martyr was Wen Feng-shan. His encoffined body was taken to Chouchiakang by the peasant association. A memorial service was conducted at the burial ground, and all the villagers, young and old of both sexes, attended.

I was deeply moved by the weeping of the martyr's family, the grief of the villagers and the touching condolences offered to the martyr's dependents by the cadres and masses. I included these moving scenes in my story about Chao Yu-lin. Because I gave prominence to his courage and noble quality of self-sacrifice, the compelling image of this poor peasant grew in stature and appeal. The renegade Chiang Ching maliciously attributed this tragedy to "manmade" circumstances. This was wholly due to her sinister motives.

Chao Yu-lin's poverty and the privations of his entire family originated with the poor peasants inhabiting this poor and arid village. Chao Yu-lin was an example of a combination of many factors.

The models for Lao Sun-tou included several drivers I had noticed while traveling from Yuanpao to the Shangchih County seat, a distance of 50 li or so. We often took a big cart pulled by three horses. The drivers of these carts had traveled to distant places and had seen and heard many things. They were characterized by their articulateness. As a result of frequent contacts with these drivers, we came to know their behavior and temperament.

A rally to recruit army men was once held in Yuanpao. One driver, dressed in a blue cotton gown, spoke from a platform. His talk, containing progressive ideas and delivered in a humorous tone, amused the listeners. Afterward I often recalled his words and his character. His articulateness was later combined with the speech and actions of the other drivers to form a composite portrait of Lao Sun-tou the driver.

The life of the people is an inexhaustible source, the only source for literature and art. This is true. However, some comrades have gone among the workers, peasants and soldiers without being able to write about what they have seen or heard. There are many reasons for this. What is important is, in the words of a certain comrade, "they are alive but they have no life to speak of." The second part of the phrase should be interpreted as meaning the more typical pattern of practical life that can be depicted in poetry.

Some comrades have immersed themselves in life and struggle but can find nothing that is worth writing about. Consequently, they leave a treasure house emptyhanded. This is because they have oversimplified the process of proceeding from life to creative writing.

As a matter of fact, the process of creative writing based on life is a complicated process. It requires painstaking efforts. Chairman Mao exhorted us to "observe, experience, study and analyze all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art; only then can writers and artists proceed to creative work." These words, especially those referring to "observe, experience, study and analyze," and the five "alls" embody the most difficult and complicated process of knowing and understanding life. As long as one conscientiously follows Chairman Mao's teaching, one will definitely find in the abundant materials of life the artistic ore that can be refined and put into poetry.

Conversely, if one goes into life without wholeheartedly devoting oneself to making an elaborate analysis, but is content with strolling here and there and looking at this or that, then one will gain nothing at all or just shallow and superficial impressions.

I have often seen in the movies military commanders making phone calls in their air raid shelters, or after a victory is won addressing the ranks in empty and abstract terms. It appears that army commanders are good only at making phone calls or talking rubbish. In reality, apart from carefully planning campaigns and making battlefield decisions, commanding officers often spend most of their time in the cinder-littered and smoke-filled trenches and dugouts with the fighters. On the battlefield their life is full of hazards. Only by deeply understanding the many aspects of a commander's work and life and by depicting him in artistic terms will the commander who appears in a book or on the screen become a flesh-and-blood figure. Only then can he stand up before the readers and the movie audience.

Literary work, especially novels, are concerned primarily with depicting people. They are the object of our observation, study and analysis. But man is not something static that can be placed here or there as you please. He is active all the time. His life follows a process of development. His family and social surroundings are very diverse. His inner world keeps changing and developing, and he is articulate only before those he knows well. This makes it very difficult for a writer or artist to understand people and understand them well. This takes time, patience and insight. If a writer knows something about materialist dialectics, his power of observation will be much keener. If he has gained rich experience in life and struggle, is an experienced writer and has gained knowledge from good works published in Chinese or foreign languages, he will see things more clearly. For young comrades to acquire this skill they must practice and study hard.

Going deep into life takes many forms, but experience indicates that the best way is to participate in movements and struggles. In doing so the participants can deeply understand all types of people. In these

circumstances, everybody will proceed from his particular economic and political position to fully articulate his ideas and feelings and to present his own views and suggestions. Class contradictions and internal conflicts will then become particularly acute, complex and devious and will be expressed in a concentrated way. All this is something the writer aspires to in his dreams but does not easily understand in his daily work and life.

Of course, there are other ways to get to know people. For instance, if you want to know a person, apart from making friends with him, you may get to know him through the opinions of his relatives and friends or through the comments of his superiors, subordinates and the comrades around him. During the period of agricultural cooperativization in Hunan, I spent a year as a neighbor of the model Ting Mien-hu, a poor peasant who had labored diligently for half his life. My family met with his family day and night. We gradually became very good friends. While I was writing, using him as a model, his voice and smiling face, his temperament and even the weakness in his character naturally surged to the tip of my pen.

The model poor peasant Chen Hsien-chin I saw only once. I went to his house for the purpose of seeing with my own eyes how he and his family lived. They lived in a straw hut around which crops were grown and poultry was raised. As for his character, temperament, history and family background, and particularly his attitude toward agricultural cooperativization, I learned about them in depth a long time ago from many casual conversations I had with his relatives.

When we get to know a person we must find out how he works and lives, learn about his family, his character, personal experience, etc. We must pay attention to every detail. We must not only observe broadly but also dig deeply and ponder meticulously. During the period of the land reform I took note of the attitude toward the land reform work team of middle peasants having two horses and that of middle peasants having one horse. Their state of mind, manner of speech and demands varied. If we were not sufficiently careful, the differences between them would go unnoticed, and the middle peasants portrayed would have no individuality and fall into a general pattern.

In getting to know people, observation of the social setting is also very important. Man lives in a social setting, which may be said to be the stage for his activities. Engels called on us to depict "a typical character in a typical setting," and the typical setting he was primarily referring to is the background of the time and the political condition of contemporary society. When we are writing, apart from seriously observing and penetratingly comprehending this major aspect, we must also carefully observe the concrete living environment of the character we write about, such as the natural scenery, his house and its surroundings, the clothes and hat he wears, and so forth. If we are

writing about the workers, we must get to know the machines and equipment they handle. If we are writing about the Liberation Army, we must get to know all their armaments. If you know the characters and their environment as well as the palm of your hand, then at the time of writing you will surely feel easy and tackle all problems readily.

Some 28 years after the founding of the socialist society in our country, and with secondary education popularized in town and countryside, the contingent of literary and art workers is undergoing momentous changes. Most of the workers, peasants and soldiers of the new generation are middle school students and educated youths who went to the rural areas and settled down in teams. They are laborers with socialist consciousness and culture. They are serving as pioneers on the frontline of the three great revolutionary movements and speeding up the process of the four modernizations. They are the vast reserve army on the literary and art front. We hope they will not divorce themselves from reality but rather step up their efforts to transform their thinking, firmly grasp political and vocational studies and persist in spare-time writing. They will be an important force in making socialist literature and art flourish. Some of them will surely produce outstanding works worthy of our great era.

The "gang of four" violated Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art and sabotaged the "double-hundred" policy. As a result, all flowers withered in the literary and art garden and all horses fell mute within literary and art ranks. Only a year or so has passed since the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua smashed the "gang of four," and 10,000 horses on all fronts have galloped forward. We are bravely marching forward to fulfill the general task for the new period and to attain the magnificent goal of the four modernizations. The bugle of the new Long March has sounded. A new high tide will appear in our national economy. In the wake of the new changes in the economic foundation, our socialist culture and literature and art will certainly flourish afresh.

In December last year wise leader Chairman Hua wrote this brilliant inscription for PEOPLE'S LITERATURE: "Adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, implement the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend, and strive to make socialist literature and art flourish." In this inscription Chairman Hua gave a clear-cut directive as regards the line, principle and policy for the vigorous promotion of socialist literature and art. This directive will greatly inspire and spur the vast army of artists and writers, both professional and amateur. We must actively respond to Chairman Hua's call, hold aloft Chairman Mao's great banner, have high aspirations and strong ambition, and together dedicate all our wisdom and strength to the vigorous promotion of socialist literature and art.

## ADHERE TO THE POLICY OF RUNNING THE COMMUNE DEMOCRATICALLY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 3 May 78 pp 60-65

[Article by Ma Li [7456 0500], first secretary of the Kweichow Provincial CCP Committee]

[Text] In the countryside, serious implementation of the policy of democratic management of the commune is an important issue in fully arousing the socialist enthusiasm of the hundreds of millions of the peasant masses, developing socialist large-scale agriculture at high speed, and realizing the general task of the new period. The importance of democratic commune management was mentioned in wise leader Chairman Hua's report on the work of the government at the Fifth NPC and in the report delivered by esteemed and beloved Vice Chairman Yeh on the revision of the constitution. These instructions are extremely correct and timely, and we must seriously implement them.

Under the guidance of the strategic policy decision of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua on grasping the key link in running the country, as well as under the guidance of the line of the 11th party congress, the situation in Kweichow, as in the rest of the country, is marked by rapid progress. For the past year and more we have firmly grasped the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the key link, extensively and intensively unfolded education on the party's basic line in the rural areas, seriously enforced the various economic policies of the party for the rural areas, restored and developed the party's fine style of work, promoted the development of the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties everywhere, and reaped a bumper harvest. The province's total grain output last year was 15 percent higher than that of 1976, or nearly 10 percent higher than that of 1973, the record year for grain output.

At present, in order to develop the excellent situation in the rural areas of our province and to further arouse the socialist enthusiasm of the broad peasant masses, we must, while continuing to properly execute the various economic policies of the party, seriously implement

the policy of running the commune democratically, penetratingly criticize the "gang of four's" crimes of interfering with and disrupting the democratic management of the communes, raise the awareness of the cadres about democratic commune management, and promptly restore and perfect those democratic management systems which have proved effective.

## I

Chairman Hua has pointed out: "It is necessary to adhere to the policy of running the commune democratically and with diligence and thrift and to make a success of the operation and management of the people's commune." The policy of democratic commune management and participation by poor and lower-middle peasants in the management of their communes and teams are first of all determined by the character of our socialist state and system. Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We have instituted public ownership of the means of production, and the laboring people enjoy broad and adequate democratic rights. The rural people's commune is a basic-level organization combining government administration with commune management. The poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members are masters of the people's communes. The democratic management of communes and teams is an important aspect of safeguarding the democratic rights of the people. Vice Chairman Yeh said: "Take the rural people's communes, production brigades or production teams, for example. It is necessary to have good democratic management at each of these three levels in every aspect of their work, whether it is production management, the distribution of income, the livelihood and welfare of the members, or anything else. This is an important matter affecting the immediate interests of several hundred million peasants."

Sticking to the policy of running the commune democratically gives concrete expression to the party's mass line in rural work. The mass line is a fundamental line of our party. Whatever we do in the rural people's commune, we must fully trust and rely on the masses and consult with them before we can do anything well. Chairman Mao said: "Knowledge comes from the masses. What does correctly solving the contradictions among the people mean? It means seeking truth from facts and following the mass line. In the final analysis it is following the mass line." ("Beat Back the Attacks of the Bourgeois Rightists") Where do we get our ideas, plans and methods? We can only get them from the masses. With the masses providing the raw material, our work is that of processing; it means that we sum up their experiences, turn them into systematic concepts and methods and then bring them back to the masses. The processing work must be done well; otherwise, mistakes will be made. Even if the processing work is done well, to make the masses truly accept it we must still carry out propaganda and education. Therefore, whatever we do we must take the mass line, seriously listen to the opinions of the masses, consult with them, and accept their supervision. We must carry out propaganda among the masses and educate and convince

the masses. Only when the masses truly understand and accept what must be done will they make up their minds to do it. If we do not do this but force the masses to do this or that, follow our subjective wishes or even issue blind orders, then good things will turn into bad things. Haven't we learned many such lessons?

Our province's terrain is varied, and natural conditions differ from place to place. In the same county, the same commune, or even the same brigade there are tall mountains and plains, high and cold zones and low and tropical zones. Nor are the economic conditions and foundations of work entirely the same in various localities. At the same time our province is also a multinational province. Besides the Hans, the population of the fraternal nationalities, including the Miao, Puyi, Tung, Yi, Shui, Hui Kelao, Chuang and Yao, accounts for approximately one-fourth of the total population of the province. There are definite differences in production and livelihood habits among the various nationalities. In these circumstances, the concrete forms and methods of organizing collective production and operations and management of the various communes and teams must be based on the actual situations then existing in the localities concerned, and each area should be permitted to preserve its own characteristics. It is absolutely impermissible to impose uniformity. There is no other way than that of taking the mass line and running the commune on a democratic basis in handling such complicated problems properly.

Democratic commune management is a correct policy for consolidating and developing the socialist collective economy. The vast masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members are wholeheartedly for it, but the class enemies try by a thousand and one means to sabotage it. Several years ago the "gang of four" and their henchmen in Kweichow, going in for fake left and real right, willfully distorted and tampered with the party's basic line and undermined the party's democratic centralism, its fine tradition of mass line and its policy of running the commune democratically. Holding aloft the banner of "big democracy," they advocated "kicking out the party committee to make revolution" and fanned up anarchism. They publicized "the new changes in class relations," tampered with the party's class line in the rural areas, slandered the poor and lower-middle peasants as "old conservative" and "old backward," and regarded those with horns on their heads and thorns on their bodies as the force to be relied on. They also smeared the democratic management system, which had proved effective, as "rigid and inflexible." We must thoroughly settle scores with the crimes committed by the "gang of four" and their henchmen in our province, completely criticize the fallacies they spread, and eliminate their pernicious influence and effects. At the same time, during the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" we must seriously solve a number of problems currently arising from the democratic management of communes in our province so as to bring out the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses of commune members. For instance, the democratic

management system in some communes and teams is not sound. No general meetings of commune members or their representatives have been held for a long time. The commune and team cadres are elected without consultations with the masses, thereby violating the democratic rights of the masses. There are no adequate discussions by the commune members on such important problems as drawing up production plans, developing farmland capital projects, reforming the farming system as well as labor management, financial receipts and expenditures, and distribution of income. In these important matters, a few people make the decisions or even act dictatorially, issuing compulsory orders and exercising blind command. Some transfer the manpower away from the production teams or distribute their cash, grain and other materials at will; this results in an excess of nonproduction personnel and an inflated nonproduction budget, while increasing the burden of the production teams and their members and reducing the manpower at the frontline of agriculture. This will not only hamper the development of farm production but also make it impossible for commune members to get more pay for doing more work or to receive what they have been promised. Some cadres do not talk about the party's class line in the rural areas, do not give play to the supervisory role of mass organizations such as the poor peasants association, and do not actively participate in collective productive labor; instead, they overspend and embezzle funds, hold dinner parties and present gifts, eat more and take more, squander and waste, and by so doing have seriously estranged themselves from the masses. Some of these problems have already been solved, some are being solved, but some have not as yet aroused sufficiently serious attention. In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" we must make an effort to study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, as well as the instructions given by Chairman Hua and Vice Chairman Yeh on developing socialist democracy, restoring and promoting the party's fine traditions and style of work and practicing democratic management of communes. We must seriously solve some problems existing at the moment and do a really fine job of running the commune democratically.

## II

The establishment and development of the socialist collective economy in the Chinese countryside were personally directed by Chairman Mao. Applying the experience of the People's Liberation Army in practicing the "three major forms of democracy" and taking account of the actual conditions of the rural collective economy, he formulated for us a complete set of systems for democratic management of communes. These systems have safeguarded the fundamental right of the poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members to become masters of their own house and to participate in management; have aroused the socialist enthusiasm of the masses; and have enhanced the development of farm production and the consolidation and expansion of the collective economy.



The damage done by the "gang of four" to the democratic management of communes was quite severe over the past few years. In this struggle many communes and teams resisted the evil trend of the gang and persisted in the policy of democratic management. Their experiences are very precious. To seriously sum up these experiences and improve and popularize them will be of real significance for the implementation of the policy of democratic commune management throughout the province.

First, we must practice political democracy. This is the most important point about democratic commune management. Only by practicing political democracy and production democracy will there be a reliable guarantee of financial democracy. The most basic way to practice political democracy is to freely turn over the problems of the direction and path for the collective economy to the poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members for discussion, so that they will have the right to speak out fully and become real masters of the house. Only in this way can we block the vile wind of capitalism and put the collective economy firmly on the broad socialist path. In Shihping County, during the heyday of the "four pests," some people called for "giving the production quotas to the groups," whipping up a gust of wind of going it alone. At that time the county party committee did not issue administrative orders to forcibly correct the malpractice; instead, resorting to democratic methods, it relied on the poor and lower-middle peasants and boldly mobilized the masses in unfolding a large-scale discussion on what road to take in agriculture. By recalling the past and comparing it with the present, everyone proved with facts that giving the output quotas to the groups would demoralize people and result in polarization and taking the backward road, and that "only socialism can save China." The wind of going it alone was rectified through the discussion, and the enthusiasm of the masses for going in for socialism in a big way was enhanced. This county achieved the target of the national program for agricultural development in its grain output last year and took a giant step forward on the road of learning from Tachai in agriculture.

Democratic election and supervision of cadres in conjunction with the consolidation of leading bodies are an important link in effecting political democracy. The masses are most concerned about who are elected cadres, and it is also the masses who know most clearly who can become cadres and who are good cadres. Through democratic election by the masses, it will be possible to elect to leading bodies good cadres who are firm in their stand, honest and loyal to their duties, fair and just in their way of doing things, and who lead the way in taking part in collective productive labor. Such cadres are linked with the masses by flesh and blood and are trusted by the masses. Nobody will worry when the business of the collective is entrusted to them. Everybody will dare to supervise such cadres. It won't do for the cadres to be without supervision by the masses. Only when the leading bodies conduct open-door rectification of workstyle at regular intervals, report to general meetings of commune members on their work, make public the accounts, and

give the masses the chance to voice criticisms or make suggestions will the cadres continue to raise their consciousness of being the servants of the people. Only thus will the masses of commune members continue to strengthen their sense of being masters and their sense of responsibility. Denied the supervision of the masses and the opportunity to hear criticisms and suggestions for a long time, good cadres can also turn into bad cadres.

The Chichang production brigade of Hsiawutun Commune, Hsing-i County, due to the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four" in the past, for a long time did not enforce the systems regarding democratic elections and supervision of cadres by the masses. As a result, some cadres developed the partiarch-type style of work, took no part in collective productive labor, and did not consult the masses when problems of mutual interest arose. With the masses disgruntled, farm production was stagnant for a long time. During the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," this brigade elected a new leading body democratically in conjunction with the rectification of the leading body and through adequate discussion by the masses of commune members. The masses were very happy about this. The new leading body assumed an entirely different style of work. It conducts a quarterly rectification drive to listen to the criticisms and suggestions of the masses, takes an active part in collective productive labor, and consults with the masses when problems of mutual interest arise. This has since drawn closer the relations between the cadres and the masses and strengthened the unity among the cadres as well. With everyone working together with singleness of purpose and exerting the utmost efforts in farmland capital projects, the amount of earth and stone work done last year surpassed the sum total of the 20 years and more since the liberation. Said the masses: "When cadres and the masses share a single will, yellow soil can be turned into gold." The experience of this brigade is thought provoking.

Second, we must practice production democracy. Developing collective production is the central task of the people's commune. It is only by practicing production democracy that we can pool the wisdom and strength of all to push agricultural production forward. We must seriously carry out Chairman Hua's instruction to the effect that in communes and teams "matters of importance should be decided through discussion at the general meetings of commune members or the conferences of their representatives, and not by a few people. To begin farmland capital construction, improve farming methods, draw up plans for planting and work out ways to increase production, it is necessary to solicit the opinions of the commune members and give full consideration to their practical experience in such matters. We must proceed from reality and adopt measures suited to local conditions. Coercion, commandism and arbitrary orders should be firmly opposed." The masses of commune members are most familiar with such natural and production conditions as the nature of the soil and the climate in their own communes and teams, and they have rich practical experience. By showing earnest respect for the right of the

production teams to make their own decisions under the guidance of state plans, and by listening to the opinions of the poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members, we shall be able to mobilize the initiative and creativity of the vast masses of commune members and make our plans and measures more conformable to objective laws. The masses have rich practical experience, and it is from them that many good ideas originate. To fully bring out the wisdom and ingenuity of the masses, it is necessary to practice an effective democratic system. A relatively good job has been done in this respect in Hsinmin Commune, Cheng-an County. Since 1972, after the conclusion of the "three-autumn" production work, a general meeting of commune members and a meeting of their representatives have been held annually to mobilize the masses and sum up the production experiences of a particular year. In the light of the requirements of state plans, the production plan for the following year and measures for increasing production are discussed, and the "three-basic" system governing the basic number of man-days to be worked by each commune member, the basic amount of manure to be delivered by each commune member, and the basic amount of food grain to be allocated to each commune member and the plan for the distribution of income are set democratically. In this way, every commune member "knows a year earlier" how much production will be increased in their commune and team, the amount of income likely to be received, the contributions that will be made to the state, the size of collective accumulation, the quantity of distribution to the commune members and the exact value of each man-day of work. Since the targets of struggle are clear, everyone works hard, and the commune's grain output has been increasing by a large margin year after year. In 6 years' time the commune's total grain output has increased from 1,040,000 catties to 3,550,000 catties annually, a three-fold increase. This vividly proves that in practicing democratic management of communes, showing high regard for the practical experience of the masses is an indispensable condition for gaining high-speed agricultural production.

Judging by the actual conditions of our province, vigorous efforts must be made to step up farmland capital construction, farming methods must gradually be improved, and the progress of scientific farming and agricultural mechanization must be accelerated. However, these things must be done through the masses. If the masses do not understand the importance of these things and instead are skeptical about them, then even good things cannot be done well. Coercion and commandism will certainly bring about very bad consequences. We must convince the masses of the need to do these things and set a typical example for them. Only when the masses see the successful example will they be happy to go about them. Things can be done well only when the masses make their own decisions and formulate their own plans for doing so. The practical experiences of many localities show that the popularization of an advanced agricultural technique cannot be achieved simply by issuing an administrative order, and that very often the technique has to be tested in the first year, applied to more areas in the second year, and widely

popularized in the third year. This means that it takes time for the masses to understand and accept something.

Testing everything first is an extremely important method of leadership, and this is even more the case in agriculture. What appears to be somewhat slower in effect will not be slow but will even be faster. The Tochieh production brigade of Chungping Commune, Hochang County, is located on a high mountain more than 1,800 meters above sea level. It has 40 mou of maize fields. In 1964 some cadres there, seeing only the favorable water conditions on that piece of land without taking account of its cold climate, made the masses convert these maize fields into paddy rice fields. They used more than 5,000 man-days of labor and more than 1,000 days of draft animal labor to do this. The result was a big drop in output, since only a little more than 100 catties of rice with half-filled grain was reaped. A fall into the pit is a gain in your wit. The party branch of this brigade profited by this failure, and for the past 10 years and more, whenever it has carried out a technical reform in production, it has repeatedly consulted with the masses. Only after a technique has been tested successfully will it be popularized. This has boosted the grain output year after year, and the brigade has become a Red Banner of the province in learning from Tachai in agriculture. The party branch said with deep feeling: "After a production technique has been tested and has yielded practical results, the masses will be happy to accept it and work hard to make it a success."

Third, we must practice democracy in financial affairs. This is an important matter affecting the personal interests of the broad masses of commune members. Since everyone works diligently within the same socialist collective economic organization, everyone is concerned about how much is earned and how much is expended. Due to the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four" over the past years, many communes and teams failed to observe the relevant rules and regulations. There was confusion over financial management and inventory control. This gave bad elements an opportunity to embezzle funds and to steal. A small number of cadres, corrupted by bourgeois ideology, took to eating more and taking more; they were given to overspending and misappropriation. There was extravagance and waste. The interests of the commune members were harmed. The masses sharply criticized this, saying: "The team leader, the bookkeeper and the cashier do not observe regulations in the handling of money. The commune members are the ones who suffer where spending is concerned." If this state of affairs is not changed, how can there be money to carry out distribution according to work? How can the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism be brought into play? How can the collective economy be consolidated and developed? The "Regulations for the Work of the Rural People's Communes (Revised Draft)" (known as the "60-Point Document"), which was worked out under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, provided for this in concrete terms a long time ago: The management committee of the production team must report on its work to a general meeting of team members at least once a month. It must

give a clear account of the team's income and its expenditures and stocks; the number of workpoints for, and the amount of individually gathered manure the collective has purchased from, each team member; and the amount of grain and cash he or she is entitled to from the collective's net income. The commune members have the full right to make inquiries and raise criticisms and suggestions. Owing to the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four," these regulations were not enforced in some communes and teams. However, there are communes and teams which have carried them out with good results. For instance, the Tutun production brigade of Taiping Commune, Sungtao Miao Nationality Autonomous County, set up a poor and lower-middle peasants financial group under the leadership of the party branch, which gave full play to the supervisory role of the masses in financial affairs. It upheld such regulations as examination and approval of expenditures, control and custody of materials, and the granting of subsidies for those who went out on business errands. Moreover, it was laid down that 1 to 3 days be set aside each month to check the accounts and make them public. As the democratic system of financial management was perfected, non-production expenditures were reduced, the collective accumulated funds grew, production developed and the income of the commune members increased year after year. Everyone joyfully said: "With the collective run by the masses, we can devote ourselves to production with ease."

Democratic management of communes is of course not confined to these aspects. However, it is extremely important to earnestly grasp these aspects.

### III

The implementation of the policy of running the commune democratically is always accompanied by the struggle between two different lines and two different kinds of ideas. This demands that during the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" we make a clear distinction between right and wrong in the political line, remove some ideological obstacles standing in the way of cadres at present, raise their understanding, and turn democratic commune management into a truly conscious action of cadres at all levels.

"The problem now is not one of insufficient democracy. It is one of having centralism." Comrades who say this divorce democracy from centralism and set them against each other. It seems that we abandon centralism once we talk about the need for democracy. Such an attitude is incorrect.

A few years ago, anarchy assumed flood proportions in some localities and units as Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and their henchmen in Kweichow not only crippled democracy but also undermined centralism. Some comrades, failing to draw the line between socialist democracy and anarchism, do not really understand the relationship between democracy

and centralism. Therefore, they still become apprehensive at the mention of democratic commune management, fearing that anarchism might return. Such worries must be removed.

Democracy and centralism are a unity of opposites. Chairman Mao said: "Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other. Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") This teaching of Chairman Mao's profoundly elucidates the dialectical relationship between democracy and centralism.

In the course of implementing the policy of running the commune democratically, we must, on the one hand, make a great effort to restore and develop the democratic tradition, institute and perfect various democratic systems, and fight against all acts which harm the democratic life of the commune members and infringe upon their democratic rights. On the other hand, we must mobilize and rely on the masses to combat anarchism, capitalist tendencies and all acts which disrupt centralism and unity. Promoting democracy is quite different from promoting anarchism. We promote socialist democracy for the express purpose of better strengthening proletarian centralism, and absolutely not in order to weaken such centralism.

However, centralism is based on democracy. There is no correct centralism without democracy. Take, for example, the production plans of production brigades and teams, their financial receipts and outlays, labor control and distribution of earnings. All of these problems affect the personal interests of each and every commune member. If we do not promote democracy, do not listen to the opinions of the masses, and do not consult with the masses repeatedly, and if instead we allow a few people to act arbitrarily, then we can hardly avoid committing subjectivism and violating the interests and wishes of the masses. So, if the masses do not approve of what we do and it is impossible to achieve unanimity of understanding and action, how can we have centralism in the genuine sense of the word? Our democratic management of communes is something learned from the People's Liberation Army. The army is indeed a most concentrated force, yet it still practices the "three major forms of democracy" and does so effectively. Can we not practice democratic management in collective economic units? By promoting democracy and perfecting democratic centralism, we will not only avoid anarchism but, because centralism is strengthened on the basis of democracy, we will find it easier to overcome anarchism if it does appear.

"To fulfill the tasks assigned by higher authorities, we cannot take the mass line and must be a bit more tough." To say this is to set responsibility to higher authorities directly against responsibility to the masses. This is an old problem, but it also must be solved by ideological means.

Our party is a proletarian party, and its line, principles and policies and the various tasks it puts forward all represent the fundamental interests of the masses of the people. The interests of the masses of the people are identical with those of the party. Basically speaking, responsibility to the party is consistent with responsibility to the masses of the people, and responsibility to one's superiors is consistent with responsibility to one's subordinates. How can the two be set against each other? When doing the tasks given by our superiors, we should tell the masses the significance of doing them, humbly listen to the opinions of the masses, and do so strictly in accordance with the party's policies. When the masses know that the tasks of the party represent their personal interests, they will consciously and on their own initiative unite to strive for the fulfillment of such tasks. If we do not take the mass line in doing our work and do not consult with the masses when problems of mutual concern arise, we will inevitably divorce ourselves from the masses, meet with setbacks everywhere, and cause damage to the cause of the party and the interests of the masses. Can we be said to be responsible to the higher level? What should we do if we find that when we are responsible to one, we cannot be responsible to the other? A clear answer is given in the "60-Point Document": The cadres of the people's communes at various levels must correctly interpret the interests of the state and those of the masses as being identical and should correctly combine responsibility to the higher level with that to the masses. If we really have difficulties in carrying out the directives of the higher level, we may raise our suggestions with the higher level. If the decisions of the higher level are correct, we may continue to work on the masses under the leadership of the higher level; if their decisions are wrong, we may have them promptly corrected in accordance with the opinions of the masses. What is wrong about doing that?

Besides, there are some comrades who contend that carrying out the policy of running the commune democratically is only the business of basic-level cadres and has nothing to do with the party committee at the higher level. This view is one-sided. Our understanding is that so far as the leadership at various levels--provincial, prefectural, chou, municipal and county--is concerned, it is especially important to take the mass line and uphold the policy of running the commune democratically. According to some basic-level cadres, when they have been accused of being arbitrary and coercive in command, this has been the result of pressures from above. This sounds the alarm for us: if leading cadres do not work at specified spots and conduct investigations, if they adopt an aloof attitude and do not get a complete picture of conditions below or consult with the masses on matters of common concern, and if they depend on

a few persons to discuss methods and issue orders from the conference room, then such bureaucratic methods of leadership are bound to encourage vile practices below, rendering it impossible to manage the communes democratically. For this reason, from the provincial party committee to party committees at the prefectural, chou, municipal and county levels we must improve our thinking and change our style of work significantly, go deep into reality and the grassroots level, participate in collective productive labor, and go among the masses to investigate and study things. In this way "the secretaries will go to the front and set an example at every level." Only thus can we really carry out the policy of running the commune democratically.

When wise leader Chairman Hua, after the conclusion of the Fifth NPC, warmly received all the comrades of our provincial delegation, he earnestly encouraged us by saying: The situation in Kweichow is excellent, and it has great potentials. This spurs and inspires us in no small way. Although Kweichow is mountainous, it has great potentials, providing vast possibilities for the development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fisheries. It is possible to march on production in breadth and depth. We will not frustrate the earnest expectations of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee. In the field of rural work we must persistently expose and criticize the "gang of four," seriously implement the various economic policies of the party for the rural areas, make a success of the democratic management of communes, speed up the pace of learning from Tachai in agriculture and building Tachai-type counties everywhere, develop socialist agriculture at high speed, and contribute our own share to building China into a modern and strong socialist country.



## INVESTIGATION REPORTS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 3 May 78 p 66

[Text] RED FLAG Editor's Note: This issue carries two investigation reports--"Scientific Farming, High and Stable Output--an Investigation of Wu County, Kiangsu Province" and "It Is Necessary To Take Local Conditions Into Account When Leading Farm Production--an Investigation of Shihpantan Commune, Hsintu County, Szechwan Province." These two reports show that to carry out farming system reforms it is necessary to base such reforms on reality, follow the mass line, and take local conditions into account in order to bring about fruitful results. Certain measures for increasing agricultural production may be effective only in some places but not in others, because their conditions are different. For this reason, reforms must not be carried out rigidly and mechanically in the same manner. Even in areas where it is suitable to carry out the same type of reforms, they should not be put into practice on a large scale until the masses are convinced of the soundness of the reform through experiments with exemplary results. It is impermissible to apply the "uniform cutting method," much less coercion, commandism and blind authoritarianism.

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SCIENTIFIC FARMING, HIGH AND STABLE OUTPUT--AN INVESTIGATION OF WU COUNTY,  
KIANGSU PROVINCE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 3 May 78 pp 66-68

[Investigation report by the investigation group of the Kiangsu Provincial Revolutionary Committee and the Suchou Prefectural Revolutionary Committee, Kiangsu]

[Text] In Wu County, which is situated in the watery region south of the Yangtze River, there is less arable land in proportion to population, and the amount of production per unit-area is also relatively high. How to achieve even greater production under such conditions is the main question of this county in the development of its agricultural production. Since the Great Cultural Revolution the county CCP Committee has followed Chairman Mao's instruction that "Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements in the development of a powerful country under socialism." It has eliminated the interference and sabotage of Lin Piao and the "gang of four." It has initiated the "Learn from Tachai in Agriculture" movement, put scientific farming into practice, sought to expand triple cropping in accordance with local conditions, and energetically promoted the development of production. In 1976, the multiple-cropping index of the grain and oil-bearing crop acreage of that county reached 250 percent; the total production of these crops reached 1.36 billion catties, more than 500 million catties above that of 1968. Since 1971 the average per-mou yield has exceeded 1,000 catties and by 1976 it amounted to more than 1,400 catties.

In the past there had always been double-cropping of rice and wheat in this county. In 1956 some of the communes and brigades began to experiment with planting double-crop rice, thereby turning double-cropping into triple-cropping that year. But because scientific farming at that time was still unsophisticated and there were no solutions to problems arising therefrom, such as seed selection, seasonal crop rotation, plant diseases and pests, etc., production was both low and unstable, and the acreage of double-crop rice could not be expanded extensively. Not until the

1970's did the broad masses make up their minds to expand the acreage of double-crop rice so as to quicken their pace in learning from Tachai; they were determined to adopt a "pyramiding" method to raise the multiple-cropping index, harvesting more grain from the limited acreage of land in their attempt to make a still greater contribution to the state, and turning the double-cropping of rice and wheat into wheat-rice-rice triple-cropping cultivation.

At that time the most striking contradiction was the seasonal factor, which must be observed very closely. In that particular locality the average frost-free period each year lasts about 230 days, but the double-crop rice requires 245 days for growth. Under such circumstances, rice seedlings of the first crop are susceptible to damage by a late frost and easily suffer destruction and waste, whereas those of the second crop are liable to be attacked by low temperature and an early frost, thereby leading to a growth plagued by empty heads and deformed spikes or even a total crop loss in the end. At the same time the periods of time needed for harvesting, planting and transplanting closely follow one another; a great deal of farming activity must be concentrated within a period of not much more than 10 days: it is extremely hard to make satisfactory arrangements in the allocation of labor. This difficulty was first solved through scientific experiment by the advanced Lungchiao brigade during its attempt to learn from Tachai. Taking the lead without hesitation, it undertook to establish a "three-in-one combination" scientific experimentation group which included cadres, technical personnel, and old farmers. Invoking dialectical materialism, they groped for the law by which double-crop rice could be successfully planted. All in all they test-planted several scores of varieties of rice with different ripening periods and conducted nearly a hundred comparative experiments in this groping process so that the relevant varieties and approaches most suitable to their region could be found. In the end this brigade took advantage of an early-ripening variety with a short growth period in place of the late-ripening varieties with longer growth periods, thereby relatively shortening the safe growth period of the triple-cropping. They also adopted the multivariety combination method by which different varieties were planted at different times and likewise transplanted at different times, in contrast to the single-variety planting approach of the past. This also made it possible for those varieties to ripen at different times, so that farming activity became correspondingly dispersed and the otherwise rush-harvesting and rush-planting seasons also became relatively prolonged. In this way, they successfully summarized the experience of "striving for high yield by using the early-ripening varieties in all three crops"--which suggests that early-ripening varieties are the mainstay in triple-cropping. Thus it was possible to have triple-cropping which formerly required a growth period of 13.5 to 16 months scientifically arranged within 12 months. From 1969 onward this brigade as a whole began to plant double-crop rice; by 1970, per-mou production of rice amounted to 2,000 catties, and by 1974 it exceeded 2,400 catties, thereby blazing a new path to higher and still higher yields in the watery region south of the Yangtze River.

With this model as their guide, the double-crop rice planting area in the whole county in 1972 expanded from 1968's 90,000 mou to 800,000 mou. Along with the realization of this change in instituting a large planting area, there arose the further question of how the yields under this triple-cropping could also be raised, which naturally presented many more new issues for scientific experiment. Take the varieties of rice and their planting approaches, for example: the experience of relying on the "three early-ripening varieties" as the mainstay in triple-cropping had a significant effect on the solution of contradictions between farming seasons that must otherwise closely follow one another and in the promotion of the successful change in the system. But the growth periods of the early-ripening varieties are short, and their yield usually is not as high as that of the medium-ripening and late-ripening varieties, which require longer growth periods. To further raise the yield of such triple crops, it is necessary to require that the planting acreage of the medium-ripening and late-ripening varieties be gradually expanded, whereas that of the early-ripening varieties be compressed. Some may be of the opinion that this "striving for high yield by using the early-ripening varieties in all three crops" is a balance which became established only after great difficulties; if it should now come to be replaced by another system, would this not be incurring trouble for oneself? After some discussion, all realized that the fact that contradictions continue to appear and also continue to be solved testifies precisely to the existence of dialectic laws in the development of things. The correct attitude should be to strive positively to create relevant conditions so as to break the old balance and create a new balance under new conditions. Only thus would it be possible to cause things to develop toward their higher and higher stages. In order to explore and solve the contradictions between the farming seasons that must closely follow one another, many brigades in the communes then followed a special principle and conducted experiments in readjusting the varieties of their crops and their planting approaches. That principle was that each season must seek to better the production of the preceding season; thus, the earlier season works for the betterment of the later season, and each season works for the betterment of the whole year. The brigades thereby absorbed experiences of other areas and, by way of repeated experiments and the adoption of such new techniques as using plastic sheets to help the seedling process and planting seedlings in two stages, successfully prolonged the overlapping periods of the parallel growth of triple crops and correspondingly shortened the total growth period of all the triple crops, thereby solving the very contradictions between the farming seasons that must closely follow one another and successfully expanding the planting capacities of the medium-ripening and late-ripening varieties with high yields. This whole process thereby developed the "striving for high yield by using the early-ripening varieties in all three crops" forward into the following adage: "If the summer harvest comes early, strive for high yield in the intermediate planting season; if the earlier season's production proves to be high, strive for an early harvest in the intermediate planting season; in order

to safeguard production in the later season, strive to achieve high production in the intermediate season." In this way, the proportion of the medium-ripening and late-ripening varieties planted in the whole county was expanded from 30 percent to 75 percent.

Along with the reform instituted in the farming system, certain new ways and means were also worked out by way of an all-out effort to carry out scientific experiments vis-a-vis the series of new problems that arose with the newly implemented planting techniques, prevention and treatment of diseases and pestilence, and the caring and utilization of land and other aspects of work of the like. Concerning rice seedling technique, for instance, there have been created at different points new techniques such as "ventilated rice-seedling paddies," "plastic cover," etc. These helped develop the superiority of a two-stage rice seedling technique and thereby conquer the problem of how to firm up the seedlings basically, a problem which is of strategic importance in the entire rice planting process. Also, after the large-area reform was instituted as a change in the system, the amount of fertilizers needed greatly increased. In order to solve this problem the Yueh-ch'i Commune took full advantage of the abundant acreage of water available and resorted to the practices of unrestrictedly releasing the "three waters" (water peanuts, water gourds, and water lotus) and promoting the "three breedings" (the breeding of pigs, the breeding of cows and the breeding of rabbits), and thereby greatly increased the production of organic fertilizers. The result was that the more the paddies were planted, the more fertile they became. During the last year, the "three waters" area in the county amounted to 120,000 mou, which made up some 70 percent of all usable water acreage. Because these measures were adopted, per-unit production was effectively raised each and every season while the achievement of the three-harvests system became thus duly consolidated and developed.

In the course of this all-out effort to carry out scientific experiments and practice scientific farming, institutions of scientific research also became strengthened and a contingent of both Red and expert scientific and technical personnel was likewise fostered. There came into existence in this county a four-level farming-science network from top to bottom which is relatively strong. The county has its Institute of Farming Science; each of the 37 communes has its Farming Science Station; and each of the 820-odd brigades likewise has its Farming Science Team. All these units have their respective fixed bases for experimental work, which total more than 8,000 mou. There is also a Farming Science Group stationed at each of the 8,000-odd production teams, coupled with the five technicians respectively in charge of farming technique, plant protection, seed selection, water control, and cattle raising. The whole county thus constituted a scientific and technical contingent in farming of more than 60,000 persons with professional experts as its backbone. In the past, even though this Wu County also had institutions like those in charge of technical promotion, seed improvement and breeding improvement, meteorological observations, pests anticipation and report, etc.,

there was a lack of organic interconnections between them; this was a drawback in the solution of the key scientific and technical problems in production. The four-level farming science network, however, serves to organize them into a whole and enable them to practice the new five-in-one combination system of having the Farming Science Institute or Station as the central entity while connecting it simultaneously with the Farming-Technique School, the Farm for Seeds Improvement, the three-sentries (the meteorological sentry, the crop-condition sentry, and the disease-pestilence anticipation-inspection sentry), and the High-Yield Model Farm. In this way, the four-level farming science network is turned into a network for the experimentation and promotion of farming science and technique on the one hand, and a network to train main farming technique personnel, to improve seeds and breeding, and to pass on farming and production intelligence and establish high-yield model farms on the other hand. A preliminary farming science and technique system thus starts to take shape. During the past few years, this four-level farming science network has achieved more than 120 cases of success in scientific research, of which more than 90 have already been subject to further promotion and application.

In order to carry out scientific farming, grasp the laws of agricultural production, and follow Chairman Mao's instruction on being "both Red and expert," the leading cadres of the various levels in this county made it a point to take the lead in studying scientific know-how and indulging in production techniques. They personally undertook to cultivate experimental fields, summarize experiences of the masses, and ask the technical experts to hold classes for their benefit, so that they could learn the know-how in scientific farming. There was one dutiful comrade on the county's Revolutionary Committee who chose to station himself at the Lungchiao brigade on a long-range basis for experimental purpose; together with the poor, lower and middle peasants he groped for, and eventually summarized, the high-yield experience based on a whole new approach to the planting of double-seasons rice and the triple-cropping system. There was an effort which greatly contributed toward the realization of the reform in the county's large-area farming system. They also paid attention to fostering and summarizing various different types of new experiences in scientific farming, and ably instituted the practice of providing different types of guidance in accordance with the local conditions. Because of the fact that leading cadres of the various levels personally participated in the carrying out of the experiments in scientific farming, there was produced a great effect in the conquest of partiality, in the reduction of blindness, in the prevention of random guidance, in the offering of correct leadership and conducting of production work, and in the promotion of the county's high-yield and stable-yield movements in agricultural production.

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IT IS NECESSARY TO TAKE LOCAL CONDITIONS INTO ACCOUNT WHEN LEADING FARM PRODUCTION--AN INVESTIGATION OF SHIHPANTAN COMMUNE, HSINTU COUNTY, SZECHWAN PROVINCE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 3 May 78 pp 68-70

[Investigation report by the investigation group of the Policy Research Office of Szechwan Provincial Party Committee]

[Text] The Shihpantan Commune in Hsintu County, Szechwan Province, is situated in the low-hill region near Chengtu; there is a great difference in the quality of soil and conditions of the like when compared to the plain region of western Szechwan. In the past, the movement to learn from Tachai failed to catch on here, and it notoriously became the most backward commune in the whole county. But since its effort in 1970 to convey and thoroughly implement the spirit of the Agricultural Conference of the Northern Regions, its outlook underwent a rapid change. During the past 7 years, crop production steadily increased at an average of 7 percent per year. Last year, under the guidance of the party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and its strategic policy to grasp the key link and bring about order across the land, a great leap in the progress of the various aspects of work was further achieved in the commune. Average per-mou production of crops reached 1,335 catties; of the 11,000 mou of intermediate-season rice planted, average per-mou production reached 965 catties, which was rated the very first among all communes in the entire region. It was therefore ceremoniously named by the region and the county a Tachai-type commune.

The reason why Shihpantan Commune was able to change from a backward commune into an advanced one was first of all because it seriously learned the fundamental experience of Tachai, insisted upon the party's basic line, determinedly grasped the struggle between the two classes and the two roads, went all out to criticize capitalism and revisionism, and to build socialism. At the same time, this was also inseparable from the fact that the party committee of the commune, in planning its planting, production technical arrangements, its basic farm development and aspects of other work of the like, paid attention to manifesting the democratic

spirit by doing its work in close consultation with the masses and in a thorough implementation of the policy of democratic management of commune business.

Adopting a planting plan is an important measure in relation to whether or not an increase in production can be achieved in agriculture. In formulating its planting plan for the whole year, the party committee of the Shihpantan Commune insisted upon the party's mass line and undertook to convey and propagate the requirements of state plans and the commune's own suggestions extensively to the cadres and the masses; it convened production team membership meetings as well as meetings of cadres from three levels which were attended by representatives of the Poor Peasants Association, thus combining the process of going from top to bottom and vice versa in having repeated deliberations and discussions, making it possible for everybody to express himself fully and respecting the autonomy of the production team.

Before 1975, the main concern of Shihpantan Commune with major spring crops was to plant intermediate-season rice, which accounted for 75-80 percent of all planted paddy areas. Corn, consecutive-planting late-season rice and double-cropping rice were supplementary crops and accounting for 15-20 percent of planted area. This kind of arrangement was roughly in accord with actual conditions and therefore it was possible to achieve a yearly production increase of nearly 10 percent. In 1976, the upper level required that Shihpantan Commune, like the rest of the county, greatly expand its double-cropping rice planting acreage. Soon after the commune party committee conveyed this demand to the cadres and masses, strong reaction was immediately aroused. Some said, "The calculation of three-times-three-equals-to-nine is not as good as the calculation of two-times-five-equals-to-ten"; others said, "All you people know best is to sit in the office and come up with some points by sheer imagination." The masses murmured and demurred for long periods of time. The commune party committee felt that the matter had become rather grave, and the proper thing to do should be to treat it with prudence. After penetrating investigation and study, they discovered the main problem to be as follows: The temperature in late September tended to be on the low side in this locality; it was difficult to insure that the late-season rice planted would become pollinated and bear fruit. If, under such circumstances, rash efforts were made to plant the double-cropping rice, it would be a case not of sure victory but of fighting a precarious battle. Were such double-cropping rice planted without restriction, fertilizers would prove insufficient and become dispersed in their use. This would be like not being able to use steel at the cutting edge of a knife. Labor arrangement would likewise fall behind and harvesting would not be done in time. This in turn would cause delays in the next seasonal planting operation, thereby seriously affecting the production of the late-season rice and the pre-spring crop in the following year. If we look again from the point of view of historical conditions, some production teams in the Shihpantan



Commune had already exceeded the 1,000 catty mark in their per-mou production in 1970, and by 1973 the average per-mou intermediate-season rice production of the whole commune also had surpassed the amount set by "The Target Set in the National Program for Agricultural Development." According to the fighting principle "You manifest your superiority, and I manifest my superiority," what needed to be done in the Shihpantan Commune was mainly to tackle intermediate-season rice while concurrently looking after the double-cropping rice; only this could be the correct conclusion.

What to do after conditions were clarified? Here, there existed also a problem as to whether the commune party committee dared realistically to reflect the opinions of the masses. At that time, the "gang of four" played such havoc that idealism prevailed with tyranny and metaphysics gained unquestionable ground; differences of opinion in matters of production and technology were arbitrarily categorized as political questions. The double-cropping rice was called "a socialist new thing," "a revolutionary rice," "a rice representative of the line." The slightest dissension on anyone's part would immediately incur the possibility of being given such labels as "rightist and backward," "restoration and regression," etc. But, as responsible comrades of the commune party committee seldom calculated matters of gain or loss for themselves, they still honestly reflected to the upper level the fact that excessive planting of the double-cropping rice would not suit local conditions, and thereby requested a reduction in the planting of such double-cropping rice and a relevant increase in the acreage for the planting of corn and consecutive-planting late-season rice. Meanwhile, in the course of carrying out the plan the commune party committee started from reality and actually increased a part of the planting acreage of the late-season rice. Consequently, while there was a decrease in production of the major spring crops, such decrease was not very serious; on the other hand, there was a large-scale increase in the production of wheat during the first half of the year (the earlier-period crop was mainly intermediate-season rice). As the commune came to its year-end accounting, therefore, there was still an increase in its total grain production and it thus became the only commune in the whole county with such an increase that year. Summarizing the instructive experience of 1976, the commune party committee gained a deeper insight as to the consistency between accountability toward the upper level and the accountability toward the masses. The upper level demanded high yield in agriculture and the masses also demanded abundant harvests, the two are consistent with each other. But, in order to find out how to achieve such increase in production, it is then necessary to summarize the experience of practice on the part of the masses and to carry out tasks in accordance with actual conditions. If, in the face of a directive from the upper level, no effort is made to combine it with concrete local conditions and conduct relevant studies, but there is only the tendency to copy, to relay intact, and to impart by force, there may be an appearance that the committee operates with a strong organizational character; but, in reality,

this would be a performance smack of irresponsibility toward the party and toward the people. The only correct attitude is to demonstrate a selfless mind, to show courage in pursuing truth on the basis of realities, to gather the correct opinions of the masses, to achieve a unity between accountability toward the upper level and accountability toward the masses, so as to attain the expected goal of production increase.

In 1977, the commune party committee, basing itself on the spirit of a directive issued by the provincial party committee to concentrate vigorously on tackling the question of intermediate-season rice planting, to strive energetically to raise per-unit area production, and at the same time to create conditions, take local situations into account, and positively develop two-harvests rice planting, proceeded to adopt an approach of combining efforts of the leadership with those of the masses in the same venture so as to arrange a planting plan that is more appropriate and satisfactory to all concerned. The masses were exceedingly pleased and their zeal for work multiplied manifold. That year, per-mou production of intermediate-season rice broke the highest historical record.

Not only did the Shihpantan Commune party committee insist upon following the mass line and taking reality as the point of departure in all its work in the case of formulating its planting plan, but on the question of technical measures relating to production, too, it likewise made a point to listen to the opinions of the masses, to study the situation on hand with the old peasants and consult them frequently. Things that were not yet properly assessed would not be blindly promoted; but things whose favorable outcome seemed fairly assured would most certainly be pushed with persistence until their satisfactory conclusion once they were so judged.

Wheat is the principal winter grain crop of this commune. How wheat production fares, therefore, would have a significant impact on total crop production of the whole year. The traditional method of planting wheat here is to sow the seeds by digging holes for them, which does not help production very much. Ordinarily, per-mou production is limited to 200-300 catties. After 1959, the hole-sowing method was denounced to be a conservative, backward farming technique and subject to criticism. In the whole commune, the rigid method of hole-sowing the plain and embanked areas was changed to plowing of furrows to allow strip-sowing. But, after more than 10 years of following this new method, productivity was still not very significantly improved and in some cases the amount of production per mou turned out to be even 20 or 30 catties less than that by the hole-sowing method. Production by the strip-sowing method did not prove its case, indeed; but, if the old hole-sowing method were to be restored the difference would not be very great either. Where, in the final analysis, was to be the outlet for increasing wheat production?

The commune party committee members did not, in the face of this situation, shut themselves indoors to imagine things in the abstract. On the contrary, they went deep among the masses, visited the experienced old peasants, convened seminars, and conducted an overall analysis as to the advantages and disadvantages of the two sowing methods. The masses call the soil here "ginger-rock-like yellow clay." The soil texture is gluey, heavy, and easy to coagulate hard lumps. "When the weather is fine, it is hard like a knife; when it rains, it becomes a mushy mess." When strip-sowing is practiced under such conditions it is hard to maintain the furrows to begin with. As it is not easy to break the hardened lumps into fine soil, nor is it a handy job to cover the seeds tightly after they are sown. Hence, sprouting rate is low and it is also hard for the sprouts to break through the heavy lumps above; this often led to the results of sections of sprouts missing and segments of furrows broken. But, if hole-sowing is practiced on this kind of soil, there is still the advantage of easy operation and labor saving and it is also possible to have the holes dug before the lingering autumn rain arrives each year, so that intervals between the spells of the autumn rain can be utilized for urgent sowing operations and unnecessary delays can be thereby avoided. At the same time, every hole pried is like a "nutrition cup," i.e., the fertilizers used there are concentrated inside the hole, which retains water as easily as it does the fertilizers and naturally facilitates wheat growth. For this reason, it proved unrealistic to adopt an absolutely negative attitude toward the hole-sowing method. The reason production remained low under the old hole-sowing method was mainly because those holes were dug too far apart from one another, which in turn caused a basic lack of sufficient sprouts to begin with. The correct attitude is to summarize the experience in practice gained by the masses over the years, elevate it, perfect it, and thereby seek to adopt its advantage and eliminate its disadvantage so as to develop therefrom new ways and means in production technology for the sake of raising production.

After such a procedure of investigation and study, analysis and comparison, paths to the door of production increase were ultimately found. Through consultation between the commune party committee and the masses, the format of hole-sowing was changed from the original 5-inch plant-to-plant distance and 12-inch row-to-row distance to the new 3-inch plant-to-plant distance and 7-inch row-to-row distance or 3-inch plant-to-plant distance and 6-inch row-to-row distance. This resulted in a great increase in the amount of basic sprouts as well as in a thorough summation of the experience of the masses for many years in using fertilizers heavily at the bottom of the hole, in using additional phosphorus fertilizers, in selecting the varieties of crops that can endure such heavy use of fertilizers, and in following certain native methods in preventing and treating diseases and pestilence, etc. Such experience was then returned to practice and also expanded in practice. Thus, wheat planting was enabled to break through the long limbo of indecision. In 1974, average per-mou production of wheat in the whole commune reached 555

catties. Through this process of reform in wheat sowing, the commune party committee came to understand that respect for the practical experience of the masses, make a point to discover essentially the rational core of such experience on the part of the masses, and, through the processes of eliminating what is rudimentary and adopting what is refined, ridding what is false and retaining what is genuine, inferring from one reason to another, and penetrating from the exterior to the interior, proceed to institute a program of transformation and re-creation and summarize as well as elevate this same experience, crystallize it in a concentrated form and insist upon it from then onwards are the correct method of leadership Chairman Mao always taught us.

As regards basic farm development, the Shihpantan Commune party committee also insisted on following the mass line. Basic farm development planning groups, for example, were established at the commune level and the brigade level which sought to attract commune and brigade cadres and representatives of poor, lower and middle peasants as participants. All plans and measures concerning basic farm development must be first discussed repeatedly by the masses and the planning groups and enjoy their uniform support before they were put to practice with the assistance also of the masses. Sometimes, if opinions suggested by the commune party committee happened to be regarded by the masses as improper and unworkable, there would then be instituted repeated investigations and processes of understanding so as to effect consultation with the masses; no coercion or commandism were resorted to.

Before 1970, there were altogether more than 7,000 mou of winter paddies. Only one season of intermediate rice was planted and the production was not very high; there was a harvest of only 500-600 catties per mou. At that time, an urgent task lying before the commune party committee was to transform the winter paddies, raise the replanting index, and increase crop production. This commune had also conducted an experiment in transforming winter paddies in the past. At that time, water was released from all the winter paddies and an additional season of wheat was planted. But, after water was released, the winter paddies became "upside-down fields," with the top dry but the bottom still mushy. After crops were planted, their harvests proved meager. The transformation was not a success. Was it possible at all to transform the winter paddies? If so, how should this be done? In order to solve this problem, leading cadres of the commune made good use of their legs and strode deeply among the masses and learned from them in a humble manner. They discovered that in the case of some brigades the attempt to transform the winter paddies was a success, with their replanting indices increased and crop production also greatly raised. Consequently, they proceeded time and again to those very brigades in order to learn from their experiences, asking the masses there to tell them the cause of their past failure in releasing water from those winter paddies and the background of their later success in conducting the same transformation experiments. According to the analyses supplied by the masses, the winter paddies, because they

retain water for long periods of time, are thoroughly soaked and frozen at the bottom; even after water is released from them, the underground water level remains still relatively high. In particular, there is a kind of "rusty water" retained in the soil which remains unreleased; it seriously hampers crop growth throughout the season. The reason why some of the brigades had met with success in their attempt at such transformation operations was primarily because of the fact that they had adopted the method of digging their drainage channels deep, thereby lowering the underground water level and successfully eliminating the "rusty water" retained there. In addition to this, deep plowing was applied to turn less used soil upward and phosphorous and kalium fertilizers were heavily added thereafter in order to ameliorate the quality of the soil. This was why good crops were reaped. After the commune party committee summarized such good experiences created by the masses, they were put to practice in the whole commune. On the one hand, drainage channels were dug in order to release water from the winter paddies; on the other hand, overall plans were adopted to deepen the main drainage channel so as to greatly reduce the underground water level of such winter paddies as a whole. In this way, the masses were mobilized to fight the elements of nature as well as the elements of the soil, and to apply their efforts to the extreme without any restraint. After a struggle of some 3 years, a basic transformation of the commune's winter paddies was ultimately achieved. Not only per-unit production increased when rice was planted, but such was the case also when the planting of wheat was greatly expanded and the production increase proved considerable. This caused a large-scale upturn in the crop production of the whole commune. In the year 1973 the wheat planting acreage of the commune expanded from 4,000-plus mou to 8,000-plus mou, and that year's wheat production doubled that of the preceding year.

Summing up its experiences over the years, this commune's party committee deeply realized that, in order to organize and direct farm production correctly, it is necessary to insist on the correct leadership method of coming from the masses and going to the masses, crystallizing experience in a concentrated form and persisting in applying it in follow-up work; it is necessary also to respect the practical experiences of the masses, dare to start from reality, combine accountability toward the leading institutions with accountability toward the masses, pay attention to practical results, and not seek empty fame. Today, this commune is seriously attempting to carry the line of the party's 11th National Congress and the spirit of the Fifth National People's Congress through to the end, to proceed further in fulfilling democracy in the management of commune affairs, to mobilize all positive factors, and thereby build socialism with great resolve so as to engage itself with still greater effort in the struggle for the rapid development of farm production and the realization of the overall task of the new era.

## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CARRYING OUT AGRICULTURAL SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENTS

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[Text] Since I was transferred from the army in 1950, I have always worked on the county, municipal, and/or local party committees in Sinkiang. In this long process of work, I have suffered the hardship of the lack of experience in grasping scientific experiment, but I have also enjoyed the pleasure of the presence of such experience since then. As I look back today, I deeply realize the importance of our wise leader Chairman Hua's instruction that we must grasp the three great revolutionary movements altogether, and I also realize the importance of the great call of the Central Committee of our party on "Mobilizing the whole party to promote science."

Sinkiang's territory is big, but its population is very sparse. Because of the reactionary rule by the Kuomintang before liberation, the agriculture in this region was very backward at the time of liberation. The masses were accustomed to planting very extensively but harvesting very meagerly, relying on "heaven" for their livelihood. When we first came here, our main energies were spent on destroying bandit and puppet regimes, suppressing the reactionaries, exterminating the bandits themselves, reducing rents, reforming the land system and important political struggles of the like. Seeing what the production situation here was like, we were greatly worried. At that time, we naturally did not understand what was scientific experiment in agriculture. But one thing was very clear to us, and that was that we must make up our minds to change over those backward farming systems and those natural conditions which were harmful to agriculture. As to how such change could be brought about, no one was in the position to suggest any concrete ways. When we proceeded to mobilize the masses and carry out our tasks later, some changes turned out to be quite relevant as we made them. In the planting of rice in Michuan County, for instance, the tradition there was to

use the method of direct sowing; later, we promoted spot-sowing and still later we changed spot-sowing to seedling. The result was that production increased at a very rapid pace. Some changes, of course, were also made in the wrong way. For example, we at one point practiced putting the Hami type of watermelon on a wooden framework; later, we also promoted the method of mixing wheat seeds with some oil before sowing them and replanting sorghum: in both cases a decrease in production resulted. Both this experience of success and this instruction of failure explain to us that, in our attempts to change nature and grasp farm production, there is still considerable blindness and we still have not achieved any real initiative. How to get rid of this state of affairs? At precisely this juncture, our great leader Chairman Mao summarized our basic experience in raising farm production, which was later reduced to the so-called "Eight-character Constitution" in agriculture. This indicated to us that we must diligently work on the aspects of "soil, fertilizer, irrigation, seed selection, dense-planting, protection, management, and labor arrangement," and continue to carry out scientific experiments. In 1962, Chairman Mao convened and presided over a 7,000-strong mass rally; I had the honor to attend this rally and personally listened to Chairman Mao's instruction. At this rally Chairman Mao summarized our experience since the founding of our state in embarking upon the development of our socialist construction and called upon leading cadres of the various levels to pay close attention to agricultural science and to investigation and study. Chairman Mao also said that he himself was then studying soil science. Chairman Mao's words, like a bright lamp, suddenly illuminated my mind. I began to recognize that, in engaging oneself in agriculture, one must not do things blindly; one need to recognize the laws of nature and strive to control them better. If one wishes to promote farm production, one must grasp science and technology accordingly. From that moment onward, I started to pay close attention to scientific and technical work and also made a point to get on with scientific experiments in agriculture.

During the 10-odd years since 1958, I worked steadily in Tulufan. The main problem in farm production in the Tulufan region was the havoc played by wind and sand. Overflowing sand would swallow up fields and villages at times, and the dry and hot wind would burn crops to death. Each year there would be more than 30 occasions when a big wind of the 8th grade and up would blow across the land and frequently uproot the crops. Hence, we set up the prevention and treatment of wind and sand calamities as the main target of attack in our scientific research, and proceeded to mobilize the farm technicians and the masses of the whole county to explore and discuss in many ways the methods for each prevention and treatment. Through many experiments and after several years of struggle, we adopted the methods of tree-planting and mound-building to stem off the attack by wind and sand, and also the method of planting camel thorns to stabilize the sand, and consequently established a system to ward off the wind and stabilize the sand which was based mainly on forestation but also on the combination of forests with shrubs in its

structure. From then on, it was no longer a case of sand advancing in the face of man's retreat, but a case of man advancing in the face of sand's retreat. In the meantime, in order to keep away from the havoc played by the dry and hot wind, we also tried such other ploys as the introduction and test-planting of the early-ripening varieties of wheat in the region. Because we introduced the variety of winter wheat, No 11 of the northern species, into the region and also sought to replant sorghum, we were able to achieve a high yield of more than 1,000 catties per mou. After these ploys were promoted generally, total crop production of Tulufan County jumped from the 43 million catties of 1962 to 75 million catties in 1967. Also because we generally promoted scientific experiments, the people in the Turfan region took greater and greater strides in their work on reforming nature and resisting natural calamities. Farm production shot steadily upward. Later, I went to work in Urumchi Municipality. Urumchi County is the vegetable supply base for Urumchi Municipality. We listed vegetables as one item of scientific research in the four-level farming science network of the county. The upshot was that, before long, the prosperous scene of many a production team producing more than 10,000 catties of vegetables per mou pleasantly emerged. The record of having a per-unit production of 25,000 catties of cucumber, of 12,000 catties of tomatoes, and of 15,000 catties of eggplant was also created. On the same sowing acreage, an unprecedented phenomenon of vegetable supplies surpassing vegetable demands appeared in the municipality in 1973. All the above situations enable me to realize that scientific experiments are like a golden key, which is capable of opening up the doors of farm production increase to us. Concerning this question, the early our realization, the early would come our development; the later our realization, the later would also come our development; whereas the absence of such realization would simply lead to difficulties in development.

In order to grasp scientific experiments well, it is very important that the No 1 party committee man achieves such realization. But the No 1 party committee man's realization itself would be hardly sufficient; it is also necessary for all the party committee members to direct their minds in the same direction and their efforts toward the same spot. Generally speaking, the realization on the part of all among the local working comrades as to the necessity of grasping class struggle and struggle for production during the historical period of socialism has been really relatively clear and relatively profound. But the realization concerning scientific experiments has been rather different. In my own working experience, I have often encountered the situation whereby no one would express opposition to the grasping of scientific experiments at the conference table, but the actual degrees of realization in people's minds in this regard would be rather uneven. Some would think that scientific experiments are the business handled by technical cadres of the business departments, how can a party committee bother with so many things? Under the pressure of impositions exerted by the "gang of four" such as "Only Productive Power Counts," "Business Must Take Command," etc.,



some comrades also exhibited this and that kind of fear in their mentality concerning the needed work on promoting scientific farming. With these kinds of thinking prevailing, scientific experiments could never enter the calendar of discussion by the party committee in their daily work; if and when they accidentally did so sometimes, they proved also to be merely a passing issue, with no serious discussion contemplated or conducted as a result. So long as the thinking of the party committee members remained other than uniform, it was unlikely that scientific experiments could be well grasped.

In order to solve our ideological problem, we automatically consulted Chairman Mao's works. What did Chairman Mao say about scientific experiments? We made a point to emphasize "On Practice" and "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" and other works of the like, plus related important instructions. We all realized that Chairman Mao had actually treated scientific experiments as an important aspect of the party's work in his discourses. Chairman Mao pointed out as early as 1958 that, from then on, attention must especially be paid to technical revolution, and that this problem must engage the whole party's attention. In 1963, Chairman Mao again taught us: "Class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment are three great revolutionary movements for the development of a powerful socialist state, the sure guarantees that enable the communists to eliminate bureaucratism, avoid revisionism and dogmatism, and forever retain their invincible position, and the reliable guarantees that help the proletariat to unite itself with the broad masses of the working class and practice democratic dictatorship." This clearly told us that grasping scientific experiments well is one of the reliable guarantees for combating revisionism, preventing revisionism, and consolidating proletarian dictatorship. How, under such circumstances, can we merely pass such an important task in relation to the destiny and future of our party and our state onto the business departments so that they alone would grasp it? Although there is a difference as to which is the key link and which are the lesser links between class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, but a lack of any of them would simply not do. Only with all of them well grasped will it become the case of having the key link properly uplifted so that the lesser links can straighten out themselves (as in the example of casting a fishing net), i.e., only thus will it be possible for us to carry Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as a whole through to the end.

As we attempted to elevate our ideological perception, we also made a point to elevate people's self-consciousness through practice as to their need to grasp scientific experiments. We constantly invited technical personnel to introduce situations of scientific research and fruits of scientific experiments to the leading comrades of the party committees at the various levels, and we also organized people to visit the units where scientific experiments had been well conducted. Sometimes people must walk out of their offices and penetrate deep into realities so as to participate personally in certain relatively more important activities

of experiment; this helped them get educated by what they can thus directly hear and see. In 1975, for example, the Agricultural Science Institute of the Hami region undertook to carry out an experiment for reforming the agricultural system at the Advanced 5th Production Team, Tungfeng Commune, Hami County, together with the local Scientific Research Group. They dauntlessly resorted to a measure of renovation by practicing belt-shape sowing in the Gobi Desert outside of China Proper. This led to the realization of three harvests from three planting operations in the cases of wheat, sorghum and millet, with a per-mou yield of 1,732 catties from a plot of 1.8 mou. This was a great breakthrough in the Hami region, where the frost-free period is very short. On account of this feat, we repeatedly organized the standing committee members of the local party committees and secretaries of the county and commune (state farm) party committees to visit there. Facts helped to educate all. Because of such great efforts to grasp scientific experiments and to practice scientific farming, this type of planting expanded to more than 13,700 mou and their per-unit production almost invariably exceeded more than twice the amount of the average production in the region to reach as high as 600-700 catties.

Since we must lead scientific experiments, we must also understand scientific experiments. Many important questions in the scientific and technical departments must be determined in the final analysis by the party committee. But there were often several proposals on hand once a submission was made, which you could neither understand by reading them nor comprehend by listening to their oral presentations. It was impossible to judge as to which of them might be better than which other. Then, how was one to evince an attitude in the end? This, namely, required study. One must dig into them and become an expert. I was the one who took the initiative to learn. In 1962 I began to study Williams' "Soil Science." Later, I also studied the two volumes of "Agricultural Technology." But at the same time, I also proposed that the party committee members study as a class. On the basis of each individual's realistic conditions, some should study the heavy volumes and others, the thin pamphlets. For some, it should be sufficient just to read some scientific and technological intelligence reports regularly. In 1964, we organized our scientific and technical personnel, veteran peasants and leading cadres together to summarize the experience of the Tulufan region in the development of agricultural production. As a result, we edited a volume on "Collected Experiences in Agricultural Production Increase in the Tulufan Basin," to which I wrote a foreword requiring cadres from the production team up to study it conscientiously. After I went to Hami to work, we edited once more such books as "Principal Technical Measures for Planting Farm Crops in the Hami Region" and "Major Diseases and Pestilence Affecting Farm Crops in the Hami Region and Their Prevention and Treatment." These played a very helpful role in elevating the competence of the leading cadres in their know-how on farming science.

To grasp scientific experiments, there must be some determined effort. One must have the courage like that with which one can lead an attack and rush right into the enemy camp and the resolve to push aside all difficulties and obstacles. One must dare to grasp, be enthusiastic enough to grasp, grasp constantly, and grasp to the very end. While in Tulufan and Urumchi, we made it a rule that the secretaries in charge of agriculture must fix some points where they can participate in the local scientific research groups' experimental activities, and that Standing Committee members dispatched to the villages by the division-of-labor practice must all have their own testing fields. County and local party committee members must at least engage in two major scientific research operations each year. At the commune level party committee members must at least engage themselves in such operations four times each year: "Deploy in the spring, inspect in the summer, appraise in the fall, and summarize in the winter." At the production brigade and production team levels, party branch secretaries and leaders of the brigade and the team must take charge of scientific research. Leading cadres must all go deep to the basic level, personally participate in labor activities and in scientific experiments, and be the most authoritative directors of activities there. When I was working in Tulufan in 1958, I regularly participated in labor activities in the testing fields and did my best to obtain first-hand data in that regard. Even though difficulties were great while working in such localities, I still persisted in doing such things as much as possible. In 1976, I went to a production team where scientific experiments had been relatively well conducted and became a commune member for 1 month there. When I went down to such level for ordinary inspection, I would usually try my best to bring with me some technical cadres, and everywhere I went I always made a point to look at the experiments being conducted by the Scientific Research Group, inspect their results, listen to their reports, and offer timely solutions to their existing problems. This way, it was impossible to have the leadership remain at issuing calls only; rather, it was possible for the leaders to understand concrete conditions in time, grasp the principal contradictions, go deep into the question of solving problems, and hence guide and mobilize cadres at the various levels below them.

A model is the most persuasive. In order to enable the achievements of scientific research to play their role in large contexts of farm production, in order to cumulate experiences and continuously improve the leadership over scientific research work, party committees at the various levels must pay great attention to discovering models, fostering models, timely summarizing and promoting the experiences of such models. Basically, scientific research work is a kind of model experiment. If results achieved by such experiment are not spread to wider areas, the responsibility lies with the leaders. To discover models and foster models, attention must be paid to the question as to whether or not they can be profitably promoted elsewhere. Only when a high-yield operation under laboratory conditions is applied to a high-yield situation in the fields under ordinary conditions can it be considered of universal

significance. What cannot be assessed with certainty must be subject to repeated experiments; once something is properly assessed, it must be extensively carried out to far wider areas. It simply won't do if a model is treated merely as an exhibit for people to look at or proves to be a case of "flowers blossoming within the compound with only their fragrance prevailing outside of the compound." To some peasants, only what they can see with their own eyes is true, and what they can only hear with their ears may not seem to be so. Once a model is ripe to be used as a typical case, it is a good practice to convene an on-the-spot meeting. In some cases it is also necessary to persuade and educate the people patiently. The Agricultural Science Station of Salt Lake Pasture, Yiwu County, is situated in the high, cold, and mountainous region, which people have usually described as follows: "Along the Gobi sandy patches, the grass is tall; wind and sand always drive the cows and the sheep on the run. The weather here is cold, the frost arrives early; a fur coat is needed for all seasons of the year." Its natural conditions are among the worst in the Hami region. But, the experiment station led by technician Chu Ning here chose to pursue scientific studies such as selecting new seeds and growing new crops with unusual daring in an attempt to overcome natural calamities and perils. As a result, its wheat and barley per-mou yield has been recorded in "The Program." Thus, such a curse as implied in the "low yield in the high and cold mountainous region theory" naturally discredits itself. When we discovered this model in 1974, we immediately grasped it firmly. Apart from convening on-the-spot meetings, we also arranged to have the Palikun County party committee situated north of the Tienshan Mountain ranges to take the lead in promoting this experience by letting the leading cadre of that county committee accompany Comrade Chu Ning on a reporting tour to every commune and every brigade. From then onward, vigorous high-yield movements to plant "Program Fields," "Yellow River Fields," and "Yangtze River Fields" began to be unfolded with great fanfare in the mountainous slope areas which make up one-half of the whole region's arable land. The 1976 total crop production in Palikun County reached 56 million catties, a whole 80 percent higher than that of 1975; this increased further to more than 62 million catties in 1977.

In order to persist in the scientific experiments and moreover to continuously enhance them, it is necessary to pay great attention to the pivotal role played by the hardcore scientific and technical personnel. How to bring the socialist enthusiasm of the broad ranks of scientific and technical personnel into play? We felt that the most important thing was to have an overall estimate about them and also a correct view about them; it is likewise necessary to encourage them to be both Red and expert, and publicize the results they have achieved. Through prolonged work contact, I deeply feel that the overwhelming majority of those scientific and technical personnel ardently love our party, love socialism, and are constantly working for the people with great diligence. They wholeheartedly unite themselves with the masses, toiling in the experimental fields by day and lecturing in technology classes

for the commune members by night. "They sweat all over when they are at work, and their bodies are full of dust when they quit work": this makes them most welcome to the commune members. In 1973 under the serious conditions when Lin Piao and the "gang of four" sought to turn things upside down concerning the question of our policy line and to slander and attack the intellectuals, we were nevertheless not afraid of taking some risk in proposing to clarify several demarcation lines in our scientific and technical work: namely, the line between revolution and "business in command" and "the road of both White and expert"; the line between insisting upon a scientific attitude and insisting upon scientific experiments and the "snail's-speedism"; the line between different opinions in scholarship and the reactionary political point of view; and the line between consulting certain necessary foreign data for the sake of studying certain problems and "slavishness toward things foreign." Those scientific and technical personnel who made real contributions in their practice, we should resolutely exalt them and even establish some of them as our exemplary sentinels. In the case of all those who fit in with the requirements of membership in the party and the League, we also continued to cultivate them. There was for example an old technician in the Tokeshun County whose family background happened to be that of a landlord and who had joined the Kuomintang as a member of a group. But during the 20-odd years since liberation, he consistently exhibited enthusiastic love for the new society and enthusiastic love for the Communist Party. He also united himself with the poor, lower and middle peasants and at different points of his work raised many types and varieties of superior grain and cotton with diligent and tender care which, after expanded application elsewhere, proved to yield great results in production. We firmly resisted the rumors of certain people and we were not afraid of being accused of "deviating" from the class line as we established him as the exemplary sentinel on the scientific and technical front in Urumchi Municipality. The Comrade Chu Ning mentioned above who achieved high-yield operations in the mountainous and cold region of Yiwu County also did not have a good family background. But, according to his consistent personal performance, we likewise decided to exalt him by electing him into the Presidium when the region convened its local meeting on learn from Tachai. This year, he was even gloriously absorbed into the party. Thus, the broad ranks of the scientific and technical personnel deeply feel the love and concern the party had showed them in politics, and they consciously strive to develop in the direction of being both Red and expert and thereby even more firmly devote themselves to serve the cause of socialism.

Scientific and technical personnel are our mainstay; the broad masses are our foundation. In order to achieve great and rapid results in agricultural science experiments, it is impossible not to mobilize the broad masses of our peasants. In particular, in order to enable the results of scientific research to gain the opportunity for popularization and to enjoy further uplift on the basis of such popularization, it is even more necessary to mobilize the masses extensively. There are many

outstanding talents among the peasants. In Urumchi, for example, there was an intellectual youth who was sent back to the countryside. After 7 years of hard research, he finally raised a variety of rice with high yield; its production exceeded the existing native variety by more than 100 percent. We must pay attention to fostering and elevating positive elements like this, and gradually expand our contingent engaged in scientific research among the poor, lower and middle peasants. Thus we regularly organized such hardcore personnel to engage in scientific research among the masses, to visit and learn from the advanced areas, and to participate in relevant experience and information exchange meetings. We also sought to teach new techniques to those in the countryside by sending those technicians who had achieved significant results in their scientific research to the countryside, and to provide them with conditions that would help them to study and elevate themselves by adopting such forms as the running of agricultural schools and short-term training classes. Among the three counties in the Hami region, a four-level agricultural science network already took shape. There were as many as 300-odd scientific research groups already established. Those regularly designated to participate in the activities of scientific research numbered more than 3,000 persons. The three types of fields-- "Fields for Production Increase," "Fields for Special Seedling," and "Experimental Fields"--had an area that made up one-fifth of the total area of all arable land in the region. This region has enjoyed abundant harvests year after year since 1975; its total production that year increased by 84 percent compared to the amount of more than 90 million catties in 1974, and its old products also more than doubled those of the previous year. All these results necessarily had their relationship with the development of the popular type of activities in scientific research.

Today, the Central Committee of our party is once more leading the whole party and people of the whole country on a new Long March. After the Fifth National People's Congress was again convened a National Conference on Science, which calls upon us to broaden our minds and elevate our ambitions and thereby march toward the modernization of our science and technology. I also participated in this conference, listened to Chairman Hua's and Vice Chairman Teng's important speeches and Comrade Fang Yi's report, gained considerable encouragement, and also felt even more deeply that our work can never really answer our party's and the people's demands and, when compared to the work of the advanced regions, the differences are still great. Under the stimulation and guidance of this conference, we are determined to make even greater efforts to proceed further to grasp well the three great revolutionary movements, and to continue to have something to create and some progress to make in the realm of farming science experiments.

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## WHAT IS THE BASIC TASK OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 3 May 78 pp 75-77

["Notes on the Study of Economics" by Kuei Shih-yung [2710 0013 6978]]

[Text] What is the task of industrial enterprises? Originally, this was one problem which we had already solved in our party's theory and practice; but, out of a need to usurp party and state power and restore capitalism on the part of the "gang of four," all sorts of ridiculous theories have been advanced and this problem, too, became an extremely confusing one. Today, it is necessary once more to clarify the substance and origin of this problem, rectify what has been twisted and slandered and have new explanations.

Concerning this problem Chairman Mao had stated as early as the time of resistance against Japan: In a factory, "the task of reducing cost, improving products, and facilitating sales is a task to be shared by its administration, the party branch stationed there, and the local trade union as a whole." ("Economic Problems and Financial Problems") On the eve of the nation's liberation, Chairman Mao pointed out in his report before the second plenum of the party's Seventh Central Committee that production work was to be the "central task" in our urban work. After we entered the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, Chairman Mao again repeatedly taught us: In all industrial and mining enterprises we must always insist on putting proletarian politics in command, greatly strengthen our political work "so as to attend to the central task of realizing our production plans, and carry out unified leadership over the party, the government, the trade unions, and the (Youth) League." ("Essential Points of the Resolutions Passed by the Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, the Communist Party of China") This series of Chairman Mao's directives clearly indicated to us that the task of industrial enterprises under socialism is no other than putting politics in command, setting up production as our core work, fully fulfill and overfulfill all our state plans. The industrial enterprises' political, economic, technical work and other kinds of work must all unfold around this core; the industrial

enterprises' party organizations, administrative organizations and trade unions and Communist Youth League and other mass organizations should likewise strive together for the realization of this task. Whether or not this task is well fulfilled is a yardstick to judge whether or not all the work of industrial enterprises is well done. There are all kinds of work in industrial enterprises and they represent all kinds of demands and developments; if, in the course of trying to fulfill them, the core of production development is forgotten and the state plans cannot be fulfilled, that would be like an army that always suffers defeats, with its duties and responsibilities always neglected.

Industrial enterprises must take good management of production and fulfillment of state plans as their central task: this is determined by the position they hold in the social division of labor and by their socialist nature. Industrial enterprises are the units which produce industrial products or supply industrial services. From the point of view of social division of labor, the engagement in industrial production is the special function which separates them from other trades and professions in society; apart from this function, there can be no industrial enterprises. But, because the ownership systems of different societies are different, the goals with which industrial enterprises engage themselves in production work are also different and so are their respective tasks. Under the capitalist system, the industrial enterprises must supply industrial products needed by society according to the demand of social division of labor on the one hand; on the other hand, what to produce, how much to produce and produce according to what methods are also entirely determined by the capitalists' goal to grab greater and greater profits. In contrast to this, industrial enterprises under socialism are engaged in their production work under the unified leadership and planning of the state; their goal is to satisfy the growing needs of the entire society. For this reason, every enterprise must seek to fulfill state plans as a whole, produce as good products and as many varieties of products as possible, and thereby also provide as much benefit and profit for the state as possible. Every cadre, worker, and technical personnel in the industrial enterprise must take the realization of this task as his duty and glorious responsibility.

The "gang of four" deliberately distorted the tasks of industrial enterprises. They opposed the fact that industrial enterprises are the battlefield where the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated to the fact that they are also production units. They forbade people from saying that industrial enterprises are production units; they forbade people from mentioning that industrial enterprises must manage their production work well. Instead, they raised a hullabaloo to allege that so long as class struggle is carried out well, "a factory need not produce any products." Whoever tried to grasp production would become one to whom they would attach the label "Only Production Power Counts." Whoever tried to fulfill the state plans would become one whom they would scold for having adopted the policy of "Production Targets in Command." They



made grasping production equal to opposition to taking class struggle as the key link, opposition to carrying the fulfillment of the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the basic production units and equal to embracing revisionism. From this, their "leftism" can only be viewed as rather strange. They seemed to be more "revolutionary" than anybody else, yet, in reality they totally altered Chairman Mao's great theory concerning the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and basically twisted the fundamental principles of Marxist historical materialism. What they promoted was an extreme rightist line which could not be further rightist.

The reason we say that industrial enterprises are production units is because we look at them from the angle of the social division of labor and thereby explain how they have their own characteristics which separate them from commercial stores, schools, troops and other social units of the like. The reason we say that industrial enterprises are the battlefield where the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated is because we start from the basic fact that class struggle does exist in the socialist stage and thereby explain that there is also something in common between industrial enterprises and other social units. These two concepts serve from different angles to explain the nature of industrial enterprises; they are not mutually exclusive, nor mutually opposed, but mutually related and mutually complementary. To recognize this special character of industrial enterprises from the overall and dialectical point of view is our point of departure for understanding the task of industrial enterprises correctly. Only by recognizing that industrial enterprises are the battlefield where the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated would it be possible for us to consciously insist on our correct political orientation, to take class struggle as the key link, and thereby manage well our socialist production. Only by clearly designating industrial enterprises as production units would it be possible for us to appreciate the core of their work and clearly understand the concrete connotation of our position to serve the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the context of industrial enterprises. Is it opposition to carrying the fulfillment of the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat to the enterprises to say that industrial enterprises are production units and to try to take good management of production and fulfillment of state plans as our central task? No. Things are exactly the opposite. To manage socialist production well is precisely the requirement of the proletariat overcoming the bourgeoisie and of the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat is the common task of all areas and all units, but every area and every unit must follow social division of labor, achieve its own successes through its own concrete struggles so as to make its contributions toward the cause of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. To industrial enterprises under socialism, the main thing is to make use of the products produced by themselves in order to create a magnificent

material foundation for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to furnish a powerful material force for the proletariat to overcome the bourgeoisie. If an industrial enterprise does not manage its production work well, its products are of low quality as well as small quantity, its consumption is great, its cost is high, it lags for long periods in fulfilling state plans, not only can it not provide the state with benefit and profit but even tends to incur losses: then all this would constitute a hindrance in the way of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and it cannot then be said to be a battlefield where the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated. If all industrial enterprises are of the same type, then not only would our national economy be unable to make any progress but it would even suffer setbacks; not only would the material and cultural life of the people not be uplifted but it would even fall to lower standards; not only would the state's economic power and defense capability not be reinforced but they would be even more reduced. Under such circumstances, what would be left to equip us to talk about consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and about protecting the state's security?! Therefore, whether or not the task of an industrial enterprise to help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat is really realized, whether or not its leadership authority is really grasped in the hands of the proletariat, the fundamental question here is still to see whether or not that enterprise can correctly implement our party's line, principles, and policies and manage its production work with more, faster, better and more economical results under the premise of insisting on the socialist orientation. The "gang of four" and its diehard followers raised a hullabaloo about industrial enterprises being the battlefield where the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated on the one hand, but they at the same time opposed industrial enterprises trying to manage their socialist production well on the other hand. In reality, they raised the banner of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat just in order to disintegrate our socialist economy and sabotage our proletarian dictatorship.

The fact that we say that industrial enterprises must take production as their core and that there is an important political meaning to managing production well does not mean that it is enough for the enterprises just to grasp the struggle for production. On the contrary, in order to manage production well industrial enterprises must insist on putting proletarian politics in command. This is because the production work of industrial enterprises proceeds only under a definite production relationship and is profoundly affected by the superstructure. A production relationship and its superstructure based on public ownership under socialism basically adapt to the development of productive power, but at the same time they also harbor certain imperfect aspects. Under the condition that classes and class struggle do still exist, whether it is a question of consolidating the socialist system and manifesting its superiority or a question of adjusting some of its imperfect aspects, the process must always pass through long-range and repeated struggles

between the two classes and the two lines. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the proletarian road and the capitalist road, is still the main contradiction in socialist society; class struggle is still the powerful leverage and direct momentum that propels the development of production forward. If this key link of class struggle is not tightly grasped with politics in command of economics, it is impossible to guarantee the socialist orientation, nor would it be easy to manage production well. If worse came to worst, deviation would result and damage would be brought to the socialist economy.

To insist on taking class struggle as the key link in industrial enterprises and on putting politics in command is namely to carry Chairman Mao's revolutionary line through to the end, to arm the masses with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought, to counter activities of sabotage on the part of the class enemies, to criticize capitalism, to criticize revisionism, and mobilize all positive factors for the sake of putting socialism into effect and putting technical renovation and technical revolution into effect. In a word, it is necessary to grasp all the three revolutionary movements, so that production may develop along the road of socialism with more, faster, better and more economical results. Political work must be closely united with economic work and serve the economic base; its effect must be reflected ultimately in production. If politics is not put in command, and effort is directed toward devious outlets, this would not develop socialist production but sabotage it. But if politics only enjoys lip service and is not realized in various practical work, not realized in production; and if production is thus ill managed: then it would be useless and even false simply to talk about putting politics in command. Those enterprises that quickly catch on with their production work may not always do so because of good politics; it is also necessary to see if they have insisted on the socialist direction. But any enterprise that has good politics must also manage its production well. Otherwise, where the power of politics would have gone to? Can a politics that is incapable of promoting production be called proletarian politics?

Looking from the Marxist-Leninist point of view, politics is the concentrated reflection of economics; politics reflects economics and also has an impact on economics. There is no politics which does not reflect the economic interest of a definite class, which does not have an impact on economics or become embodied in economics; such a politics does not exist. During the historical stage of socialism, the proletariat must have its own politics embodied in its own economics so as to promote and propel the development of its socialist production. The bourgeoisie needs also to put its politics into effect in its economics so as to hamper and sabotage socialist production. The essence of the question has never been one as to whether politics should be put into effect in economics or in production; rather it has been which politics should be so put into effect. The "gang of four" was opposed to putting politics into effect in production; politics was defined as something which was detached from

economics, something which constituted a sharp opposite to economics, or something which was mysterious and beyond comprehension. The aim of the gang was apparently to remove the command of proletarian politics over economics, so that its own capitalist politics might be invoked to sabotage socialist production and restore capitalism. Its professed "class struggle" was no other than instigating the bourgeoisie to launch its vicious attack upon the proletariat; its work on "revolution" was no other than sabotaging the superstructure and production relationship of socialism, sabotaging society's productive power: all this was but out-and-out counterrevolution in operation.

The party's 11th National Congress and the Fifth National People's Congress have now determined overall tasks in the new era for the whole party and the whole people. To realize these overall tasks is a glorious and heavy responsibility which every industrial enterprise must shoulder in the interest of building our country into a socialist modern power within the present century. We are determined to take the key link so as to carry forward the lesser links, thoroughly criticize and eliminate the poison and influence of the erroneous theories advanced by the "gang of four," insist on the principle of having Marxist-Leninist and Maoist politics united with economics and having politics united with technical considerations; we are determined to take Taching as our example and manage our industrial enterprises truly well so as to turn them into the battlefield where our socialist economy can be developed with more, faster, better and more economical results, and where the dictatorship of the proletariat can be consolidated.

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## THE MANAGEMENT OF LABOR QUOTAS IN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 3 May 78 pp 78-80

["Notes on the Study of Economics" by Yueh Kuang-chao [1878 0342 2507]]

[Text] When the "gang of four" had their day, the management of labor quotas in industrial enterprises also seriously suffered impairment. Even to this day, there are still situations such as absence of labor quotas and a lack of inspection as to the efficiency of work in not a few of our socialist industrial enterprises. This constitutes a serious drawback to our attempt to complete our national economic planning with more, faster, better and more economical results and to our effort to expedite the four modernizations.

In order to manage our socialist industrial enterprises, it is necessary to establish a series of quota systems, such as labor quotas, equipment-utilization quotas, raw materials and fuels consumption quotas, cost and liquid capital quotas, etc. The level of labor quotas is an important indicator for measuring the level of management work in industrial enterprises.

There are two forms of labor quotas: in the case of fixing a specific amount of products for every worker, production company or group to produce within a unit of time, it is called production quota, which is often used in industrial enterprises where there is a large-scale flow of operations; in the case of fixing a time-period within which a certain unit of products should be produced by every worker, production company or group, it is called work-time quota, which is often used in industrial enterprises where products are made by batches or pieces.

Under our country's socialist system, to attain labor quotas is a demand made on the workers by the state; it is also a glorious duty each worker should discharge in the interest of the revolution. But, in the face of the interference of sabotage by the "gang of four," those leading cadres of the enterprises who tried to grasp labor quota management were given the label that they attempted to "control, check, and oppress"; those

workers who toiled diligently to strive to fulfill their labor quotas were also charged with the misdemeanor of "knowing only how to pull the chariot forward, but unwilling to raise their heads to look where they are going." This was truly turning things upside down!

Fixing labor quotas as a scientific method to organize production and manage enterprises is a product of large-scale production. Marx said: "In the workshop handicraft industry, the practice of requiring the supply of a fixed amount of products within a fixed period of time has become the technical rule in the production process itself." ("Das Capital," "The Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 383) Under the capitalist system, labor quotas are at the same time also a means by which the capitalists seek to enslave and exploit the workers. Along with the development of capitalist production and the expanding scale of enterprises, the scientific nature of labor quota control has become more and more pronounced and the methods which the capitalists suck blood from the workers have also become more and more dexterous and cruel. Under our socialist system, how should we treat labor quotas? We all know that Lenin had made analysis of the Taylor system. Lenin pointed out that, in the Taylor system "there are two aspects, one of which is the most dexterous, cruel methods of capitalist exploitation, and the other is a series of most fruitful scientific achievements--namely, the practices of analyzing man's mechanical movements at work, eliminating his superfluous, clumsy movements, prescribing a set of most accurate working methods, and thereby effecting the most complete calculation and supervision, etc. The Soviet republics, at any rate, must adopt all precious achievements in science and technology in this regard. How well socialism is to be realized depends on how well our Soviet regime and Soviet management institutions are united with the newest progressive things capitalism has created. We should institute instruction on this Taylor system in Russia, systematically trial use this system, and have it adapt to our environment accordingly." ("Present Tasks of the Soviet Regime," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 511) To labor quotas, we should also adopt this attitude. Along with the substitution of the capitalist private ownership system by the socialist public ownership system in our country, labor quotas have already lost their character as a means by which the capitalists enslave and exploit the workers and have turned into a scientific method with which the working class seeks to manage socialist enterprises. This method is indispensable in the development of socialism with more, faster, better and more economical results.

First, labor quotas are the important foundation of the planned management of enterprises. To have socialist industrial enterprises adopt planned management is a demand for the development of our national economy according to plan, in relevant proportions, and at a high speed. Labor quotas are the yardstick by which labor efficiency of every worker, production company or group must be measured and also the important basis on which an enterprise determines the size of its staff. Without labor

quotas, there would be no basis on which an enterprise can formulate its production, financial, labor, wage and work plans and there would be difficulty for the enterprise to practice business accounting; even if plans are formulated, attempts to manifest their function, under such circumstances, would be ineffective.

Second, labor quotas are the necessary requirement for developing emulation. Developing socialist labor emulation is a good form for manifesting the initiative and creative spirit of the broad masses and an important method to develop our national economy with more, faster, better and more economical results. In order to sustain the continued upsurge of a labor emulation operation, it is necessary to engage in activities of criticism and comparison; in order to assess how well each worker has fulfilled his production task, there must be labor quotas. Labor quotas may provide the development of an emulation campaign with clear standards for such criticism and comparison, promote mutual learning, and make the backward catch up with the advanced and surpass the advanced, and also the advanced even more advanced.

Third, labor quotas are also an important basis on which compensation for the worker's labor may be assessed. Our country practices the socialist principles that "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." Wages for piecework must be paid in accordance with the situation under which labor quotas are fulfilled. In order to put into practice the system of paying time-rate wages plus bonus, it is also necessary to have labor attitude and size of contribution as important criteria when levels of wages are determined and when wages are adjusted; without labor quotas, it would be difficult to measure a contribution in labor. Bonus must also be based on the premise of prescribed labor quotas.

Practices during the 20-odd years since the founding of our state have proved that, in our socialist industrial enterprises, whenever labor quotas are managed well, whenever labor efficiency proves also to be higher and management of an entire enterprise becomes also more orderly; whenever management of labor quotas suffers sabotage, whenever labor efficiency also proves to be lower and management of an entire enterprise also finds it difficult to establish normal order. Therefore, management of labor quotas is an important link in any process designed to manage socialist industrial enterprises well, which should consequently always be tightly grasped.

At present, there is an urgent need to reinforce labor quotas management in the following aspects:

First, we must rapidly establish and strengthen a labor quota system in order to make all labor quotas both progressive and reasonable. Because of the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," labor quota management was abolished in not a few enterprises while specialized

cadres were forced to change their jobs and even data on labor quotas became scattered. It is necessary to change this state of affairs quickly and establish and strengthen our labor quota system. Whether or not labor quotas are both progressive and reasonable has a significant, direct bearing on whether or not labor quota management work can be effective. If labor quotas are set at too low a level, people can fulfill and surpass them without exertion, then not only will they not be able to have any effect on the elevation of labor efficiency and promotion of production, they might even result in the extravagant appropriation of labor and wage funds. If labor quotas are set too high, so that people can never hope to fulfill, then the workers might lose confidence in fulfilling such quotas and their enthusiasm might likewise become dampened. Therefore, in establishing labor quotas we must try to do things in accordance with reality and do our best to make them progressive and reasonable. That is to say, such quotas must on the one hand reflect rather realistically the levels of productivity already attained and, on the other hand, also reflect quite fully the various positive factors that would elevate labor productivity. They should be the kind of labor quotas which most workers can achieve by making their relevant efforts under ordinary conditions and which certain less advanced workers can also approximate. Workers compare progressive and reasonable labor quotas to fruits that can be plucked only if one jumps a little. That is to say, they are neither something one can get easily nor something one can never reach. Only progressive and reasonable labor quotas can help manifest the positive effect of labor quota management.

In order to make labor quotas progressive and reasonable, it is necessary to study ways of improving their formulation. This has to do with man, materials and other factors in production. Therefore, it is necessary to study situations concerning the productive capacity of machinery and equipment, industrial techniques, as well as raw materials supplies (in mining operations it is further necessary to study geological conditions) on the one hand, and to study the cultural level of the workers, their working methods, and the labor organization forms they adopt, etc., on the other hand. Only by studying thoroughly all relevant factors and considering them more fully will it be possible to have appropriate labor quotas. We must continue to ascertain and continue to improve insofar as the concrete methods for formulating labor quotas are concerned. In the past, some stressed the scientific nature of technical measurement--that is to say, they formulated labor quotas through the scientific measurement of such relevant factors as the productive capacity of machinery and equipment, technical processes, and the workers' working methods; others stressed the simplicity and easy adoption of experience and statistics--that is to say, they chose to rely on the statistics for the use of work time in actual production or actual experience in order to formulate their labor quotas. Each of these two methods each has its good and bad points. Facts prove that if we combine these two methods in a relevant manner, complement one's bad points with the other's good points, and carry out the three-in-one combination of the enterprise



representing leading cadres, experts and workers and thereby follow the mass line to the full, we would always be able to formulate both progressive and reasonable labor quotas. Such labor quotas would also prove easier to fully implement.

Second, in order to fully implement labor quotas we must insist on putting proletarian politics in command, strengthening our ideological and political work, enabling the masses to realize the political meaning as well as economic meaning of fulfilling and surpassing labor quotas and take truly aware action. At the same time, it is necessary to unite this closely with labor emulation and adopt effective measures. Labor quota management and labor emulation are closely related and mutually stimulating. With labor quotas formulated, there would then be relevant standards for comparison, learning, catching up, helping, and surpassing. With labor emulation activated and an enthusiasm of trying to surpass each other whipped up, it would then be possible to fulfill and break existing labor quotas.

In order to fulfill and surpass existing labor quotas, it is necessary to sponsor technical renovation and technical revolution mass campaigns with great fanfare and thereby seek to increase labor productivity continuously. The potential for making technical progress is limitless. Only when labor quota management is well combined with technical renovation and technical revolution will it be possible to continue to create new and ever-higher levels of labor quotas.

In order to fulfill and surpass existing labor quotas, it is necessary to help the workers raise their cultural and technical levels and improve their working methods through various effective methods, such as holding cultural and technical study classes, sponsoring technical performance competition and technical training activities. It is necessary further to improve labor organization, practice reasonable teamwork and coordination and establish and strengthen various rules and regulations centered on responsibility at the work position.

In order to fulfill and surpass existing labor quotas, it is necessary to carry out fully the socialist principle of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." On the premise of continuously strengthening our ideological and political work, we must see to it that non-material encouragement occupies the main spot and material encouragement remains secondary in our work. There must be appropriate regulations concerning wages for piece work and bonuses; either too low or too high would affect the fulfillment and surpassing of existing labor quotas in a negative way.

Third, we must revise our labor quotas at appropriate times. Along with heightening the workers' political awareness and the unfolding of labor emulation campaigns, the improvement in technical operation methods and amelioration of labor organization, the adoption of new materials and

other important changes in relevant conditions, old labor quotas may become backward and no longer applicable. Under such a situation, we must revise our existing labor quotas on appropriate occasions so that they can be maintained on a progressive and reasonable level.

Under the guidance of the line of our party's 11th National Congress, we must take the key link of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," genuinely carry out our ideological and political work among our leading cadres in the enterprises and among the masses of workers, conscientiously grasp labor quota management as important work in renovating our enterprises, and continue to raise the level of our management and control work in our enterprises.

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