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No. 6, 3 June 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.

CONTENTS	PAGE
Firmly Grasp the Implementation of the Party's Cadre Policy (pp 2-4) (RED FLAG contributing commentator).....	1
Smash the Theory of External Causes, Maintain High Speed (pp 5-10) (RED FLAG contributing commentator).....	6
Restore Order From Disorder, Conduct Education Well (pp 11-14) (RED FLAG contributing commentator).....	15
Analyzing the Essence of Yao Wen-yuan's Sinister Article (pp 15-19) (Li Lien-hsing).....	22
For a Bright China--The Story of Heroic Fighter Li Lien-hsing, Who Resolutely Struggled Against the 'Gang of Four' (pp 20-26) (Chieh Hsiang-tung, et al.).....	29
A Sinister Example of Propagating the 'Gang of Four's' Reactionary World Outlook--Criticizing the 'Concise Philosophical Dictionary' Concocted by the Writing Group of the Former Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee (pp 27-33) (Mass criticism group of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee).....	42

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
It Is Impermissible To Point the Spearhead of Dictatorship at the Party (pp 34-37) (Theoretical study group of the Ministry of Public Security).....	53
Questions About the History of Philosophy Must Be Analyzed Concretely (pp 38-40) (Jen Chi-yu).....	62
Continue To Seriously Implement the Party's Policy on Intellectuals (pp 41-46) (Chen Pi-hsien).....	68
Correctly Implement the Principle of Combining the Old, the Middle-Aged and the Young (pp 46-50) (Organizational department of the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee).....	77
Put Product Quality in the Primary Position (pp 51-55) (Yuan Pao-hua).....	87
Accelerate the Development of the Electronics Industry, Strive To Scale the Heights of Electronics Science and Technology (pp 56-59) (Wang Cheng).....	98
Planned Control of Population Growth (pp 60-64) (Liu Jo-ching).....	106
Planned Economy and the Law of Value (pp 65-70) (Liu Kuo-kuang, et al.).....	114
How Do They Adhere to the Principle of Distribution According to Work? (pp 71-73) (Joint investigation group of the propaganda department of the CCP Committee of Hopei Province, the propaganda department of the CCP Committee of Tsangchou Prefecture of Hopei Province, and the propaganda department of the CCP Committee of Hsien County, Hopei Province).....	124

<p>The Collective Increases Its Output, the Commune Members Increase Their Income (pp 73-76)</p>	130
<p>(Joint investigation group of the propaganda department of the CCP Party Committee of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, the propaganda department of the CCP Committee of Wuchou Pre- fecture, and the propaganda department of Fuchuan County).....</p>	
<p>Democratic Management of Finances Is Good (pp 76-77)</p>	135
<p>(Joint investigation group of the CCP committees of Luhsi Prefecture and Lunghai County of Fukien).....</p>	
<p>Walk Out of the 'Eye of the Typhoon,' Guard Against 'Darkness Under the Lamp' (pp 78-79)</p>	139
<p>(Li Hsiao-fang).....</p>	
<p>Persevere in Taking Part in Collective Productive Labor (pp 79-80)</p>	141
<p>(Chen Hsuang-t'ien).....</p>	





## FIRMLY GRASP THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARTY'S CADRE POLICY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 3 Jun 78 pp 2-4

[Article by RED FLAG contributing commentator]

[Text] In the struggle to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," firmly and conscientiously grasping the implementation of the party's cadre policy is a matter of great importance in carrying out the line of the 11th National CCP Congress and in grasping the key link and running the country and the party well. Party committees at various levels must handle this matter correctly as an important task for the present and for some time to come.

What are the basic requirements for effectively implementing the cadre policy? In accordance with guidelines set forth in the instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, the requirements should at least include the following five: 1) Conclusions should be reached as soon as possible on those cadres who were screened in the past and on whom conclusions should have been drawn but were not. 2) All incorrect conclusions should be corrected, and all slanderous and false charges repudiated and canceled. 3) All cadres who are able to work but have not yet been assigned jobs should be assigned suitable jobs as soon as possible; readjustments should be made for those who have been assigned to unsuitable jobs; and for those of advanced age and poor health, proper arrangements should be made and care and concern should be politically shown for them and for their livelihood. 4) Objective conclusions should be reached on those comrades who died while being screened, and a good job should be done in handling their affairs. 5) Problems involving the innocent children of cadres and other family members, as well as relatives, friends and those who worked with them, and, therefore, have been incriminated, should and must be properly solved. In fulfilling these requirements, we shall encounter difficulties. However, they should and can be completely fulfilled, provided we make efforts to do so. To accomplish all of this and implement the party's cadre policy thoroughly is of great significance to promoting stability and unity, to consolidating and developing achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution, to

reviving and carrying forward the party's fine tradition and workstyle and to arousing the cadres and masses' enthusiasm for striving to accomplish the general task for the new period.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the 11th National CCP Congress, organization departments at various levels under the leadership of party committees have done a lot of work in implementing cadre policy. Although progress has been made in our work, we still should properly assess our achievements. Under no circumstances must we too readily believe statistics which could be deceptive, or be satisfied with some of the decisions and plans written on paper. As far as the situation in the whole country is concerned, there is still much to be done in implementing cadre policy. The task is heavy and arduous.

One very important matter is the necessity of fully estimating the grave consequences arising from the usurpation of party and state power and from the destruction of party members and cadres by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Their idealism and metaphysics were rampant for a long time. They willfully trampled on party rules and the socialist legal system and frenziedly used the fascist method of extorting confessions by torture, which resulted in a large number of people being framed and unjust or wrong verdicts. On several occasions, Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee called for implementing the policy and liberating cadres, but each time such efforts were obstructed or sabotaged by the gang. Many revolutionary comrades could not be vindicated for years, and even their children and other family members were incriminated and affected. This shows that the current implementation of the policy involves a large number of people. If their problems are not solved as soon as possible, it will make the party and the people uneasy, and such a situation is not conducive to arousing the cadres and masses' enthusiasm and not in the interest of the cause of the party and the people. With this situation facing us, what measures should we take to implement the party's cadre policy? Can we rely only on individual departments and a small number of people to do the work? Of course this will not do. Organizations at all levels--from the central to the local level--should assume their responsibilities in handling cases, there should be close coordination among departments concerned and all the people and the whole party should participate.

At present, it is true that in some places and units the progress made in implementing the party's cadre policy has been slow. One phenomenon concerns those who grasp the implementation of the party's cadre policy intermittently and only if urged to do so. There are also those who shirk their responsibility and shift it to higher or lower levels and repeatedly postpone their work. There are those who will not handle letters written to them or receive visitors. There are those who write high-sounding "resolutions" and then pigeonhole them after they are made public. There are also those who "can neither give nor take orders." These various cases show that there are still obstructions in implementing

the party's cadre policy, and in some places and units the obstructions are quite large. In a very few places, the bourgeois factional force is still obstructing and sabotaging our work because it has not yet been thoroughly wiped out. The situation in most places is that some of our leading cadres and comrades handling cases lack a clear understanding of the great significance of implementing policy or are obsessed with selfish concerns and too frightened to smash the mental shackles imposed on them by the "gang of four." They have been affected by their pernicious influence, yet they either do not recognize it or make no efforts to wipe it out. There are also a few people who have taken an erroneous stand and have not freed their minds from the erroneous line. This shows that in implementing the cadre policy we must use persuasion and education and the process of clarifying thinking and launching struggle. It is necessary to help our comrades eliminate the remnant pernicious influence and heighten their awareness of struggle between the two lines. It is essential to resolutely expose the sabotage in a very few units by the "gang of four's" remnant force in order to remove the barriers in implementing the policy.

Historical experience tells us that those who show concern for and cherish cadres win the people's confidence, and those who deal blows at and persecute cadres forfeit that confidence. Comrades engaging in the party's work, and particularly those engaging in the work of cadres, must pay serious attention to this question. It is necessary to place ourselves in the position of comrades who have been dealt blows and persecuted and look after their interests and the party and the people's interests. We must fully understand that implementation of the policy in the case of only one cadre can develop the enthusiasm of a large number of people, and implementation of the policy in the case of a large number of cadres can develop the enthusiasm of thousands upon thousands of people. Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee have led the whole party in eliminating chaos and restoring order and in bringing about great order across the land. They have created very good conditions for implementing the party's cadre policy. We should fervently, bravely and with a high sense of responsibility shoulder the glorious task of correcting all unjust and wrong verdicts and implementing the party's cadre policy in an overall way. Our hands and feet are now unfettered as we do our work, and we need not and should not be filled with misgivings or fears. If anyone should ask, "What is this wind you are following?" we may answer boldly and straightforwardly: "I am following the proletarian east wind of seeking truth from facts in order to completely wipe out the foul atmosphere of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four.'"

Continuously seeking truth from facts, upholding the materialist theory of reflection and understanding the true color of things are basic requirements of the proletarian party spirit and correct guiding principles for effectively implementing the party's cadre policy. Chairman Mao always taught us that cadres are the party's precious assets and that it is necessary to take a prudent attitude when dealing with people. This

calls for us to be objective and not be affected by outside factors in examining and judging a cadre in terms of his merits and deficiencies and his correct and incorrect behavior. Seeking truth from facts means upholding what is right and correcting what is wrong. But it is not seeking truth from facts to do away with what is right and not to correct one's mistakes. On the question of seeking truth from facts being a fundamental Marxist principle, we communists must take a firm and clear-cut stand, be courageous in keeping to the truth and correcting errors, and do our utmost so that cases which we have handled can stand the test of history. Of course, principles must be upheld in those cases in which the facts are certain and the verdicts accurate, and which have been handled properly. Cases that have been correctly decided on should not be overturned. At present, however, the courage to "rectify all mistakes without fail" is particularly needed. For the sake of the party's interests, all erroneously judged cases and conclusions, no matter who made them--and particularly those we made ourselves--must be resolutely overturned and rectified. In rectifying those mistakes, we must not pick on certain people for making certain mistakes, nor should we leave certain problems unresolved. Instead, we should resolve our problems in a practical manner. Our party is one which upholds principles and which distinguishes right from wrong. Upholding the principle of "rectifying all mistakes without fail" has precisely manifested Communist Party members' political qualities of being unselfish and open and above-board, their scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, and their staunch proletarian party spirit. What we want to rectify and overturn are erroneous things which are harmful to the revolution. We seek the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres and people for taking part in the new Long March, the revival of the party's fine traditions of seeking truth from facts and working according to principles, and the elevation of the party's prestige. Only in this way will our party be invincible and our cause assured of a great future.

What are we going to do when the verdicts of some difficult cases cannot be determined, the dividing line between policies cannot be decided, and the people's opinions are not unanimous? Experience shows that we still have to rely on seeking truth from facts and on the mass line. Chairman Mao once said: "We are Marxists, and Marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions, and we should derive our guiding principles, policies and measures from an analysis of these facts." ("Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art") Since the situations of pending cases vary greatly and historical conditions are also different, problems can only be resolved by conducting specific analyses for specific cases. If this scientific Marxist method is not used, and we simply wait for higher authorities to give us readymade policies and "foolproof" measures, problems can hardly be properly resolved as quickly as possible. Of course, we must be guided by correct policies before we can correctly analyze and judge a case. This means we must completely and accurately grasp Chairman Mao's basic thinking on the question of cadres and

distinguish the party's cadre policy from the distorted and doctored version of the "gang of four." Even when we have done this, it is still inevitable that our opinions might differ with regard to determining the nature of certain cases. Under such circumstances we must listen to various opinions and resort to facts, reasoning and democratic discussion in order to reach a unified and correct understanding. We must by no means be opinionated and reinstate the "gang of four's" disgusting workstyle of forbidding people to express their opinions and labeling people indiscriminately.

The key to mobilizing the whole party to settle cases and implement the party's policies lies in whether or not leaders pay attention to this matter. The party committees must include this task on their agenda of important matters, make necessary arrangements and see how it is dealt with. Leaders must grasp the matter and grasp it firmly; otherwise it will be as if they had not grasped it all. However, in handling the cases they must not act with undue haste; otherwise some people might resort to deceit and making rash decisions. They must earnestly implement the traditional principle that leading cadres must themselves assume responsibility and take an active part in handling cases. Responsible comrades must have direct conversations with people and join both panelists and the masses in studying difficult problems and handling major cases together. The workstyle of nodding one's head and "coming up with a conclusion" after simply listening to reports is dangerous. We must help members of the working groups in charge of implementing party policies raise their ideological level and improve their workstyle in handling cases. The weak working groups must be strengthened by sending them upright and fair comrades who really understand things and are able to resolutely implement the party line and policies. People whose political qualities, ideology and workstyle are poor and who disagree and are dissatisfied with the party line and policies must eventually be expelled from work groups. We believe that, under the leadership of the party, as long as we do our work according to the line of the 11th National CCP Congress and the policies of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, we certainly can successfully accomplish the task of implementing the party's cadre policy.

## SMASH THE THEORY OF EXTERNAL CAUSES, MAINTAIN HIGH SPEED

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 3 Jun 78 pp 5-10

[Article by RED FLAG contributing commentator]

[Text] An important political task on the industrial and communications front at present is to continue profoundly criticizing the theory of external causes advocated by the "gang of four."

The advocacy of this theory by the "gang of four" and their ilk was primarily a political conspiracy. That trusted follower of the gang in the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, together with the antiparty faction in the metallurgical industry departments, made a mess of the iron and steel industry, throwing it into a new stagnant situation. However, they made false charges and shifted the blame onto others by ranting that the failure to increase iron and steel production was primarily because the work to achieve an overall balance in industrial development was not done well, and neither coal and electric power output nor transportation facilities were sufficient to meet the requirements of the iron and steel industry. They wildly clamored: "The responsibility for failing to fulfill the production plan rests primarily with the State Council's State Planning Commission," thus pointing the spearhead directly at leading comrades at the central level. This was their vicious plot to undermine the metallurgical industry and the conspiratorial measure they adopted to usurp party and state power.

The theory of external causes is also a striking manifestation of their metaphysical world outlook. Its pernicious influence is immense and should in no way be underestimated. Even now, some comrades are still affected by the theory of external causes and have not yet freed themselves from its influence. More often than not they are only looking outward, only watching the external conditions. They cannot see the internal potential and creative power of the masses. When looking at the conditions, they always see the difficult side rather than the favorable one. Consequently, they think nothing is possible, and they are blind to the bright and great future. In analyzing questions, they

often put the blame on others while failing to see their own problems and shortcomings. When talking about developing production, they ask for investments and equipment and do nothing but "wait for, rely on and ask for assistance." When the introduction of necessary new technologies from outside is under discussion, they ignore the necessity of their own efforts and refrain from mobilizing the masses to tap productive potential and carry out technical innovations and transformations. Numerous facts have shown that the theory of external causes dampens the self-reliant revolutionary spirit, covers up the internal contradictions within industrial and other enterprises, hampers the improvement of management and other work of the enterprises, and seriously restricts the initiative of the masses. It is a "tiger blocking" speedy development of our industry and a "stumbling block" on the road of the new Long March. We must be firmly determined to wipe it out.

The first characteristic of the theory of external causes is the taking of external causes as decisive factors for the development of things and denying that internal causes are the basis for the high-speed development of socialist industry. This is contrary to the very essence of materialist dialectics.

According to materialist dialectics, the development of all things should be viewed as their necessary internal movement. The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictions within the thing. Looking at the socialist industry of our country from this basic viewpoint, we arrive at the conclusion that our industry will surely develop at a much higher speed than the industry of capitalist countries. This is due to the superior nature of our socialist system. Within socialist society the production relations largely interrelate with the productive forces, as does the superstructure with the economic base. Even though contradictions do exist in some areas, we can correctly handle them by conscientiously implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and can thus develop our productive forces at high speed. As a matter of fact, our industry advanced at quite a high speed for a certain period of time. External causes, such as the blockade imposed by the imperialists and the stranglehold put on us by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, presented some difficulties for us but did not prevent our advance. Later, industrial development stagnated and failed to meet the target only because Chairman Mao's revolutionary line could not be carried out unhindered due to the internal interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and particularly the "gang of four." This shows precisely in a negative way that the high speed was interfered with and undermined basically because of external causes, that revisionism wrought chaos inside the party and the state. Thanks to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the three bourgeois headquarters were smashed and, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has been implemented correctly and in an all-round way. China's industry has again quickly entered the orbit of high-speed development.

Internal causes are the decisive factors for rapidly developing our industry. This is true both within the country as a whole and within a single industrial department or enterprise.

Under extremely difficult conditions, the petroleum departments, including Taching, displayed a dauntless revolutionary spirit and smashed the spiritual shackles of the idea that "our country is short of oil resources," and they rapidly built a topflight, large oilfield according to world standards by relying on their own efforts and working hard, thereby casting aside the label that "our country's oil industry is backward." After that they began by resolving internal contradictions and went on to discover their own shortcomings and to tap the oilfield's latent production potential. They have advanced our oil industry at a rate rarely seen in the world by displaying this valuable spirit of continued revolution.

On the other hand, as a result of strict controls and severe sabotage of the "gang of four" and their confidants, in past years production in the metallurgical industry fluctuated or stagnated. The "gang of four's" confidant in the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry vigorously advocated the theory of external causes and only knew how to ask the state for investments, manpower, equipment and raw materials. He did his best to strangle the workers' revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. As a result, there was "four excesses and one lack" (an excess of funds, equipment, raw materials and manpower in the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry but a lack of the Taching spirit of self-reliance). Consequently, the six big "wonders" made their appearance at that time (the high consumption of raw materials and large losses to business, high rates of damage to equipment, low quality of products, few good returns from investments, "unwarranted" projects, and low labor productivity). From 1974 to 1976 the iron and steel industry's output declined sharply on two different occasions, and we lost 28 million tons of steel. This amount was equivalent to the total steel products needed to realize agricultural mechanization in the main.

In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry has ceaselessly attacked the class enemy in the spirit of relentlessly fighting the bandits to a standstill. Following the shattering of the bourgeois factional setup, it has launched "three stresses" activities, compared the correct line with the erroneous ones, conscientiously straightened out enterprises and strongly criticized the theory of external causes advocated by the confidant of the "gang of four." With the elimination of the obstacles put up by the gang and their confidants in the metallurgical industry, which hampered the development of productivity, and displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, those same enterprises, with the same equipment and manpower, have continuously achieved successes and brought about a new situation with a stable, high and steadily rising output. This fact is thought provoking. It eloquently proves the truth that whenever Chairman



Mao's revolutionary line is interfered with, the contradictions within the metallurgical industry are not solved promptly and correctly, and when the development of the productive forces is impeded, the iron and steel industry stagnates. On the other hand, whenever Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is firmly executed and the internal contradictions are not covered up but transformed in the revolutionary direction by promoting struggle among the contradictions and are thus correctly solved, the iron and steel industry makes new leaps forward.

When we criticize the theory of external causes, we do not mean that we take no heed of external causes. Materialist dialectics holds that external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes. In this modern era characterized by highly developed industries, it is obvious that all industrial departments are inter-related and interact with each other. Take the iron and steel industry as an example. If there were no such external factors as coal, electricity and transportation, it would be impossible to develop it. However, the roles played by the same volume of coal, electricity and transportation vary greatly under different internal factors. Take the Anshan Iron and Steel Company as an example. During the period right after the smashing of the "gang of four," the whole country supported the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, and all of us hoped that it would go all out to achieve quick results. But the "gang of four's" followers there put up stubborn resistance and frenziedly covered up their crimes and suppressed the masses. They obstructed the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" by resorting to the despicable means of sabotaging production. Although the state provided the Anshan Iron and Steel Company with the necessary external conditions at that time, they still ranted and raved: The production of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company "will take a big step backward." Consequently, the external conditions made available by the state could not be put to use, and steel output dropped by a large margin. In the first quarter of last year it fell to the lowest level in recent years. After the Anshan municipal party committee had smashed the bourgeois factional setup in Anshan and in the Anshan Iron and Steel Company and had wiped out the internal interference and sabotage under the loving concern of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the conditions provided by other departments began to be put to use, and a new situation of rising steel production appeared. Now the daily steel output is double that of the first quarter of last year. This fact eloquently proves that external causes are second to internal causes in importance and that they can play the role of promoting changes through the internal causes.

The second salient feature of the theory of external causes is seeing the material factors but not the human factors. It reverses the order by which human factors are the primary ones and material factors the secondary ones, and it regards material conditions as the primary factors for developing industry and negates man's decisive role in achieving a great leap forward.

Dialectical materialists have always focused their attention on objective material conditions. Especially in industry, such necessary material conditions as raw materials, equipment, communication and transport facilities and motive power are indispensable. They deem it necessary to seriously deal with every link in production and construction and every concrete problem concerning material and technical conditions; otherwise production cannot proceed smoothly. Anyone with an ounce of commonsense about industry will understand this point. In the past, due to the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and particularly the "gang of four," some comrades committed subjectivist mistakes such as arbitrarily issuing orders, inflating output figures and the like. This resulted in losses in industrial production and construction. Whenever this erroneous tendency began to emerge, our party resolutely resisted and unflinchingly corrected it. We can see from this that our differences with advocates of the theory of external causes do not lie in whether or not we pay attention to material conditions but in our attitude toward them. We hold that material conditions are important but not decisive; it is human factors, not material factors, that are decisive. In the final analysis, this is because all material conditions are created by man and used by him. To explode the theory of external causes it is necessary to check the erroneous tendency of looking at the material factors but not the human factors. We must look at both the material and human factors and, in particular, we must first look at the laborers, the most active productive force.

On the question of how to correctly handle the relationship between human and material factors so as to achieve high speed, Taching "Iron Man" Wang Chin-hsi made the famous remark: "Go ahead with the work when the conditions are there. When they are not, create the conditions and go ahead all the same." The basic motivation here is "go ahead"; therefore, we must march forward at full steam. He first admitted that there are conditions for going ahead. "Going ahead" is based on certain material conditions. Do we need to work and go ahead if there are no conditions? Yes. If there are no conditions, we have to create the conditions and go ahead all the same. This remark embodies the revolutionary spirit of the Taching working class, which relies on Chairman Mao's essays "On Practice" and "On Contradictions" for guidance and is armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. It is contrary to the theory of external causes. At the same time, it has nothing in common with subjective idealism. Taching has been developed in this revolutionary spirit. So has Kailuan, which has tapped its latent production potential, made innovations and renovations and doubled its productive capacity--all by relying on its own efforts.

One of the important reasons the iron and steel industry failed to boost its production in past years was that it assumed the opposite attitude in the relationship between human and material factors. In 1976, when the iron and steel industry was under the strict control of the "gang of four's" confidants, people were bound hand and foot by such metaphysical

views as the theory of external causes. In that year a greater amount of raw materials was consumed, but output dropped considerably. The value of coke wasted by the key iron and steel enterprises alone was equivalent to 2.3 million tons of pig iron, because they used much more coke than before to turn out a ton of iron. The value of the raw materials wasted in producing steel was equivalent to 1.4 million tons of steel, because they used much more raw materials than before to turn out a ton of steel.

By contrast, much more iron and steel was produced in 1977--when material conditions were generally the same as those in the previous year--after the "gang of four" was smashed, the theory of external causes was scathingly criticized and the people's subjective initiative was brought into full play. As a result of the reduced consumption of coke, the coke saved by the key iron and steel enterprises could be used to produce 1.5 millions tons of pig iron. This forcefully proves that it is up to the people to create and make use of material conditions. When an erroneous line is followed and the enthusiasm of the people is dampened, it is impossible to do a good job in production no matter what the favorable material conditions are. When the correct line is followed and the enthusiasm of the people is fully aroused, it is possible to do a better job in production by bringing material conditions into fuller play.

When some comrades under the influence of the theory of external causes fail to do their work well and fail to advance production, they always blame poor material conditions for their failure. Failing to see the potentials of their own enterprises, they ask higher levels for this or that. In fact, so long as we give full scope to the people's enthusiasm and fully tap our enterprises' potentials, we can turn poor material conditions into favorable ones and make better use of the existing ones. Otherwise, favorable material conditions could turn into poor ones, or even into "scrap iron" and encumbrances for us. Take the mines of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, for example. The large number of transport trucks at first was a favorable material condition. But due to the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four," they were not used or maintained properly. As a result, many broke down. This adversely affected the output of the mines. Last year they waged a big joint battle to repair the trucks on a crash basis and mobilized the masses to make more than 30,000 spare parts with their own hands. Trucks that had broken down started to run again. The number of trucks operating rose from 40 percent early in the year to 94 percent. Regarding the question of material conditions, this shows how harmful the theory of external causes can be and how important it is to correctly handle the relationship between man and matter from the dialectical-materialist viewpoint.

The third salient feature of the theory of external causes is the fear of difficulties, the desire for an easy life, the lack of effort and the imputing of all faults and wrongs to others. All this is a concentrated manifestation of the world outlook of the coward and sluggard.

In carrying out production and construction there is no such thing as a "favorable climate" in which "everything is ready." Invariably there are unfavorable conditions and difficulties of various kinds. We always advance while overcoming unfavorable conditions and surmounting difficulties. What is the mentality of those espousing the theory of external causes when they face unfavorable conditions and difficulties? Their mentality can be summarized in one word--"fear." Fearing the wolf in front and the tiger behind, they dare not think, act or struggle. They have lost their confidence in developing production by relying on their own efforts. They lack great proletarian aspirations. Whenever they meet with some difficulty, they only blame the heavens, the earth and others, but they never blame themselves for failing to act. They would rather complain a hundred times about the difficulties they have encountered than take action to solve a single practical problem. Year in and year out, things remain as they are, yet this pleases them instead of troubling them. With such a mentality, how can they achieve high speed and take a great leap forward?

In criticizing the theory of external causes we do not mean that we can ignore unfavorable conditions and deny the existence of difficulties. We recognize that there will be many "snow-capped mountains" and "marshlands" and a number of "Chingha and Tatu rivers" for us to cross on the new Long March. However, our attitude toward difficulties is basically different from that of those holding to the theory of external causes. Our attitude is: First, we are not afraid of difficulties and despise them strategically. "The Red Army fears not the trials of the Long March, holding lightly 1,000 crags and torrents." Second, we take a serious attitude toward difficulties and take them seriously tactically. "Boast not too fast these stern pass was as real as iron, now that with firm steps we are trampling right through the summit." The key here is tremendous revolutionary endeavor.

Eloquent proof of this is the fact that the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company has rapidly developed its production since the second quarter of last year. The Wuhan Iron and Steel Company was a key enterprise sabotaged by the "gang of four." The gang blustered that "we can take firm hold of Wuhan and Hupeh by taking firm hold of the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company." They created great chaos in the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company so that output at this important iron and steel base dropped drastically on two occasions from 1974 to 1976. During that period the management of the company was in confusion, its broken equipment was not repaired, and its losses and waste were alarmingly great. The company indeed had too many problems to solve, and it was difficult for the company to break its longstanding habits.

However, since the "gang of four" were smashed, the consolidated leading groups at various levels in the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company, placing daring above everything else, have dared to reform their units by solving "big, difficult and longstanding" problems. They have led the masses in

achieving a high output and making up for the losses by surmounting difficulties with an indomitable revolutionary spirit. Thus, a gratifying change has occurred in the company. The company's steel output in the second quarter of last year was double that of the first quarter of the year; its steel output in the third quarter of last year was 30 percent more than that of the second quarter of the year; and its steel output in the fourth quarter of last year went up by 40 percent over that of the third quarter of the year. Its steel output in the first 5 months of this year has increased considerably compared with the fourth quarter of last year. From this it can be seen that the ghost of difficulty can only frighten the cowards and sluggards but never the working class that dares to struggle against heaven and earth. If you are afraid of the ghost, the ghost will haunt you. If you are not afraid of the ghost, the ghost will be afraid of you. So long as we have the courage to despise difficulties and surmount them with soaring enthusiasm, the difficulties will turn into paper tigers.

To do away with the theory of external causes and strive to achieve high speed, it is necessary to overcome the world outlook of the coward and sluggard, to give full scope to the spirit of relying on our own efforts and waging a hard struggle, to work hard and skillfully in the revolutionary spirit and, on the existing foundation, to surmount such difficulties as old equipment, a low technical level and unfavorable material conditions so as to accelerate the development of the industry.

In making efforts to achieve the four modernizations, it is of course necessary for us to build or expand a fairly large number of modern enterprises. Without such new, modern enterprises it is impossible for us to catch up with and surpass the advanced world levels. However, we cannot achieve the four modernizations without the existing foundation. The existing enterprises are the footing and starting point from which we are making efforts to achieve the four modernizations, and they are the bases on which we must rely. In the present period, in particular, we must primarily increase industrial production by bringing the potentials of the existing enterprises into full play. Only on the basis of fully tapping the potentials of the existing enterprises can we support the building of new enterprises with more manpower and material resources. This is a crystal-clear principle.

Similarly, we must naturally acquire the necessary new technologies and equipment from abroad in order to raise the technical level of our industry. It was highly preposterous that the "gang of four" previously vilified this as "worshipping things foreign and fawning on foreigners." On the other hand, however, we cannot rely on imports for everything. Acquiring new technologies from abroad is also aimed at raising our ability to work self-reliantly. We must rely on our own efforts to achieve modernization. While importing the necessary new technologies and equipment, we must not discard our present technologies and equipment. What we must do is to rely on the masses to go in for technical innovations

and technical revolutions so as to attain a new level of modernization with the old equipment presently available. The working class of our country has proven this to be entirely workable in practice. Did not the late Iron Man Wang realize achievements up to the advanced level of the 1960's with drilling rigs of the 1940's? Did not the present mining Iron Man Wang Chun-shao score achievements up to the advanced level of the 1970's with equipment of the 1950's? It is quite possible for the present enterprises to achieve new levels, increase production and double output as long as they follow the examples of Iron Man Wang, Wang Chun-shao and other heroic models, give full scope to the revolutionary spirit and soaring energy, eliminate fear, act boldly, work hard instead of being lazy, and devote great efforts to tapping productive potentials and making technical innovations and transformations.

Chairman Mao taught us: "The task of communists is to expose the fallacies of the reactionaries and metaphysicians, to propagate the dialectics inherent in things and so accelerate the transformation of things and achieve the goal of revolution." ("On Contradiction") This is exactly what we are doing when criticizing the metaphysical theory of external causes. We must criticize the theory of external causes and do a good job of studying materialist dialectics. Whenever questions arise, we must first of all try to find their causes among ourselves and within the work of our own enterprises or departments. When difficulties are encountered, it is first of all necessary to look for sources of strength, tap potentials and seek solutions within our own enterprises or departments. Only in this way can we continuously increase our working energy, take a broader road, learn from Taching with real success, and continually preserve the style of self-reliance, hard struggle, modesty, prudence and freedom from arrogance and rashness. Only in this way is it possible to turn the backward into the advanced, enable the advanced to progress further and achieve the revolutionary goal of developing our socialist industry at high speed.

RESTORE ORDER FROM DISORDER, CONDUCT EDUCATION WELL

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 3 Jun 78 pp 11-14

[Article by RED FLAG contributing commentator]

[Text] The National Educational Work Conference, recently held under the cordial solicitude of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, was completely successful. Holding aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao, the conference studied the instructions of Chairman Hua and Vice Chairman Teng, concentrated their discussion on further implementation of Chairman Mao's educational principles under the new historical conditions, contemplated major measures for deepening exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and consolidating educational institutions, and formulated brilliant, preliminary blueprints for developing the educational cause. This study conference sought to deepen our understanding of Chairman Mao's specific line, principles and policies on education, ideology and educational work; to quickly restore order from disorder; and to promote emancipation of our thinking. This mobilization conference for accelerating the development of our country's socialist educational undertakings will surely have far-reaching effects on our endeavor to conduct educational work better during the new Long March.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, out of its great concern for the educational cause, has made timely and resolute major policy decisions. Particularly since the decision on reforming the college enrollment system and the overthrow of the "two assessments," the main obstacles laid down by the "gang of four" have been removed and people's thinking emancipated. All this has mobilized the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres, teachers and students; effected a fine situation among teachers and students in which the former teach earnestly and the latter study hard; gradually raised the quality of education; and given impetus to the transformation of the general mood of society. The situation on the educational front is becoming better.

The 11th national party congress and the Fifth NPC formulated the general tasks in the new period for people throughout the country. At the National Science Conference Chairman Hua solemnly issued a call for raising the scientific and cultural levels of the entire Chinese nation and training a large contingent of working-class intellectuals. This means setting high standards for educational work and assuming greater responsibilities on the educational front. The tasks for the educational front in the new period are now clearly defined, and the principles and policies formulated by the party Central Committee are clearly understood. The enthusiasm of the broad masses of teachers, students, faculty and workers is soaring, and the people are enthusiastically supporting educational work. All this is a fundamental guarantee for doing a good job in rapidly developing our country's educational cause. Led by party committees at various levels, we should conscientiously implement the spirit of the National Educational Work Conference and unify the thoughts and actions of cadres and the masses on the educational front so that they conform with the line of the 11th national party congress and the number of important instructions given by the party Central Committee. We should perform good, solid labor and work diligently to fulfill the various tasks set forth by the National Educational Work Conference.

The line pushed by the "gang of four" was an ultrarightist line which could not have been further to the right. Sometimes they appeared as ultrarightists; at other times they appeared as ultra-"leftists." They created a number of counterrevolutionary incidents and set a number of sinister examples on the educational front, thus reversing right and wrong and confusing people. Their pernicious influence is deep seated, and the harm they caused is serious. To distinguish right from wrong and achieve unity in thinking, it is necessary to launch a large-scale study movement on the educational front. The study of Chairman Mao's Thought on education and of Chairman Hua and Vice Chairman Teng's instructions should be linked with the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four." In light of actual conditions, we should conscientiously sum up the positive and negative experiences of the past 28 years, further smash the mental fetters imposed on us by the "gang of four" and mobilize all positive factors to push education forward.

The whole party and people throughout the country are now studying and carrying out the general task for the new period. In light of actual conditions in educational work, we should organize people to earnestly study Chairman Hua's report on the work of the government to the Fifth NPC, Chairman Hua and Vice Chairman Teng's speeches at the National Science Conference and Vice Chairman Teng's speech at the National Educational Work Conference. These documents incisively expound Chairman Mao's Thought on education, clearly explain the important status and role of education work in the new historical period and profoundly sum up the educational front's positive and negative experiences, thus solving the question of how to implement Chairman Mao's principles on education in the new period. They are sharp weapons for our criticism of the "gang of



four" on the educational front, as well as documents guiding us in carrying out educational work effectively in the new period. In our studies we should focus on solving the question of how to further implement Chairman Mao's basic principle of "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor" under the new historical conditions. We should pay particular attention to gaining a clear understanding of certain major questions of principle, such as: What is proletarian politics? How can education serve proletarian politics? How can education be combined with productive labor? What does it mean to be both Red and expert? How should we assess the situation regarding intellectuals? How should we understand the status and role of teachers? How can we strengthen party leadership over educational work? How can we strengthen revolutionary order and discipline in the schools and promote the revolutionization of common practices in society by carrying forward the party's fine traditions in political work? Good results were achieved by studying and discussing Vice Chairman Teng's speech at the National Educational Work Conference. This method should be more widely popularized. In our studies we should promote the Marxist study style of integrating theory with practice. In light of actual conditions in the two-line struggle on the educational front, we should eliminate chaos, restore order and emancipate our minds. When the "gang of four" were running wild, large numbers of teachers, workers and staff on the educational front bitterly hated the gang's perverted actions and resisted and struggled against them in various ways. However, we should realize that the pernicious influence of the "gang of four's" various fallacies is deep rooted, because they had spread these fallacies for many years. Raising the banner of "the revolution in education," they frequently appeared as "leftists" but were very deceptive in nature. Even those who resisted the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage were inevitably influenced in varying degrees by them on some questions. So-called "lingering fear" is actually a manifestation of "the remaining pernicious influence in the mind" which has yet to be eliminated. Like "the burned child who dreads fire," those comrades who were badly beaten by the "gang of four" have not been able to free themselves from the mental fetters imposed on them by the "gang of four," because they have a great lingering fear in their minds. In the study movement it is necessary to distinguish right from wrong, eliminate the remaining pernicious influence, raise our consciousness in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the party Central Committee's instructions on educational work and do our work well while deepening the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four."

The "two assessments" is the core of the "gang of four's" reactionary concept on the educational front. We must not underestimate the pernicious influence of the "two assessments," nor must we underestimate the arduousness of the effort to eliminate it. In the past 6 months or more, the educational front has won tremendous victories in the struggle to criticize the "two assessments," but it will take another serious struggle to thoroughly criticize them. Chairman Mao, in his instruction on educational

work issued in the summer of 1971, fully confirmed the achievements in educational work—achievements made by vast numbers of cadres and teachers—during the 17 years before the start of the Great Cultural Revolution. This important instruction was issued by Chairman Mao after summing up the educational revolution in the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution and particularly in the last 5 years of the Great Cultural Revolution. We must continue to propagate Chairman Mao's instructions and penetratingly criticize the "two assessments" concocted by the "gang of four" so that his instructions will be publicized to every family and be deeply imprinted on the minds of the people. Whether one confirms or negates the predominant position of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and whether or not one recognizes that the overwhelming majority of revolutionary cadres, teachers, students, workers and staff are faithful to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and are reliable—this is the dividing line between making serious efforts to criticize the "two assessments" and pretending to do so. Most comrades have a clear idea of this major question of right and wrong. However, some comrades still hold various erroneous views. For instance, when the broad masses enthusiastically praised the achievements made in reforming the student enrollment system by institutions of higher learning, some people on the educational front sounded a discordant note by alleging that "it is not right to restore what was prevailing in the past." Such an argument is devoid of class analysis. Since Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was predominant in the past, we should confirm the achievements and experiences gained in the past. What we have restored is the fine experiences and good methods we gained or adopted under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the past. We should develop and improve them under the new historical conditions. This is aimed precisely at comprehensively implementing Chairman Mao's principles on education and at training Red and expert talented people to carry out the general task for the new period. What is wrong with this? We should see that the emergence of such a mistaken argument is no accident. This shows that the pernicious influence of the "two assessments" and so-called "acting against what was prevailing in the 17 years" is very deep rooted. We must not think that this problem can be solved by holding one or two criticism meetings. Only by repeatedly and thoroughly criticizing them and launching continuous attacks against them can we heal our internal injuries and consolidate and develop the victories won in exposing and criticizing the "gang of four."

While concocting the "two assessments," the "gang of four" also dished out the so-called "eight major spiritual pillars." In fact, some of the so-called "eight major spiritual pillars" were criticized in the 17 years, others were unfounded charges imposed by the "gang of four" on the educational front, and still others (such as "the theory that it is useless to study") were reactionary trends of thought stirred up by them. Regardless of other things, "giving first place to intellectual development" alone was, in the last analysis, a hypocritical bourgeois slogan. It was extremely preposterous for the "gang of four" to have used it in attacking

proletarian education. Lenin once mercilessly exposed the hypocritical assertion by bourgeois countries that schools need not pay attention to politics, and he pointed this out as an obvious lie. In a class society, education is a tool for waging class struggle and always serves a certain class and its political line. In conducting education, all classes invariably place their own politics first, and the suprapolitical question of "giving first place to intellectual development" never exists. China is a socialist country ruled by the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the more than 20 years since liberation, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, schools of various grades and categories have given lessons in Marxism-Leninism, established an efficient political work system and organized the broad masses of faculty and students to take an active part in all political movements and struggles to criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Should this be described as "giving first place to intellectual development"? Certain units and people might have long ignored politics in favor of pure professional work. Sufficient efforts should be made to prevent and overcome this viewpoint. Guided by the correct line, we will have no difficulty correcting this erroneous tendency and should never label it as "giving first place to intellectual development." The "gang of four" slanderously described the vigorous improvement in quality education and the enhancing of students' scientific and cultural levels, under the guidance of correct political orientation, as "giving first place to intellectual development," and they criticized and scathingly repudiated it. Their vicious purpose was to oppose it by strictly demanding that students study science and culture as major subjects. Certain people affected by the "gang of four's" pernicious influence have failed to clearly understand that "giving first place to intellectual development" was a weapon used by the gang to undermine education. These people turn pale at the mere mention of paying attention to intellectual development. This only shows the depth of the "gang of four's" pernicious influence and the difficulty of our work. In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" it is essential to link the "eight major spiritual pillars" with the "two assessments" concocted by the "gang of four" for criticism and to throw out all slanderous and false charges. Only thus can we thoroughly smash the mental yokes, self-confidently do a good job in the education revolution and improve educational quality.

Exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" in light of reality and conscientiously summing up experiences is the key to clarifying the questions of right and wrong with regard to the political line and doing a good job in ideological rectification. We must do it boldly in light of reality. First of all, it is necessary to thoroughly expose and relentlessly criticize the "two assessments," as well as the series of counter-revolutionary incidents engineered by the "gang of four," such as "Chang Tieh-sheng's test paper," "opposing resurgence," "opposing restoration," the Ma Chen-fu incident, the "diary" of a small pupil in Peking and the so-called "experience of the Chaoyang Agriculture College," in light of actual conditions on the education front and to eradicate their

pernicious influence. Meanwhile, it is essential to concentrate on those matters where the "gang of four's" pernicious influence has been the deepest and the damage wrought has been the worst and list them one by one for criticism in light of actual conditions in various localities, units and schools; eliminate chaos and restore order; effect radical reform; clarify right and wrong with regard to the political line confused by the "gang of four"; definitely affirm those correct things negated by the gang; and restore the fine tradition they damaged. In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," it is necessary not only to draw a clear demarcation between ourselves and the enemy but also to distinguish between right and wrong. For example, the experience of the Kiangsi Communist Labor University as promoted by Chairman Mao has been popularized in many provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout China with good results. Practice proves that the experience of the Communist Labor University is correct and should be summed up, promoted and further popularized. The so-called "experience of the Chaoyang Agriculture College" dished out by the "gang of four" was a scheming trick designed to help them usurp party and state power. This experience essentially advertised "acting against what had prevailed during the 17 years" (or acting against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line) and harped that schools have only one specialty, namely, the so-called "specialty for waging struggle against capitalist roaders" (or training their hatchetmen by running schools). The "gang of four" and their sworn followers played deceptive tricks in an attempt to mix up the "experience of the Chaoyang Agriculture College" with that of the Communist Labor University, and in this respect the results of their cheating were somewhat successful. We must strip them of their masks and expose their evil nature to broad daylight. Comrades at all levels on the educational front should adopt a firm and clear-cut attitude and take the lead in exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" in the light of actual conditions. Under the "gang of four's" influence, some of our comrades have been wrong in terms of words and deeds, but this is not at all surprising. As long as our comrades make bold self-criticism, free themselves from worries, become mobilized, seriously sum up experiences, strive to raise their consciousness and free their minds, they will be able to lead the masses in marching forward and bringing about a great improvement in educational work in localities, departments and units of which they are in charge.

As an important component of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, educational work concerns the training of millions upon millions of laborers with socialist consciousness and the capability to master modern production skills, and it also concerns the cultivation of large numbers of construction personnel who are both Red and expert in the struggle to build China into a modern and strong socialist country. The tasks we face are very difficult, and we can successfully accomplish them only by effectively strengthening party leadership and relying on the party to develop education. Under the leadership of party committees at all levels, we must grasp the exposure and criticism of the

"gang of four" as the key link, consolidate leading bodies by first doing a good job in ideological rectification, seriously implement the party's policies on cadres and intellectuals, bring all positive factors into play and perform existing work well. In the course of practice, we should also constantly analyze new conditions, study new problems and seek new experiences. Chairman Hua pointed out in his report on the work of the government delivered at the Fifth NPC: "We must correctly carry out the policy of making education serve proletarian politics and combine it with productive labor, have a correct orientation, insure the success of the revolution and accelerate the training of our students so that they develop in an all-round way morally, intellectually and physically and become workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. All professions and trades should give proper emphasis to education and fully support it." Under the leadership of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, we should rely on the efforts of the broad masses of faculty and students and the support of the broad masses of people to more quickly develop socialist education so as to make greater contributions to realizing the four modernizations.

## ANALYZING THE ESSENCE OF YAO WEN-YUAN'S SINISTER ARTICLE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 3 Jun 78 pp 15-19

[Article by Li Lien-hsing [2621 6647 5281]]

[Text] RED FLAG editor's note: With infinite feelings we recommend to the masses of readers a number of articles written between 1975 and 1976 by Comrade Li Lien-hsing criticizing Yao Wen-yuan. Comrade Li Lien-hsing is a fine worker of the Wuchiaoy County Machinery Works, Hopei Province, and a heroic fighter who went through every difficulty in fighting the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line. After the "gang of four"-controlled magazine RED FLAG dished up Yao Wen-yuan's sinister article "On the Foundation" in its No. 3 issue of 1975, Comrade Li--with his dauntless proletarian revolutionary spirit and his great political sensitivity and guided by the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method--saw through the reactionary essence of this sinister article and exposed and criticized it forcefully. Confined to jail, subjected to all kinds of pressures and threatened by the dark and murky clouds that suddenly covered the sky, he doggedly refused to believe the unorthodox, remained calm and unafraid and retained his unwavering faith in the inevitable victory of the truth of Marxism. He continued to write one article after another denouncing the "gang of four" and criticizing "On the Foundation." We publish here an article criticizing Yao Wen-yuan's sinister article sent by Comrade Li to the responsible comrades of the county party committee, the critical articles written by Comrade Li while in prison, and a HOPEI DAILY report on Comrade Li's heroic deeds. From these articles and the report we can see how clear-cut is Comrade Li Lien-hsing's

standpoint in safeguarding Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, how great is his ability to distinguish between fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds, and how resolute he is in his struggle against the "gang of four." All these articles are worthy of our serious study.

When it was controlled by the "gang of four," RED FLAG published many poisonous-weed articles. These "gang" articles were theoretically extremely absurd and politically very reactionary. Many of them resembled a spearhead. They set the tone and created public opinion for the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary plot to usurp party and state power. The articles also pushed the gang's counterrevolutionary revisionist line. They confounded right and wrong, called black white and victimized the masses. Their remnant poison was so pervasive and harmful that they reached proportions rarely seen. To thoroughly repudiate the "gang of four's" crimes and eliminate their remnant poison, we must make arduous efforts for a long time to come. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we must take Comrade Li Lienhsing as an example, raise high the great banner of Chairman Mao, strive to fully and accurately grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, continue to deepen the criticism of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line and their reactionary theoretical basis, thoroughly repudiate the serious crimes committed by the "gang of four" in using RED FLAG, and achieve new and still greater victories.

## I

At the height of the campaign to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, I analyzed Yao Wen-yuan's article "On the Foundation."

A distinguishing feature of this article is its use of economics to cover up politics behind the smokescreen of criticism of Soviet revisionism. We must see essence through phenomena and take a look at real-life class struggle. Here the author reveals his own ideological feelings, which form the ideological basis of the whole article. At the core of the article is "power," a word keynoting the article, showing that the author and Lin Piao were birds of a feather.

Prompted by hidden motives, the work is certainly packed with idealism. The author wanted to cultivate and bribe that small group of people among the working class who received his "concern," "sympathy" and "support." He wanted to form a faction to serve his private ends, to engage in speculation and profiteering, and to promote the establishment

of a counterrevolutionary group in a vain attempt to achieve his vicious aim of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, disrupting stability and unity and hampering economic development.

This article may be traded for up to 10 billion rubles, because it played a role that is beyond the ability of class enemies at home and abroad, sold the interests of the party and the people, and took over the mantle of Lin Piao and succeeded in breaking the hearts of friends and gladdening the hearts of enemies. The author will end up more disgraced than Lin Piao.

Our aim in studying theory is to arouse millions upon millions of people to rise bravely in defense of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. To this end, I am ready to be arrested, sentenced and even executed. 13 July 1975

## II

By picking up where others left off and by making all sacrifices bravely, the Chinese Communist Party after its founding on 1 July 1921 led the Chinese people in an 8-year war of resistance against Japanese aggression and a 3-year war of liberation and succeeded in driving out Japanese imperialism, exterminating the Kuomintang reactionary group and founding the Chinese People's Republic. Since then the Chinese people have stood up like a giant and taken their place in the East.

During the period of democratic revolution the Chinese Communist Party in those painful war years led the Chinese Worker and Peasant Red Army in smashing five encirclements by the Kuomintang bandit troops and in going on the earth-shaking 25,000-li Long March. The hardships of the Long March were unparalleled in history. The Red Army's heroic spirit was also unprecedented in history. Guided by Chairman Mao's correct line, the Red Army triumphed over the capitulationist line of Chen Tu-hsiu and Chang Kuo-tao. The Red Army smashed Chiang Kai-shek's several million enemy troops who pursued, encircled and intercepted it. It crossed the Chihshui four times, forced its way across the Tatu River, went over snowclad mountains and across grasslands and fought bravely at the risk of the soldiers' lives. It finally arrived in north Shensi, thus accomplishing its strategic move and laying the foundation for the victory of the Chinese revolution.

During the period of socialist revolution the Chinese people showed the revolutionary heroic spirit of the Red Army, which was undeterred by the Long March. Advancing along the road charted by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people successively smashed antiparty groups represented by Kao Kang, Peng Te-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao by means of the agricultural cooperation movement, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and the movement to study theory. Following these four major line struggles, a great victory was scored in socialist revolution and construction. Looking back



over the revolutionary course, we can see that those days were painful and the road tortuous. But on the march the Chinese people and all revolutionaries did not run away, retreat, surrender or rebel halfway. It was precisely during those days of hard struggle that the revolutionaries formed a revolutionary front to achieve the great goal of realizing communism. Numerous revolutionaries built the great iron wall of the dictatorship of the proletariat with their own bodies and blood. Every revolutionary and every revolutionary cadre is an organic part of this revolutionary front and this great iron wall. They enabled the revolution to go from victory to victory and the poor and backward old China to turn into the new China with the beginning of prosperity. This success inevitably aroused the resentment of a handful of class enemies. Casting themselves in the role of "revolutionary heroes," they greedily opened their mouths wide in an attempt to subvert and swallow the great iron wall of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I have warm love for the socialist motherland and especially for this great iron wall. How can I swallow my indignation? I want to charge forward! This is just my ordinary class sentiment.

Chairman Mao said: "Chen Tu-hsiu's capitulationism in 1927 led to the revolution's failure at that time. No communist party member should forget this historical lesson learned in blood." Anyone who opposes this great iron wall is a capitulationist and a revolutionary rebel. Historical experience shows that those who practice revisionism are capitulationists and henchmen of the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

Chairman Mao again said: "Class capitulationism is actually the reserve force of national capitulationism and is the most evil tendency helpful to the building of the rightwing bastion and responsible for defeat in war." Those who practice bourgeois capitulationism will naturally promote national capitulationism. Lin Piao is a case in point. Lin Piao attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat and stopped at nothing to destroy the great iron wall built by the revolutionaries with their own bodies and blood. His one thought was to usurp power and bring about restoration, to go over to Soviet revisionism and to ruthlessly massacre the people. People who practice capitulationism consider that only "ruthlessness" can bring about "victory." Lin Piao's ugly performance in practicing capitulationism aroused the resistance of the Chinese people. The wind is howling, the Yellow River is roaring, and the vast ocean of revolution is raging.....

I am just a drop of water in the ocean.

I read the article "On the Foundation" many times. Its attack against the great iron wall of the dictatorship of the proletariat is criminal evidence. The article embodies class capitulationism. Yao Wen-yuan followed in the footsteps of the Lin Piao antiparty clique and moved from class capitulationism to national capitulationism. Objective law

works ruthlessly. In the end he could only go over to Soviet social imperialism with his reputation shattered.

The appearance of the article "On the Foundation" was good for us, because it provided the Chinese people with a negative teaching example. It enabled the Chinese people to know what capitulationists are like. It had a new enlightening effect on the revolution.

Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the Chinese people are unprecedentedly conscious of class struggle, line struggle and continuous revolution. Without a Marxist standpoint, one cannot see essence through phenomena and cannot distinguish between Marxism and revisionism and between socialism and capitalism. If a person is not revolutionary minded, he will not be able to understand Marxism no matter how you explain it. No matter in what way he reads the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, he will not be able to understand them. This is a truth. We must use the stand and viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to correctly look at the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

13 December 1975

### III

The Fourth National People's Congress was convened in January 1975 under the great concern of Chairman Mao, and "On the Foundation" was published openly in the March issue of RED FLAG. Only a little over a month separated the two. Yao's "article" directly attacked those revolutionary veteran cadres who had been criticized and reinstated to leadership posts and the new leading government personnel appointed as a result of the Fourth National People's Congress. In a word, Yao's "article" underrated the Fourth National People's Congress and showed dissatisfaction with it. Under these circumstances, everyone should have his own opinion of this "article." However, certain people said that the Fourth National People's Congress had been a quiet and unspectacular affair. All things in society are stamped with the mark of class struggle and line struggle. I have resolutely criticized the reactionary viewpoint of this "article." I also wrote a letter criticizing it to the county party committee on 13 July 1975. With the passage of time and with changing circumstances, the approach to this matter may change, but my standpoint cannot change. I must resolutely criticize the standpoint of Yao's "article" and all revisionist lines, and I am in favor of past, present and future criticisms. I must resolutely support the Fourth National People's Congress. I am ready to risk my life to clarify a Marxist-Leninist truth. 15 March 1976

### IV

Always hidden between the lines of certain articles and in the recesses of certain people's minds are analogies drawn between the hackneyed,

decadent slaveowning class and those revolutionary veteran cadres who were criticized and reinstated to their leadership posts, and between the new rising landlord class and the revolutionary rebels. These articles interpreted the return to power of once-criticized revolutionary veteran cadres as a case of "calling to office those who had fallen into obscurity" and "restoration and retrogression." How can an upright man understand this? I must set the viewpoint straight and get my point across. I believe that no Marxist or Leninist will fail to pick up where another has left off or fail to fight bravely along the bloody trail of his revolutionary predecessors. All new and old revisionists want to wreck the unity between new and veteran cadres by sowing dissension and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are just daydreaming and wasting their efforts. I think that revolutionary rebels must be distinguished from reactionary capitulationists. Revolutionary rebels and veterans then in power who were criticized during the Great Cultural Revolution are all revolutionaries. The idea that there were irreconcilable contradictions between veterans then in power and revolutionary rebels is wrong. Revolutionary rebels have irreconcilable contradictions with only an extremely small number of diehard, unrepentant capitalist roaders. Both revolutionary rebels and power holders belong to the proletarian revolutionary group. They are class brothers. To cause chaos and prepare public opinion for their usurpation of power and promotion of restoration, conspirators and careerists brought about sharp contradictions and conflicts between the revolutionary rebels and those in power before the Great Cultural Revolution. They exhausted all means to advocate that the revolutionary veteran cadres criticized during the Great Cultural Revolution should naturally be toppled like the hackneyed, decadent slaveowning class, a point that they wanted people to perceive. Their advocacy of this point is an effort to create ideological confusion. All revolutionary rebels will surely follow the trail blazed by their revolutionary predecessors, picking up where others left off and fighting bravely. Though petty thieves may shun where they once stole, revolutionaries will eventually catch them. This is my analysis of the situation in the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. I must remain clearheaded. I must further strengthen my proletarian revolutionary will along the road of transformation. 18 March 1976

V

In his "article," Yao Wen-yuan said: "The aim of their restoration activities is not to recoup their forfeited means of production but to seize the means of production they never possessed." This article is worded vaguely and does not come straight to the point. Something sinister can be read into it. Let us analyze it. What is meant by "means of production"? It undoubtedly refers to "power." Their restoration activities are aimed not at recouping forfeited "power" but at recovering "power" they never possessed. Which group of people does it refer to? Let us first look back over the Great Cultural Revolution: In the mass movement of the Great Cultural Revolution, many leading cadres were

stripped of their power and criticized by the masses. After careful investigations by the masses, those revolutionary leading cadres were reinstated to their leadership posts. Yao's "article" said that their restoration activities were aimed not at recouping their forfeited "power" but at seizing "power" they never possessed. This refers to the revolutionary cadres who were stripped of their power and criticized during the Great Cultural Revolution and again reinstated in their leadership posts. Reinstatement of the criticized revolutionary veteran cadres in their leadership posts was what the "article" meant by "bourgeois restoration." The young workers "led" by the veteran cadres and "educated" by them were what Yao's "article" referred to as "those corrupted by the bourgeoisie." Now that we understand what is meant by being corrupted by the bourgeoisie, let us again analyze the assertion that "in real-life struggle there have appeared a number of young workers who raise a clear-cut banner in fighting bourgeois corruption and who should be supported and whose experience in struggle should be summed up." This statement makes us understand that the aim was to provoke young workers into declaring war on those revolutionary veteran cadres who were criticized during the Great Cultural Revolution. As we look back over January and February 1975, when the whole country was carrying out Chairman Mao's important instructions on stability and unity and the need to develop the national economy, we can see that this article was actually meant to oppose Document No. 9 of the CCP Central Committee. This aroused strong reaction from people throughout the country. We may ask why such an article should have been dished up? It was only prompted by the aim to seize power from the proletariat. This article preaches class capitulationism and has rebelled against Marxism-Leninism. Why can't we criticize it? Why is it an offense to criticize it? Some people may accuse me of attacking one selective aspect. This is not true. This one aspect is the core of the article and its theme. We should grasp the "core" and be resolute in criticism and continue criticism for as long as 10,000 years. 23 May 1976

FOR A BRIGHT CHINA--THE STORY OF HEROIC FIGHTER LI LIEN-HSING, WHO  
RESOLUTELY STRUGGLED AGAINST THE 'GANG OF FOUR'

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 3 Jun 78 pp 20-26

["Slightly abridged" HOPEI DAILY 26 May 1978 article by Chieh Hsiang-tung [4634 0686 2639] and Tung Li-kuo [5516 4539 0948] of the reporting group of the Wuchiao County CCP Committee; Fu Tieh-kuei [0265 6993 2710] of the reporting section of the Tsangchow Prefecture CCP Committee; Chang Lien-chieh [1728 6647 2638], reporter of TSANGCHOW DAILY; Yang Chin-lan [2799 6855 5695] and Wang Tse-hua [3769 3419 5478], reporters of the Hopei People's Broadcasting Station; and Yang Tien-tung [2799 3013 6639], Yao Kuang-jung [1202 1684 2837] and Chiao Tsung-heng [0829 1350 3801], reporters of HOPEI DAILY]

[Text] Comrade Li Lien-hsing is a technician at the Wuchiao County Machinery Factory, Hopei Province. He is just an ordinary worker. He used to be full of enthusiasm. He devoted himself assiduously to building the socialist motherland. When the "gang of four" stepped up their efforts to usurp party and state power in a vain attempt to ruin the bright future of the motherland, he was unafraid of being sent to jail, unafraid of being beheaded and unafraid of sacrificing his life. He was unafraid of everything. He bravely and resolutely waged an unyielding struggle against the "gang of four." In prison he wrote: "The wind is howling. The Yellow River is roaring. The vast ocean of the revolution is raging...I am a drop of water in the vast ocean."

Now, let us see what tremendous energy this drop of water contained.

I

In early 1975 the spring breeze that came with the Fourth NPC wafted across the length and breadth of the motherland. Like spring rain to a parched earth, the three important directives of Chairman Mao on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, stability and unity, and developing the national economy had a healing effect on the minds of hundreds of millions of people throughout the country.

Brimming over with vim and vigor, large numbers of revolutionary veteran cadres returned to their leadership posts. Those who kept busy by fighting factional wars all day long became fewer. Factory engines hummed merrily. Trains started running according to schedule. "Black gold" streamed out of the coalpit with wheels spinning. China--a vast land of 9.6 million square kilometers--was everywhere "a riot of color and a bustling spring scene."

How happy Li Lien-hsing was with the excellent situation prevailing throughout the country! With the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation as its pillar, he thought, our country would take a new leap forward in the national economy. As he thought of the beautiful future that lay ahead with the realization of the four modernizations, he was filled with inexhaustible strength. He wore his grease-stained uniform and carried work tools and technical papers in his hand all day, busy making innovations and trying to raise production. He worked on Sundays, too. Everyone said, "The Fourth NPC has filled Li Lien-hsing with strength and enthusiasm."

Socialist revolution and construction are not all clear sailing. Then Yao Wen-yuan's sinister article "On the Foundation" was dished up. What kind of a person was Yao Wen-yuan? Li Lien-hsing did not know him well at that time. One day after supper Li Lien-hsing opened RED FLAG No. 3 of 1975 and found an article by Yao Wen-yuan. It mentioned nothing about stability and unity, about the Fourth NPC, about the promotion of the excellent situation and about the four modernizations. Under the banner of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, the article contained nothing that really criticized Lin Piao.

What did Yao Wen-yuan have up his sleeve? What was his motive? A big question mark arose in Li Lien-hsing's mind... The more he thought about it, the more serious the problem appeared to him. The article made much of the point that "as soon as the bourgeoisie comes to power" it is "necessary to brutally suppress the people." Is this not an obvious attack on the efforts made by veteran cadres at the central and local levels reinstated in leadership posts after the Fourth NPC to restore revolutionary order? The article vigorously criticized the so-called wily old bourgeoisie for inducing workers with higher wages to follow the capitalist road. Is this not an attempt to oppose the firm implementation of the party's policy on cadres and to thwart the development of an excellent situation? The article advocated summing up the young workers' experience in struggle. Why is the struggle experience of the veteran cadres not to be summed up? Is this not a case of using the tactic of deceiving the young people and trying to create a chaotic situation? ...He felt that Yao Wen-yuan's article was basically not criticizing Lin Piao but advocating Lin Piao's line; not criticizing "revisionism" but taking the criticism of empiricism as an excuse to attack veteran cadres. His mood changed from disappointment to indignation and from indignation to bitter hatred. He felt that this was not

what an article should be. Instead, there were 12 big Chinese characters written in blood: "Topple the revolutionary veteran cadres and create great chaos across the land." He felt that a storm was brewing.

"Our good country, our good cadres and the prevailing excellent situation--we can never let careerists and conspirators trample upon us once again!" From the mouth of this ordinary worker spewed the towering flames of anger. No, from the heart of a master of the state.

Everyone began discussing Yao Wen-yuan's article at a study meeting of the technical section held after working hours. Without making an analysis, some people said, "It's quite a great work." "It is a piece that is profound theoretically and new in spirit." Upon hearing this, Li Lien-hsing rose to his feet in a flash. He said in a loud voice: "I have found something wrong with this article. It can never be taken as the party's guideline or policy." This came as a shock to all those present. Everyone feared for Li's safety.

Li Lien-hsing had not failed to think of the immensity and danger of struggle. He had pondered the worst that could happen to him: being branded a "counterrevolutionary" and clapped in jail, leaving behind an aged mother of 80 and a wife he had married just a year before. A beautiful life gone...what is to be done? What is to be done? In the stillness of the night he took a stroll outside his factory. He let the cool breeze clear his head. The air was suddenly torn by the whistle of a speeding train on the nearby Tientsin-Pukou railway. With it his thoughts ran far away. The crisis created by the Lin Piao anti-party clique in the Great Cultural Revolution and the painful scenes witnessed in various areas a few years earlier unfolded before his eyes. In his ears rang a voice saying: "How can the careerists again be allowed to trample upon a country that the revolutionary predecessors paid for in blood? Never let the people again suffer the hardships of the old society!" Suddenly he found himself calling his own name: "Lien-hsing! Lien-hsing, your faith cannot waver. You have no right to let it do so. For the sake of our country and millions upon millions of happy families, you should sacrifice your own small family and everything an individual has in himself and struggle."

His mind made up, Li Lien-hsing got busy. He bought a lock for a drawer in which to keep materials criticizing Yao Wen-yuan. Every noon and every night he forgot about rest and devoted himself to studying the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, the selected works of Lu Hsun and other relevant books and magazines. He combined studying with making comparisons. He marked Yao Wen-yuan's sinister article heavily with rectangles, circles and annotations. He availed himself of all the extra moments before and after work to read newspapers, to listen to broadcasts and to collect articles written from various points of view. The factory often sent him to other areas to study mechanical innovations. He used such occasions to make social investigations. He analyzed the remnant

poison and influence of Yao Wen-yuan's sinister article. Like a fighter always on guard, he armed himself in regard to both theory and practice. He was prepared to unmask the counterrevolutionary features of Yao Wen-yuan and his sinister article at one stroke.

An article criticizing Yao Wen-yuan had been finished. Li Lien-hsing had summed up Yao Wen-yuan's sinister words in three respects. Without bothering about those confusing political and economic terms and vague and hard-to-understand lines in Yao's article, he concentrated on roundly criticizing Yao Wen-yuan's crimes, such as politically instigating "taking over and seizing power," ideologically "promoting idealism in a big way," theoretically "altering Marxist-Leninist theory," acting against Chairman Mao's three directives, resisting "the spirit of the Fourth NPC" and doing things in disregard of the prevailing excellent situation. Meanwhile, hitting the nail on the head, he pointed out: Yao Wen-yuan and Lin Piao were birds of a feather that flocked together in a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, undermine stability and unity and hamper the development of the national economy. He would end up more disgraced than Lin Piao.

To show his determination to fight, Li Lien-hsing closed the article with these words: "I have made all preparations for my arrest or even my execution." He then wrote his signature: "Li Lien-hsing of the Wuchiao County Machinery Factory."

Li Lien-hsing sent the critical article to the then responsible persons of the county party committee on 15 July. He fervently hoped that the leadership would wake up and not play into the hands of Yao Wen-yuan. He threw the letter into the green-colored letter box with a great sense of relief, as if he had fired a shot at a wolf.

## II

Li Lien-hsing was arrested and thrown in jail as an active counterrevolutionary.

The news reached Li Lien-hsing's village. Every poor and lower-middle peasant became very nervous. People just did not believe it. Inquiries brought the following information:

"Lien-hsing is said to have written a signed open letter criticizing Yao Wen-yuan's article."

"Oh, many areas have been in chaos over the past few years. Now we may discover the reasons. Lien-hsing must have seen what is wrong!"

"Lien-hsing would rather die than bow to pressure. He never gives up when he knows that what he is doing is right."



"That fellow is a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. Lien-hsing is no match for him!"

"Were not Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao once bigger than this fellow? They were toppled. So long as one is right, one has Chairman Mao behind him."

"But...Lien-hsing's family is left in the lurch."

"What Lien-hsing has done is for the state and for every one of us. Let us take care of his family."

In Lien-hsing's dormitory his wife Liu Hsiang-lan was picking up the things her husband had left behind. Her mind was a whirl of thoughts. She could make neither head nor tail of the whole thing. "An active counterrevolutionary" was the term she hated most. But she had profound love for Lien-hsing. Indeed, no one understood Lien-hsing better than she. When they met for the first time before their marriage, Lien-hsing talked with her about the progress of revolution and production in his factory, about the excellent situation throughout the country and about his complete confidence in the future of the state. She admired him deeply. After their marriage she understood him still better. Though the factory is only a dozen li away, Lien-hsing very seldom returned home at ordinary times. Even when he had days off he carried home magazines, journals and technical papers. The moment he put away his bicycle he would go to his room to study by himself. She once secretly promised herself to emulate her husband. She wanted to make herself a model commune member. She hoped that they could make a Red pair. But now...she found hidden under his mattress a big stack of certificates declaring him to be "an advanced worker." Suddenly her husband seemed to be standing right before her, smiling. Holding the certificates, she could not help crying out, "Lien-hsing." Tears spilled from her eyes, glistening drops sliding from the sheaf in her hand to her feet. She could no longer suppress her deep feelings. Flinging herself across the bed, she abandoned herself to crying.

The poor and lower-middle peasants in the village felt as though they had swallowed lead, a heavy load weighing on their minds. As they recalled the way Lien-hsing grew up, nothing would make them believe the report that he had suddenly turned into a counterrevolutionary. In 1962, when the party called for the development of agriculture in a big way, Li Lien-hsing, who had been a worker in the Techou Machine Tools Factory for 4 years, resolutely returned to his hometown to take up farming. As a commune member he loved the commune like his own home. He was "broad-minded and unprejudiced" in doing his work. When elected an accountant, he played fair and square. He was known as an "insurance" [against corruption]. When he operated machines for the brigade, he was diligent and economical. He was known as an "oil-saving lamp." He was unafraid of the devils, had no faith in the unorthodox and made a point of fighting what is evil and unorthodox. On numerous occasions he spoke what

was in the minds of everyone. He devoted himself wholeheartedly to serving the collective. This was common knowledge. Any attempt to attach a label to him would be voted down by the poor and lower-middle peasants.

The masses are on the side of justice. The people and Lien-hsing were of one mind. Everyone tried in every way to help this household that had fallen on hard times.

When Hsiang-lan had a heart problem, the brigade head let her do only light work.

When the brigade distributed firewood, melons or vegetables, the commune members would take the initiative to send them to her home.

When an earthquake threatened, CYL member Fang Li-fen came over to keep Hsiang-lan and her mother-in-law company.

When Hsiang-lan was away, young girl Li Hsin-ai regularly came over to start a fire and cook for the old woman.

When the seasonal rains came, four or five young men and women would arrive to remove accumulated earth and clean up her home.

A few days after Li Lien-hsing's arrest, some people came to the factory to make an investigation.

After the investigators stated the purpose of their call, all the workers looked at each other, speechless. A moment passed before an old worker said, "Lien-hsing's arrest was a complete surprise to us. We have never seen him do anything criminal."

At this time, thoughts burned in the mind of old worker Wang Ping-shih. Before his eyes unfolded scene after scene of what Lien-hsing had done after he entered the factory in 1970.

As soon as he joined the factory, Lien-hsing worked very hard. He was cited as an advanced worker for 4 consecutive years.

He studied assiduously and dared to make innovations. How he had exerted himself in the factory to streamline three methods of work!

In order to make innovations he forgot about food and sleep. He brought a small dining table from his own home to the factory. He sat at it all day writing or drawing. He did not go home on Sundays. His eyes reddened for lack of sleep. He became emaciated from overwork. When urged to take good care of his health, he always said: "If the state is not rich and powerful, one cannot set his heart to rest."

He concerned himself with the major issues of the state. He eagerly reached for the newspapers every day. He studied them earnestly. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, he indignantly denounced at mass criticism meetings the Lin Piao antiparty clique's towering crimes in ruthlessly persecuting Chen I, Ho Lung and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. He cried out in public: "If there is anyone who dares oppose esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, I will pelt him with eggs." What Lien-hsing said and did was well thought out. He must have a good point in his opposition to Yao Wen-yuan.

Shaking his head, Wang Ping-shih at last said: "I have searched my memory, but there is nothing I can say against Lien-hsing. If anything is to be said, let me say something about the way he made technical innovations..."

After hearing from everyone, the investigators asked themselves: "How could there have been a counterrevolutionary who devoted himself heart and soul to the revolution and had the warm support of the masses?"

The investigators left. Li Lien-hsing's roommates gathered up his things. Piece by piece they put them away in their usual places. They felt that he was away on a sacred mission. He would return before long or even tomorrow to join them in making innovations. Everyone secretly asked himself: "Ah, Lien-hsing, Lien-hsing, how are you getting on with your struggle in jail?"

### III

As an undaunted eagle, one must always fight in the air.

As a warrior, one must always keep on fighting.

Thrown in jail, Li Lien-hsing did not become discouraged. He waged a more resolute struggle against the "gang of four" in another way.

The 4th day after he was sent to jail, he wrote on the prison wall 24 big characters with rolled paper dipped in ink: "In memory of Chen I and Ho Lung. Down with Yao Wen-yuan. Safeguard Teng Hsiao-ping! A salute to revolutionaries of the older generation." He wrote a slogan on the box of the bottle of ink and on RED FLAG: "Down with Yao Wen-yuan. Protect Teng Hsiao-ping." By so doing he displayed his heroic spirit of carrying through to the end his bloody battle with Yao Wen-yuan and his strong determination to safeguard the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

Not long after he was put in jail he asked his wife to bring him volumes I to IV of the "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung." He read the works

avidly every day. He picked up his pen as one would a knife or rifle. He devoted several tens of thousands of words to critical articles and a collection of poems, indignantly denouncing Yao Wen-yuan and warmly singing the praises of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

Li Lien-hsing, who used to be on the quiet side, stated his case eloquently, turning the trial dock into a forum for exposing Yao Wen-yuan and company...

He righteously declared: "Yao Wen-yuan's article is reactionary." "My articles are pointed at Yao Wen-yuan."

He said with conviction: "Yao Wen-yuan's article is directed against veteran cadres." "I protest the way Lin Piao persecuted veteran cadres behind Chairman Mao's back during the Great Cultural Revolution." "Yao Wen-yuan has again directed an article against Premier Chou, against Teng Hsiao-ping and against veteran cadres in an attempt to elevate his own status. He wants to remove Teng Hsiao-ping from office so that he can take over. I am right in criticizing him."

Citing Yao Wen-yuan's antiparty crimes on behalf of the people, he pointed out: "Yao Wen-yuan is a political abettor" and "the root cause of factionalism." "His article has encouraged political speculators" and "represents a splittist line out of keeping with the dictatorship of the proletariat." "It is an attempt to whip up a big movement to usurp party and state power."

In his "confessions" and "reflections," Li Lien-hsing more and more ruthlessly exposed Yao Wen-yuan's reactionary features and roundly criticized the "gang of four's" various perverted measures. Meanwhile, he pledged again and again: "I would rather be severely punished or even executed than see truth emasculated and justice trampled upon. I must fight for truth and for justice!"

Taking advantage of esteemed and beloved Premier Chou's death in 1976, the "gang of four" stepped up their counterrevolutionary activities to usurp party and state power. They carried out various intrigues and tricks, ruthlessly suppressed the masses of cadres who mourned the death of Premier Chou, victimized Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, hit out at the revolutionary veteran cadres and completely negated the party Central Committee's work in 1975. The treacherous situation did not bring Li Lien-hsing to his knees. It only added fuel to the flames of his struggle. By studying and thinking things out in jail and by observing and analyzing the "gang of four's" ugly performances over a long period of time, he developed a deeper understanding of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary nature. To counter the "gang of four's" evil course of action and their various fallacies, he put forward his own system of analyzing things. He made an overall attack on the "gang of four."

Look, this is Comrade Li Lien-hsing's forceful reply to various points in a political climate in which "the murky clouds hang so low over the city that its very existence is threatened"--a climate existing around the Chingming Festival in 1976:

Concerning the "gang of four's" total negation of the party Central Committee's work in 1975, he clearly pointed out: Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping has "firmly carried out Chairman Mao's three directives. This is in keeping with the prevailing situation at home and abroad." "It is right and proper to seek stability and unity and develop the national economy."

Confronted with the various ugly performances of the "gang of four," who negated the Fourth NPC and victimized Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping in a vain attempt to topple the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and usurp supreme party and state power, he resolutely said: "I must resolutely support the five criteria for successors to the proletarian revolution and oppose the conspirators' attempt to take over and usurp power." "I think that Yao Wen-yuan's article is directed against Premier Chou, against Teng Hsiao-ping and against the Fourth NPC. I am right in criticizing this article. Teng Hsiao-ping is a leader elected by the Fourth NPC. We must resolutely support him. At the risk of being called reactionary or subjected to more severe punishment, I must make my point: New and veteran revolutionaries are not two irreconcilable opposing forces. Such contradictions that do exist between them have been instigated by careerists prompted by the aim of usurping power."

Refuting the "gang of four's" fallacy of "new changes in class relations," which they spread in their opposition to revolutionary veteran cadres, he angrily said: "Though the new bourgeoisie may have been generated from among them (veteran cadres), no alteration of Chairman Mao's 'class analysis' is permitted." "In the period of socialism we must control the changes in class relations, but in no way can we let the landlord and bourgeois classes rule the proletariat in a reversal of roles." "In the depths of one's mind, everyone has a clear-cut attitude toward the veteran revolutionary cadres' return to power. It is either resolute support or resolute opposition... My attitude is resolute support. I view this approach as an excellent situation."

Concerning the evil course of action of the "gang of four," who attacked the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation by using history for insinuating purposes, he aptly said: In order to usurp power and effect a restoration, conspirators and careerists always try in every way to create chaos and to equate the veteran revolutionary cadres criticized during the Great Cultural Revolution and now reinstated with the decadent slaveowning class which is on the decline and should naturally be toppled. "In between the lines of certain articles and in the depths of the minds of certain people are always hidden attempts to oppose the reinstatement of veteran revolutionary cadres to their leadership posts. These articles and people take veteran revolutionary cadres as targets of

revolution in the period of socialism. Using insinuations, they equate veteran revolutionary cadres with the slaveowning class on the decline and rebels with the new rising landlord class, and they take reinstatement of veteran cadres as a case of 'calling into office those who have fallen into obscurity,' 'restoration and retrogression,' etc. How can those upright persons with warm love for socialism and warm love for the party's cause be made to understand? ...All new and old revisionists try to wreck the unity between new and old cadres by sowing dissension and to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is day-dreaming!"

When the "gang of four" suppressed the masses' activities in commemoration of Premier Chou, he raised a clear-cut banner and declared: "With the passage of time and with the changing situation, the approach to this matter may change, but my stand cannot change. I must resolutely criticize the viewpoint of the 'article' and all revisionist lines, making criticisms past, present and future. I must resolutely support the Fourth NPC. I would rather die than leave a Marxist-Leninist truth unclarified." "To put it more bluntly, if the situation changes and Teng Hsiao-ping is toppled, I will resolutely not change my stand in a new situation. I still consider it wrong for the 'article' to attack Teng Hsiao-ping and the veteran cadres."

Li Lien-hsing firmly believed that his struggle was just and that a just struggle is invincible. He availed himself of all opportunities and all situations to conduct publicity among the masses, to encourage the masses, to fan people's hatred against the "gang of four" and to call on the people to rise in defense of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

He said to the public security men: "I trust that you can analyze things better than I. You may have already known the reactionary nature of Yao Wen-yuan's article. You just keep silent. Truth should not be concealed. You must dare to voice your own viewpoint."

In his letters he encouraged his relatives: "Have full confidence in the future. Look far ahead."

He said in a letter to his colleagues: "Link the work in the factory with the destiny of the state. Protect Chairman Mao, Premier Chou, Teng Hsiao-ping and veteran revolutionary cadres."

In each of the numerous "guerrilla" struggles he always changed into his new clothes, shaved and carried himself with dignity, his head held high. He said: "I am not dissatisfied with the public security men. I am not demonstrating against the masses. I am declaring war on Yao Wen-yuan and his like. I must make it clear to people that opposition to Yao Wen-yuan is not a crime but something glorious. We must arouse more people to struggle with scoundrels like Yao Wen-yuan."

Li Lien-hsing had not wasted his efforts. His struggle won the wide-spread sympathy, support and respect of the revolutionary masses. Those who knew him privately praised him as "a good example and one who has a spine." Those who did not know him secretly described him as "not a counterrevolutionary but a tough fellow." A big question mark arose in the minds of the public security men: "Is this man really a counter-revolutionary?" When he was sick at the crucial moment of his struggle, those who kept watch over him never forgot to provide him with timely doses of medicine every day. When his relatives and neighbors sent all kinds of food, they personally handed these things over, keeping nothing from him. From the masses' actions, from the hints in their eyes, from their facial expressions and their private discussions, Comrade Li Lien-hsing could tell that he and the masses were of one mind, sharing the same fate. He had full confidence in struggle. He was in a cheerful frame of mind.

When Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and Chairman Chu of the NPC Standing Committee passed away, Li Lien-hsing, like people all over the country, cried his heart out. Especially after the passing of Chairman Mao, he cried so much that tears flowed endlessly, as if from a fountain. He deeply mourned the loss of the great leader and teacher. He worried about the destiny and future of the country. He worried lest Yao Wen-yuan and company should come to power. He worried lest China should be headed for the dark chasm. But he firmly believed that the people turn to the bright, that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is invincible and that any attempt by the chieftain of the revisionist line to pull the bright China in the direction of the dark chasm could only be a waste of effort. "Let one's mind be occupied with one thousand and one things in the world and listen for a bolt from the blue." Li Lien-hsing listened to radio broadcasts and read newspapers every day, keeping tabs on trends in class struggle and looking to the early arrival of the bolt from the blue.

True, a bolt came out of the blue...

#### IV

Early in the morning of 22 October 1976, Li Lien-hsing raised his head to be greeted by the sight of multicolored bunting and pennants fluttering over factories and streets as far as the eye could see. The faint sound of cymbals and drums drifted to his ears. He asked himself: What day is it? His attention was suddenly caught by a voice carrying the welcome sound of spring thunder: "The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has triumphantly smashed the Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan 'gang of four' antiparty clique." Li Lien-hsing almost did not believe his ears. In his excitement he almost lost his balance and stumbled. He was so overcome with joy that for a moment he stood rooted to the spot. Tears of joy ran down his cheeks.

Acting on the instructions of the party organization, the leadership of the factory came to see Li Lien-hsing several days later. The factory manager cordially told him that Chairman Hua had dispersed the murky clouds and that the party and government would exonerate and rehabilitate him very quickly. Tears spilled from Li Lien-hsing's eyes.

The factory manager was gone. Thoughts churned in Li Lien-hsing's mind like the churning waves of the river. Eyeing myriads of lights twinkling in the distance at night, he asked himself: The struggle has been a success. What is the best way to celebrate victory? What should we do during the days after victory? He immediately set pen to paper, writing a long letter to the government. He wrote:

"The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has smashed the 'gang of four' at one stroke. Political power of the state remains in the hands of genuine Marxists and Leninists. That is a great weight off my mind." "I have again been reminded of the inspiring words of Lu Hsun: 'The ultimate victory lies not in the number of people who cheer but in the number of people who will keep on fighting.'" "I am a worker. I must join Chairman Hua and the masses in doing new and still more arduous combat tasks."

Li Lien-hsing left jail and returned to his factory on 7 December 1976.

"Ah, Lien-hsing is back!" The people of the machinery factory ran to each other with the news. Those who came to see him filled the room. Everyone asked him about this and that. But what was uppermost in Lien-hsing's mind was how the factory had fared in regard to revolution and production. He bombarded them with questions:

"Has the movement to criticize the 'gang of four' in the factory been launched in a sufficiently spectacular manner?"

"Has anything come of the effort to mechanize casting?"

"Is there any trouble with the boring machine?"

Those present could not keep tears from their eyes. What a good comrade... The chiefs of several workshops told him that with the "gang of four" toppled the workers felt that a wrong had been set right. They were brimming over with enthusiasm and worked freely without undue interference. Not a day passed without a new change. Li Lien-hsing was very pleased. He immediately asked to be given something to do. The man in charge said after a moment of thought: "You have just returned. You are quite weak. You deserve a good rest. Your 80-year-old mother and your brother in Techou have missed you very much. You ought to see them. Also, Liu Hsiang-lan is anxious to see you." Li Lien-hsing said earnestly: "I will see my family when I have time. I must start working again. The 'gang of four' has done enough damage to



socialism. Chairman Hua called on us to recoup the losses and to achieve quick progress through hard work. How can I stand by idly?" What more could people say? Who did not know the heart of this socialist-minded Red one? He walked into the workshop he had left over a year ago. Everything before him--the machine tool, the generator, the wrench and the pliers--seemed to take on greater significance. Everything was fresh and affectionate. The moment he started working he forgot everything else... In the first month after his return to the factory, how much did he do? How much time and energy did he devote to revolution and production in the factory? People could not say for sure. All they remembered was that the first time he went home he left late at night and returned early the next day, his body covered with snow. When he went to see his mother and brother in Techou, 50 li away, he set out in the morning and made it back that afternoon.

A month later, Li Lien-hsing found that he had caught tuberculosis and pleurisy. As if nothing had happened, he slipped the test report into his pocket and went to work as usual. Every day after work he secretly went to buy medicine. He hoped to cure himself. Later this "secret" was discovered by an old colleague who had been asked to buy medicine for him. With good intentions, the comrades took him to task and urged him to go to the hospital. Those in charge of the factory also "ordered" him to take a rest. He smiled wordlessly. He went to the factory every day. When the advanced were to be elected at the end of the first 6 months of the year, everyone said in chorus: "Elect Lien-hsing!"

He gave his all to production and was even more conscientious in study and criticism. Almost all his time before work and after a meal was devoted to study and criticism. On holidays he seldom failed to read works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. He often burned the midnight oil. At this time, Li Lien-hsing had more consciously linked his every act with the future of the state. In the effort to completely and accurately grasp Mao Tsetung Thought, he continued to climb higher and higher. In the battle to eliminate the remnant poison of the "gang of four" and remove obstacles standing in the way of the realization of the four modernizations, he continued to fight harder and harder.

When the Fifth NPC was convened, Li Lien-hsing was very excited. In the government work report Chairman Hua issued the great call: "Unite, fight for the building of a modern and powerful socialist country." In the new constitution the general task for the new period was set forth. How gratifying and inspiring all this was! He said with a noble spirit: "Go all out! Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the people of the whole country cannot be stopped in their advance by anyone or any force."

A SINISTER EXAMPLE OF PROPAGATING THE 'GANG OF FOUR'S' REACTIONARY WORLD  
OUTLOOK--CRITICIZING THE 'CONCISE PHILOSOPHICAL DICTIONARY' CONCOCTED BY  
THE WRITING GROUP OF THE FORMER SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL CCP COMMITTEE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 3 Jun 78 pp 27-33

[Article by the mass criticism group of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Com-  
mittee]

[Text] The "Concise Philosophical Dictionary" concocted by the writing  
group of the former Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee, like another "gang  
book"--"Socialist Political Economy"--they dished up, provides us with  
rare teaching material by negative example in deeply exposing and criti-  
cizing the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line and  
their reactionary theoretical foundation.

Although this "dictionary" was "modestly" acknowledged to be "concise,"  
its political backing and wild ambition must not be overlooked. It was  
concocted under Chang Chun-chiao's and Yao Wen-yuan's explicit instruc-  
tions and served as a sinister example of publicizing the "gang of  
four's" idealist metaphysics and their reactionary world outlook.  
Waving the banner of spreading Marxist philosophy, the "gang of four"  
dished up the "dictionary" to pass off their anti-Marxist philosophical  
views as scientific conclusions. This was to provide the counterrevolu-  
tionary revisionist line pushed by the "gang of four" with a philosophical  
basis. To completely smash the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary  
ideological system and eliminate its remnant poison, we must thoroughly  
criticize this sinister example.

Compiling a Dictionary of Marxist Philosophy Is Fake, Promoting Counter-  
revolutionary Political Conspiracy Is Real

Perhaps some people regard compiling dictionaries as different from  
writing articles and composing books on the grounds that dictionaries  
are concerned primarily with defining concepts and explaining terms,  
and therefore they can hardly be involved in conspiracies. But the facts  
are otherwise. From the circumstances leading to the compilation of this

"dictionary," people have again clearly seen how the "gang of four" left no stones unturned and used every despicable trick to achieve their criminal aim of usurping party and state power. As their followers have admitted, "once the target is in view, all available weapons are aimed at it." Naturally, the "dictionary" in question is no exception. Under the slogans of "closely following the political trends" and "in close coordination with actual struggles," it not only wantonly altered Marxist philosophical principles but also kept pace with the "gang of four's" conspiracy to usurp party and state power.

The "gang of four" and their followers began compiling the "dictionary" in October 1972. They recruited a large following to impress people and in less than a year turned out the first draft for the purpose of "soliciting views" on the compilation. As the 10th party congress had then just closed, the "gang of four" were whipping up an evil wind of evaluating the so-called "reactionary trend of thought of revering the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school," pointing the spearhead at esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. After going over the draft, reactionary literary scoundrel Yao Wen-yuan showed particular concern for the section on the history of Chinese philosophy regarding "The Annals of Master Lu." In January 1974 he secretly went to Shanghai to give instructions that led to the alteration of "The Annals of Master Lu" from a work by a "miscellaneous writer" to one "making Confucian philosophy the core" and "using eclecticism to advocate a return to the old order and rites." Lu Pu-wei was thus arbitrarily identified as a "prime minister of the Confucian school." This alteration was regarded by the "gang of four's" followers as a "model entry" "closely in line with the political situation." This in fact set the counterrevolutionary keynote for compiling the "dictionary."

On the eve of the convening of the Fourth NPC, when the "gang of four" were conspiring to form a cabinet and when the evil wind of relentlessly criticizing "prime minister of the Confucian school" was raging fiercely, the leading members of the former writing group suddenly ordered the group compiling the "dictionary" to stop all work and to begin around-the-clock compilation of a supplement entitled "The History of the Confucianist-Legalist Struggle" which would "fit into the actual struggle." This odd outgrowth of the "dictionary" was compiled at Chiang Ching's bidding after she had made a speech in Tientsin. As a result, persons who are not mentioned in the history of Chinese philosophy, such as Empress Lu and Wu Tzu Tien, were improperly made key entries and lavishly praised. Other entries included a large number of prime ministers who were not philosophers, and these were labeled Confucianists and vehemently criticized. In addition, the fallacy attributable to the "gang of four" that "the Confucianist-Legalist struggle of the past 2,000 years has persisted to the present" was vigorously advocated. This was aimed at using history for insinuating purposes to serve the gang.

After Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan dished up two sinister articles in succession in 1975, the leading members of the former writing group blatantly declared that they would revise the entries under the guidance of the spirit of the two articles. Consequently, Chang's and Yao's sinister concepts regarding "all-round dictatorship" and "bourgeois rights" were all treated as standard entries. In 1976 the "gang of four" stepped up their machinations to usurp party and state power and dished up a counterrevolutionary political program equating "veteran cadres" with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist roaders." Keeping pace with the "gang of four's" antiparty activities, the "dictionary" reached a state of perfection. Taking the cue from the sinister instruction regarding "studying the trend in the class struggle" and prating about "a bourgeois class inside the party," when the complete draft was revised it wantonly attacked Vice Chairman Teng and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. Even an entry on "objective and subjective dialectics" contains the misleading slander that "bourgeois democrats" went against the dialectics of historical development to become "capitalist roaders." The "dictionary" thus did everything possible to trumpet for the "gang of four" and to peddle their counterrevolutionary political program.

Facts speak louder than words. In going to great lengths to promote the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary views, to use history for insinua-tive purposes and to frame people politically, was the "dictionary" really propagating Marxist philosophy? No! It was saying one thing but doing another--i.e., professing to be a "dictionary of Marxist philosophy" while really being one of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary intrigues.

#### Falsely Propagating Materialism and Dialectics, Really Peddling Idealism and Metaphysics

Philosophy is a tool of class struggle. The antagonism and struggle between materialism and idealism and between dialectics and metaphysics have long been ideological manifestations of class struggle in philosophy. Philosophy cannot but be influenced by political concepts and serve political struggle. The "gang of four's" idealist and metaphysical reactionary world outlook served as their ideological basis for concocting and pursuing a counterrevolutionary revisionist line. It also served as the philosophical basis for all their absurd theories. However, in publicizing their reactionary philosophical views, they placed "materialist" halos and "dialectical" laurels on themselves, pretending to be very revolutionary in order to scare and mislead people. From its content to its approach, the "dictionary" fully revealed the "gang of four's" fake-left and real-right features. We select from its theoretical section--i.e., the supplement on "Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism" (released in 1975 for internal circulation)--the following major entries for review and criticism.

1. Bootlegging Chang Chun-chiao's "concept that spirit is omnipotent" and passing it off as the Marxist theory of materialism.

Disguising things as dialectical materialism, paying lip service to the "reaction of spirit," and publicizing the fallacies that "spirit decides everything" and "spirit is omnipotent" form the substance of the "gang of four's" subjective idealism. The "dictionary" did its best to promote the odious concept everywhere that "spirit is omnipotent" in the section dealing with "Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism."

Under the entry on "spirit," all factors were brushed aside to stress the countereffect of spirit, which was termed a factor that "propels society forward." This idealist platitude had in fact been repudiated by revolutionary teachers. Engels once pointed out in explicit terms: "The ultimate causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in their growing insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch." ("Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol III, p 425) This means that the motive force for the development of human society must be sought in the material things in society. In the history of the development of human society, the advance of the slave society to the feudal society and that of capitalist society to socialist society were not effected by the moral force of a particular class or a particular great person. Rather, they were caused by the basic contradiction in society between production relations and productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base, i.e., they were the result of the class struggle. Of course, Marxism-Leninism has undoubtedly played a great leading role in the process of socialism replacing capitalism, but it is not the "ultimate cause" of social changes and not the decisive force of such changes. Chairman Mao said: "Any ideology--even the very best, even Marxism-Leninism itself--is ineffective unless it is linked with objective realities, meets objectively existing needs and has been grasped by the masses of the people." ("The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History") Only when Marxism-Leninism has been grasped by the hundreds of millions of the masses can it become a tremendous material force for propelling society forward. Attributing this advance to a particular spirit is nothing but a refurbished version of the idealist concept of history that "social consciousness determines social being."

In the section dealing with historical materialism, the concept that "spirit is omnipotent" finds concentrated expression in the greatly exaggerated countereffect of the superstructure and in the negation of material production and the fundamental principle that economic conditions determine social and political relations. For example, under the entry on "politics and economics," the commanding and decisive role of politics over economics is stressed. However, there is no mention of the party's political line, principles and policies or of the fact that

they are dependent on economic development and must meet the requirements of economic development and serve the economy. Under the entry on "the economic base and the superstructure" in the revised draft, Chang Chun-chiao's trash regarding "which class holds the leadership power" is interpreted as "which class has effective control over factories and enterprises determines the nature of the economic base." This is a naked assertion of the fallacy that the superstructure determines the nature of the economic base. Even those entries dealing with "the three major differences" and "communism" emphasize the adoption of "political measures" to eradicate the "three major differences" and to make the transition to communism, thereby wholly discarding the material foundation as a basic requirement. In short, all these entries deliberately distort the basic principles of historical materialism and regard the superstructure as something that determines the economic base and the development of the productive forces.

Marxist philosophy has always attached great importance to the reaction of mental on material things, that of social consciousness on social being and that of the superstructure on the economic base. It concedes that in given circumstances the principal and secondary aspects of these contradictions will be mutually transforming. But this is to recognize the countereffect of spirit, social consciousness and the superstructure under the general prerequisite of affirming the materialist theory in which material things determine mental things, social being determines social consciousness and the economic base determines the superstructure. However, the "dictionary" has done just the opposite. It sets apart the countereffect of spirit, social consciousness, etc., exaggerates its role and takes it to extremes. This is no longer the materialist theory but a downright attempt to promote the subjective idealist theory of regarding spirit as omnipotent. This reactionary concept thus shows the inherent class character of all exploiting classes.

2. Distorting the "one-divides-into-two" concept and mutilating the dialectical relationship between the struggling and unifying aspects of a contradiction.

Chairman Mao's famous "one-divides-into-two" thesis penetratingly and scientifically summarizes the law of the unity of opposites and embodies, in plain language, all the rich contents of this law. But the "dictionary's" entry on the "one-divides-into-two" concept nonsensically defines its essence as being the word "divides." In fact, there is no such interpretation in all the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao. Lenin defined the law of the unity of opposites as the core of dialectics, this being the most scientific summation of the essence of dialectics. But in reducing the "one-divides-into-two" concept into the word "divides," the "dictionary" describes the word "divides" as "the core of cores" of dialectics. Using the Lin Piao-type language long discarded by people means making an absurd revision of materialist dialectics.

Lenin once pointed out: "Dividing united things into two parts and understanding their contradictory parts constitute the essence of dialectics." ("About the Problem of Dialectics," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol II, p 711) This means that materialist dialectics not only recognizes the unlimited divisibility of things but affirms that we should also study the two aspects of each contradiction as the only means of understanding the totality. When we speak of understanding each aspect of a contradiction, "we mean understanding what specific position each aspect occupies, what concrete forms it assumes in its interdependence and in its contradiction with its opposite, and what concrete methods are employed in the struggle with its opposite when the two are both interdependent and in contradiction and also after the interdependence breaks down." ("On Contradiction") Only by following Lenin's and Chairman Mao's teachings can we truly grasp the essence of dialectics and comprehensively and accurately understand the "one-divides-into-two" concept, i.e., the law of the unity of opposites. However, the entries make no concrete analysis of the two aspects of a contradiction but explain the divisibility of things. This so-called "divisibility" can only break the interrelations of the two aspects of a contradiction and set one against the other. Is this not an attempt to publicize metaphysics?

After citing the divisibility of things, the entries dwell on and regard "one-divides-into-two" as the "philosophy of struggle." They exaggerate the struggle aspect of contradiction, mutilate the interrelated struggle and identity of a contradiction and reduce the "one-divides-into-two" concept to "struggle." It is true that the unity of opposites is relative and the struggle of opposites absolute. But it is precisely the unity of these two aspects that forms the contradictory movement of all things. Therefore, when studying the contradictory movement of things we must study the unity and struggle between the two aspects of a contradiction. Overlooking one or negating the other is wrong. Repudiating the struggle aspect will make the unity of opposites inflexible, while identity without contradiction results in metaphysical views. This inevitably will lead to the opportunist standpoint of resolving contradictions by conciliatory means. Yet the "dictionary" promotes the metaphysical viewpoint by taking struggle to extremes and negating identity. It is because of the identity of both aspects of a contradiction that they can coexist in a unity and transform one another under given conditions. If identity is negated, things will become isolated, static and rigid, and this in effect negates contradiction and transformation. Politically, the appearance in ultra-"leftist" form of this metaphysical viewpoint will also lead to opportunism. Essentially, it is also ultra-rightist.

3. Peddling the metaphysical one-point theory under the cover of stressing the "key-point theory."

Another metaphysical manifestation of the "dictionary" that is particularly striking can be found in the illustrations provided in a number of

entries. For example, under the entry on "the principal and secondary contradictions," it is stressed that grasping the key link means grasping the principal contradiction. However, it never mentions the dialectical relations. Moreover, the secondary contradiction is nonsensically termed "meaningless faultfinding" that is never any good. Under the entry on the "key-point theory," only the dominant role of politics over military and economic affairs and vocational and technical work is mentioned, never the dialectical relations between politics and military and economic affairs and vocational and technical work. Under the entry on "social practice," the leading role of class struggle is acknowledged, with only a casual reference to the struggle for production and practically nothing about the substantive content of scientific experimentation. Regarding the three great revolutionary movements, which serve as the source of cognition, they have been so severely mutilated that they are incomplete. Similar examples can be cited. They run through the relevant entries like a sinister thread.

Marxist philosophy has always maintained that in a given time or under given conditions not all coexisting contradictions and the two aspects of a contradiction can be placed on an equal footing and viewed in the same way. The principal contradiction and the principal aspect of a contradiction should be distinguished from the nonprincipal contradiction and the nonprincipal aspect of a contradiction. This means that the key point should be distinguished from the side issue, so that the greatest effort is placed on the key point. This is of great importance for the formulation of the party's line, principles and policies and for making a success of revolution and construction. However, Marxist philosophy has always opposed separating the key point from the side issue and placing them in opposition to each other. Instead, it has advocated the key-point theory based on the two-point concept and urged people to dialectically handle the relationship between the key point and the side issue. In this way, both eclecticism and the metaphysical one-point theory can be avoided. However, the "dictionary," under the pretext of giving prominence to the key point, one-sidedly exaggerates the decisive role, in given conditions, of the class struggle, the two-line struggle, politics and revolution, etc. Furthermore, it takes them to extremes and in so doing tries to publicize the "gang of four's" one-point fallacies, such as using politics to replace economics, revolution to replace production, class struggle to replace the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and philosophy to replace science in its concrete form.

While the "dictionary" clearly aims at preaching the metaphysical one-point theory, it passes it off as the dialectical key-point concept. Moreover, it uses this theory as a stick to accuse those who adhere to the two-point theory of practicing "eclecticism." Under the entry on "eclecticism," Lenin's criticism of Bukharin's eclectic leanings is maliciously distorted to serve the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary political needs. Lenin never said in the abstract that whoever said "on



the one hand and on the other hand" should be considered an eclectic. On the contrary, he used "on the one hand..., on the other hand..." many times. There was, in fact, something significant behind Lenin's criticism of Bukharin, but the "gang of four" and the mass media they controlled kept the implied point to themselves. What Lenin said was: "Dialectics calls for an all-round, not lopsided, assessment of a mutual relationship in the course of its concrete development." ("More on the Trade Union, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotskiy and Bukharin," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol IV, p 449) The vital essence of Bukharin's eclectic viewpoint was that it went against the dialectical requirement. Instead of comprehensively and concretely analyzing the relations between things and clearly setting forth his own views, he extracted some of Lenin's views and some of Trotskiy's views and "accidentally put together" these mutually excluding viewpoints and then regarded them as his own views. This is why Lenin was critical of Bukharin for his eclectic stand. In studying anything, one must give consideration to all sides and not just to one side. It is altogether unthinkable to summarily and in the abstract brand those who mention "on the one hand and on the other hand" as eclectics repudiating the key-point theory.

4. Using Chang Chun-chiao's "all-round dictatorship" theory to alter the theory of proletarian dictatorship.

The thesis regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. The theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is Chairman Mao's major development, under socialist conditions, of the essence of Marxism in its most concentrated form. Yet the "dictionary's" six relevant entries contain nothing but Chang Chun-chiao's "all-round dictatorship" trash and wantonly tamper with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Under the entry on "proletarian dictatorship," only the part dealing with Chairman Mao's explanation of the functions of solving the external and internal contradictions between the enemy and ourselves during the period of dictatorship is cited, and it is deliberately misinterpreted as being the whole substance of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. This is a vain attempt to create the false impression that under the proletarian dictatorship there is no democracy except dictatorship and suppression. However, Chairman Mao repeatedly pointed out that dictatorship is only used to deal with a handful of class enemies. He said that "dictatorship does not apply within the ranks of the people" and that "what applies among the people is democratic centralism." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Democracy and dictatorship are the two inalienable parts of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as Stalin pointed out, "proletarian dictatorship is the highest form of democracy in class society." ("A Talk With the First American Workers Delegation," "Collected Works of Stalin," Vol X, p 87) This socialist democracy provides the source of strength for exercising dictatorship over the class enemies.

This particular entry also obscures socialist construction, an important task of the proletarian dictatorship. Both dictatorship and democracy are the means to achieve socialism, not an end in themselves. Chairman Mao pointed out in explicit terms: "The aim of dictatorship is to protect all our people, so that 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") The "dictionary's" entries dealing with the question of democracy merely stress that democracy operates for the purpose of "enforcing powerful dictatorship." They make no reference to the promotion of socialist democracy in order to mobilize all positive factors, to unite with all those that can be united and to serve socialist construction. On the contrary, the "dictionary" contains only entries that deal with the so-called "theory of productive forces" and condemn the development of the socialist economy, dropping from the proletarian dictatorship the important task of socialist construction.

The "dictionary" distorts the theory of proletarian dictatorship in order to bolster Chang Chun-chiao's "all-round dictatorship" concept. The entry on "proletarian dictatorship" notes that what Marx said in his "Letter to J. Weydemeyer" in 1852 regarding his new convictions on the theory of class struggle "summarizes" and "explains" "all-round dictatorship." The revised draft of the "dictionary" wantonly distorts what Marx said in the book "The Class Struggle in France, 1848 to 1850" and interprets that particular passage as meaning that "the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship in all spheres and in all stages of the socialist revolution." This is nothing but an attempt to foist Chang Chun-chiao's "all-round dictatorship" theory on Marx and to present this reactionary viewpoint as a "new contribution" to Marxism. The "dictionary" even wants to apply dictatorial means against the class enemies in eliminating "all class differences," "all production relations," "all social relations" and even "all old concepts." Moreover, a number of entries nonsensically term "all-round dictatorship" a "historical experience" and the "key" to winning victory in the continued revolution and to realizing communism. How sensational this sounds! The statement that the proletariat exercises dictatorship in the superstructure, including all cultural spheres, means that Marxism must take the dominant position in these spheres and that bourgeois notions are not permitted to spread unchecked. It does not mean that problems within the ranks of the people, such as those concerning relationships and ideology and the issue of right and wrong, can be solved by applying dictatorship. Chairman Mao always advocated strictly distinguishing between and correctly handling the two different types of contradictions, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. However, the "dictionary" distorts Chairman Mao's instructions, publicizes the "gang of four's" reactionary views, reverses the relations between ourselves and the enemy and confuses the two different types of contradictions. By peddling Chang Chun-chiao's "all-round dictatorship" theory, rejecting socialist democracy and obliterating socialist construction, the "dictionary"

causes the dictatorship of the proletariat and the continued revolution to lose their firm political foundation and material base and creates counterrevolutionary public opinion for the "gang of four" to exercise fascist dictatorship.

#### Fake-Left and Real-Right Politics and Philosophy

Marxist philosophy embodies the proletarian world outlook. It provides the proletarian political party with a theoretical basis for formulating a line and policies. Upholding or opposing the party spirit and principle of Marxist philosophy is always a focal point of struggle between Marxism and all types of revisionism. The "gang of four" and the "Concise Philosophical Dictionary" they concocted altered and opposed the basic principles of Marxist philosophy, and this shows that their purpose was to attack the party spirit and principle of Marxist philosophy. However, they adopted the approach of paying lip service to upholding the party spirit and principle of Marxist philosophy for the purpose of covering up their counterrevolutionary "gang spirit" and principle. This fake-left and real-right reactionary philosophy is completely in keeping with the "gang of four's" fake-left and real-right counter-revolutionary politics.

First, they waved the banner of "giving prominence to revolutionary mass criticism" and peddled revisionist trash. Nearly all the entries listed in the "dictionary" contain lengthy sections explaining "mass criticism," such as criticizing "eclecticism," "the theory of productive forces," "the Confucianists" and "the bourgeoisie inside the party." In his confession, a leading member of the former writing group described "mass criticism" as "subduing the enemy by calling him a thief." This means that once a person is labeled a revisionist he is subjected to vehement criticism, while the critic is disguised as a staunch fighter combating revisionism. This amounts to practicing revisionism on the pretext of criticizing it, or peddling idealism and metaphysics in the name of repudiating them.

Second, under the guise of "giving prominence to Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao," they rabidly opposed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The "dictionary" cites the sayings of many classical writers, but it uses Marxist utterances to cover up their anti-Marxist actions. Depending on the "gang of four's" needs, it extracts words and passages from one section and alters them when they are used in another instance. The alterations are sometimes used for appearance's sake or are falsified if necessary. This shows that in "giving prominence to Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao" and in quoting their sayings they were maliciously "serving the gang's purpose."

Third, they paid lip service to high-sounding revolutionary slogans but perpetrated counterrevolutionary misdeeds. On the surface the "dictionary" dwells on such slogans as contradictions, class struggle, the

two-line struggle, revolution, politics, dictatorship, the revolution in the realm of the superstructure and man's subjective initiative. In reality it exaggerates the revolutionary truth embodied in these things and takes them to extremes or alters them so that they become reactionary fallacies. This is aimed at pointing the spearhead of struggle at Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee, at eliminating the proletariat and at exercising dictatorship over them so as to help the "gang of four" push their counterrevolutionary political program.

Historical experience tells us that with the development of class struggle the enemies of Marxism are constantly changing their tactics. As early as 1908, Lenin explained this in the article "Marxism and Revisionism." He pointed out that the enemies Marxism encountered in the first half-century of its existence were chiefly people like Proudhon and Bakunin, who openly opposed Marxism with hostile doctrines. Things changed in the next 50 years after the founding of Marxism, and there began a struggle against the anti-Marxist faction, the faction of Bernsteinians, within the Marxist ranks. On the one hand they called themselves Marxists; on the other they revised the most important content of Marxism and were thus called revisionists. Lenin called this revisionism "revisionism from the right." However, Lenin at that time had already perceived a kind of "revisionism from the left." As Lenin pointed out, the latter kind of revisionism also attached itself to Marxism and at the same time revised it. Such "revisionists from the left," "whenever they opened their mouth, always said that they opposed the Marx as he was incorrectly understood by others and sought the help of the Marx whom they correctly understood." Reviewing this section of history is of immense immediate significance in understanding the struggle between the two classes and the two lines in the socialist period.

Since the founding of the PRC and under Chairman Mao's leadership, our party waged repeated struggles against the class enemies inside and outside the party. Consequently, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought became very popular with people, while rightist revisionism was completely discredited. Under these historical conditions, the fake-left and real-right revisionism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" appeared. An important feature of their tactics is that they proceeded from one extreme and assumed an ultra-"leftist" posture to confuse people's thinking and to oppose Marxism. Therefore, they were deceptive and succeeded in misleading some people. But the radiance of Marxist truth cannot be covered up. No matter how the "gang of four" changed their counterrevolutionary tactics and employed ultrarightist or ultra-"leftist" forms, their ultrarightist nature was finally exposed. Like those before them, they failed to escape their ignominious end.

IT IS IMPERMISSIBLE TO POINT THE SPEARHEAD OF DICTATORSHIP AT THE PARTY

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[Article by the theoretical study group of the Ministry of Public Security]

[Text] To achieve their counterrevolutionary goal of usurping party and state power, the "gang of four" uncontrollably tampered with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and basically reversed the relationship between the enemy and ourselves in the historical period of socialism. Holding the banner of opposing capitalist roaders, they dished up a counterrevolutionary political program equating veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist roaders," created public opinion, secretly plotted and pointed the spearhead of dictatorship at the party in an attempt to overthrow a large number of leading party, government and military cadres who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

In the days following the death of our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou in early 1976, Chairman Mao personally selected Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as his successor. This aroused the bitter hatred of the "gang of four." They quickened the pace of their attempts to usurp party and state power, openly dished up their counterrevolutionary political program and ferreted out so-called "capitalist roaders" on all fronts. They repeatedly instructed their followers in the Public Security Ministry: Public security organs must focus their attention on the bourgeoisie within the party. You must dare to investigate and challenge capitalist roaders. During the national meeting of Public Security Bureau directors in June of that same year, the "gang of four" and their followers in the Public Security Ministry spared no efforts in opposing the directive of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, who was concurrently minister of public security, on the meeting's task of studying the issue of dealing blows at active counter-revolutionaries. They changed the orientation of the meeting and brazenly proposed discussing how to exercise dictatorship over capitalist roaders. Ignoring the objections of the absolute majority of comrades at the meeting, they forcefully concocted a draft agenda whose major topic dealt with

dealing blows at the so-called "capitalist roaders." They clamored about exercising dictatorship over and dealing resolute blows at capitalist roaders. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng detected their tricks, criticized and refuted their fallacy of pointing the spearhead of the dictatorship at the party, resolutely prevented them from concocting such an agenda, and foiled their scheme. Yet the gang would not give up their criminal designs and continued peddling their sinister trash behind Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's back.

During the days when the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao was very ill and following his death, the "gang of four's" activities against the party became all the more unbridled. They openly incited their followers in the Public Security Ministry and in some localities to collect so-called "intelligence on the enemy's situation in the party" and secretly schemed to launch a campaign to suppress counterrevolutionaries, with capitalist roaders as the target. The "gang of four's" followers in Liaoning held a meeting of Public Security Bureau chiefs and organization section chiefs and set up joint offices specifically charged with preparing for a struggle against the bourgeoisie within the party. They said that in dealing with capitalist roaders it was necessary to draw two lines--one to judge whether they qualified as party members and another to determine whether they deserved to be punished. They clamored that it was first of all necessary to seize typical cases and punish one as a warning to others. That sinister henchman of the "gang of four" in the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau secretly concocted a contingency plan for suppressing the revolutionary cadres and masses in coordination with the "gang of four's" attempt to usurp party and state power. The "gang of four's" followers in the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau organized a mobile force, prepared communications equipment, issued weapons and ammunition, actively participated in the preparations for a counterrevolutionary armed insurrection and plotted to carry out a bloody suppression of revolutionary cadres and the vast numbers of party members. The "gang of four" and their sworn followers in Liaoning used the power they usurped to crazily spy on leading comrades at the central level and of the provincial party committee and to collect blacklist information. These shocking facts show that the "gang of four," like the Lin Piao antiparty clique, violated party discipline and state law, pointed the spearhead of the dictatorship at the party and committed crimes that made people's hair stand on end in anger.

To point the spearhead of the dictatorship of public security organs at the party, the "gang of four" and their followers created and spread all kinds of reactionary fallacies as their theoretical basis for exercising dictatorship over the so-called capitalist roaders.

First, they preached that new changes had taken place in class relations and vilified the leading party, government and army cadres who upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as having all turned into capitalist roaders. They babbled that the most dangerous enemies at present were

the capitalist roaders. This idea was politically the most reactionary and theoretically the most absurd.

Chairman Mao incisively analyzed the conditions and characteristics of class struggle in socialist society, summed up the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad and put forward comprehensive theses on waging struggles against capitalist roaders within the party. Chairman Mao also pointed out that the targets of the social education movement and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. In order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration, we undoubtedly have to settle accounts with capitalist roaders within the party, but the people falsely accused as capitalist roaders by the "gang of four" and their cohorts were by no means the party persons in authority taking the capitalist road referred to by Chairman Mao, but were leading party, government and army cadres at all levels who upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They labeled as capitalist roaders and regarded as the most dangerous enemies all revolutionary cadres, and veteran revolutionary cadres in particular, who followed the instructions of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee, adhered to the three basic principles and did not want to follow and enter the service of the "gang of four." Why did they call people monsters and monsters people? In the eyes of the "gang of four" and their cohorts, the insurmountable obstacle to their usurpation of party and state power was a large number of long-tested veteran revolutionary cadres holding leading positions at all levels in the party, government and army. To overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, effect a change of dynasty and replace the old talisman of the new year with a new one, they had to reverse the relationship of the people to the enemy and overthrow all the veteran revolutionary cadres, and they would have been satisfied with nothing short of the latter's destruction.

While stressing the necessity of struggle against the capitalist roaders, Chairman Mao applied his thesis on differentiating between the two types of contradictions in the struggle against capitalist roaders. He explicitly pointed out: "Of those who have made the mistake of taking the capitalist road, only a few are totally unrepentant, while the majority can correct their mistakes through education. Don't regard anyone as a bad person the moment he is called a 'capitalist roader.'" In his political report at the 11th National CCP Congress, Chairman Hua specifically expanded on Chairman Mao's thesis on the question of capitalist roaders within the party, pointing out: "Capitalist roaders originate from two categories of people: One, the renegades, enemy agents, counterrevolutionaries, alien class elements, degenerates, new bourgeois elements and other class enemies who have sneaked into the party; two, party members who, with an unchanged bourgeois world outlook, disapprove of or even oppose the socialist revolution, including those who ideologically still remain at the stage of the democratic revolution. For people of the second category who have committed the

error of taking the capitalist road, there are two possibilities: One, they may make amends; two, they may not. Only a few are totally unrepentant, and with them it is a case of contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. The majority are willing and able to correct their mistakes, and the case is one of a contradiction among the people. To these comrades we must apply the principle of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient." Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua's instructions very clearly tell us that in the struggle against capitalist roaders we must first of all draw a clear line between ourselves and the enemy and correctly handle the two types of contradictions, which are different in nature. To begin with, the handful of renegades, enemy agents, counterrevolutionaries, alien class elements, degenerates, new bourgeois elements and other class enemies who have sneaked into the party have always been the target of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and we must resolutely exercise dictatorship over them. Of those who have made the mistake of taking the capitalist road, the majority involve a contradiction among the people, not a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. Our party has always stressed that in dealing with comrades who have made the mistake of taking the capitalist road it is necessary to make a point of saving them through education, helping them correct their mistakes and allowing them to continue in the revolution. Only a very small number of capitalist roaders who continue to cling to their erroneous ways and are totally unrepentant despite repeated education are to be handled as a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. In this way we can unite with more than 95 percent of the cadres and masses, including those comrades who have made the mistake of taking the capitalist road but are willing to correct it, completely isolate the handful of class enemies and concentrate our attack on them. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution our party resolutely cleared out totally unrepentant capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four." They were the true, most dangerous enemies bent on subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

On the one hand the "gang of four" and their cohorts vigorously preached that attention should be focused on the bourgeois class within the party. On the other hand they tried their utmost to support and encourage the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and new and old bourgeois elements to make trouble. They blatantly babbled that the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements were well-known brands and that there was no need to spend time and efforts on them. They even blustered that enemy agents and espionage were nothing terrible and that it was not serious if counterrevolutionaries killed a few people and set a few fires. Wasn't this openly inciting and supporting them in carrying out sabotage? In the eyes of the "gang of four" and their cohorts, killing people was not a crime; setting fires was justified; beating, smashing and looting became revolutionary actions; and newborn bourgeois elements, landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements became advanced



elements. This clearly shows that the purpose of the "gang of four" and their cohorts in creating the ballyhoo about the most dangerous enemy being the capitalist roaders was to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and to shift the spearhead of the dictatorship of the public security organs from a handful of class enemies to the party and leading cadres of the party, government and army who upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. How sinister and vicious their intentions were!

Secondly, they fabricated what they called the new characteristics of the enemy situation, that the counterrevolutionaries' sabotage activities were always closely linked with the restorationist and retrogressive activities of the capitalist roaders within the party, and they babbled that whatever wind the bourgeois class in the party stirred up, the ghosts and monsters in society always followed suit and made trouble accordingly. This was a serious distortion of the reality of class struggle and a vicious attack on and shameless slander directed against our party and the veteran revolutionary cadres.

The "gang of four" and their cohorts conspired to usurp party and state power and committed unforgivable crimes. They had long ago lost all popular support and were extremely isolated. They took a stand hostile to the party and the people, adopted the counterrevolutionary tactics of defending themselves by mounting an offensive, slandered all the revolutionary words and deeds of the masses against their perverted actions as political rumors and counterrevolutionary sabotage, vilified the veteran revolutionary cadres' upholding of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as capitalist roaders' restorationist and retrogressive activities, and viciously slandered the flesh-and-blood relations between the veteran revolutionary cadres and the masses as close ties between counterrevolutionaries and capitalist roaders. In talking such nonsense they not only meant to vilify the masses but tried to further label the veteran revolutionary cadres, calling them everything from "capitalist roaders" to "counterrevolutionaries" so as to find an excuse to impose a fascist dictatorship. This laid bare the fact that they harbored inveterate hatred toward our party, our army and the revolution in our country.

"Whatever wind the bourgeois class in the party might stir up, the ghosts and monsters in society would follow suit and make trouble accordingly." This was the "gang of four's" demagogic propaganda. With extremely evil intentions they deliberately confounded the struggle between the two lines within the party with the class struggle in society. The "gang of four" and their cohorts fabricated the falsehood that there was a bourgeois class within the party. This was shameless slander of our party, pure and simple. It served their criminal conspiracy to overthrow a large number of veteran revolutionary cadres and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. When they blustered that it was necessary to find the source of the wind within the party for all the counterrevolutionary sabotage activities in society, their

purpose was to direct the spearhead of the public security organs at the veteran revolutionary cadres. We all know that Marxism tells us: In the entire historical period of socialism, so long as there are classes, class contradiction and class struggle at home, and so long as there are social imperialism and imperialism abroad, the occurrence of counter-revolutionary sabotage is inevitable. Our party does not exist in a vacuum. Class struggle in society inevitably will be reflected in the party. The struggle between the two lines is a concentrated manifestation in our party of the class struggle in society. The "gang of four" totally ignored the objective law of class struggle and alleged that all the waves stirred up by the ghosts and monsters in society could be traced to the wind fanned up by the bourgeois class within the party, and the capitalist roaders were the main root cause of all counterrevolutionary sabotage activities. This was a complete reversal of right and wrong and sheer nonsense. It was very obvious that the purpose of the "gang of four" and their cohorts in fabricating this kind of falsehood was to make the public security organs set their sights on capitalist roaders and move upward, level by level, until they reached the central level, so as to ferret out the so-called commanding figures of the counterrevolutionaries and find the so-called behind-the-scenes boss of the counterrevolutionaries, blatantly pointing the spearhead at the party Central Committee. They were indeed extremely reactionary.

Of course, we have learned from dialectical materialism that class struggle in society and the struggle between the two lines within the party are always interrelated and influence one another. When we say the struggle between the two lines within the party is a reflection of the social class struggle within the party, we also recognize the fact that the struggle between the two lines within the party will likewise influence class struggle in society. Like the "gang of four," the unrepentant capitalist roaders are typical representatives of all counterrevolutionary forces within our party. They and the class enemies in society are interrelated and interdependent. They vainly attempted to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. They represented the interests and wishes of the landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries, bad elements and the new and old bourgeoisie and considered them their social base and a force to be depended on. They closely collaborated with them in launching a frenzied attack against the party and socialism both from within and without. Haven't the facts proved this? During the movement to criticize Lin Biao, Confucius and other political movements, the "gang of four" and their company stirred up all kinds of evil winds, such as criticizing the greatest scholar within the party, opposing empiricism and catching "capitulationists," while the gang's cohorts and the landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries, bad elements and monsters and freaks of all descriptions launched such evil things as catching "restorationists" and "home-going legion." When the "gang of four" dished up their counterrevolutionary political program, their cohorts and the landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries, bad elements and monsters and freaks of all descriptions also carried out evil activities

everywhere and championed ferreting out the so-called "democrats" and "capitalist roaders." Those people frenziedly harangued that they wanted to carry out "struggle," "criticisms" and "execution" and wildly took their counterrevolutionary class revenge on veteran revolutionary cadres. They attacked party committees and leading comrades of party committees, sabotaged production work and energetically engaged in embezzlement, crime and speculation. As a result, capitalism ran rampant. However, it should be pointed out that so long as Chairman Mao's revolutionary line occupies a leading position in our party, their adverse influence is limited. The capitalist roaders are only a small handful and are constantly being exposed and eliminated. As long as we maintain a high degree of vigilance, those people won't be able to entirely change the situation.

Thirdly, the "gang of four" and their company disseminated such fallacies as that the exercising of dictatorship over "capitalist roaders" was a new area of public security work, that the public security organs' targets of struggle had changed and that striking at the "capitalist roaders" was their principal task. This was a continuation of their scheme to peddle the "two negations and one smash," (namely, to completely negate the achievements of public security work since the founding of the country, negate the majority of public security cadres and policemen and smash the public security and judicial system) in a vain attempt to alter the character and duties of public security organs.

Chairman Mao clearly discussed and identified the targets of struggles and tasks of the organs of proletarian dictatorship long ago: It is necessary to exercise dictatorship over the reactionary class, reactionaries and those who oppose socialist transformation and construction. As to those embezzlers, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, criminal gangs and other bad elements who seriously disrupt public order in our society, we must also exercise dictatorship over them. The new constitution adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress also clearly stipulated that state organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat must suppress all treasonable and counterrevolutionary activities and punish all traitors, counterrevolutionaries, newborn bourgeois elements and other bad elements. Since the founding of our country, public security organs, under the direct leadership of the party Central Committee and party committees at various levels, have followed Chairman Mao's instructions and always exercised dictatorship over counterrevolutionaries, other criminals, unreformed landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries, bad elements, newborn bourgeois elements, and agents and spies of imperialism, revisionism, reaction and the Chiang gang. Public security organs have effectively repulsed the destructive activities of a small handful of class enemies and successfully carried out the transformation work involving criminals, landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries and bad elements, thus playing an important role in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and insuring the smooth implementation of socialist revolution and construction. We can

positively state that so long as there are struggles between the proletariat and bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist road during the entire historical period of socialism, public security organs must continue to wage struggles against these enemies and never alter their tasks. The "gang of four" and their company peddled the fallacy that public security organs' targets of a struggle and tasks had changed and that their main task, therefore, was to attack "capitalist roaders." They blustered that public security work had reached a turning point and that it was necessary to change its ideology to suit the new situation. Their purpose was to disrupt public security organs theoretically, ideologically and regarding the question of political line. They wanted to shift public security work to the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary track of usurping party and state power and vainly attempted to turn the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat into tools of the capitalist class in enforcing a fascist dictatorship.

Public security organs should never direct their spearhead of dictatorship at the party. This is determined by the nature of public security organs of the proletariat. We all know the people's public security organs are important instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the direct leadership of the party and are sharp knives of the party and state in opposing enemies at home and abroad. The dictatorship means of the public security organs can only be used against enemies and must not be used against the people, and in particular not within the party. Chairman Mao clearly instructed us: The system of dictatorship cannot be used within the ranks of the people. Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee always strictly forbade secret investigation work within the party. They issued these important instructions after having taken a serious lesson from the Soviet Union--where public security and protective organs degenerated into tools of the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique in usurping party and state power and enforcing a fascist dictatorship--and after summing up the experience of the struggle between the two lines within our party. This is of great significance for strengthening the party's direct leadership over public security work, insuring that public security organs are firmly under the control of the proletariat and preventing bourgeois careerists from using these organs as tools in carrying out antiparty conspiratorial activities. As mentioned above, the struggle waged by our party against the capitalist roaders generally involves the struggle between the correct and erroneous ideas and between the correct and erroneous roads within the party. At the beginning these struggles are not always struggles of an antagonistic nature, although they may develop into such. Chairman Mao said that we should use different methods to solve different kinds of contradictions. This is a principle which must be strictly observed by every Marxist-Leninist. The struggle against capitalist roaders within the party must be conducted under the direct leadership and unified preparations of the party Central Committee. The leading cadres should mobilize all party members and the masses to solve it in accordance with the principle of handling struggles within the party. It is not permitted to employ

means of dictatorship in carrying out the struggle. Public security organs also cannot use means of dictatorship against the small handful of unrepentant capitalist roaders whose contradiction with us is one between ourselves and the enemy unless the security organs are so ordered by Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee. If public security organs follow the method of the "gang of four" and direct the spearhead of attack at the party, these organs will place themselves above the party and exercise dictatorship over the party. In this way, some people within our party will exercise dictatorship over other people within our party, the party's unity and solidarity will be undermined, the entire party will be confused and disrupted, and public security organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat will degenerate into policy bureaus of the Kuomintang or KGB of the Soviet Union and become spy organizations in enforcing the dictatorship of the landlord and capitalist classes. This is something that will never be allowed by the party, the people and the broad masses of public security cadres and policemen.

In the third battle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must penetratingly expose and criticize the counterrevolutionary crimes of the "gang of four" and their company in reversing the relations between ourselves and the enemy and directing the spearhead of the dictatorship at the party and thoroughly eliminate their pernicious influence. We should conscientiously study Chairman Hua's instruction on strengthening public security work and the socialist legal system; conduct education for all public security cadres and policemen on party discipline, state laws, the constitution, the socialist legal system and discipline related to public security work; place public security work under the direct leadership and strict supervision of the party Central Committee and party committees at various levels; protect the people and strike at the enemy; perform our work well; and make even greater contributions to implementing the line of the 11th national congress of the party, fulfilling the general task in the new period and further consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY MUST BE ANALYZED CONCRETELY

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[Article by Jen Chi-yu [0117 4949 1937]]

[Text] Making a concrete analysis of a concrete problem is the Marxist method of studying and analyzing problems. It is a subjectivist method to cling to one conventional formula and to apply it rigidly everywhere; to shape the feet to suit the shoes, so to speak. Such a method solves no problem. The vicious class enemies Lin Piao and the "gang of four" always applied Marxist-Leninist phrases mechanically in disregard of time, location and conditions. This was a virulent tactic of undermining Marxism.

The case of Wu Hsun is dwelt on in Volume V of the "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung." It is stated thus: "A fellow like Wu Hsun, living as he did toward the end of the Ching dynasty in an era of great struggle by the Chinese people against foreign aggressors and domestic reactionary feudal rulers, did not lift a finger against the feudal economic base or its superstructure; on the contrary, he strove fanatically to spread feudal culture, and, in order to gain a position for this purpose previously beyond his reach, he fawned in every way on the reactionary feudal rulers--ought we to praise such disgusting behavior?" This analysis by Chairman Mao set a brilliant example for us workers regarding the history of philosophy.

First, it tells us that to see the role of an idea in history we must observe it in the context of the sociohistorical conditions at that time. The principal contradiction in the last years of the Ching dynasty was one between the masses of people on the one side and foreign capitalist aggressive forces and domestic feudal rulers on the other.

Second, China's economic foundation at that time was the feudal economy, which had already become an obstacle to China's social progress. The pressing task then was to overthrow the feudal system of exploitation and to open up the capitalist road.

Third, feudal culture desperately defended the feudal economic system. Spreading feudal culture or opposing it constituted the main content of the confrontation on the ideological front at that time.

In the face of this violent struggle in three respects, i.e., political, economic and cultural, Wu Hsun stood in opposition to the revolutionary forces and became an enemy of the revolutionary people. It is clear what the historical role of a fellow like Wu Hsun is and how to appraise him.

What is true for modern times is also true for ancient times. What is the principle for studying history is also the principle for studying the history of philosophy.

In defining the criteria for materialism and idealism in philosophy, we look mainly at the relationship between thinking and being. Is matter or spirit primary? But here the question must be concretely analyzed, taking into account the time, place and conditions. In Europe of ancient times, the Greek philosopher Thales said the world was made up of water. There were also people who said that the world was made up of "fire" or "gas," etc. During the era when myths circulated and the superstitious thought of God creating the world dominated, people began to explore the origin of the world. The materialists sought the cause from within the world, from the world itself; the idealists did so from outside the world. The first road was materialist and the second idealist.

In ancient China the pre-Chin materialist philosophers were in a similar situation in dealing with the origin and composition of the world. For instance, the book "Hung Fan" proposed that the world was made up of five kinds of basic matter--metal, wood, water, fire and earth. In ancient India there were materialists who maintained that the world was made up of "four major elements"--earth, water, fire and wind. Viewed from modern scientific criteria, what they said about these elements making up the world was wrong and did not tally with the facts. However, under the historical conditions in which science was still undeveloped and man's three major kinds of revolutionary practice were still in their infancy, their views were the most advanced, and their road was the only one leading to an understanding of the real condition of the objective world. They played a promotional role on the road of man knowing and changing the world, so their contributions were respected and what they said was acknowledged as materialist philosophy. With science having developed into what it is today, man's understanding of the world is deeper and more correct than it was before (but none can say that such an understanding has reached its peak). If there still are people who say that the world is made up of "water" or "five elements" or "four elements," this can only be considered absurd talk, fantastic and idealistic.

Materialism and science always advance hand in hand, complementing each other. Whether or not God had created the world was an extremely serious

and important problem hotly debated in ancient times. Therefore, during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods a sharp struggle evolved around the question of "heaven" with respect to the natural outlook of philosophy. Idealists thought that "heaven" had a will and was a dominating force that determined everything. On the other hand, materialists maintained that "heaven" was the world of nature which might be transformed and utilized by man. The attitude and stand taken toward "heaven" became a yardstick separating materialism from idealism. In other fields, such as the theory of knowledge, there was the polemic over which came first--name or reality, knowledge or deeds. This, too, was a yardstick separating materialism from idealism. But the focal point of the polemic today is no longer the question of whether God created the world but the stand adopted toward and the explanation of modern scientific achievements.

The struggle between materialism and idealism was even more acute with regard to the historical concept of society. This was the last position in which idealism entrenched itself, a position that would not be lightly abandoned by the bourgeoisie and revisionists. All open enemies of Marxism invariably have to mount an attack on the basic principles of Marxist philosophy. Due to the might of Marxism, enemies hiding among the Marxist ranks disguise themselves as Marxists and tamper with and undermine Marxism from within. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were the most typical idealists. Needless to say, and as people clearly see it, they relied entirely on their subjective imagination when pondering things and looking at problems; they never based their thought on objective reality. However, even these frenzied idealists held that the earth came into being before mankind, and they did not believe that God created the world. Time, places and conditions change, and if we cling to outdated approaches in studying the history of philosophy, we shall not be able to explain any problem. During the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods the alignments of philosophers might be defined on the basis of their attitudes toward the polemic of "heaven." We cannot do so today.

During the Warring States period there appeared the Legalist school, which was the spokesman for the newly emerging landlord class. At that time the landlord class was still a vigorous real tiger. It was progressive to a certain extent. At that time the slaveowning class was a decadent, conservative and even reactionary class. Since Confucius represented the interests of this decadent class, he could not possibly be progressive. Dictated by their counterrevolutionary political need to topple a large number of revolutionary veteran cadres, the "gang of four" branded them as "Confucians." Without regard to concrete conditions and without making concrete analysis, the gang conjured up a formula that distorted history: "Those who honor the Confucian school must be reactionary, while those who oppose it are progressive; those who honor the Legalist school must be progressive, while those who oppose it are reactionary." They churned out article after article to spread this fallacy--a fallacy easily recognized by people who are unwilling to fall into the trap and who care to look into history.



Confucius, being conservative-minded at that time, belonged to the decadent class. But it was not true that every member of that class was his supporter. Chuang Chou was an opponent of Confucius, but can one say that he was a "reformer" representing the interests of the newly emerging landlord class? The chapter on "Robber Chih" in the book "Chuang Tzu" gave Confucius a real dressing down in the form of a fable, but the idea of this chapter was not progressive. It advocated that "when you see, see the beautiful; when you hear, hear the touching; when you eat, eat the delicious; and fill your mind with ambitions." It craved the "satisfaction of ambitions and longevity of life." Such an idea did not in the least smack of the flavor of the laboring people. It was absurd for the "gang of four" to arbitrarily attribute this idea to the insurgent slaves. Since the gang have been refuted on this point, we need hardly say anything more here.

Toward the end of the Ching dynasty, Kang Yu-wei wrote "The Book of Great Harmony." Hiding under Confucius' umbrella and secretly peddling his reformist views, he created public opinion and cleared away the obstacles for the nascent bourgeoisie at the time. The Kang Yu-wei of that time could not be said to be reactionary in his attitude toward Confucius. On the contrary, he was one of the few progressive characters seeking truth from the west. When the revolutionary situation developed further, Kang stood on the opposite side of the revolution and opposed the revolutionaries. It was then that he became a reactionary. "Worship of the Legalist school" and "opposition to the Legalist school" should also be analyzed concretely, and there must not be any ambiguity. For instance, when Wang An-shih, disciple of Confucius and Mencius, praised Shang Yang, he did so because the latter was able to break with old habits and effectively promote the reform policies. Tseng Kuo-fan and Chiang Kai-shek worshipped the Legalist school because they wanted to learn the brutal tactics of suppressing the people.

Facts indicate that not all the Confucius worshippers were reactionary and some were progressive, and that not all Legalist adherents were progressive and some were extremely reactionary. That both Chiang Kai-shek and the "gang of four" shouted loudly about the worship of the Legalist school attests to this. So the key still rests with concrete analysis. When the "gang of four" concocted this "law," they only left behind a pack of jokes!

Taking advantage of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the "gang of four" went in for counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities and massively criticized Confucius and the Duke of Chou. Confucius' clamor about returning to the days of Western Chou was both restorative and regressive. But the Duke of Chou in history was a great statesman and great reformer in the period of ascendancy of the slave system. He laid the solid foundation for the further development of the slave system. The Rites of Chou were a code of law which abolished certain backward regulations of the Shang dynasty. We are right to criticize the brutal

exploitation of the slave system, but it is wrong to negate the slave system itself without subjecting it to an analysis and acknowledging the historical inevitability of its emergence and the progressive role it played in the process. No problem can be explained if it is taken out of the context of the specific time, place and conditions. The emergence of the slave system and its extinction were both historical phenomena necessary for the progress of human society. There would have been no modern European civilization without the Greek slave system.

Without the slave system of Hsia, Shang and Chou there would have been no dazzling civilization of the Han and Tang dynasties. The primitive commune practiced no exploitation and oppression, with everyone working together and sharing the fruits of their labor. It appeared that such a communal system was more "rational" than the slave system, but it was not really rational because it did not suit the social development. Because of its backwardness, it was superseded by the advanced slave system. Plain and simple indignation was no substitute for scientific analysis, and abstract concepts of "freedom" and "equality" were no guide for historical research but instead would lead to confusion in scientific research.

While the "gang of four," the bane of the state and the people, and every revisionist alike chanted Marxist-Leninist slogans, they tampered with Marxism-Leninism with the most despicable means. Talking volubly about "class analysis," they disregarded time, place and conditions and opposed concrete analysis. Such was the case with the ballyhoo about the "Confucian-Legalist struggle," which exerted a very deep, pernicious influence. Is there in the world any eternal school of thought or political force which exists out of the context of specific time, place and conditions? Even the most advanced working class and its political party will have to disappear after fulfilling their historical task. However, the "Legalist school" conjured up by the "gang of four" was a monster, omnipotent and beyond control by any law. It was capable of being active in the slave system, the feudal system, the capitalist system, now in the socialist system and even within the Communist Party. This "Legalist school" was eternally progressive and consistently correct. As the opposite of the "Legalist school" there was the diehard "Confucian school." It existed like the shadow of the "Legalist school." Where the "Legalist school" was promoting reform and progress, there the "Confucian school" appeared to promote restoration and regression. This "Confucian school" also transcended time and space and could not be constrained by any conditions. The "gang of four" were in no way studying history. They practically treated history as a game or even worse than that.

The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has called on the whole party and the whole nation to hold high the banner of Chairman Mao and to advance work in all fields. To deal more effective blows at the enemies and eliminate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four," we

must correctly understand and master Mao Tsetung Thought in its entirety. We must make clear when and where Chairman Mao delivered his speeches or issued his instructions, as well as the circumstances in which he did so. Instead of reading only the text, we must penetratingly comprehend the spirit and substance of Chairman Mao's instructions and seriously implement his line, principles and policies. We must follow this spirit in doing any work, and we must do so when studying the history of philosophy. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" used to hoist the banner of Chairman Mao while acting against him, cheating and browbeating the vast revolutionary masses. Naturally, a strict distinction must be made between some comrades who were the victims of deceit and people who conspired and intrigued. But it must also be pointed out that it is not enough to have merely subjective and good wishes in making revolution. You could do a disservice to revolution if you had a good motive but the wrong methods.

## CONTINUE TO SERIOUSLY IMPLEMENT THE PARTY'S POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 3 Jun 78 pp 41-46

[Article by Chen Pi-hsien [7115 0012 7359], second secretary of the Hupeh Provincial CCP Committee]

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has shown great concern and love for the masses of intellectuals. It has adopted a series of wise measures, criticized the "two assessments," and held a National Science Conference and a National Educational Work Conference. It has once again called on us to pay close attention to firmly implementing the party's policy on intellectuals and to arouse their socialist activism in making contributions to the realization of the general task for the new period.

In compliance with the instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, the responsible comrades of our provincial party committee have paid serious attention to firmly implementing the party's policy on intellectuals. They have led the way in befriending intellectuals, calling at their homes, having heart-to-heart talks with them and doing ideological work for their benefit. With the help of the provincial party committee, the party committees at various levels have attached importance to this task. They have exonerated and rehabilitated certain intellectuals who were trounced and persecuted by the "gang of four" and their sinister lieutenants in Hupeh, arranged work for them and investigated problems left over from previous movements. Meanwhile, we have quickly solved certain problems in the lives and work of intellectuals that called for immediate attention. At present the masses of intellectuals in our province, as in all other parts of the country, are full of pride and in a cheerful mood. Their revolutionary enthusiasm has reached an unprecedented height. The situation is gratifying.

But our work is only beginning. The remnant poison of the "two assessments" concocted by the "gang of four" has not been eliminated. Some of our comrades still have lingering fears. In implementing the party's policy on intellectuals they take a wait-and-see attitude and worry about

this and that. This calls for our continuously deepening the criticism of the "gang of four," clarifying cases of right and wrong in line they reversed, removing ideological obstacles, taking the line of the 11th party congress and the general task for the new period as the means to unify our thinking and actions, and further intensifying our efforts to firmly and properly implement the party's policy on intellectuals.

## I

We must have a correct concept of the intellectuals' position and role in socialist revolution and construction in the new period. This is a leading problem as to whether we can now firmly implement the party's policy on intellectuals in an all-round way.

Chairman Mao always attached importance to the intellectuals' role and viewed intellectuals as the wealth of our party and state and an important force in revolution and construction. As early as the period of democratic revolution, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: "The comrades of the entire party must understand that a correct attitude toward intellectuals is an important factor in the victory of the revolution." "Without the intellectuals' participation, victory in the revolution is impossible." ("Absorb Intellectuals in a Big Way") After national liberation, Chairman Mao once again stressed that "our great socialist cause requires as many intellectuals as possible to serve it." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") "Without intellectuals, we cannot do our work well." ("Speech at the CCP's National Conference on Propaganda Work") Chairman Mao not only explained the importance of revolutionary intellectuals theoretically, but set shining examples in practice. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, I worked in Shanghai. The way Chairman Mao befriended intellectuals there greatly educated me. He came to Shanghai many times. No matter how busy he was, he always inquired after the intellectuals and took the time to receive and talk with them in a cordial way. Some intellectuals became Chairman Mao's good friends. He came to see them once every 2 or 3 years. The same is true of Premier Chou and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. Premier Chou mixed well with the intellectuals of Shanghai. He often took time out to receive intellectuals from all fields. He was concerned about their work, lives and political progress, and he gave them concrete guidance in their profession. Thanks to the great concern shown by Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and thanks to their teachings, the masses of intellectuals drew increasingly closer to the party and displayed increasingly higher revolutionary enthusiasm. They played a great role in socialist revolution and construction.

The "gang of four" vigorously opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policy, distorted and altered a number of his important instructions on the issue of intellectuals, rabidly attacked and persecuted the masses of intellectuals, slandered intellectuals as "people of the stinking ninth

category," attacked them for "disrupting the socialist economic foundation," "digging up the foundations of socialism" and "restoring the social foundation of capitalism," and made the intellectuals targets of revolution and dictatorship. This had extremely evil consequences.

Showing the courage and spirit of proletarian revolutionaries and the courage to turn chaos into order, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua resolutely overthrew and thoroughly criticized the "gang of four's" "two assessments." In line with Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, they reassessed intellectuals. Chairman Hua has affirmed that the intellectuals are "a force which the working class must unite with and rely upon." Vice Chairman Teng has also pointed out that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals "are a part of the proletariat," "laborers of socialist society" and "a force on which our party relies." This assessment by the party Central Committee has smashed the spiritual shackles imposed by the "gang of four" on intellectuals and set straight the relations between the enemy and ourselves which they reversed. This greatly inspires the intellectuals.

But since the remnant poison and influence of the "gang of four" has not been eliminated, some of our comrades still fall behind the times in their understanding. They believe this assessment "inevitably carries things too far." They worry lest the intellectuals should "become cocky." Such an erroneous idea seriously interferes with the further firm implementation of the party's policy on intellectuals.

Over 20 years ago Chairman Mao suggested that a large new contingent of working-class intellectuals be built within 10 to 15 years. Over 20 years have now passed. Educated by the party and tempered in the three great revolutionary movements, the masses of intellectuals have made great strides. World outlook is a fundamental problem of whom to serve. The overwhelming majority of intellectuals have initially fostered a proletarian world outlook and willingly serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, serve proletarian politics and serve the socialist cause. They have made tremendous contributions in socialist revolution and construction. The ranks of intellectuals have undergone fundamental changes. The assessment of intellectuals made by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has correctly reflected their present state and is a scientific assessment suited to the intellectuals' actual situation.

This assessment helps to arouse the intellectuals' socialist activism in serving the four modernizations. Chairman Hua has now led us to begin a new Long March. The general task confronting the whole party and the people of the whole country is to build our country into a modern and powerful socialist country with the four modernizations by the end of this century under the guidance of the line of the 11th party congress. The key to achieving the four modernizations lies in modernizing science and technology. This requires that our workers, peasants and PLA

commanders and fighters master modern science and technology and raise considerably the scientific and cultural levels of the entire nation. In this respect, intellectuals must not only assume the task of storming the heights in science and technology, but also popularize science and technology among the masses. Just as Chairman Hua said, "Giving full play to the intellectuals' role has a great bearing on the acceleration of the development of scientific and educational undertakings and on the building of a modern and powerful socialist country." We should seriously study the series of brilliant expositions on intellectuals by Chairman Mao, firmly grasp the important instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, recognize the great significance of firmly implementing the party's policy on intellectuals, thoroughly liberate intellectuals from the spiritual shackles of the "gang of four," fully affirm their position and role in the realization of the four modernizations, and enable them to be cheerful and bold in their work. This is a matter of bringing activism into full play and not one of so-called "becoming cocky."

Of course, as far as the masses of intellectuals are concerned, there is still the problem of transforming world outlook. In our society everyone needs to undergo transformation. Intellectuals are no exception. This is because in the whole historical period of socialism there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and there is still the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road. These contradictions and struggles will inevitably be reflected in the ranks of intellectuals. This situation only shows that it is all the more necessary for us to correctly implement in an all-round way the party's policy of uniting, educating and transforming intellectuals, to apply the one-divides-into-two viewpoint in regard to intellectuals, and to combine the full affirmation of their achievements and their positive attributes with enthusiastically helping them to seriously transform their world outlook. The aim is to make them adhere to the Red and expert correct orientation in making still greater contributions to the socialist cause.

## II

There have been many frameups and convictions on false charges due to Lin Piao's and the "gang of four's" wanton disruption of the party's policy on intellectuals, their reversal of the relations between the enemy and ourselves and between right and wrong, and their making intellectuals the targets of attack and targets of dictatorship and trumping up charges against them. Though not officially found guilty, some people are spoken of in slanderous terms and labeled "reactionary academic authorities," "typical examples of Whiteness and expertness," "revisionist seedlings," etc. These problems call for immediate attention in our present efforts to firmly implement the party's policy on intellectuals. All those framed and convicted on false charges must be exonerated, resolutely cleared and publicly rehabilitated. Proper jobs must be arranged for those who can work but who have nothing to do. As to the accumulation

of cases from previous movements, the cases must be reinvestigated in accordance with the party's policy, so that down-to-earth conclusions can be drawn. Those placed in unrelated jobs or in improper jobs must be replaced, so that they can make the most of their abilities. Those who distinguish themselves in work must be encouraged and cited. Only in this way can we enable intellectuals to shatter the spiritual shackles, remove their mental burdens, and show greater activism in and make still greater contributions to the realization of the four modernizations. This is a very important task that brooks no delay. We must begin now and work at it patiently and conscientiously from one unit to another and from one person to another.

In doing this task well we are bound to run into snags. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" completely negated what was achieved in the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They slandered our implementation of the party's policy on intellectuals as promoting "capitulationism." As a result, certain comrades still have lingering fears. They are afraid of again making the mistake of so-called "capitulationism." Such worries should be eliminated.

In the criticism of the "two assessments," a fair conclusion was drawn about the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution. Indisputable facts show that we basically and correctly implemented the party's policy on intellectuals during those 17 years. Of course, there at times appeared erroneous trends of underestimating the intellectuals' progress and their role or of neglecting their education and transformation. But this was not the main trend. Once Chairman Mao had pointed out the errors, things were quickly set straight. The problem of "capitulationism" never existed. The "gang of four" trumped up charges and used the big stick of "capitulationism" on people everywhere. This was prompted entirely by ulterior motives.

Some comrades are still afraid that the masses may not have correct thinking about firmly implementing the party's policy on intellectuals. Such fears are unfounded. The party's policy on intellectuals represents the fundamental interests of the masses and reflects their wishes and demands. It has their wholehearted support and they warmly hail it. Take a well-known old actress in Wuhan Municipality, for example. She always made a good showing after liberation and made contributions to the Han Opera reform. In accordance with the party's policy, she should have been allowed to assert herself. But this case had not received proper attention. Last year, after my arrival in Hupeh, I inquired about her. It happened that the relevant department had arranged for her to appear on the stage. Before she appeared on stage, the announcement of her very name drew thunderous applause from the audience. The thunderous applause that greeted her provides a good answer to the question of whether the masses welcome here. As can be seen, it is not the masses who fail to think correctly about the firm implementation of the policy on intellectuals.



Rather, it is some of our comrades who do not think correctly. We should note that firmly implementing the party's policy on intellectuals is in keeping with the line of the 11th party congress, the demands of the general task for the new period and the interests of the masses. The people, the party and the party members now share the same hope for the early realization of the four modernizations, so that our country can prosper, thrive and become a modern and powerful socialist country. We must remove all kinds of interference, overcome all ideological obstacles and further do well in the work of firmly implementing the party's policy on intellectuals.

### III

Another important problem to be seriously solved in the firm implementation of the party's policy on intellectuals is to assure intellectuals of at least five-sixths of their time for professional work. Vice Chairman Teng pointed out: "Scientific and technical personnel should devote the greatest amount of energy to scientific and technical work. By demanding at least five-sixths of the time for professional work, we mean that this is the least amount that should be insured, and the more the better." This is a very simple thing. If we upset the production or labor schedule of workers and peasants, production suffers. The same is true of the intellectuals' work. If they are not assured of adequate time for professional work, they cannot achieve proper results. Intellectuals' work has its own features and often involves a high degree of continuity. This is especially true in the case of those involved in such arduous work as scientific research, teaching and literary and artistic creation. If these people are not assured of adequate time for their profession, not allowed to devote themselves heart and soul to their work, and instead are freely disturbed and interrupted, then the result will be a case of getting half the achievements for double the amount of work, or of coming within an inch of success only to lose everything. Of course, this is to say nothing of scaling heights. Therefore, assuring intellectuals of five-sixths of the time for professional work is by no means simply a problem of arranging time. It is a major issue bearing on whether practical measures are taken to insure the realization of the four modernizations and on the pace of our revolution and construction. However, what is very obvious has not really been understood by certain comrades. They voice approval verbally, but in practice they always worry about something. Why? Because they are obsessed with the following fear: With more time for professional work and no time for political work, will there not appear the erroneous trend of "putting professional work in command," and will there not be a departure from proletarian politics? Obviously such muddleheaded thinking must be clarified.

By stressing the need to assure intellectuals adequate time for professional work we in no way mean "putting professional work in command." We mean adherence to the principle of putting politics in command of

professional work and the dialectical unity of Redness and expertness consistently advocated by Chairman Mao. What is meant by putting proletarian politics in command? The current effort to quickly develop our socialist productive forces, to catch up with and surpass advanced world levels and to realize the general task for the new period in keeping with the line of the 11th party congress--this represents the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the laboring people and is supreme politics. Assuring intellectuals adequate time to assiduously engage in professional studies and to scale the heights of science in order to contribute to the realization of the general task for the new period--this is nothing but the unity of politics and professional work. How can it be called a departure from proletarian politics? We must take note that as far as professionals are concerned, politics depends chiefly on their standpoint, their attitude and the ideological line they follow in doing professional work. We cannot simply hold the view that only specified political studies are politics, and that if politics is not included in the five-sixths of the time for professional work, we are departing from politics. Vice Chairman Teng made things very clear: "The comrades in all trades and professions doing their own jobs well by firmly adhering to the socialist political standpoint--this is not a departure from politics but precisely a concrete manifestation of serving proletarian politics and a manifestation of socialist consciousness." In the past, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" promoted a fake-left but real-right formalistic line and advocated that politics was capable of smashing everything. They confused the relations between politics and professional matters. Our comrades suffered immensely. They could not make a distinction between putting politics in command of professional work and putting professional work in command. What we oppose is promoting the formalistic line. We advocate doing down-to-earth, hard and conscientious work. We demand that political work permeate professional work and that the smooth progress of professional work be assured.

As events prove, guaranteeing intellectuals the time for their professional work boosts rather than dampens their political enthusiasm. According to many units in our province, since the smashing of the "gang of four" the vast number of intellectuals, concerned about the future of the party and the state, have conscientiously studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, learned to grasp the directives of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, studied current events and politics, criticized revisionism and the bourgeoisie, and paid attention to remolding their world outlook. Many comrades are so preoccupied with their professional research, experiments and writing that they often forget to sleep and eat. The number of people borrowing books from libraries or reading in them has increased sharply. The supply of books on science and technology in the bookstores fails to meet the demand. All of this amply shows that an upsurge in the mass movement to march toward the modernization of science and technology is now being vigorously whipped up. When the "gang of four" ran amuck, labels flew all over and bludgeons were used to hit people everywhere. The intellectuals were repressed and

tortured; they could not work and they hated to give up work. Many promising scientists and technicians did nothing but waste their years away. The cause of science was depressed and there was a lack of successors. Flowers withered and horses were mute on the field of literature and art. The quality of education declined to a serious degree, acting as a drag on the four modernizations. A comparison between the past and present clearly shows which of the two political situations was better and who insisted on putting proletarian politics in command.

Emphasizing the time for the professional work of the intellectuals does not mean giving up or curtailing political work. We must do our political work in a still better way and give full play to the role of proletarian politics as the commander in the light of the requirements of the general task for the new period and the characteristics of the intellectuals. We must continue to encourage the intellectuals to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to deeply criticize the "gang of four." We must also guide them to take the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants and to seriously transform their world outlook. Our political workers must take note of the new characteristics of the new historical period and adjust their thinking, methods of work and styles to conform with the changed objective circumstances. Our party has rich experience in political work, and this should be summed up in order to improve the system, content and methods of political work. We must recognize that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals are capable, under the party's leadership, of correctly handling the relationship between politics and professional work. Even if some people fail to handle it properly, it is only a question of how to educate and guide them. On no account should we stop eating for fear of hiccups and become afraid to guarantee five-sixths of the time.

#### IV

Logistics work is also important in implementing the party's policy on intellectuals and ought to be given sufficiently serious attention. Chairman Hua pointed out: "It is essential to respect the labor of intellectuals, improve their working conditions, develop their special skills, and commend their achievements." For a long time Lin Biao and the "gang of four" crippled the cause of science and culture and attacked and persecuted the intellectuals. They "pulled down the temples and drove out the gods," incited beating, smashing and looting, destroyed laboratories and damaged equipment and books, thereby causing extremely serious consequences. If our logistics work cannot keep pace, and if we do not actively create the necessary working and living conditions for the intellectuals when it is possible to do so, then we will give no room to the intellectuals to display their heroism. If we let a large number of scientists and technicians or even the backbone scientific researchers spend their time looking for equipment and materials or doing household chores, then even when we guarantee them five-sixths of the time it will not be possible for them to effectively use it for

their professional work. For this reason, party committees must grasp logistics work and do it in earnest. Otherwise the four modernizations will be retarded and the important things will not be done.

Seriously grasping logistics work is an important aspect of strengthening the concrete leadership of the party over the cause of science and culture. Speaking at the National Science Conference, Vice Chairman Teng said: "I am willing to be the director of the logistics department at your service and to do this work well, together with the leading comrades of party committees at various levels." The responsible comrades of our provincial party committee have unanimously pledged to take Vice Chairman Teng as the example, take the lead in this field and set examples. However, some comrades still lack an understanding of logistics work. They think that logistics work is only the work of the logistics departments and that the party committee, which should grasp important matters, will find itself trapped in routine chores if it grasps logistics work. Such a view is incorrect. Naturally, when we say that the party committee must grasp logistics work we do not mean that the party committee should claim the exclusive right to do those things that are normally done by the logistics departments or by regular staff members. What we mean is that logistics work should be given an important place on the daily agenda and that leadership over it should be seriously strengthened.

An important requirement of the party committee in grasping logistics work is to do ideological and political work well among the logistics work personnel by helping them establish the concept of serving the people wholeheartedly. As regards such mistaken notions as "logistics work is inferior to other work," we must ardently and patiently help those who have such notions to raise their understanding and quickly correct their misconceptions. We must see that to serve the intellectuals is to serve scientific research and teaching and, in the final analysis, to serve the four modernizations and the fundamental interests of the workers and peasants. This work is indeed very glorious. Regarding this issue, still better results can be gained if the responsible comrades of the party committee "teach by personal example." If our leading comrades get personally involved and set an example, then the comrades of the logistics department will quickly keep up with us. All the achievements made by intellectuals in science and culture encompass the backbreaking labor of the comrades involved in logistics work. While commending the fruits of labor of the intellectuals, we should at the same time commend those comrades who are willing to be unknown heroes by working actively, hard and for neither fame nor profit in logistics work.

The implementation of the party's policy on intellectuals and the unqualified manifestation of the great solicitude of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua for the vast number of intellectuals will surely go a long way in arousing the revolutionary enthusiasm of the intellectuals and in encouraging them to strive to become both Red and expert, engage in arduous professional research and scale the heights of science. We believe that a flourishing phase of science and culture will certainly emerge soon.

CORRECTLY IMPLEMENT THE PRINCIPLE OF COMBINING THE OLD, THE MIDDLE-AGED AND THE YOUNG

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 3 Jun 78 pp 46-50

[Article by the organizational department of the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee]

[Text] Combining the old, the middle-aged and the young is an important principle affirmed by great leader and teacher Chairman Mao for building leading groups at all levels. It is also an important component of the party's organizational line. To seriously train and select cadres and assign them to the leading groups at all levels in accordance with Chairman Mao's five requirements for successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause and in accordance with the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young is extremely vital in holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, closely following the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and victoriously fulfilling the general task of the new period.

During great leader Chairman Mao's many visits to Hunan during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he gave very important instructions on the cadre question. When wise leader Chairman Hua was in charge of work in Hunan, he followed Chairman Mao's teachings and devoted considerable energy to personally screening and liberating cadres, carefully training and selecting leading backbone cadres at all levels, and strengthening the building of leading bodies. Under the correct leadership of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, we boycotted and criticized the counterrevolutionary, revisionist cadre line of Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Leading bodies at all levels in our province basically achieved the combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young.

While carrying out the great struggle to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," party committees at all levels in our province have unfolded a campaign since the "gang of four" was smashed to rectify the party and the style of work and have firmly grasped the consolidation and building of the leading groups. After the 11th party congress, the

province and most of the counties and cities successively held party congresses and people's congresses and reelected the party committees and revolutionary committees in strict accordance with the five requirements for successors and the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young. Leading groups in various prefectures and cities and in industrial, mining and other business units as well as grassroots units have already been or are being consolidated and reinforced where necessary. Most of the leading groups practicing the three-in-one combination in our province are being continuously consolidated and strengthened. A new situation marked by unity in fighting and vigorous growth has emerged.

Looking back to the formation and development of the leading three-in-one combination groups at all levels in the province, we realize that if we are to correctly implement the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young it is imperative to attach major importance to the role of old cadres and simultaneously devote close attention to selecting middle-aged and young cadres and bring into full play the strong points of the old, the middle-aged and the young. It won't do to neglect any of these aspects.

Giving full play to the backbone role of old cadres is a primary issue in correctly implementing the principle of combining the old, middle-aged and young. Some of the old cadres in our province took part in the great revolution and the agrarian revolutionary war and some in the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation; some came from the south and some persisted in struggling locally underground. These old comrades followed Chairman Mao in making revolution for several decades, having been tempered and tested in protracted revolutionary war and revolutionary struggle. They have profound proletarian feelings for Chairman Mao, conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies. They are unwaveringly loyal to the cause of the party and the people and are richly experienced in revolutionary struggle. They maintain and express the party's fine traditions and style of work and are in close touch with the broad masses. Both in the period of the democratic revolution and in the period of the socialist revolution and construction, they all made important contributions. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they have further raised their consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and enhanced their revolutionary youthfulness. These comrades are generally playing the backbone role in the leading groups in the three-in-one combination.

Because of their reactionary class nature and counterrevolutionary political motives, the "gang of four," being an antiparty clique, went all out to uglify the old cadres, trumped up various charges against them, and attacked and persecuted them. The gang's factional forces in Hunan, acting on the instructions of their masters, again and again slandered and attacked the old cadres of our province. "Suspecting everything and

overthrowing everyone," they obstructed the liberation of old cadres. While maliciously assaulting old cadres who entered the leading groups at various levels alongside the middle-aged and the young, they frantically pushed the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary political program "equating old cadres with 'democrats' and 'democrats' with 'capitalist roaders.'" They threatened loudly to "set fires at every level, stir up smoke everywhere, and burn the capitalist roaders so much that they keep on spinning." "Those who can be toppled must be toppled without fail. Those who cannot be toppled should also be hit so that they run away, are injured or fall sick." They openly declared: "Our aim is to hold power, to run the government and to exercise authority." Obviously, the reason they pointed the spearhead at the old cadres holding leading positions at various levels was that the old cadres were a serious obstacle to their bid to usurp party and state power. This is precisely the case. When the "gang of four" and their factional forces in Hunan ran amuck, many old cadres among us resolutely struggled against them by holding to a firm stand and a clear-cut banner. This fact clearly shows that the old cadres are the precious wealth of our party. It is very important to bring their role into full play.

In implementing the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young, there was interference and sabotage from the "gang of four." Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the correct leadership of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, the provincial party committee consistently paid serious attention to bringing the role of old cadres into play. First, the party's cadre policy was implemented. As early as 1971, 97 percent of the leading cadres at and above the level of commune party committee secretaries throughout the country were liberated. In this connection, 92 percent of the cadres supervised by the provincial party committee were liberated. Apart from continuing to solve the still outstanding cases involving implementation of cadre policy, the emphasis from then on was placed on arranging jobs for old cadres.

We feel that the key to bringing the role of cadres into full play lies in correctly using them and making rational arrangements for them. In accordance with the cadre criteria set forth by Chairman Mao and in the light of work requirements, the overwhelming majority of the old cadres were put in positions equal to those they had held before, and some were placed in even higher leading posts. A few who were old and physically weak and who might have had difficulty with heavy work loads were given special consideration and placed in jobs within their ability or allowed to serve as advisers. Those who could work were given proper jobs so that each old cadre could find his right place and make the best use of his capability. Those who were unable to carry on normal work were allowed to leave their jobs or retire in accordance with their own desires. Satisfactory arrangements were made for them. Our job placements for old cadres were gradually adjusted and rationalized in the course of the struggle against the "gang of four." The gang and their factional forces in Hunan attacked our rational arrangements for and use

of old cadres as "calling back to office those who have fallen into obscurity" in a vain attempt to push these old cadres into obscurity once again. However, resisted by the party organizations at all levels and the vast number of cadres and masses, their plot did not succeed. Now 98 percent of the cadres who were under the charge of the provincial party committee prior to the Great Cultural Revolution have been assigned work, with 96.4 percent of them in positions equivalent to their previous ones or higher. This situation has created conditions allowing old cadres to bring their role into better play.

In the meantime, the party committees at various levels in our province have also been heedful of selecting and assigning middle-aged and young cadres. Chairman Mao all along emphasized the need to pay attention to selecting and training successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution. He pointed out as early as 1942: "If our party does not have a great many new cadres working in unity and cooperation with the old cadres, our cause will come to a stop." Chairman Mao again pointed out in 1964 that training and raising millions of successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution "is an extremely important question, a matter of life and death for our party and our country. It is a question of fundamental importance to the proletarian revolutionary cause for 100, 1,000, even 10,000 years." Seriously training middle-aged and young cadres and promoting the outstanding among them to the leading groups at all levels is very important both in the immediate and long term.

China's socialist revolution and construction have now entered a new period of development. To fulfill the general task for the new period there must be strong leading groups at various levels capable of carrying out the party's line, principles and policies among the masses and of leading the masses to battle. The old cadres carry great weight in the leading groups since they have a high consciousness of the line, a strong sense of revolutionary enterprise, considerable drive, and rich work experience. However, these comrades are in their advanced years, and sometimes they feel they are not equal to their task. If a leading group lacks middle-aged and young cadres who are strong and full of energy, its fighting power inevitably will be affected. Moreover, with the passage of time, old comrades who are now doing leadership work will some day leave their posts and will have to be succeeded by others. If we do not pay attention to selecting middle-aged and young cadres now, we will be faced with a shortage of successors in the future. Selecting those middle-aged and young cadres who are holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao and are closely following Chairman Hua, and placing them in leading positions is an important matter bearing on the consolidation and development of the fruitful gains in smashing the "gang of four" and on the prevention of capitalist restoration. It is also an important matter bearing on the fulfillment of the general task for the new period.

The leading comrades of most of the party committees have now given attention to the selection and training of middle-aged and young cadres.



In a number of units, however, the leaders are still baffled by some ideological problems. Some think that since their work proceeds smoothly and their tasks are fulfilled satisfactorily, it does not matter much whether middle-aged and young cadres are trained or not. Others expect too much from middle-aged and young cadres and do not think them talented enough. Still others fail to give attention to selecting middle-aged and young cadres since they have not recovered the confidence they lost several years ago, when improper selection of some middle-aged and young cadres created some problems for them. They are all wrong. The provincial party committee has called many times on the party committees at various levels, and particularly on the old cadres, to overcome these mistaken ideas, to fully recognize the tremendous significance of selecting and training middle-aged and young cadres, and to take the conscious selection and training of middle-aged and young cadres according to plan as a serious political task.

Whether middle-aged and young cadres can be selected properly depends chiefly on whether we can stick to the five conditions set by Chairman Mao for successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. When preparations were being made in 1969 to set up party committees at various levels in our province, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, in view of the criminal acts of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in tampering with Chairman Mao's cadre criteria, placed high emphasis on the need to select party committee members in accordance with the five conditions for successors. He pointed out that people who must not be elected to the party committees are those who were seriously affected by bourgeois factionalism, those who were keen on promoting capitalism, those who tried to please everyone, and those who were without great ambitions, were lazy and lax and did no more than what they were told to do. He repeatedly urged the party members and cadres to look at power from the vantage point of the proletarian party spirit and never to bring bourgeois factionalism into the leading groups. In 1974, in accordance with their factional standard, the "gang of four" whipped up a gust of evil wind of shock admission of party members and shock promotion of cadres in a vain attempt to rig up a sinister team to usurp party and state power. But most of our province party organizations' areas and units insisted on selecting cadres in accordance with the five conditions and on admitting party members in accordance with the party constitution, and they refused to yield to those who built mountain strongholds, formed factions and stretched out their hands for positions and power. With the exception of a few areas and units which practiced the "double shock action," all the rest resisted this gust of evil wind. Party organizations at all levels persisted in selecting middle-aged and young cadres in accordance with the five conditions for successors. They selected them positively, boldly, seriously and prudently, which resulted in most of the middle-aged and young cadres selected to join the leading groups at various levels being good or fairly good.

After the overthrow of the "gang of four" and in the course of rectifying the party and the style of work and consolidating the leading groups, each

of the cadres promoted in our province during the "double shock action" was examined on the basis of the cadre criteria set by Chairman Mao and dealt with accordingly. Those who basically satisfied the conditions were retained in their leading posts and continued to be trained and elevated. On the basis of doing ideological work well, appropriate measures were adopted to readjust the positions of those who did not satisfy the conditions. A small number of people who were involved in the "gang of four's" conspiracies and who had serious problems were seriously dealt with according to relevant party policy. Some of the problems in this respect have been solved, while others will be solved gradually in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." In short, it is necessary not only to adhere to Chairman Mao's cadre criteria but also to pay attention to uniting with the vast majority of cadres.

Chairman Mao always emphasized the need for cadres to weather the storm, see the world and be tempered and grow in the course of revolutionary struggle. Our party's traditional practice is to systematically and step by step elevate to leading positions those fine elements who emerge from the revolutionary struggle resolutely carrying out the party's line, observing party discipline, maintaining close ties with the masses, able to work independently and willing to work positively and unselfishly. Some may be promoted more rapidly by bypassing the next higher grade in the light of work requirements and their moral and professional qualities.

The "gang of four" attacked these correct policies and methods of our party for selecting, training and promoting cadres as suppressing the newborn forces and rejecting young cadres. They denied practical experience and opposed promoting cadres gradually grade by grade. Those who went along with them might reach the top overnight by "sitting in a helicopter" or "sitting on a rocket." Under the "gang of four's" influence, a small number of units in our province for a time overemphasized age when selecting and promoting cadres and placed some young comrades in unsuitable leading posts. Not only did this practice weaken the fighting power of the leading groups, but it also harmed the growth of young cadres. We seriously summed up the experiences and lessons in this respect. In the last several years the overwhelming majority of the middle-aged and young cadres selected and promoted in the entire province were those who had emerged from the three great revolutionary movements. They have definite practical experience and are publicly acknowledged as fine contributing elements or as leading backbone elements of advanced units.

The old, middle-aged and young members of the leading groups at various levels, especially the young, must not be judged purely by the age criterion. Different measures should be applied in provincial, prefectural, county and basic-level units. In particular, we must not rigidly stress age. The most important thing is to see whether a person is able to satisfy the requirements of the job. So far as a leading

group is concerned, the old, the middle-aged and the young must be rationally allocated. The two leaders in particular must be properly selected. The principal leading posts should be filled by those comrades who are strong in party spirit, have a good style of work, are able to unite with others, and are relatively rich in the experience of struggle. Practice tells us that a properly constituted leading group will enable the old cadres to teach, help and lead the middle-aged and young cadres, which will be favorable to the growth of the middle-aged and young cadres and make it possible to effectively raise the fighting power of the leading group.

The combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young is not merely a matter of organizational arrangements. We must not think that when a leading group is composed of the old, the middle-aged and the young it has successfully practiced this principle. The more important requirement by far is to pay constant attention to the leading group's ideological building, to give full play to the respective roles of the old, the middle-aged and the young cadres, and to truly form a strong nucleus resolutely carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, maintaining close ties with the masses and fighting in unity. Otherwise, neither the old nor the middle-aged and young cadres will be able to play their roles fully. If things are done only in form and not in substance, such a three-in-one combination will remain an empty phrase and lose its meaning.

The experience of consolidating the leading groups at various levels in our province shows that in giving full play to the combined roles of the old, the middle-aged and the young, the most fundamental thing is to seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," straighten out the ideological and political line, break the spiritual chains and cure the "internal wounds." Interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" over past years had caused serious "internal injuries" in some leading groups and caused spiritual chains to be wrapped around the necks of some cadres. Some old cadres were so frightened by the various "capitalist roader" labels created by the "gang of four" that they still have lingering fear. They dare not courageously and straightforwardly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the party's principles and policies, fearing this or that and having many worries. There are also some who shun heavy workloads, avoid contradictions and dare not struggle.

Some young cadres lack an all-round and profound understanding of the party's line, principles and policies. They have been so influenced by the "gang of four's" fake-left and real-right attitudes that they are unable to tell right from wrong on some questions and dare not boldly and thoroughly put into force a number of major measures aimed at restoring order from disorder. The fact that leading groups of some units are faced to varying degrees with the problems of softness, laziness and laxity is inseparable from the mentality of these comrades.

With a view to healing the "internal wounds," a number of principal leading comrades of the provincial party committee and the provincial revolutionary committee are personally leading investigation teams to rural areas and to factories and mines to conduct investigation and studies and to analyze typical cases where they are healing the "internal wounds" by applying the method of rectification and of exposing the contradictions. They are helping the leaders at various levels to recognize the reactionary essence of the "gang of four," who are fake leftists and real rightists, and to strengthen the leading groups ideologically, organizationally and in the style of work. In addition, the provincial party committee has called on the various prefectural, municipal and county party committees to systematically and practically adjust the leading groups in one unit after another on the basis of investigation and studies. In the course of consolidating the leading groups, the various areas have integrated the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with criticism of the "gang of four" and the summing up of experience and lessons. In the light of actual conditions in one's area and unit, there has been mass study, criticism and discussion of those questions on which the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage left a very deep pernicious influence and caused considerable harm. The confusion created by the gang over the political line, ideology and theory has been cleared up, which has enabled many comrades to liberate their thinking and raise their consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In all those areas and units where this has been done, the old, middle-aged and young cadres are able to see the direction clearly, are in high spirits, are united as one and are able to lead the masses to work with added energy to win new victories in revolution and production.

It is necessary to give full play to combining the roles of the old, the middle-aged and the young, it is necessary to pay attention to encouraging them to learn from and help one another within the leading groups and to promote unity among them properly. The old, middle-aged and young cadres, each having their own strong points, must respect, support, understand and cooperate with one another. While the old cadres should play the exemplary role, the middle-aged and young cadres should humbly learn from the old cadres. We must constantly develop criticism and self-criticism. We must not exaggerate normal differences of opinion in the course of work and general shortcomings and mistakes and must not treat them as those of "line struggle which are irreconcilable." Nor must we promote harmony without principles.

Some old comrades are worried that they may be accused of flaunting their seniority and looking down upon young cadres if they criticize their young comrades. Some young comrades are worried that they may be considered arrogant and self-complacent and disrespectful of old cadres if they criticize their old comrades. They therefore adopt a liberal attitude, which is bound to aggravate the differences of opinion and affect unity. It will weaken the fighting power of the leading groups and do

nothing to bring the roles of the old, middle-aged and young cadres into full play.

Integrating collective leadership with the division of work and responsibility among individuals is a scientific method of leadership consistently advocated by Chairman Mao. It is also an effective way to give full play to the respective roles of the old, middle-aged and young cadres. It helps both the old cadres to teach, help and lead the middle-aged and young cadres and the middle-aged and young cadres to display their initiative and creativity. Judging from the practice of some leading groups, the prerequisite for enforcing the principle of democratic centralism and effecting the integration of collective leadership and the division of work and responsibility among individuals is that all major problems must be discussed and decided on collectively, and no person can take a decision unilaterally. The old cadres have rich experience, enjoy a relatively high prestige among the masses, and occupy a backbone position in the leading groups. It is particularly necessary for them to pay attention to promoting democracy. When problems are being discussed, they must be good at enlightening the middle-aged and young cadres and humbly listen to their views and opinions. The middle-aged and young cadres, especially the young cadres, must not only modestly learn from the old cadres but also positively take the initiative to ponder problems and dare to express their own views and opinions.

It is only in this way that it will be possible for all of them to turn their respective strong points to good advantage. Only thus will it be possible to reach correct decisions by concentrating the collective political experience and collective wisdom, and at the same time to enable the old, middle-aged and young cadres to learn from one another and improve together by making up one's shortcomings with the other's strong points. Once collective decisions are made, they must be resolutely defended; no person will be allowed to overrule them at will, much less to replace them with his own decisions. When a person is entrusted with a job according to the system of division of work, he must seriously do it well; he must not farm it out and assume no responsibility for it.

The middle-aged and young cadres must boldly take up heavy loads. They must bravely go to the most difficult places to perform the most challenging tasks, taking advantage of their youth, strength and energy. They must constantly go to the basic-level units and among the masses and persist in taking part in collective productive labor so that they will not suffer from the "three divorces." The old cadres must have a high sense of revolutionary responsibility, preserve and promote the party's fine traditions and style of work, set the example for the middle-aged and young cadres and seriously go about teaching, helping and leading them. They must warmly support the work of the middle-aged and young cadres, encourage them when they achieve something, and remind them to become modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and

rashness. When the middle-aged and young cadres run into difficulties or suffer setbacks, the old cadres should help them seek solutions to their problems and to sum up their experience and lessons in order to strengthen their confidence and determination to do their work well.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and with its great solicitude, our province has achieved some significant results in implementing the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young and in building up leading groups at various levels. However, we still have a long way to go before we can meet the demands of the party and the requirements of the developing situation. In respect to the implementation of the party's cadre policy, there are still some outstanding problems to be solved. The selection and training of young cadres is still a relatively weak link in some places. In particular, there is still much to be done in further developing the roles of the old, middle-aged and young acting in unison in order to cope with the fast and vigorously developing situation. Party organizations at various levels in our province are coming to grips with these issues, stepping up the building of leading groups and striving to build our province initially into an industrial province by 1980 and our country into a great and powerful socialist country with the four modernizations before the end of this century.

## PUT PRODUCT QUALITY IN THE PRIMARY POSITION

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[Article by Yuan Pao-hua [5913 1405 5478]]

[Text] An important task on the industrial front at the present time is to shift our work onto the track of putting quality in the primary position. This is a major step in fulfilling the general task for the new period and marching toward the four modernizations. Without high quality there will be no high speed and no four modernizations. We must view the vital significance of raising quality from a high level and regard quality as a matter of prime importance, exerting our efforts to achieve good results as soon as possible.

### The Question of Product Quality Is a Question of Line

Whether to raise or neglect product quality is a question of whether or not to carry out the general line for building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results. It is a question of whether or not to assume a high degree of responsibility for the interests of the people, a question of whether to expand or weaken the material foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Great leader Chairman Mao consistently attached immense importance to product quality and instructed us in these words: "We seek not only quantity but also quality for all our products." It is necessary to take an overall view of the need to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. Greater and faster results must be based on the premise of achieving better and more economical results. We must pay attention to quality; we would rather have fewer but better products and a complete range of products. A great variety of products should be made available. When it comes to industrial management, it is particularly necessary to stress quality. Moreover, Chairman Mao warned us that if we neglected quality and became unrealistic and impractical we would be faced with disastrous consequences. Chairman Mao's instructions constituted an important guideline for us in carrying out socialist construction.

To achieve their criminal purpose of usurping party and state power, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" frantically opposed Chairman Mao's instructions, undermined the quality of products, disrupted industrial production, and sapped the economic foundation of socialism. The past several years have seen a violent and recurrent struggle waged against the "gang of four" over product quality.

In 1972 our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, acting on Chairman Mao's instructions and considering the serious damage done by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" to product quality, pointed out cogently: "When quality has deteriorated to such an extent, how can we aid other countries and prepare ourselves against war? This is a question of line." With Premier Chou's concern, people on the industrial and transport fronts strove to crack the hard nut of product quality. Many departments convened conferences to consolidate enterprise management and raise the quality of their products, and many measures were adopted toward this end. There was a certain improvement in the quality of products in 1973. But in the following year the "gang of four," taking advantage of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, willfully attacked our effort to improve quality as an attempt at "restoration" and "backlash."

Ma Tien-shui, the "gang of four's" henchman, and their sworn associate in Liaoning echoed each other over a long distance. They denounced the conferences on quality as "restoration conferences" and pointed the spearhead directly at Premier Chou. Due to the sabotage of the "gang of four," the quality of products deteriorated once again. In 1975 the party Central Committee and the State Council, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, firmly came to grips with enterprise management and quality control, with the result that the quality of products rose again. In 1976 the "gang of four" stepped up their bid to usurp party and state power. Sabotaging and making trouble in a still more blatant manner, they attacked our effort to improve product quality as following the so-called "theory of productive forces." They opposed enterprise rectification. They advocated the setting up of "factories with no leadership, no regulations and no management." They madly opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. So the quality of products, which had begun to improve again, fell sharply. The management of many enterprises was chaotic. The proportion of products meeting the specified standards declined, in sharp contrast to the considerable increase in the amount of substandard and waste products. Manpower, materials and financial resources were wasted, creating extremely grave consequences for the national economy.

The deterioration of product quality caused by the "gang of four" retarded the progress of farm mechanization and gravely impaired the worker-peasant alliance. In aiding agriculture, industry must supply it with more means of agricultural production which are of good quality, high in efficiency, advanced in technique and cheap in price, so as to promote the development of agricultural production. However, due to the



"gang of four's" sabotage, some farm machines were below standard, their quality declined seriously, and they even broke down shortly after they were purchased. One tractor costs the peasants several tens of thousands or more than a hundred thousand catties of grain. If the quality of the tractor is bad, the production team will suffer a big loss. This is no way to aid agriculture. If such bad products are used for exchange with the peasants, how can they be welcomed by the peasants? How can they help consolidate the worker-peasant alliance on a new basis?

The deterioration of product quality caused by the "gang of four" delayed the progress of the four modernizations. The national economy is an integral whole, with various sectors organically related and complementary to each other. Industry is the leading factor of the national economy. If the quality of industrial products is bad, it will have an adverse impact on the modernization of agriculture, national defense and science and technology. Due to the "gang of four's" sabotage, the quality of some industrial products for military use declined over the past several years, directly affecting the improvement of our army's weapons. The quality of certain materials and equipment provided by industry was so poor that some important construction projects could not be completed on schedule. Some equipment did not operate normally, and there was no speedy breakthrough in some new technologies. For a period of time the quality of rolled steel fell drastically due to the "gang of four's" sabotage. "Free refining of steel" was advocated, and no standard was set for the refining and rolling of steel. The inferior quality of steel products and their wrong specifications adversely affected various quarters. Some products which had come close to or caught up with the advanced world level in quality dropped in quality over the past years. The gaps between some products and similar types of foreign products of advanced world standard that had previously narrowed widened again. Regarding some products, we were in a position to catch up with and surpass the advanced world standard, but we did not do so. Much of our precious time was wasted.

The deterioration of product quality caused by the "gang of four" affected foreign trade as well. Developing foreign trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and in accordance with the principle of exchanging what one has for what one does not have is dictated by the need to speed up socialist construction and develop the national economy in our country. With the direct concern of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, we in our foreign trade work since the founding of the PRC have attached major importance to contracts, creditworthiness and the high quality of products. We have enjoyed a very high prestige in this regard. Over the past several years, however, due to the "gang of four's" sabotage, the quality of certain export products declined and failed to meet the standards. This not only resulted in losses economically but also had undesirable effects politically, to the detriment of China's international reputation.

The deterioration of product quality caused by the "gang of four" seriously affected people's lives. The good or bad quality of industrial products, especially light industrial and textile products, has a direct bearing on the people's clothing, food, housing, consumption and transportation. It affects millions of households and the stability or instability of 800 million people. Supplying a great variety of attractive and cheap light industrial and textile products is an important aspect of raising the actual living standard of the population. The fact that the quality of light industrial and textile products declined during the past several years hurt the personal interests of the masses. As they indignantly said, what the "gang of four" did was to ruin the nation and harm the people. Inferior products should be called "four-evil brand" products, since they were harmful to the party, the state, the people and the factories.

To undermine product quality, the "gang of four" concocted all kinds of fallacies inimical to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. They asked nonsensically: "If we put quality in the primary position, then in what position should we place the basic line?" They vilified all rules and regulations as "revisionist control, checks and suppression." They slanderously described blueprints, industrial processes and quality criteria as "revisionist stereotypes." They slanderously charged those studying production techniques with "taking the White and expert road." This completely confounded right with wrong and black with white.

When we speak of putting quality in the primary position, we refer to the relationship between quality and quantity in the sphere of production. How can we set quality against the basic line of the party? Socialist production is modern, large-scale production. If we do away with rules and regulations, blueprints and industrial processes and quality criteria, and if we fail to master operating techniques, how can we carry out production, insure quality and achieve the four modernizations? If we do not catch up with and surpass the industrially developed capitalist countries in terms of product quality and performance, and if we do not have even stronger productive forces to serve as the material foundation, how can we consolidate proletarian political power? How can we deal with the aggression that may be unleashed by social imperialism and imperialism against our country? How can we continue to raise the level of the people's material and cultural life? The sabotage of product quality by the "gang of four" was a part of their conspiracy to disintegrate the socialist economy and usurp party and state power. Essentially, the struggle our party waged against the "gang of four" on the quality issue is a struggle between the two lines.

Eliminate the Pernicious Influence of the "Gang of Four," Establish the Idea of "Quality First"

Shattering the "gang of four" has removed the biggest obstacle to our effort to raise the quality of our products and develop the national

economy at high speed. Over the past year or so, guided by the strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well, a decision taken by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, many areas, departments and enterprises have devoted much attention to the work of improving quality in the course of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," consolidating enterprises and learning from Taching. They have unfolded activities for mass quality inspection as well as quality evaluation and comparison. They have begun emulation campaigns for high quality production with these slogans: "One is as good as two," "Not a single flaw in 10,000 meters of cloth," "No color deviation for 100,000 meters of dyed cloth," "No waste products in 1,000 heats of refined steel" and "The quality is assured." As a result, the seriously deteriorating quality of products was changed to a certain extent, with a number of products going back to their best historical levels in terms of quality. However, the serious consequences of the "gang of four's" sabotage of product quality are far from being removed, and the situation in which certain products are extremely poor in quality still exists. Due to the pernicious influence of the gang, some comrades still fail to attach importance to product quality and take a perfunctory attitude toward it. Even now, some still do not dare to grasp quality and management self-confidently. They do not dare to meet the exacting demands of technological discipline and operating procedures. Through the third campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must penetratingly criticize the gang's counterrevolutionary revisionist line, eliminate their pernicious influence, and overcome some mistaken notions and muddled ideas of some comrades in regard to product quality.

"The output tasks are heavy, and we have no time to take care of quality." This idea of putting output in opposition to quality is wrong. It is an excuse for putting more emphasis on quantity than on quality, taking quantity as a hard task and quality as a soft task, and one-sidedly pursuing quantity. Quantity and quality are closely related. Marx said in "Das Kapital": "Whatever the social form of wealth, the use value always constitutes the material content of wealth," and "if an article is useless, then the labor embodied in it is also useless. Because such labor is not counted as labor, it does not create any value." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol XXIII, pp 48, 54) Products without use value do not have any social value. The general line for socialist construction that Chairman Mao formulated for us is aimed at the unity of greater, faster, better and more economical results. If the quality of the products of an enterprise is bad, when these products are taken to other enterprises they affect them as well, thereby reducing the overall strength. In all cases, quantity is quantity with a certain quality. Without quality, products are merely a pile of junk, and the value of the output is not worth a penny. With human and financial resources going down the drain, the interests of the state are hurt.

Putting quality in the primary position absolutely does not mean that we attach no importance to quantity and speed. On the contrary, we do so

precisely in order to accelerate the rate of industrial development and hasten the realization of the four modernizations. When the quality is good it is possible to save large quantities of fuel, motive power and raw materials. It is possible to save large amounts of manpower and equipment, reduce the cost and use the same quantity of things to produce more products. When the quality is good it is possible to raise the capability and efficiency of products and prolong their lifespan. If one product can last as long as several products, it will mean that output is increased many times. In this sense, therefore, quality is quantity, speed and savings. We must firmly establish the concept of putting quality in the primary position, persist in seeking greater, faster and more economical results on the premise of achieving better results, and look at these four kinds of results as a unity.

It is worth noting that some comrades today tend to view this question one-sidedly. As early as 1956 Premier Chou severely criticized this tendency, pointing out: "Some of our industrial departments fail to pay due attention to the quality and variety of products, and they lack long-term plans and effective measures. When examining the execution of their plans, they often tend to emphasize output and overlook quality and variety." This way of doing things encouraged the wrong tendency of giving more emphasis to quantity than to quality. It ought to be seen that quality is the reflection of political and ideological work, the reflection of the mass line, the reflection of the level of management, and the reflection of the technical level. Failure to grasp product quality means a dereliction of duty on the part of the leadership.

"There are always people to buy products whether these products are good or bad. There is no need to be too concerned about quality." This view is even more fallacious. The products we produce serve the realization of the four modernizations and the lives of the people. We want 100 percent of our products, not 99 percent, to meet the prescribed quality standards. Some comrades think that it is all right if 99 percent of the products meet the standard and that it doesn't matter much if 1 percent is below standard. But so far as consumers are concerned, those who buy that 1 percent will suffer a 100 percent loss. If the leaders of an enterprise neglect quality because they can always dispose of their products and sell substandard products or even waste products, they will be discarding the mass viewpoint, shirking their responsibility to the state and the people, and abandoning the idea of serving the people heart and soul. If they cash in on temporary shortages of certain products and, thinking that such goods will bring them high profits, produce them crudely and sell them as good products to cheat the consumers and the state, then they will be committing crimes against the state and the people. They will not be tolerated by party discipline and state laws but will be resolutely stopped and seriously dealt with.

"Our production conditions are poor, and we have no way of grasping quality." This is a manifestation of the mistaken idea that "external

causes decide everything." We naturally require certain external conditions to raise the quality of our products. However, where an enterprise is concerned it should fully use its subjective initiative. If every enterprise places exacting demands on itself and tries hard to improve the quality of its products, then it will not find its external conditions unfavorable. Every enterprise must determine the causes of poor quality from its internal operations and accordingly devise measures to change the situation in a favorable direction and promote the spirit of seeking greater perfection and working with meticulousness, conscientiousness and a high degree of responsibility. In the Taching oilfield, if a well is improperly sunk, it will be filled up and sunk again. When a machine does not meet the standard, a secretary of the party committee should carry it on his back to the various drilling teams, where he should explain the disadvantages of the oilfield's own factory turning out waste products. If the quality of a capital construction project is unsatisfactory, the entire project should be demolished and started all over again. While tackling these problems they looked for the causes in the thinking of the people and the shortcomings in work. They set the work rules and regulations so that the things done by everybody can withstand the test, the quality of every engineering project is superior, all the oil products produced meet the standard, and the work completed can pass the examination by later generations. Many advanced enterprises which learned from Taching insisted on high standards and exacting demands, and they, too, achieved remarkable results in this respect. If we solely stress the external causes and wait for the conditions to come into existence, we will relax our subjective efforts and have no ambitions or promising performances.

We must wage a struggle against all kinds of mistaken ideas, truly implement the policy of putting quality in the primary position in all fields, and promote the development of industry with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Learn From Taching, Grasp Rectification and Firmly Raise Product Quality to a Higher Level

Recently the CCP Central Committee issued the "Decision (Draft) on Certain Questions Regarding the Acceleration of Industrial Development." The "Decision (Draft)" pointed out: "All enterprises must continue to raise the quality of their products. They must strive to produce products which are very efficient and durable and consume few raw materials. They must systematically increase new varieties and specifications and supply the needs of consumers in an utterly responsible way." We must seriously fulfill these requirements and fully arouse the socialist enthusiasm of workers, technicians and cadres to fight a large-scale people's war to improve product quality. We must respond to Chairman Hua's great call and require all enterprises to reach their best historical levels regarding the quality of their products within the current year. Those that have already done so must catch up with and surpass the advanced world levels.

The most fundamental thing to do in raising the quality of our products is to take exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the key link in seriously learning from Taching and making a success of rectifying enterprises. Why is it that Taching has been able to achieve high quality in all the work it does? It is because its workers and cadres have a high level of socialist consciousness, a high sense of responsibility to the state and the people, a good style of thinking, a strict system of personal responsibility and proficient professional skills. Like Taching, we must strengthen all aspects of enterprise management and reinforce its foundation by starting with exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and raising the ideological consciousness of the workers. We must not grasp quality on the merit of each case and confine ourselves to busily patching up work all day long. It is impossible to improve the quality of products this way. And even if it were possible to do so, such quality cannot be consolidated. In view of the sabotage and interference of the "gang of four" over the past years, while we are vigorously eliminating their pernicious influence we must adopt a series of effective measures with respect to organization, system and policy in order to radically change the present situation in which the quality of our products is not high.

First, we must unfold a mass movement on a large scale and rectify quality control.

To improve quality we must fully rely on the masses and take the mass line. We must mobilize the masses to expose contradictions, clarify the nature of the problems concerning the quality of the products of one's unit, and propose measures for rectification. We must mobilize the masses in such a way that everyone is concerned about quality and the necessary steps to improve it. We must broadly conduct socialist labor emulation campaigns focused on raising product quality. We must generally unfold "quality is trustworthy" activities and activities to compare the quality of similar types of products, and we must produce more high-quality products. For those enterprises which have reached their best historical level in the quality of their products, their reputation should be restored; those that have caught up with and surpassed the advanced standards at home and abroad should be commended with great fanfare. We must create an atmosphere in which it is glorious to produce high quality products and shameful to produce substandard goods and a crime to cheat by passing off substandard wares for standard ones.

Quality control organs at various levels should be established and vitalized, and quality control personnel should be reinforced. The leadership must pay serious attention to quality inspection work and support inspectors in doing their job well by giving them the necessary powers. Professional inspection should be integrated with inspection by the masses themselves and mutual inspection. To improve the quality of products we must first inspect the raw materials when they are brought to the factory and grasp every procedure and link of work so that those

raw materials that are below standard will not be used for production, those parts that are below standard will not be used for assembly, those products that are below standard will not be allowed to leave the plant, and the output value and volume of substandard goods will not be included in computations. Various factors that may adversely affect product quality must be dealt with in the course of production.

We must energetically strengthen the basic work of raising quality. We must strive realistically to adjust the blueprints, technical processes and quality criteria, redesign the equipment, tools and measuring instruments, and augment the means of observation and testing. We must establish a strict system of quality responsibility and resolutely change the anarchic state of changing blueprints and technical processes at will and of doing whatever one pleases.

Second, we must follow the policy of encouraging higher product quality.

Our policy has always been to commend the advanced and make a clear distinction between reward and punishment. In matters affecting production plans and the supply of fuels, motive power and raw materials, we must do everything possible to encourage the production of high-quality products. So far as price policy is concerned, we must set the price on the basis of quality, so that high-quality products will get a high price. We must provide enterprises with incentives for the production of high-quality products. Rewards should be given to those factories, workshops, groups and individuals who have made remarkable achievements in raising product quality. If waste products are turned out and serious accidents involving quality occur, the causes must be thoroughly investigated and the responsibility clearly established. Such cases must be dealt with seriously. If substandard products have left the plant, the enterprise that manufactured them must guarantee to repair them, exchange them or offer compensation. Those enterprises which pass off substandard goods for standard goods to cheat the state and consumers must be taken to task. If the quality of their products is not good, the leading department concerned should help them catch up as quickly as possible. A decision must be made to suspend the operation of those enterprises which have for a long time turned out products of inferior quality, exerted an adverse influence on others and have not improved their operations, so that they may be consolidated. It is necessary to do an earnest and good job of packaging, transportation, loading and unloading and storage. Where serious losses have been caused by irresponsibility, the facts must be clearly ascertained and the persons involved seriously dealt with.

Third, we must do a good job of technical training and raise the technical quality of workers.

To raise product quality it is necessary to step up technical training, enabling millions of workers, technicians and cadres to master modern production skills and industrial management techniques. Industrial

departments and enterprises should continue to run "21 July" universities well. Schools for skilled workers, evening technical schools and technical training classes of all kinds should generally undertake the necessary technical training of existing workers. We should enforce a technical test system under which only those who qualify shall be allowed to work at their post, and those who fail to qualify shall be required to take a remedial course. We should extensively develop on-the-job training activities. While encouraging old workers to teach, help and lead young workers, we should encourage the latter to apply themselves to learning fundamental skills so as to continue raising their technical level. Technical demonstration contests should be held in the light of production reality; technical pace setters and expert operators should be evaluated and selected. Those comrades who have made contributions in the field of technology should be properly honored, with their backbone role brought into full play. It is necessary to establish a technical and professional study system for cadres and to strive to make them into insiders who are familiar with affairs in their own trades.

Fourth, we must universally draw up plans for raising product quality.

All areas, departments and enterprises should draw up plans for upgrading the quality of their products within the next 3 years. There must be clear goals and specific requirements as to when the quality of their products will reach the best historical level this year and which year they will catch up with and surpass the advanced levels at home and abroad. Particularly with regard to products having an important bearing on national planning and the people's livelihood, separate plans should be formulated for their production on the basis of an investigation and study of the actual situation. These shall be taken as important component parts of an overall production plan; effective measures should be adopted and forces organized to promote their realization. There is no limit to raising product quality. It is a long-term task. It is imperative to vigorously strengthen scientific research work, make a success of the designing and trial manufacture of new products, positively adopt new technologies and new techniques and, in the wake of the development of science and technology and productive forces, revise the criteria for product quality, achieve further perfection and gain continuous progress.

The key to whether product quality can be raised or not rests with the leadership. Now, in some areas and industrial departments, leading cadres have gone to the frontline to join the masses in consolidating enterprises and taking measures to raise product quality. Where problems of product quality occur, as is the practice in Taching the top man and his deputy of the department and enterprise concerned will go to the scene to assume personal responsibility for corrective action. Some areas and industrial departments dispatch work teams to a small number of enterprises having more problems to help them rectify their operations. Some departments and enterprises include the topic of product quality on the daily agenda of their party committees, with a responsible comrade



designated to take charge of it. In the course of work, attention is paid to grasping typical models and setting examples. An effort is made to promote the key enterprises and key products. In the case of poorly managed enterprises and inferior products, a thorough investigation will be conducted into the causes, responsibility will be clearly assigned, and measures will be implemented. All these approaches deserve to be vigorously promoted. Provided we persist in doing so, the quality of our products will surely be raised to a large extent, and there will be more products which will approximate, catch up with and surpass the advanced world levels.

ACCELERATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY, STRIVE TO SCALE  
THE HEIGHTS OF ELECTRONICS SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 3 Jun 78 pp 56-59

[Article by Wang Cheng [3769 6154]]

[Text] Wise leader Chairman Hua is very concerned about the development of the electronics industry in our country. In December 1977 he wrote a brilliant inscription for the electronics industry: "Carry forward the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, plain living and hard struggle, accelerate the development of the electronics industry and strive to scale the heights of electronics science and technology." In his government work report at the Fifth NPC, Chairman Hua urged the electronics industry to become a relatively developed industry before 1985. He also said: "We must vigorously promote newly emerging sciences and technologies, build atomic power generating stations, launch multipurpose satellites, step up theoretical and practical research in lasers, attach importance to the study of genetic engineering and, in particular, rapidly develop integrated circuits and research on computers so that they can find wide application in various fields." We must accelerate the development of the electronics industry, strive to scale the heights of electronics science and technology, and contribute our efforts to achieving the four modernizations and building a powerful socialist country.

I

Great leader and teacher Chairman Mao pointed out in 1956 that the level of electronics was an important mark of modernization. Esteemed and beloved Premier Chou spoke in 1963 of the present era as the age of electronics, rather than the atomic age. Electronics as a branch of science has developed very rapidly over the past 30 years or so. The application of advanced electronics technology and equipment has become an important means of increasing social labor productivity. It has become an important index for measuring a country's economic strength and its defense capability. To modernize our country's socialist

agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology within this century, we must strive to grasp modern technological advances in electronics, rapidly develop the electronics industry, widely apply sophisticated equipment and advanced electronics technology, and raise the various spheres of the national economy and national defense construction to the advanced level of electronics.

Engels pointed out: "If society has a technical need, that advances science more than 10 universities." ("Engels to W. Borgius," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol IV, p 505) Modern society has a pressing need to develop electronics and the electronics industry. This is determined by the characteristics of electronics science and technology, which is a new branch of science having wider and multipurpose applications in the study and use of the law of the motion of electronics and its effects. If this science is combined with other branches of science and technology in development and application, it will greatly increase mankind's knowledge of the world and raise man's ability to transform the world. If it is said that the production of machinery and tools and their use has extended and supplemented human hands, and that the invention and use of energy and motive power have greatly strengthened man's organic activities, then the development and application of electronics will extend and supplement man's sensory organs, his nerves and brainpower. Mechanical and thermal energies in the natural world as well as those of sound, light, chemicals, magnetism and radiation can easily be converted into electrical impulses and rapidly transmitted by means of telegraphic signals without any restriction as to distance. After these things have been tested and dealt with in a certain way, they are applied accordingly. Therefore, electronic surveying and transmission and energy conversion technology have become modern society's important means of communication, while modern means of communication form society's nerve center for transmitting information. In view of the rapid advances in the development of computers, storing signals for speedy and accurate computation, coupled with the ability to make logical conclusions under given conditions, can help people think. Therefore, this can complement the human brain and take over certain functions of mental labor. Electronics science and technology, especially the wide application of computers, are of epochal significance in the history of the development of science and technology. As esteemed and beloved Premier Chou pointed out in 1956: "The development of electronically controlled machinery through advances in electronics and other branches of science has begun to provide conditions for taking over part of specially designated mental labor, like other types of machinery replacing manual labor. This will greatly raise the level of automation technology. These new achievements will usher in for mankind a new industrial revolution and a new science and technology." Chairman Hua pointed out recently: "Modern science and technology, mainly symbolized by the application of atomic energy and by advances in computers and in space science and technology, are experiencing a great revolution that has paved the way for the emergence of a number of new industries and spurred the rapid development of production technologies."

To accomplish the general task of building China into a modern and powerful socialist country in the new historical period, we must keep pace with new advances in science and technology, rapidly change the backwardness of electronics science and technology in our country, and speedily modernize the electronics industry. This is an essential and vitally important condition for accelerating the development of the national economy and strengthening national defense.

## II

The development and application of modern electronics science and technology have caused great changes affecting mankind in regard to production and other aspects of life. To obtain higher labor productivity, today's major industries are moving toward high-speed and large-scale operations. Due to physiological limitations, a man finds it difficult to control high-speed and large-scale production operations. The use of oxygen top-blown converters in the steel industry to turn out a heat of steel every 20 minutes is an operation that involves very rapid and complicated reactions. Machinery controlled by computers and other electronic devices is used to greatly increase the efficiency of making high-grade steel. Computers are also used to satisfactorily control the production processes of modern blast furnaces with a capacity of several thousand cubic meters and which are capable of turning out 10,000 tons of iron daily. Without well-designed computers it would be difficult for highly automated rolling mills to control their production operations. Large machinery of up to a million-kilowatt capacity is now used in the electronics industry. Mechanically making this huge equipment and these installations requires the use of large digital computers to control the machine tools. This is also the case with regulating the operations of the machinery of completed power stations and that of the entire power generating network. In mechanizing the coal mining industry, advanced electronic devices are required to regulate extracting, transport, hoisting, dressing and information coordination. To increase labor productivity and meet the needs of large-scale production, general or special-purpose computers are used in modern industries operating on a large scale to control the operations of multiple sets of machinery or to constantly control a single production assembly line. In the case of large complexes, computers--supplemented by transmitting, testing and indicator devices as well as automatic meters and instruments--are used to form reliable systems for separate control operations. In referring to the heavy machinery industry, Marx pointed out in "Das Kapital": "An organized system of machines, to which motion is communicated by the transmitting mechanism from a central automation, is the most developed form of production by machinery." This "central automation" means the control equipment that uses computers as the primary component. As a result of the penetration of industry by advanced electronics science and technology, the modern version of "the most developed form of production by machinery" has flourished.

Modernizing agriculture is inseparable from developing electronics science and technology, which are playing a very prominent role in implementing the "eight-point charter" for agriculture and in promoting scientific farming. The application of electronic surveying in farm production increases our ability to locate underground water sources for drought-affected areas, to determine the temperature of soil and its water and nutrient content, to determine the budding of seeds and the amount of sunlight the crops get, and to assess the quality of farm products. The appropriate use of high-frequency waves and microwaves and laser beams in seed treatment can increase budding and the coefficient of rooting and therefore stimulate the early ripening of crops and increase output. High-frequency waves and microwaves are also used to dry grain, weed the fields and eradicate pests. With a higher degree of farm mechanization, technologies involving automation, remote surveying and remote control will be placed on the agenda. For example, irrigating large areas of crops is now possible through the use of signals emitted from moisture transmitters placed in the soil to activate the discharge of water from pipes and ducts by means of remote surveying and remote control radio systems. Computers are also used to more effectively promote agricultural planning and production management, to make timely and accurate weather forecasts and facilitate pest control, and to flexibly control and regulate the growth of plants and even vegetables in artificially simulated weather chambers. In addition, computers are used in experiments simulating the growth of crops in order to compensate for the long duration of scientific farming experiments. Modern electronics science and technology thus have wide applications in forestry, livestock breeding, sideline occupations, fishery and other trades.

Electronics science and technology have even wider military applications. Electronic devices for military purposes have been widely used not only in communications, reconnaissance and warning, and the manufacture of guidance systems for weapons, but also in combat. The use of sophisticated electronic devices in military communications satellites can not only successfully allow communication over long distances with strategic units, but also permit contact with communications instruments installed in aircraft, ships and vehicles and even carried by soldiers. The newly invented light-activated communications system has the added advantages of countering strong electromagnetic waves and providing a higher degree of security and a larger capacity for communication. This will play an important role in defense-related communications. Coupling advanced electronics science and technology with other branches of science and technology has greatly increased the efficiency of military reconnaissance and warning systems. Infrared pictures taken at an altitude of 20,000 meters permit the identification of registration numbers of vehicles on the ground. Ultrasensitive scanning radars are able to detect missiles that have just been fired 8,000 kilometers away. Reconnaissance satellites can monitor submarines at depths below 100 meters. Electronics technology is also responsible for guiding the design and production of strategic weapons such as missiles and other conventional

arms. To gain the initiative in war it is necessary to combine the application of computer and communication technologies so as to create accurate, fast and reliable command, control and communication systems. The adoption of electronic countermeasures in modern war has become an essential part of the battle against reconnaissance and counterreconnaissance as well as against jamming and counterjamming.

The introduction and development of all natural and technical sciences are aimed at understanding nature and transforming it. Scientific and technical workers use electronics technology to understand things they previously found difficult to comprehend. Electrically controlled astronomical telescopes can help people observe the universe beyond billions of light years and are an indispensable tool for studying the universe. Electron microscopes enable people to observe the atoms in matter and to study the microscopic world. They can discover the secrets of atoms by using high-energy accelerators. Electronic devices for measuring quantity and analyzing quality enable people to conduct precise quantitative and qualitative analyses. In particular, computers facilitate scientific research and perform a great number of complicated and humanly impossible mathematical operations. They are used by engineers to design projects and to simulate scientific experiments. They store information which can be automatically and instantly located to provide scientific workers with the information they need. Without computer technology, modern science and technology cannot be rapidly developed.

Electronics science and technology also pervade the economic and cultural spheres as well as community services. Television and radio broadcasting stations provide effective means for publicizing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and for popularizing knowledge of culture and science. The application of electronics technology in journalism, publishing, railways, communications, posts and telecommunications as well as finance and trade systems will greatly increase their efficiency. Similarly, the application of various electronic instruments in diagnosis and medical treatment is conducive to improving the people's health, while the popularization of electronic equipment for domestic use helps enrich and improve the people's life.

All these things show that rapidly developing the electronics industry and striving to scale the heights of electronics science and technology are an important material and technical foundation for rapidly developing the national economy and rapidly achieving the four modernizations.

### III

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the past 28 years, our country's electronics industry has provided national economic construction, defense construction and the people's life with an increasing number of electronic products. The level of electronics science and technology has also been raised appreciably. However, due to the

interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and especially the "gang of four," the level of China's electronics science and technology has fallen far behind advanced world levels. We must carry out Chairman Mao's and Premier Chou's behests and those of NPC Chairman Chu and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. We must resolutely respond to Chairman Hua's call by mobilizing all forces and all positive factors on the electronics industry front. We must earnestly implement the policy of uniting army men with civilians in times of peace or war and march toward the modernization of electronics science and technology, automated production and scientific management. We must develop the electronics industry in 8 years and place it in the front ranks of the world in 23 years.

Rapidly developing the electronics industry and scaling the heights of electronics science and technology require that we first grasp the key link of penetratingly exposing and criticizing the "gang of four." Driven by their evil intention of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, the "gang of four" did their best to keep us from developing the electronics industry. In order to accelerate the pace of development, we must deeply and continuously unfold revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation to completely eliminate the "gang of four's" remnant poison and influence. We must vigorously promote the mass movement to "learn from Taching in industry," make a success of rectifying enterprises, and build the leading groups and workers contingents well so that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line will be correctly and comprehensively implemented in the electronics industry.

In rapidly developing the electronics industry and scaling the heights of electronics science and technology, we must see to it that scientific research plays a leading role. We must conscientiously implement the spirit of the National Science Conference, vigorously strengthen the party's leadership over scientific research, put the party's principles and policies regarding scientific research on a firm foundation, and rapidly train qualified persons for electronics science and technology. We must adjust and consolidate scientific research organizations and rapidly promote the basic sciences in electronics and research in sciences dealing with industrial design and materials. Proceeding from technologies related to basic products, electronic computers and light and space electrons, we must concentrate on the rapid development of large integrated circuits and computers. We must regard advanced world levels as the starting point and combine foreign technologies that have been acquired with our own. We must strive to attain by 1985 the advanced world levels of the late 1970's in a number of important spheres of electronics science and technology, with some of them approaching the advanced world levels of the mid-1980's.

To accelerate the development of the electronics industry and scale the heights of electronics science and technology, it is necessary to promote the manufacture of basic electronic products, i.e., components. Without

a new generation of components it is impossible to have a new generation of machines. The scale and speed of development of basic products determine the scale and speed of development of the entire machine and the entire electronics industry. New varieties, new materials, high reliability and durability, high efficiency and a high rate of finished products should be taken as the targets of the main attack. A big battle should be fought regarding basic products. Concentrated efforts should be made to master the production techniques of large-scale integrated circuits and to achieve a breakthrough in superscale integrated circuit technology and sophisticated precision measuring instruments. It is essential to increase the range of basic products and raise both their quality and quantity so that China's electronics industry will develop on a really strong foundation.

To accelerate the development of the electronics industry and scale the heights of electronics science and technology, we must expeditiously change the extremely backward state of management and production techniques and reorganize the electronics industry according to the principle of specialization and cooperation. We must break the conventions and work hard with high aspirations. We should study and import advanced technologies and equipment from abroad. We should equip the electronics industry with advanced electronics science and technology and speed up the modernization of the electronics industry. We must boldly mobilize the masses to tap potentials and exert efforts in innovation and transformation. We should develop from small innovations and improvements in operational methods to the reform of all technical processes. Starting with the conversion of existing old equipment and old apparatuses, we should then proceed to use equipment with numerical controls, program controls, high efficiency and multiple functions. Beginning with the mechanization of operations and the automation of a single machine, we should proceed to effect continuous production with many machines in interrelated operation and multiple procedures so as to achieve a higher degree of automation of the production processes. We must make a strenuous effort to develop the revolution in product design and promote standardization, serialization and general utilization of products in order to meet the requirements of production automation. Additionally, it is necessary to combine computer techniques with modern communications techniques and modernize managerial work.

To accelerate the development of the electronics industry and scale the heights of electronics science and technology, all-out support from the various sectors of the national economy is essential. As a processing industry the electronics industry depends for its development and improvement on the all-out cooperation of the various sectors of the national economy, particularly the metallurgical, chemical, machine building, light and construction materials industries. A wide and complex variety of raw materials are required for making electronic products. For many materials there is a demand for special purity, special precision, special thinness, special smallness or special evenness. These



materials are required to demonstrate certain physical and chemical properties under particular conditions. It is therefore necessary to speedily develop our "electronics grade" raw material industry. The manufacture of many electronic products calls for fine mechanical processing equipment and techniques. Besides various types of large and heavy-duty processing equipment, precision equipment for ultramicro, ultrasmall and ultrathin processing is also required. Many products have to undergo comprehensive mechanical, optical and chemical processing under particular conditions such as ultracleanliness and constant temperature. This results in very high demands being placed on the concerned equipment-manufacturing departments.

To accelerate the development of the electronics industry and scale the heights of electronics science and technology, the most important thing to do is to promote the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, hard work and plain living. Way back during the war of resistance against Japan, when the communications technicians in our army produced some communications equipment under extremely harsh material conditions, Chairman Mao enthusiastically wrote the following inscription: "Develop our creativity and we can surmount any difficulty--a point that has been borne out by our manufacture of communications equipment." Today China's socialist revolution and construction have entered a new period, and Chairman Hua in his inscription for us stressed the need to promote the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, hard work and plain living. Chairman Hua's inscription gives expression to Chairman Mao's consistent thought and line concerning the development of the electronics industry and shows us the direction of advance. The vast numbers of workers and employees in our electronics industry are determined to hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, accelerate the development of the electronics industry and strive to scale the heights of electronics science and technology.

## PLANNED CONTROL OF POPULATION GROWTH

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[Article by Liu Jo-ching [0491 5387 3237] of the Institute of Population Theory of Chinese People's University]

[Text] In his government work report at the Fifth NPC, wise leader Chairman Hua pointed out: "Family planning is a very significant matter. Planned control of population growth is conducive to the planned development of the national economy and to the health of mother and child. It also benefits the people where production, work and study are concerned. We must continue to give it serious attention and strive to lower the annual rate of growth of China's population to less than 1 percent within 3 years." The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has set this fighting task of family planning, an effort that should be made on the family planning front to fulfill the general task for the new period. The PRC Constitution adopted by the Fifth NPC stipulates that "the state advocates and encourages family planning." Including family planning in the state's fundamental charter fully expresses the aspirations of the hundreds of millions of our people.

Great leader Chairman Mao and esteemed and beloved Premier Chou attached great importance to family planning and showed great concern for China's population growth. Chairman Mao said in 1956 in "The National Program on Agricultural Development": "Except for sparsely populated areas inhabited by people of minority nationalities, it is necessary to publicize and promote birth control and planned parenthood in all densely populated areas." In formulating five-year plans in subsequent years, Chairman Mao called for the planned control of population growth. Premier Chou likewise reiterated the significant benefits of lowering the annual growth rate of China's population to less than 1 percent within this century. Therefore, to carry out Chairman Mao's and Premier Chou's behests we must make a success of family planning and the planned control of population growth and strive to lower the annual rate of population growth to below 1 percent. This will contribute to the accomplishment of the strategic task of grasping the key link in running the country well put forward by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua.

The policy of encouraging family planning to control population growth in our country results from integrating the Marxist theory of population with actual conditions in China.

Marxism-Leninism maintains that with public ownership of the means of production in socialist and communist societies and the simultaneous planned development of the production of material goods, population growth should be planned. As early as 1881, Engels made this scientific prediction: "If population growth in the future is to be adjusted in the same way material production has been adjusted, then only a communist society will be able to make this adjustment without difficulty. I do not think such a society will have too much difficulty achieving in a planned way the results France and Lower Austria achieved in a spontaneous and haphazard way." ("Engels to Karl Kautsky," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol XXXV, p 145) In terms of China's socialist revolution and construction, Chairman Mao first clearly stated: "Human beings should control themselves and achieve planned growth." He also said: "The complete realization of family planning in the future must be made possible." ("Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution") According to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the production of material goods is a necessary precondition for the survival and development of human society, the two being organically linked. Under our country's socialist conditions, promoting the production of material goods is aimed at meeting the people's needs and at building China into a modern and powerful socialist state. On the other hand, man provides labor and is primarily responsible for producing material goods. In view of the planned and proportionate development of the national economy, objectively it is necessary to effect planned growth of both production and population and to maintain a compatible relationship between the two at all times. Only by following the requirements of objective economic laws can the planned, proportionate and rapid development of China's socialist economy be assured and, on this basis, can the people's living conditions be continually improved.

According to Marxist-Leninist principles regarding the interrelationship between population growth and social development, the size, density and growth rate of population are not primary factors determining the development of society. However, "they either promote or slow down the development of society." (Stalin: "Problems of Leninism," p 644) Under the same socialist system, sparsely populated countries and territories having slow growth rates generally are not conducive to the exploitation of natural resources and to economic development and will often slow down society's development. Under these circumstances, encouraging the growth of population and increasing the growth rate in a planned way will benefit social development.

But if populous and economically backward countries and territories which abound in manpower and have a high rate of population growth make no attempt to control population growth in a planned way and to gradually lower the annual rate of growth in harmony with the development of the national economy, then the development of society will also be slowed. Therefore, the Marxist theory of population on the one hand firmly rejects the bourgeois theory of population as a decisive factor and repudiates the view that the size and density of population and the growth rate primarily determine the development of society. On the other hand, the Marxist theory of population rejects the idealistic and metaphysical view which ignores the effect of population growth on social development and which completely eliminates population growth from social development.

Under the socialist system it is necessary in principle to provide for population growth in a planned way. The rate of growth differs in individual socialist countries, with the differences particularly discernible in different parts of a country and at different historical periods. Whether to quicken or slow down the pace in a planned way is determined by concrete conditions, such as those that are conducive to the development of socialist society. What, then, are the concrete conditions that now prevail in our country? China has initially prospered in an economic sense as a socialist country. However, due to its weak foundation and as a result of the many years of interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and especially the "gang of four," it is still very backward economically and in science and technology. Regarding the present population, the annual rate of growth in a country as populous as China is relatively high. Chairman Mao said: "Our large population is a good thing, but of course it also involves certain difficulties." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") A large population is conducive to developing our socialist economy. The laborer is the most revolutionary factor of the productive forces and is the primary force in production. Any advanced production tool, advanced science and technology, advanced production experiences and skills and advanced economic management must be created and mastered by man. The Chinese people are industrious, brave, clever and capable; they are full of the pioneering spirit. As long as the socialist activism of the vast number of workers, peasants and intellectuals is mobilized, we can surmount all difficulties, create wonders in economic development and accomplish the Herculean task of building China into a modern and powerful socialist country within this century. However, one always divides into two. We should see that a large population and a backward economy and technology reduce the average amount of the means of production and consumer items that are distributed among our people. Both the level of labor productivity and the economic level as a whole fall far behind advanced world standards. Therefore, the policy of encouraging family planning to control population growth, gradually lowering the annual growth rate and giving full play to the advantages of a large population and overcoming its disadvantages will actively promote the development of socialist

society in our country. However, China is a vast country, and the distribution of its population is very uneven. Besides, the Han population differs greatly from that of minority nationalities. Therefore, encouraging family planning to control population growth requires different approaches in different regions. In populous regions, late marriages and the use of contraceptives to limit childbirth should be encouraged. However, proper medical treatment should be given in cases of infertility. In sparsely populated areas such as those inhabited by people of minority nationalities, measures conducive to population growth should be adopted. Guidance and assistance should be given to parents of large families who want to practice contraception. This action shows that the policy of controlling population growth in a planned way, as is being adopted in China, is not a hastily formulated policy. It is rather a concrete application in China of the Marxist-Leninist principle of population growth and its relationship to social development.

## II

The policy of controlling population growth in a planned way is conducive to speeding up the realization of the four modernizations. Esteemed and beloved Premier Chou closely integrated the planned control of population growth with the four modernizations, saying: "Controlling population growth benefits us in that it can lighten the burden of the state and allow the state to accumulate more funds, which will soon make our country prosperous and strong while simultaneously and rapidly raising our scientific level. By pressing ahead and catching up, our pace of industrialization will be quickened. As conditions change in 15, 20 and 30 years, our industry will forge ahead on a much larger scale." This shows that planned control of population growth is important for speeding up the realization of the four modernizations, for the planned, proportionate and rapid development of the national economy and for greatly raising the entire nation's scientific and cultural levels.

To achieve the four modernizations we must use the most advanced science and technology to equip the national economic and defense sectors for large-scale capital construction. This effort will require a huge amount of capital. From 1978 to 1985 alone, funds to be invested in these 8 years will be equivalent to the total sum invested in the past 28 years. Where will these funds come from? Unlike capitalism, imperialism and social imperialism, we cannot cruelly exploit the toiling people of China and elsewhere. We can only depend on the funds accumulated for achieving modernization.

Accumulated funds are part of the national income derived from production units and are used in expanded reproduction. The greater the national income, the greater the accumulation. Therefore, to greatly increase accumulation all production units must rapidly promote production, practice strict economy and increase the national income for achieving the four modernizations. These are the chief means of increasing accumulation.

Apart from its use for accumulation purposes, the national income is also used in consumption that is directly related to population size and population growth to meet the people's livelihood needs. Any given amount of national income is generally first allotted to consumption before it is set aside for accumulation. After deducting the consumption funds, the remainder of the national income goes to the accumulation funds. This procedure shows that the anticipated amount of accumulation for the new period is closely related to the present size of the population and population growth. If we permit a spontaneous increase in population without exercising any control in a planned way, then the population will maintain its previous high annual growth rate, which will affect the rapid growth rate of accumulation. It should also be noted that our country's future accelerated growth in industrial and agricultural production depends primarily on large increases in labor productivity, not on greatly increased labor. With the gradual modernization of agriculture, there will be a surplus of farm labor. Therefore, a relatively high population growth rate is not needed objectively. In the face of this reality, population growth has to be controlled in a planned way. By rapidly increasing the national income and simultaneously controlling population growth we will have more latitude for rationally adjusting the proportion between accumulation and consumption and allowing for the possibility of accumulating more funds. Funds thus accumulated can be used to accelerate and expand reproduction. In turn, this action will provide a firm material foundation for better meeting the people's material and cultural needs and will benefit the speedy realization of the four modernizations.

The birth rate in Jutung County, Kiangsu Province, dropped steadily between 1971 and 1976, with the average annual rate of growth lowered to 0.57 percent. In the excellent situation in which the total value of industrial and agricultural production throughout the county increased by an average of 11.7 percent each year and grain output by 5.1 percent, more funds were accumulated over the years, which increased the rate of accumulation every year. The county was able to deliver more farm and sideline products to the state every year, in addition to improving the life of the commune members. With sufficient communal accumulation in the collective economy, purchasing power increased significantly, and more means of production were acquired, including farm machines, chemical fertilizers and agricultural insecticides. The pace of farm mechanization was thus quickened.

Practicing family planning to control population growth in a planned way is conducive to rapidly and greatly increasing the entire nation's scientific and cultural levels. Chairman Hua regarded this task as strategic and said it "is necessary for achieving the four modernizations." He stressed that "if this task is not carried out, it will be impossible to accomplish the general task for the new period." It is therefore necessary to launch a protracted study movement throughout the country in which everybody must study, study and study again. Study requires much time and effort. It requires that people spend sufficient time in

contributing their labor with indefatigable zeal and dogged spirit. Scaling the heights of science and technology often requires that we devote a lifetime of efforts, because nothing can be done if time is insufficient and energy is not concentrated. It is very obvious that those who married early and had children early and at close intervals have been prematurely and heavily taxed by childbearing and nursing and by household chores. Therefore, they can neither spend sufficient time on nor apply themselves to study, production and work. Encouraging late marriages and birth control will enable people to devote themselves to studying culture and to learning about science and technology and improving their production skills at the time in their lives when they are most energetically and physically. Only when the masses in the hundreds of millions have raised their educational, cultural, scientific and technological levels and when they are fully prepared for conducting scientific research, for delving into professional work, for introducing technical innovations and for making inventions and discoveries can the task of raising the entire nation's scientific and cultural levels be truly accomplished.

Family planning and planned control of population growth also help to protect the health of mother and child, allowing women to play a significant role. Women account for about half of China's population. Chairman Mao said: "Women in China provide a great source of manpower. This resource must be tapped in order to strive to build a great socialist country." The founding of the PRC freed the vast number of women in our country from the exploitation and oppression by the three major enemies. However, due to the absence of a family planning policy, a high childbirth rate prevented many women from taking an active part in social production and work. They were also prevented from giving full play to the role of producers of material goods. Both the socialization of housework and the encouragement of family planning can help change this irrational state of affairs. A comparison of the two measures shows that family planning is more practical, because it takes time to socialize housework and turn it into a public utility enterprise. Moreover, socializing housework is no substitute for women's physiological burden in childbearing and nursing. Besides, their childbearing years are best suited for production, work and study. By broadly and deeply promoting family planning and putting the childbearing initiative in the hands of women, women can be released from household chores and take part in social work, production and study. Only thus can they be encouraged to "hold up half of the sky." Only when women become independent economically can they truly enjoy the same rights as men. Therefore, controlling population growth in a planned way concerns not only the full tapping of the potentials of women--a great source of manpower--but also the great cause of the thorough emancipation of women.

Promoting late marriage and encouraging family planning to control population growth in a planned way will enable the country to provide more adequate and effective education for the younger generation. To achieve

the four modernizations the country needs a vast army of workers who have socialist consciousness, who have a knowledge of science and technology and who are skilled in production, not a vast number of "laborers without culture." By combining this labor force with the use of modern production tools it is possible to turn out many times and even a hundred times more products and to raise the level of China's labor productivity to heights never before attained. Fostering such workers requires that they be given careful upbringing and correct guidance by their parents and be provided with all-round and more effective education. This will be very difficult to achieve if the childbirth rate is high. Encouraging late marriages and birth control means that parents can devote more of their energies to bringing up the next generation and to laying a firm foundation from childhood on for the next generation's all-round moral, intellectual and physical development.

Through planned control of population growth the country will have greater economic resources and use more financial and manpower resources to run different types of schools. By exploring diverse study channels and providing the masses, especially younger people, with better study facilities, it is possible to train and bring up hundreds of thousands of socialist-minded skilled workers and peasants who have mastered modern production skills and to foster a large number of cadres and Red and expert intellectuals familiar with modern economic management and modern science and technology. In this way a huge army of workers for achieving the four modernizations can be quickly organized.

### III

In implementing the policy of planned control of population growth it is necessary to continue grasping family planning well. Wise leader Chairman Hua has pointed out that the CCP is in charge of revolution and economic construction and looks after population growth as well. This effort requires that party committees at all levels attach considerable importance to family planning, strengthen party leadership over it and regard it as an important task. With family planning placed on the agenda of the party committee and under its centralized leadership, the task is now being tackled by the whole party and by government organizations from the ministries down to local units.

Population growth is closely related to economic development. Since population planning is an important part of the national economic plan, it must be incorporated in the unified national economic program. Moreover, family planning must be effectively combined with the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and the movement to learn from Taching in industry.

Family planning is a product of the socialist public ownership of the means of production. It is an important part of the proletarian concept of marriage and childbearing and as such is opposed to similar



concepts upheld by all exploiting classes. Therefore, family planning has to be a profound revolution in the ideological sphere. This calls for a vigorous campaign to propagate the important instructions given by Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and Chairman Hua on family planning, to propagate the Marxist theory of population and the proletarian concept of marriage and childbearing, to criticize the "gang of four's" crimes in interfering with and sabotaging family planning, to do meticulous ideological and political work for the masses, to popularize the practice of contraception and to raise family planning to a new high level.

We firmly believe that if we resolutely implement the important instructions of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and closely rely on the masses under the centralized leadership of party committees, we will definitely be able to lower the annual rate of growth of China's population to less than 1 percent within 3 years. We will then be able to contribute to the modernization of socialist China.

## PLANNED ECONOMY AND THE LAW OF VALUE

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[Article by Liu Kuo-kuang [0491 0948 0342], Ho Chien-chang [0149 1696 4545] and Huang Chen-ch'i [7806 2182 1142]]

### I

[Text] The wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng recently pointed out in his government work report: "The law of value must be consciously applied under the guidance of the unified national plan." This is very important for our planned, proportionate and quick development of the national economy.

An important and constant mission in national economic planning is to arrange and maintain the national economy's proportionate development to achieve a balance between production and needs. Lenin said: "Constantly and conscientiously maintaining balance actually is planning." ("Non-critical Criticism," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 566) This is a concrete demonstration of the superiority of socialist economy. All societies, in order to continue the cycle of production smoothly, must distribute production materials and labor proportionally among agriculture, industry and other branches of the national economy. In different societies this is carried out differently with different results. In a capitalist society, private capitalist means-of-production ownership gives rise to a contradiction between the organized production of individual enterprises and the anarchic production in society, and the proportionate development of the various factors required by society for continuing the cycle of production is regulated in a blind manner by the law of value and brought about automatically and mechanically by periodical economic crises. But in a socialist society, because the means of production is under public ownership instead of private ownership, and because the national economy is developed in a planned and proportionate manner instead of according to the law of free competition and anarchism in social production, it becomes necessary and possible to sensibly arrange the proportionate development of the various factors required by society for continuing its cycle of production.

However, the commodity system is still retained under the socialist social system. Where there are commodity and production of commodities, the law of value must be observed. Then it arises the question that, in the formation of proportional relationships in society's reproduction, what is the relationship between the law of value and the planned and proportionate national economic development?

Due to the change of ownership in a socialist society, the law of value does not function, like it does in a capitalist society, as an automatic regulator for proportional relationships of production for the entire society. Instead, it is used consciously by the society to serve for arranging and realizing planned proportionate development of economy. Therefore, in regard to this question, we cannot take the law of value as the main basis upon which to arrange planned proportionate development of economy, so that the law of value will automatically regulate the proportional relationships among various branches of the national economy, nor can we regard the law of value and the law of planned proportionate development of the national economy as contradictory. Nor can we believe that where planning is effective, the law of value does not work; and where the law of value is effective, it conflicts with national planning.

Socialist economic development proves that the law of value is no longer the main basis for drawing up planned proportionate development of the national economy. The main basis is now the basic socialist economic law and the law of planned proportionate development of the national economy. The development of production to satisfy the ever-increasing needs of society is the demand of the basic socialist economic law. The balance between production and needs is determined by planned proportionate development of production. But the law of value still has important auxiliary functions in the formulation of planned development. Insofar as the condition of a commodity economy in a socialist society still exists, the incorrect application of the law of value will make it impossible to realize the demands of a planned proportionate development of the national economy and to constantly sustain the proportional characteristics of national economic development.

The proportion and pace of realizing planned and regulated development in a socialist nation depend mainly on letting proletarian politics take command, and giving serious consideration for planning and applying strict financial and economic discipline. At the same time, the law of value must be correctly applied and the principle of "planning first, fixing prices second" must be thoroughly implemented.

The application of the law of value which influences the formulation of plans for proportionate development of economy is mainly done through drawing up correctly planned prices, and properly arranging the comparative price relationships between various commodities and products. Under usual situations and for most products, planned prices are set on the basis of their value. Only by correctly implementing the principle of

the exchange of things of equal value can production of commodities by each department be placed in general on mutually beneficial basis, thus promoting the realization of proportionate economic development as planned. If planned prices are too far apart from value and price discrepancies among products are too great, it will be disadvantageous to bringing about planned proportionate economic development. For example, according to the policy of "taking grain as the key link for achieving overall development," the state decrees that grain and various economic commodities must be kept at a rational ratio. If relative prices of grain and economic crops are set irrationally, it will adversely affect their proportionate cultivation. If grain prices are too low, development of grain cultivation will be adversely affected. The same is true with economic crops. Chairman Mao pointed out in 1956: "Since last winter, concentration has been placed on developing grain, neglecting sidelines and economic crops. This discrepancy was later corrected to produce sidelines and economic crops, especially after comparative prices were set for 20, 30 items, such as comparing cotton and grain prices, fuel and grain prices, hog and grain prices, tobacco and grain prices, etc. Farmers thus began to have interest in sidelines and economic crops but neglected grain production. At first the swing was toward grain and then toward sidelines and economic crops. Since grain was so cheap, farmers refused to plant grain. This question is worth attention." ("Talk at the Second Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party") Not only the internal apportionment in agriculture, but also the apportionment between agriculture and industry and internal apportionment in industry are all affected by the law of value. For example, we want to hasten development of agriculture so that it will meet the needs of development of the entire national economy and industry, but if there is price discrepancy where agricultural products are priced too low and industrial products too high and this discrepancy is not corrected step by step, then rapid development of agriculture cannot be realized, detrimental to coordinating the proportionate development of agriculture and industry. Again for example, some developments in our processing industry have already surpassed the supply capabilities in raw material, fuel and energy. Prices of raw materials and fuel are too low. If this phenomenon is not overcome step by step, it will be detrimental to coordinating the proportionate development of these two industries.

Why do planned prices affect the production of various products and formulation of planned proportionate development? This is because within the system of ownership by the whole people where a commodity system is maintained, each enterprise is a relatively independent economic accounting unit and incomes from sales of products must be balanced against expenditures in production as well as providing a profit for the state. Enterprises engaged in completing an overall national plan can also take out a portion of the profit for raising capital. Therefore prices of different products not only are related to whether enterprises can or cannot fulfill their assigned tasks of production and making a profit but are also related to the collective material benefits of these enterprises.

Correctly planned prices have even greater effect on the production of the units which are under collective ownership and which are responsible for their own profits and losses. In order to insure that the collective economic units can expand their cycle of production, we must consider the demands of the law of value, oppose "equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of manpower, land, draught animals, farm tools, funds, etc." and adopt the policy of "reducing 'scissors' differentials, and promoting the exchange of things of equal value and things of approximate equal value," set up a reasonable agricultural commodity purchasing policy, and through practical political work and economic work, direct the development of production by the people's communes toward satisfying the demands of the state's unified plan.

The necessary disparity between a product's price and its value is also a manifestation of the function of the law of value. Under certain conditions, planned prices for some products can be set to apply this law conscientiously to increase or limit the production and consumption of these products and influence the relative relationships among various products to better satisfy the demands of the law of planned proportionate development. For example, watches, cameras and such consumer goods whose present production is still far from being able to meet the needs, their prices can be set higher than their value to regulate the contradiction between supply and demand. But this method should not be used on basic daily necessities of the people. On the one hand, the "gang of four" said the law of value which can function on the basis of the socialist public ownership was a "remnant of the private ownership economy" and an "alien force" which "is free from the conscious, planned control of man" and for this reason they opposed using the law of value to promote planned proportionate development of the national economy but, on the other hand, the "gang of four" screamed: "What planning and no-planning--what we say and we want constitute planning." In fact, this negated the planned proportionate development of the national economy and opposed using the law of value to serve planned socialist economy while allowing the law of value to spontaneously smash the unified national plan and sabotage the proportional relationships of the national economy. Their criminal goal was to replace socialist economy's planned development with capitalist competition and anarchism in social production, and to switch on the green light for the revival of capitalism. There must be in-depth criticism against the ridiculous theory propagated by the "gang of four."

In planning work, correct use and understanding of the law of value is helpful in realizing the basic socialist economic law and the demands of planned proportionate development of the national economy so that completion of the plans can be assured. The law of value will become a "force of opposition" that will take effect behind people's backs and bring about adverse results upon economic life if its objective characteristics are not respected and its demands not considered in determining and implementing a national economic plan. In recent years, many economic

theorists and actual economic workers failed to study planned economy and the question of the law of value, due to interference and sabotage by the "gang of four." They even regarded the law of value as "forbidden land." This resulted in a weakening of planned administration. In many cases, they did not conscientiously apply the law of value, allowing it to function spontaneously. To a certain degree it destroyed planned apportionment, went against the planned economy and brought the national economy into a semi-planned and semi-anarchic state. This is a negative lesson telling us we must eradicate the remnant poisonous influence of the "gang of four," and conscientiously summarize the positive and negative experiences in economic administration. Only in this way can the law of value be conscientiously applied to serve the socialist economy.

## II

One important mission of managing the national economy is to save labor and materials--also a form of labor--and raise effectiveness of economic activities. Karl Marx pointed out that the major economic law of the socialist society is the saving of time and planned distribution of labor time among different production departments. "This can be said to be a law of very high order." ("Outline on Criticism of Political Economics (Draft)," Vol 1, p 112) Apportioned distribution of labor time and the saving of labor time are mutually related. In every planning period there can be a choice of plans for arranging the proportionate development of the national economy. We must choose among them the one which yields the best economic result, requiring the least labor to make the most products which satisfy society's needs. If this is not done, we will not be able to realize the four modernizations speedily, but will have to delay their realization. If we want to talk about economic effectiveness we must talk about comparison between achievements and labor consumption and about implementation of business and economic accounting for individual enterprises and the national economy. At the present stage, comparison and accounting of production achievements and labor consumption must be helped by such value tools as prices, costs and profit.

The goals of socialist production is to satisfy the needs of all the laboring people. The needs of the laboring masses, be they individual or common, immediate or long-range needs, must all be met with different kinds of material supplies. Whether it be accounting for the national economy or business accounting for enterprises, all must utilize value indicators as well as material indexes to account for products and productivity, product varieties, quality, production capabilities, material consumption, and the material form of productive labor. Accounting of material indexes and value indexes constitute the two facets of the socialist economy. Neither can be neglected. It must not be considered that since the goal of socialist production and exchange is after the use value and not value itself, products urgently needed by society should be manufactured regardless of labor and cost or whatever the cost, thus regarding accounting of value indexes as something of no importance.

The "gang of four," in order to realize their counterrevolutionary goals of sabotaging economic accounting and interfering with economic management, said that emphasis on cost, profit and capital accounting as value indicators will lead to "a frenzied pursuit of value," "thus fundamentally negating that the goal of socialist production and exchange is for the value of utilization." Their fallacy has brought about serious and harmful effects upon industrial production. The practice of giving no consideration to cost, profit and loss, the fallacy that "loss is reasonable," and the practice of increasing tonnage of production by using high-priced materials, over consumption of raw materials, increasing material waste, etc. were all improper methods used under the pernicious influence of the gang to increase the output value. All these should be thoroughly corrected.

The "gang of four" attacked the application of the law of value as "putting profits in command" and used this argument about profit to oppose satisfaction of the needs of society. This is absolute nonsense. Lenin, in talking about profit in the socialist society pointed out: "Profits also satisfy 'social' needs. It should be said: Under these conditions, surplus products are not privately owned but belong to the entire laboring public, and only to them." ("On Bukharin's 'Economy in Transition,'" People's Publishing House, p 40) Under socialist conditions, profit is a manifestation of the value of a portion of the products produced by the workers for the society. Through adoption of value accounting to promote conservation of labor and material and through reducing material waste, raising labor productivity and reducing costs to increase profits, more profits can be made. The more profit there is, the greater the possibility for the society to use the profit to expand the cycle of production and improve the people's livelihood. Is there anything wrong with this method of seeking to increase the value of certain products produced for the society to satisfy more social needs? Conversely, by neglecting the demands of the law of the value, not doing economic accounting, forcing enterprises to make no profit and even to suffer losses, thus decreasing society's resources and drying up the accumulated resources for expanding the cycle of production, we will not be able to talk about satisfying social needs!

We have always opposed taking profit as the only index to measure the success or failure of business management. Experience proves that one-sided emphasis on pure value index without due attention to the use value index also brings about discouraging results upon economic life. Because in today's economic life, the price of each product cannot possibly coincide precisely with its value. The discrepancy between one product's price and value is invariably different from that of another product. Thus there will unavoidably be a difference in product value and profit among different products produced by an equal amount of productive labor. Attaching first importance to value index in estimating achievements of economic activities will bring about a disregard for the fulfillment of products' quantity, variety and quality plans, and promote

a tendency toward paying attention only to output value and profit. This tendency must be controlled and prevented. Do not consider that the "gang of four" only opposed the accounting of value indexes. They accused the state's eight business accounting standards of being the "eight big sticks" and negated them all. Their counterrevolutionary goal was to abolish all comparison and accounting of labor consumption and production achievements and thoroughly destroy the socialist economy.

Generally speaking, value accounting in socialist planned management is for satisfying social needs. By conscientiously considering the demand of the law of value and the conservation of labor, individual values of products can be lowered to below their social value. This makes it possible to continuously reduce the necessary consumption of labor in the production of products. The society will be able to use less labor consumption to gain more and better use value in satisfying ever-increasing social needs. In order to make the value index an effective tool in economic accounting, a unified and planned price must be determined according to the necessary labor consumption of the society so that prices for all kinds of products will basically coincide with value without too much discrepancy. Due to historical and other causes, prices that do not match value must be brought to par step by step. Only when prices are generally in agreement with value can there be relatively accurate yardsticks to measure expenses and results and the differences between the progressive and the backward, to urge the backward to catch up with the progressive and to urge the progressive to catch up with the more progressive. If instead of setting unified prices on the basis of value, it is allowed for each plant to set its own prices, for different prices to prevail at different localities, for various prices to be charged for the same commodity or for prices to be set freely, then an accurate comparison and accounting of production consumption and results cannot be done, the backward will be protected and capitalist forces allowed to undermine the planned economy.

### III

As mentioned above, the application of the law of value in planned management, adherence to the principle of equivalent compensation and exchange, adoption of correctly planned prices, use of proper and correct management to handle the economic interests of all sectors, mobilization of the enthusiasm of all sides, realization of planned apportionment and promotion of economic results all serve to realize the goal of satisfying social needs with minimum labor consumption but maximum social products. This method of correctly managing relationships of economic interests to carry out planned management through the application of the law of value and value tools is what we usually call the economic method of economic management as against the administrative method of economic management. The administrative method is to give assignments or administrative instructions to manage the economy. In planned socialist management and under the principle of putting proletarian politics in command, these two methods are mutually complementary. Neither should be overlooked.



Lenin said: "National planning is the mission of the proletariat." ("Letter to K. M. Gorechanovskiy," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 35, p 433) In planned management of the national economy, the state must issue assignments concerning planned tasks, and other administrative instructions. Our plan is not a numerical game nor something to be or not to be implemented at will or as reference information only. Plans which are approved and issued by the state must be implemented by each enterprise, each region and department. But whether these assignments can be smoothly implemented or completed depends on whether the economic interests of the state, the enterprises and the individual laborers concerned are cared for properly to boost the enthusiasm of all sides. The law of value and such value tools as cost, price, profit and interest must be used to measure the achievements of business management and be relied on for awarding or penalizing business enterprises. Financial, banking and credit-loan institutions should develop their roles as promoters and overseers of economic activities. Through these methods enterprises should make efforts to fulfill state assignments from the viewpoint not only of their political responsibilities but also their material interests. This is the unity of the administrative method and the economic method in planned management. We must oppose lopsided emphasis on the planned administrative method at the expense of the economic method, and vice versa.

In order to achieve their counterrevolutionary goal of seizing power through chaos in interfering with our economy, the "gang of four" attacked economic accounting in planned management, slandering the correct handling of economic interests as "profit taking command" and "material incentives." They babbled "emphasis on economic interests is revisionism." On the other hand, they strongly opposed unified and centralized leadership of the national economy by the state. Chang Chun-chiao said with ulterior motives that "how did Shanghai's industrial production in 1968 surpass that of 1966? It was mainly because the various departments of the Central were paralyzed. By the time when these departments restored the operations of their machines, Shanghai's days would be difficult." The gang also attacked the state's administrative leadership of the national economy as "dogmatic despotism," and incited enterprises to engage in production, marketing, public relations and free development to allow the law of value to regulate production and commodity circulation automatically.

Is it necessary to use the law of value in planned management to control the economy by the economic method? This question is the same as asking whether the principle of distribution according to work is to be adhered to in the distribution of consumer goods for personal use. It is related to whether enterprises are concerned with their own businesses from the viewpoint of their material interests and economic responsibilities to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in completing the planned tasks. In the past years, the poisonous influence of the "gang of four" had seriously damaged the accounting systems of many

enterprises, the system of responsibility within enterprises and economic management organizations at all levels. The practice of everybody eating from one and the same pot of rice but having no one responsible for anything was very prevalent. Doing away with cost accounting, capital auditing, and quality inspection, it made no difference whether an enterprise fulfilled its plans or not and whether it made profits or suffered losses. Waste increased. Costs rose. Funds remained idle. Quality dropped. Losses of businesses aggravated. This proves by negative example that under the prevailing commodity system it is absolutely necessary to implement economic accounting according to the law of value and to associate an enterprise's economic interests with its management to promote enthusiasm and initiative in business.

The "gang of four" rabidly attacked the state for issuing assignments in the form of directives and opposed its administrative methods in economic management. These acts were very reactionary. The administrative method in economic management assures seriousness in national planning which is essential in completing a unified national economic plan. Chairman Mao said: "To be able to carry on their production and studies effectively and to arrange their lives properly, the people want their government and those in charge of production and of cultural and educational organizations to issue appropriate orders of an obligatory nature." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") The plans and tasks assigned by the state must be assured of realization. Good work in completing plans must be praised. Incompletion of plans due to weak leadership, bureaucratism or such subjective causes must be investigated and the person responsible questioned. Necessary punishment must be given to persons responsible for serious offenses. Negation of these administrative methods in planned management and negation of administration of state organizations will render the state's plan into a mere sheet of paper actually abolishing the unified plan to let the law of value act spontaneously to regulate production, plunging the whole society into a form of free competition and anarchism in production, causing a flood of capitalism.

In general, under the socialist system, the correct management of plans should be: to insist on proletarian politics taking command and, under conditions of strengthening political and ideological work, correctly handle the economic interests of the state, productive enterprises and individual laborers concerned so that the administrative method and economic method of economic management can be unified. In planned management, such value tools as the law of value, price, cost and profit must be utilized in carrying out economic accounting and associate business management results with the economic interests of the enterprise concerned. For this, the party's various economic policies must be correctly set up and implemented. For example, in carrying out the agricultural products procurement policy, we should primarily obtain agricultural products through the economic method, not through the administrative method. Quantity procurement, assigned procurement and

negotiated procurement contracts should be used to develop commodity exchange between city and rural areas. In price policy, we must conscientiously compare prices between industrial and agricultural products and between raw materials, fuels, and processed industrial goods and appropriately raise the purchase prices for agricultural products. On the basis of reduced cost, prices of industrial products must be appropriately lowered, especially those in support of agriculture. All prices must assure that the production units can under normal conditions make enough to cover expenses and can make a profit, and that economically unsound big differences in profits for different products are eliminated step by step. In carrying out the profit distribution policy, an enterprise may, under conditions of its fulfillment of state plans, draw funds from its profit according to a definite percentage, primarily to be used for collective welfare. In implementing the policy of fund control, an enterprise must be materially responsible for state funds under its control. It must study its profit margins in terms not only of its output value and cost, but also its funds, and make efforts to avoid the waste and idleness of state funds. The finance policy should benefit each economic unit's efforts to raise the standard of management and control, to assure economic effectiveness and to accumulate more capital for the state. A strict contract system must be established. Those who violate a contract must be punished by paying fines and must pay for any damage caused by nonfulfillment of the contract. In general, we must not only carry out political, ideological and administrative work well but also must educate the people to adhere to the view that their immediate and partial interests must be subordinate to the long-term interests of the whole country, in order to raise the people's political awareness. At the same time, we must utilize economic leverage and value tools well, bring into full play the enthusiasm of all quarters in their economic interests, and strive for bringing about a quick and proportionate development of the national economy.

Today, our socialist revolution and socialist construction have entered a new period. We must, within less than a quarter of a century, build our nation into a strong modern socialist state. The difficult mission of economic construction is in front of us. We must grasp the objective law of socialist economy including the law of value by summing up our positive and negative experiences. Chairman Mao analogized the law of value to a great school. He emphasized that only by applying that law will it be possible to educate the millions of cadres and hundreds of millions of people and build socialism and communism. We must study how to manage the modern economy in this great school of the law of value so that we may contribute to the fulfillment of the general task of our nation's new era of development.

9296

CSO: 4004

## HOW DO THEY ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO WORK?

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 3 Jun 78 pp 71-73

[Investigative report on Nanhotou Brigade of Hsien County, Hopei Province, by the joint investigation group of the propaganda department of the CCP Committee of Hopei Province, the propaganda department of the CCP Committee of Tsangchou Prefecture of Hopei Province, and the propaganda department of the CCP Committee of Hsien County, Hopei Province]

[Text] RED FLAG editor's note: In rural areas, the big problem concerning mobilizing the masses and firming up and developing the collective economy is how to carry out the principle of distribution according to work and how to do well the work in management so that more work brings more and increased production and income. Now, we must continue to expose and criticize the "gang of four" further, insist on carrying out the party's economic policy in rural areas and strive to solve the problems in this sector. Three articles on the experiences of three brigades are published here for the reference of comrades.

The Nanhotou Brigade of Hsien County is a Red-banner unit of Honan province to learn from Tachai. The brigade is composed of 130 families with equal numbers of male and female. The labor force is made up of over 190 men and women. For more than 20 years this brigade has always adhered to the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." During the Cultural Revolution, the brigade launched the mass movement "to emulate Tachai in agriculture," to eliminate sabotage and interference by the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and insisted on strengthening management of labor, perfected the recording of work and wages, and promoted production. Commune members of this brigade never needed reminding to go to the fields. Everyone conscientiously went to work early and worked hard. Throughout these years, they filled up the

two ancient waterways surrounding the village, flattened three sand dunes, filled up eight foul water holes and nine troubling pits, moved 650,000 square feet of earth, dug 15 wells and turned all of the arable land into stable and high yield productive land. In agricultural production, they increased the yield to more than 1,000 catties per mou, overfulfilling the targets for areas south of the Yellow and Yangtze rivers as stipulated in the National Program for the Development of Agriculture. Per-mou yield in the year before last amounted to 1,525 catties. Although last year we suffered from excessive rains and floods, a bumper harvest of 1,247 catties were reaped per mou. During the past 11 years, a total of 1.51 million catties of high quality grain were delivered as taxes and sold to the state. The brigade had 420,000 catties of grain in reserve. We now own an automobile, four large-size and medium-size tractors and more than 160 units of agricultural machinery. Portions of the land are irrigated and public savings have accumulated to over 960,000 yuan. Annual average income of commune members has been raised to 91 yuan. Each family has surplus grain and 90 percent of the families have savings.

Nanhotou Brigade used these methods to implement the principle of distribution according to work: "Basic points for work days were reasonably determined to serve as the basis for calculating wages for labor performed; quotas were set for all farm activities whose quality and quantity are easy to determine, and work points were recorded according to the quotas; appropriate material incentives were given to those commune members and progressive groups who have done their duties well and made great contributions."

How can "basic work points" be fairly determined? One way was to insist on the same pay for the same work performed by either a man or a woman. At democratic discussion meetings to determine and classify "basic work points," all male and female commune members were listed. Some young, strong and active members who were female were given first class daily labor work points. The second way was to conduct overall assessments of the conditions. Not only were considerations given to age and health but also primarily to the attitude toward labor, skill and how the worker completed his assignments. For example, there was a father and son team. The father was over 60 years old but he was physically strong. People nicknamed him "the old man as strong as sandalwood." He had a good attitude toward labor and did quality work. His "basic work point" was classified as first class. Although the son was young and strong, his attitude toward labor and skills were poor and he did not complete his work assignments well. He was classified as third class. The third way was to adjust the "basic work points" according to farm work cycles. During the busiest farming seasons for summer harvesting, planting and hoeing and for autumn harvesting, plowing and sowing when hours are long, labor is intensive, "basic work points" are appropriately increased. Commune members who work overtime receive reasonable increases in work points.

A fair labor quota is a prerequisite to implementing well quota work points. In order to set a fair labor quota, cadres personally tried out the work, examined and determined the average labor intensiveness under a set quality standard and calculated the quantity of farm work to be completed within a day as the standard quota. Then, the degree of hardship of each kind of farm work and its importance and the skills required were studied to determine a reasonable work point standard. In this way, the quota is not too high nor too low, and all commune members can fulfill his or her own "basic work points" as long as he or she puts effort into his or her work. Those who work harder can surpass the quota but will not be able to surpass it too much.

This brigade's material incentives are also reasonable. There are three major kinds of incentives: Each operational group (such as a production team or a special task group) is assigned a reasonable and progressive production quota. Completion of the assignment above the quota is rewarded by a predetermined material incentive to be distributed among all members of the operational group according to each member's work points. Labor competition was held and appropriate material incentives were given to the chosen progressive groups or members. Hogs and livestock were bred and those members who have made contributions were given bonuses accordingly. If a horse or a mule is raised, a reward of 10 yuan is given. If a donkey is raised, the reward is 5 yuan. The reward is to be shared by the feeder, the care-taker and the breeder proportionally. Rewards are not too many and the amounts not too high but those receiving rewards are many.

In order to do well distribution according to work, the brigade relied upon a production responsibility system and an inspection and inventory system. Farm work which requires longer periods or which requires working continuously year-long such as preparing the fields, sowing wheat and operating machinery, etc., is usually calculated by "basic work points." The equipment, production quota, quality standard and fuel and electricity consumption for these types of farm work are determined by a set group of people who constitute an operational group. Cadres and the operational group leader often conduct periodic inspections and make comparisons. The farm work measured by fixed work points must be clearly stated for each piece of land. The daily quantity of work completed must be recorded, work quality must be inspected and products of labor must be inspected and inventoried. For example, in the work of sowing corn in wheat fields, each person's work area must be marked individually so that when the sprouts appear these can be counted according to quota and their work points recorded. If no sprouts appear, the worker will not only lose his work points but also will be criticized. Cadres of this brigade were not afraid of trouble, not afraid of hardship, and not afraid of "offending others" in implementing the system. They led others in participating in labor and implementing the system, and were foremost in making strict demands upon themselves and their families. For many years this system was adhered to very well.

Nanhotou Brigade's party branch realized through practice that in doing well distribution according to work, it cannot depend solely on the system but must also persist in the principle of letting proletarian politics take command and doing political and ideological work well. They did things in the following way: First, as soon as a problem was discovered, work was immediately done to solve the problem. When cadres discovered certain individuals emphasized quantity but not quality in labor, education was immediately conducted or in some instances members of the operational groups were organized in the field to hold meetings to discuss the problem and make timely corrections. Second, mobilize the masses so that every one will work. Not only did cadres have to conduct ideological work but members and the masses also had to assist and encourage each other so that individuals who took shortcuts or goofed off would be criticized and helped. Third, grasp the basics and carry them out repeatedly. Class education and traditional education were conducted as the basic link in nurturing the members' communist attitude toward labor. This village used to be a tenant farmers' village and a model village in fighting the Japanese. The poor and lower-middle peasants have a bloody and tearful history and also a glorious tradition of revolutionary struggle. Every December, class education and traditional education for commune members were conducted. These classes have become "village customs" of the Nanhotou Brigade. The brigade's party branch often praised and rewarded those progressive persons who were not afraid of dirty and tiresome work, who protected collective property and who served the collective with one heart and one mind in labor. In several years, the brigade identified eight persons as red-flag members in serving the collective interests with one heart and one mind, 40 persons as great farmers, seven as model feeders, and three as model machine operators who were worthy of emulation by the broad masses of other members. Cadres not only conducted education through lectures but also with personal action. The members of the party branch are mostly old timers from the time of the socialist construction movement. For all these years they have worked conscientiously and hard and have become the representatives and patrons of the masses. Under their leadership, the masses of commune members have fortified their ideology in doing farm work for the revolution. The remnant narrow-sightedness of the small farm economy of "seeing only Nanhotou when away from home and thinking of only the warm bed after returning home" was shattered. They do not talk of conditions. They do not insist on rewards. They try their best to labor for the collective and make good men and good deeds something that occurs ceaselessly in the struggle for the early realization of the four modernizations.

When Nanhotou Brigade was carrying out the principle of distribution according to work, families in difficulty were taken care of and welfare of the collective was expanded step by step. Except for army and martyr dependents and members of the "five guarantees families" who have lost their ability to participate in labor and are being taken care of by the collective, all brigade members sought to open up more opportunities for

work and work according to their personal capabilities. Lighter work of planting in vegetable farms and looking after fruit gardens were assigned to weak persons or to dependents. During the lull in farm work, these people could not do basic farm construction work so they were organized to weave straw baskets and do embroidery work and given the opportunity to participate in labor during all seasons of the year. Families in hardship but possessing labor capabilities were assigned quotas of productive work and given a set quota of work points and rations according to the number of workers in the families, the strength of their labor capabilities, their yearly work days and the number of days they are to be taken care of by the brigade. If they overfulfill their quotas, they are still entitled to the same number of days to be cared for by the brigade without having to reduce them, and vice versa. In this way, the enthusiasm to participate in collective productive labor of the families in hardship was stimulated, guaranteeing annual improvement in their standard of living. The "basic work points" of those members who have served in collective labor for many years and who have become old and physically weak are not lowered too much, usually not lower than the average standard. Upon the basis of increasing revenue, the brigade paid attention to increasing public welfare funds and expanded the collective's welfare work. The brigade also established nurseries, cooperative medical treatment stations, sewing groups and programs in barber training. Expenses for husking rice, crushing feeds, electricity and water were paid for by the collective.

Why can this brigade sustain the principle of distribution according to work for a long time without encountering any troubles? The basic reason is because the brigade's leading group followed the road of socialism firmly. They understood clearly the principle of distribution according to work. They did not follow the tide or bend with the wind in implementing policies but started from the actual situation to see if the policies provided the basic benefits and met the demands of the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, to see if they benefited the development of socialist production, strengthened and expanded the collective economy. When Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were in power the method of recording work points and paying accordingly was slandered as "work points taking command" and "giving material incentives." But the brigade did not pay attention to such criticism. One year during summer wheat harvest, the brigade implemented quota controls. The commune's bad elements organized some people from an outside village to attack and criticize the cadres of this village. Many slanderous labels were used to label these cadres but they still strongly believed that their own methods were correct. If they did not insist on their own ways, if they gave way to equalitarianism and treat more work and less work equally, then production would have been affected. They realized that in carrying out socialism the principle of distribution according to work must be adhered to. This is not just an idea taken out of the air, but determined by the present material conditions and the people's degree



of awareness. Only by conscientiously adhering to this principle can production be developed and the material basis of socialism be continuously strengthened.

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9296

CSO: 4004

THE COLLECTIVE INCREASES ITS OUTPUT, THE COMMUNE MEMBERS INCREASE THEIR INCOME

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 3 Jun 78 pp 73-76

[Investigation report on Linkuei Brigade of Fuchuan County, Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, by the joint investigation group of the propaganda department of the CCP Party Committee of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, the propaganda department of the CCP Committee of Wuchou Prefecture, and the propaganda department of Fuchuan County]

[Text] Linkuei Brigade of Mailing Commune, Fuchuan County, Kwangsi, has ceaselessly eradicated the interference of the "gang of four" under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, conscientiously implemented the party's economic policy in the farm villages, increased production and increased income of commune members year after year. In 1977, the brigade's total grain production reached 2.537 million catties, almost doubling that of 1973. Average per-mou yield was increased from 1973's 725 catties to last year's 1,417 catties. The brigade delivered as tax in kind and sold to the state a total of 1.05 million catties of grain, averaging 616 catties per capita. The entire brigade's accumulation of funds reached 410,000 yuan. The brigade had a reserve of 240,000 catties of grain. Its members' average per-capita income increased from 1973's 62 yuan to 1977's 120 yuan. Ninety percent of the farm families increased their income in 1977 over that of 1976. All its members have surplus grain and 86 percent of the families have savings.

Linkuei Brigade used to farm very dry and arid land. In 1966, after completion of the Itsu and Huakang reservoirs, the dry and arid condition was changed step by step. Grain production increased but the rate of increase was slow. In addition, diversified undertakings brought little income in spite of heavy investments, so the commune members had very little increase in income. Most members had to pay from their own pocket for rationed grain, and indebtedness and overdraft were widespread. In 1972, the entire brigade increased grain production by a total of 28,400 catties but each commune member's income increased only by 1 yuan over last year's. There were still 171 families that were in

debt or overdrew their accounts. Many commune members commented: "How can this be called increased production when we still have to pay out of our own pockets and go into debt to get rationed grain!"

What methods could be used to increase income? After studying Chairman Mao's related teachings and the experiences of Tachai, the brigade's party branch took the following measures:

#### Greatly Develop Collective Production, Ceaselessly Increase Income of the Collective and of Commune Members Based Upon Increasing Production

This brigade, in developing agricultural production, insisted on using grain as the key link and strove to increase grain production by means of land reclamation to expand farm acreage. Over the past 4 years, the brigade created a total of 570 mou. Last year late season crop fields were expanded by a total of 360 mou beyond that of 1973. The brigade also adopted seeds of excellent strains, planted crops more densely to a reasonable extent than before, paid more attention to seasonal factors in farming, plowed the land in winter for exposure, and adopted measures to reduce pests and plant diseases. Due to implementation of these effective measures, grain production increased greatly year by year and income of commune members also greatly increased.

Linkuei Brigade's party branch not only grasped grain production well but also developed diversified economy in the field of crop cultivation and animal husbandry. This brigade has a lot of land, and a rich supply of hay for raising draft buffalo. The brigade went all out to raise them, assigning each household to raise one for the brigade, if possible. Some 90 percent of the families were able to raise a buffalo each. Last year, the entire brigade raised a total of 358 buffalo, of which 64 young heads were sold to other villages. The entire brigade also raised a total of 1,347 hogs, planted 125 mou of sugar cane, 250 mou of jute and 160 mou of peanuts. It increased its income from diversified economy from the 52,660 yuan in 1973 to 97,707 yuan in 1977, accounting for 26 percent of its total income. Its development of diversified economy in this way opened up more resources for fertilizer and promoted soil improvement and grain production.

#### In Developing Production, Attention Was Paid to Production Investment Conservation, Economic Accounting and Cost Reduction

Fertilizer costs constitute a large percentage of the expenses for agricultural production. Expenditure reports of the 11th, 12th and 13th production teams over the past 2 years reveal that investment in chemical fertilizers took up 45 to 78 percent of total production expenditures. This identifies chemical fertilizer as a major factor in the reduction of expenditure and lowering cost. A few years ago, when the "gang of four" attacked reasonable rules and regulations as means of "governing, restricting and suppression," this brigade abolished the system of levying

manure, leaving large quantities of farm manure unavailable for use, thus increasing the people's tendency toward depending upon the use of chemical fertilizer. To change this situation, the brigade's party branch began increasing the supply and improving the quality of farm manure. Through planting, breeding, collection, accumulation and control, the brigade accumulated more fertilizer. Planting means to plant massive amounts of green manure. The acreage of safflower and rape took up 60 percent of the brigade's total acreage. Breeding refers to breeding buffalo and hogs to increase animal manure. Collection refers to collection of commune members' farm manure. The system of levying manure as tax in kind was perfected. Quotas were set and reasonable bonuses were given according to policy. This increased the enthusiasm of the commune members so that 85 percent of their farm manure were made available for collective production. Accumulation refers to accumulation of native and miscellaneous fertilizer. Control refers to gathering and storing fertilizer. Due to opening of more fertilizer sources, per-mou application of farm manure in 1977 was 20 piculs more than that of 1974. Due to an increase in farm manure, production was increased, and the cost of chemical fertilizer per picul of grain produced was reduced greatly.

Linkuei Brigade in Kwangsi Province used to be known as a "haven for insects." Insects such as the rice stem borers, rice plant skippers, leaf rollers and rice plant leafhoppers often plagued the fields. The expenditure for eradicating insects and plant diseases was great. Investigations conducted by two production teams in 1974 revealed that expenses for farm insecticides constituted from 15 to 27.5 percent of their total production expenses. In the past, this brigade used non-scientific and inefficient methods to eliminate pests and plant diseases with little result. The brigade's party branch later summed up its lessons and experience and established an insect and pest observation station. Special insect teams were organized by production teams and insect and pest conditions were monitored around the year and the origin and development of pest infestation cycles were studied. Specific chemicals were applied precisely and timely to exterminate the insects. Every winter, the masses were mobilized to eradicate weeds around crop fields and along ditches, dig up clusters of rice plant stumps, and plow over farmland to eliminate havens of insects. When pest infestation broke out, a people's war was launched. Men and women, the old and the young all went into the fields to remove insect larvae. At the same time, locally grown herbs were used to make insecticides which were combined with commercial insecticides. In late 1975, the brigade members removed a total of 16 million cakes of rice stem borer eggs, and produced 34,000 catties of home-made insecticides to timely and effectively overcome a pest infestation rarely seen in history and reap a bumper harvest. Statistics compiled by the No 12 production team indicated that in past years each mou required the use of 4.5 yuan per year for fertilizers but in 1975 each mou required only 2 yuan.

Several years ago this brigade did not have any strict requirements and rules governing the use and maintenance of farm equipment and tools, causing much of them to be damaged and lost. Now a sound management system has been established for the use and control of collective property, farm equipment and tools. The brigade ruled that baskets, dust pans and sickles were to be made and taken care of by individual members. Plows and harrows were to be purchased under central authority and used by appointed members of the production team for a given number of years before they were to be replaced by new ones. If a farm tool was broken before its number of useful years, the responsibility was to be investigated. Awards were given to those who used a farm tool beyond its useful life. Farm machines were maintained and used by assigned persons. Machines that could be repaired by the brigade itself were not to be taken to others for repair. In this way, purchases of farm tools and equipment and repair expenses were greatly reduced. Last year, the brigade conserved its purchasing and repair expenses for small farm tools by nearly 3,000 yuan as compared to 1973.

#### Suppress Unreasonable Expenditures, Fight Against Graft and Theft

Due to interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," there was a time when Linkuei Brigade was wasteful and extravagant in eating and drinking, and its miscellaneous expenditures for nonproductive purposes were many. Some cadres abused their authority to engage in graft and theft. All of these directly affected production and income of commune members.

Since the winter of 1974, the brigade's party branch insisted on carrying out the party's basic line and strictly grasped criticism of capitalism and revisionism, repeatedly conducted education in hard work and hard struggle to solve the brigade's problems satisfactorily. The fourth production team was able to harvest bumper grain harvests for several consecutive years. Last year, however, when this team was engaged in making bricks, it provided much wine and meat for consumption by all those participating in brick-making. The third, fifth and sixth production teams wanted to do the same, but the party branch immediately conducted a study class, directing the cadres and masses to learn Chairman Mao's teachings on thrift and hard work. The class criticized the capitalist ways of extravagance in banqueting, educated everyone to be industrious, frugal and spend-thrift, and held a discussion on "whether there should be banquets to celebrate bumper harvests" among the entire brigade and used correct ideology to defeat incorrect ideology. Everyone was made to realize that even drops of water can bore through a rock. If members were not spend-thrift, then no matter how strong the collective economy was, it would be wasted away. On the basis of heightening this realization, those who participated in extravagant banqueting voluntarily submitted to the system and returned portions of money and grain in repayment for the waste. The several teams which planned similar banquets gave up their plans. The brigade's party branch took a firm stand against graft and theft and was strict and severe in handling all misdeeds.

Due to yearly increases in production and harvests, the collective's accumulation of wealth increased. Some cadres proposed to build a community hall, and the party branch planned to draw 30,000 to 50,000 yuan from operational funds to do so. But when it was discovered that many production teams were planning to do a lot of nonproductive construction, and the trend toward extravagance and waste once again prevailed, the party branch decided to correct this evil trend. The plan to build a community hall was changed to building a warehouse.

Linkuei Brigade used to suffer from heavy indebtedness and overdraft. In 1974, overdrawing households constituted 53 percent of all families, and the total debt amounted to 5,200 yuan. A large number of commune members enjoying increased income were unable to receive any cash. In order to solve this problem, cadres of the brigade began to correct the situation by playing an exemplary role themselves. The brigade's deputy secretary had a large family. He used to overdraw his account every year. In 1974 his family overdrew 170 yuan. In order to make repayments, he sold his family pig to repay his debt. Among the three overdrawn cadres of the brigade, he was the most extravagant. Under his influence, the other two cadres also tried their best to repay their debts so that all three were out of debt. In this way, they became stronger in their positions. In the winter of 1974, handling matters seriously, these cadres recovered a total of 12,000 yuan from overdraft, debts, graft, theft of public funds and excessive spending. At the same time, the brigade's party branch demanded that each production team carry out various effective measures to help out those families in difficulty through production and to take care of such families by providing them with some means of livelihood and taking care of their needs in distribution so that these families were able to do without overdraft and be free from debt. The fourth team had a member who lost his fingers and could not do heavy work so the production team arranged for him to look after paddy fields. A member of the third production team with heavy family responsibility but not enough earning manpower used to accrue a debt of over 100 yuan a year. The brigade then lent him money to buy a young hog to develop a family sideline. Last year, this member raised two big hogs and at year-end paid off all his debts and improved his livelihood. His entire family was happy.

Increases in production and income were achieved, and distribution among commune members were done in cash. The great masses of commune members have developed their socialist enthusiasm to promote the development of production.

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9296

CSO: 4004

## DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF FINANCES IS GOOD

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 3 Jun 78 pp 76-77

[Investigative report on Liming Production Brigade of Lunghai County, Fukien, by the joint investigation group of the CCP committees of Luhsi Prefecture and Lunghai County of Fukien]

[Text] Since the farm cooperative movement began, the Liming Brigade has for more than 20 years consistently insisted on managing the brigade thriftily, practicing democratic management of finances and forcefully developing the socialist enthusiasm of the masses of cadres and members to increase production, lower cost and increase contributions to the state. In 1977, this brigade's grain production per mou reached 1,920 catties, of which 822 catties of commercial-grade grain was sold or paid as tax in kind to the state. The brigade's production cost was only 23 percent of total production income, and its administrative expenses only 0.25 percent. Its grain production cost amounted to only 2.78 cents per catty.

High production and low cost made the collective economy richer and richer. Income of members ceaselessly increased. The brigade's fixed assets reached a million yuan. Each commune member received an average of over 100 yuan a year from the collective.

Liming Brigade's major experiences in democratic financial management included the following: First, depend upon the masses to establish a strict financial management and control system. From the brigade down to the production teams, bookkeeping, cash, materials were placed under separate responsibilities and control. A sound regulatory system was used to control, administer and manage utilization of cash, products, material resources, property, and farm equipment and tools, so that incomes, expenditures and distributions were carried out according to plan, proper auditing and approval were required for expenditures with specific restrictions, operational funds were fixed by quota, purchases were subject to rechecking, all losses were repaid, and all scrapped items were accounted for. The masses said: "Regulations are determined by all.

The entire enterprise is administered by everyone. The masses oversee the handling of important matters. Democracy is put into practice in a big way." In this way, nonproductive expenses were strictly controlled. Wastefulness and loss were greatly reduced. The entire brigade's savings amounted to nearly 10,000 yuan a year merely by repairing used small farm equipment, utilizing waste and reducing loss. For many years the Wanhsiang production team has practiced "early information for members" through economic democracy, openness in financial affairs, publication of receipts and expenditures of grain, money and materials, and daily and monthly accounts of members' work points, fertilizer contributions and private use of funds. The information was not only published on bulletin board but also printed in tabular form and distributed to families so that each team member can see at a glance the progress in carrying out plans concerning the team and the individuals so that the masses are satisfied.

Second, organize a financial team that served the public interest wholeheartedly. In order to exercise sound financial management and handle important matters properly, there must be a Red and expert financial work team that is honest, strict, unselfish, and spend-thrift, observes public interest and insists on following principles. In order to build up such a team, the brigade insisted on having the poor and middle-lower peasants elect a member among their own ranks who was ideologically correct, of high awareness, correct in behavior and a hard worker to serve as financial manager. The brigade also strengthened their ideological foundation by ceaselessly giving them line education and education in the revolutionary tradition, raising their level of consciousness in continuing the revolution. At the same time, it insisted that the financial managers work together once a month, organized them to conscientiously study the party's specific and general policies, and develop activities so that they may help and learn from each other. New financial managers were taught by older financial managers to raise their ideological and political levels and work capabilities.

Gaining experience through practice and maturing through struggle, this financial team soon became a red manager of collective economy. It had only one thought of serving the public in managing finances well, while standing on the banks of the river without getting shoes wet. The brigade's accountant was also a committee member of the party branch. He was assigned to a backward team to gain actual experience. In the face of difficulties he worked hard, forgetting to eat and sleep. He succeeded in transforming the backward team into a progressive one and also did a good job in handling the brigade's finances, making it possible to publish financial accounts on daily and monthly basis. The brigade members praised him as the Red administrator who "keeps a thousand accounts clear." The brigade's accounting clerk managed finances according to principle. She was strict in making payments. She would promptly pay only for items entitled to proper expenditure, but not for those not so entitled. Commune members enthusiastically called her the "Red safe."



Third, fully develop the commune members' overseeing function in carrying out democratic financial management. All major financial activities, such as planning for revenue and expenditure, distribution of income, purchases of fixed assets and investments in farmland capital construction were all subject to discussion at a mass meeting of the brigade members. The brigade established a democratic financial leadership group. Each production team established a "three-in-one combination" democratic financial supervisory unit. Each month a democratic financial management meeting was held with the participation of team members. Incomes and expenditures were made public item by item. An inventory of cash reserves was conducted in public. The masses were urged to audit and discuss the items. All items in keeping with rules and regulations were to be signed and entered into account by the democratic financial management group. Unreasonable expenditures were to be conscientiously analyzed and discussed for corrective measure. This kind of democratic financial management provided guidance not only to economy, but also to the general orientation to be followed. A responsible person of a team wanted to increase the collective revenue and neglected the general policy of the state. He sold some 1,000 cattles of peaches to a merchant at high prices. Commune members directed their discussion on this particular incident and commented at the democratic financial management meeting: "The sale of peaches at high prices broke the brigade's good tradition. It followed the evil line of capitalism. We must never use evil methods to increase collective revenue." The masses' supervision and criticism gave the leader of this team a profound education.

Fourth, have cadres serve as models in carrying out financial management. Liming Brigade's leadership consisted of mostly old cadres of the Land Reform period and Farm Cooperative Movement. They maintained the spirit of thriftiness, insisted on thriftiness in managing the brigade and took the lead in carrying out financial duties. This brigade has 12 natural villages, comprising over 900 families. It is a rather large brigade. At present there is only one bicycle as public transport which was purchased during the time of the farm cooperative movement. It has been in use for over 20 years. Some commune members said: "At present our brigade has an annual income of over a million dollars, why do we still have to use this lousy bicycle whose bell does not even ring?" A proposal was made to buy a new bicycle. The party branch insisted not to buy a new bicycle. The old bicycle was repaired and used again and repaired again when it broke down. A very simple conference table of the brigade was made by hand during the period of the Farm Cooperative Movement from an old banyan tree. The cadres handled a million dollars worth of enterprises but never did inappropriately spend even one cent of the collective's money. They served as a good example for the masses.

Administrative members of the brigade were all honest and observed public interest. They handled money but were never greedy for the money. They possessed authority but had no special privileges. They never ate and drank away the money, were never extravagant, never borrowed money or

grain, never delayed paying loans nor over spent, never accepted gifts, never attended private banquets, never did anything that was contrary to principle. In recent years, the brigade developed production of mandarin oranges. Annual production reached several hundred thousand catties. When the party branch committee member went into the fields on inspection tours and participated in labor work he never ate any oranges. One cadre repaired a house last year. The brigade's fish hatchery sent to him several catties of fish. Upon discovery of this, he asked his son to return the fish to the hatchery and reported the incident to the party branch committee as an incident for education. He voluntarily investigated the incident to realize that commune members dared to send gifts to him because he was still not perfect in ideology. The cadres of this brigade courageously stood on principle to struggle against and reject wrong things and acts contradictory to regulation. In receiving outsiders visiting the brigade, the cadres refrained from putting on airs. In visiting other units on business, they carried no gifts. Bribes and gifts offered by others were firmly refused. Cadres who were responsible for financial affairs acted in an exemplary manner without asking for special favors. For many years, they have never taken even one cent from the collective's treasury, and never eaten one catty of grain or fish more than their fair share. A rice mill was right outside of where they lived. But the cadres never abused their authority and took one catty of feed from it. The poor and lower-middle peasants said happily: "Our brigade's cadres are honest and trustworthy."

Cadres of the Liming Brigade always remember Chairman Mao's instructions. To emulate Tachai, they regarded participation in collective productive labor as a political duty in opposing and resisting revisionism and in closely allying with the masses to carry out revolutionary work well and achieve their own revolutionization. Whether in severe winter or hot summer, cadres always join commune members in rising up early, retiring late and working hard. The party branch committee secretary usually spends more time away from the brigade at meetings, but as soon as he returns to the brigade he always goes to the field to do labor work, personally driving the tractor during the busiest farming seasons and working hard day and night in the field. Other cadres also insist on participating in collective labor whenever possible. Last year, each of the 10 party branch committee members who were capable of working averaged 281 days of labor work during the year.

Most recently, they are implementing the spirit of the Fifth National People's Congress, and propagating the general task of the new era. They are determined to make big strides in learning from Tachai, and make new contributions to quick development in agriculture.

[Signed] Joint investigation group of the CCP Committee of Luhsi Prefecture and the CCP Committee of Lunghai County of Fukien

9296

CSO: 4004

WALK OUT OF THE 'EYE OF THE TYPHOON,' GUARD AGAINST 'DARKNESS UNDER THE LAMP'

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 3 Jun 78 pp 78-79

["Selected Articles From Readers"--Article by Li Hsiao-fang [2621 4423 5364] of Sanyuan County, Shensi Province]

[Text] Although a 12th-grade typhoon may engulf everything with rain and tidal waves, yet the center of the typhoon, with a radius of from 5 to 30 kilometers, is quiet and calm. This center is called the "eye of the typhoon" in meteorological terms. Strong winds and rains do not enter this eye where the atmospheric pressure is low and the wind is weak, showing an entirely different weather condition. We have no comment on this natural phenomenon. But if this strange phenomenon occurs in revolutionary work, then there is something to be worried about.

This phenomenon can indeed be seen often: A high tide may arise in a mass movement, but the leading government organs still remain calm, the party's operational organs conduct an abnormal party life, the political departments remain weak in their political and ideological work, the units responsible for implementing policy handle their own internal problems without policy, those working in financial departments are not eager to strictly enforce financial discipline, and so forth. The masses refer to such abnormal phenomena as "darkness under the lamp."

The many reasons for the phenomena of the "typhoon's eye" and "darkness under the lamp" in bureaucratic work may be boiled down to two points:

One is that everyone is busy trying to catch the faults of others but has no time to catch his own faults. When a mass movement arises, it is the busiest time for the leading organs. They find that there are not enough hands to be assigned to lower levels to care for all the many problems covering large areas of work. Therefore, demands are made upon others to work hard in a manner as if to use stone pestles to husk grain in a stone mortar, while they themselves choose to walk on cotton. We are following Chairman Hua and marching forward on a new Long March. How

can we not be busy? Can we afford not to go into the thick of practical work into the field to conduct investigation? We cannot. Without sufficient people, comrades who go down to the basic level should conduct themselves as common soldiers wherever they happen to be and plunge into the mass movement along with the masses. With regard to those comrades who stay at home, even if they number only one or two, why can they not carry on the normal routine including study, office work and other activities? If they find themselves too busy, all they have to do is to raise their work efficiency, reduce their bureaucratic rhetoric, cut down the number of meetings, develop more efforts, then they will be able to make more time. In time of war, is it not true that many commanders can find time to talk and hold meetings while their soldiers snore?

The other point is that while one is enthusiastic about catching the faults of others, one is not so about catching one's own faults. There is the belief that there are not that many problems in one's own organization, and checking these problems or not is really not important. This kind of thinking is often not true to the real situation. Even if there are not that many problems, one must not forget that Chairman Mao once quoted an ancient saying: "Running water never becomes stale. Door pivots are never attacked by worms." If a pond of clear water which has been purified and filtered is not allowed to flow about and renew itself, then after a long period, various kinds of microorganisms will grow in it. Doors and windows which are not opened and closed for a long time will eventually be attacked by small worms and rot away. We have seen a lot of this. In fact, if such a way of thinking as "it does not matter whether attention is paid to problems in a government organization" prevails, it enables such persons as the "gang of four" to take advantage of the calm of the typhoon eye and darkness under the lamp to spread their virus of metaphysics and historical concept of heroism.

Comrades who work in offices, especially in the leading organizations, have heavy work loads and heavy responsibilities. Their views and style of work, if questionable, may yield serious and harmful impact. Therefore, ideological reform must be stressed and stricter demands must be made on themselves in order not to disappoint the party and the people who have high hopes on them. Recently the papers published some reports concerning people charged with leadership duties who were punished for going against party discipline and state laws. These transgressions have caused much pain in the hearts of many. Is this not the evil results of having stayed too long in the "typhoon eye" and "darkness under the lamp" on the part of those who found themselves in such situation but did not want to save themselves! This is proof by negative example how important it is for leading comrades and office workers to conscientiously learn and act well, and to strengthen the sense of discipline, the law-abiding practice, and the political and ideological work in their own organizations.

The masses hope that leading cadres and office workers will walk out of the "typhoon eye" and guard against "darkness under the lamp." This is worthy of a high degree of attention.

PERSEVERE IN TAKING PART IN COLLECTIVE PRODUCTIVE LABOR

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 3 Jun 78 pp 79-80

["Selected articles from readers": Article by Chen Hsuang-t'ien [7115 7175 3944], deputy secretary of CCP Committee of Chinhua County, Chekiang, and secretary of Tanghsi Production Brigade Party branch]

[Text] On 9 May 1963, the great leader Chairman Mao issued important instructions concerning "Chekiang Province's Seven Good Examples of Cadres Participating in Labor." Our brigade was one of the seven units.

My knowledge and understanding about cadres participating in collective productive labor became more and more profound step by step and heightened continuously. After liberation I became a cadre and was acclaimed a model worker. On many occasions I was fortunate to have met the great leader Chairman Mao. In reminiscing I feel that even if I worked 24 hours a day I would not be able to return the kindness of the party and of Chairman Mao. In the old society, I worked for 23 years as a laborer, toiling with the hoe for the landlord; now I am working for socialism and I am using the hoe for the Revolution. I am a cadre and also a model worker. If I do not take the lead in work how can I be considered a cadre? How can I be a model worker if I do not participate in labor? Chairman Mao's glorious directive has lit my heart, heightened my knowledge about participating in productive labor. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune to revisionism and dogmatism, and will forever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship." Chairman Mao's words are so profound! The practical proofs of struggle are illustrated by the fact that iron ore must be sent into the furnace to become steel; a hoe must hit the soil before its edge can be sharpened; cadres must often participate in labor so that they can persevere in continuing the revolution.

But the process of practicing and implementing Chairman Mao's instructions is filled with the fierce struggle between two classes and two lines. Since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" actively engaged in "striking down everything" out of the need to revive capitalism and "carried out an all-out civil war." A small gang of bad elements in our Tanghsi Brigade seized power and took over the leadership, instigated armed struggle, suppressed the poor and lower-middle peasants and for a while brought chaos to our brigade. These people not only did not participate in labor themselves, but also despised those cadres who participated in labor as "burying their heads in pulling the carts, not looking up to see where the road leads." I restudied Chairman Mao's instructions and gained inexhaustible strength. I disregarded the class enemy's threats and slander. I always stayed with the masses and persevered in participating in collective productive labor.

Our Tanghsi Brigade is located on a loess rolling plain, totaling over 1,400 mou of farm land, half of which is terraced. The soil is hard, the water cold and the daily sunshine period short. Someone has said: "The terraced fields are like 'rocks buried in marsh land, not forever to see the light of day.'" In 1971, during the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, the brigade cadres and I started an experimental field of 18 mou of one team, and tried to convert it from a double-crop to three-crop field. Some members of the masses were afraid of too much work, high cost, and "throwing away the rice cakes in search for wheat cakes," i.e., exerting efforts for nothing. We therefore explained to them, discussed with them, concentrated the masses' wisdom to take effective measures and finally achieved an annual per-mou yield of 1,268 catties for the 18 mou of experimental field, surpassing the average per-mou yield of the brigade, caught up with the yield of flat-land fields. The "rocks buried in marsh land" saw the light of day.

As the terraced fields caught up with the flat-land fields in yield, what next? Starting in winter of 1973, we led the entire brigade's commune members in the struggle to reform Hsimen Field. Tanghsi Brigade has more than 600 mou of paddy fields at Hsimen. The fields were not level. Irrigation and drainage were difficult. During the struggle, the "gang of four" and their representative in Chekiang slandered us as "hard working capitalist roaders" and "using production to suppress revolution." A landlord element also jumped up and incited: "For thousands of years we have planted. Today's efforts to change the soil will portend only a reduction in yield." We joined the masses of cadres and commune members to resist the evil storm of the "gang of four" and firmly struggled against the sabotage by class enemies. When the cadres spoke and acted, the masses followed. The entire brigade's cadres and commune members worked hard together for three winters, converting over 600 mou of land into garden-like crop fields and expanding farmed acreage by more than 70 mou. More increase in rice production was realized.

Although I have tilled the soil for 50 years, I can only be considered "half a farmer." The ceaseless development of production demands that cadres participate in scientific experimentation and grasp scientific techniques. In winter of 1972, we studied the slow-ripening character of rice crop in terraced fields and successfully conducted an experiment on companion planting of wheat and late-season rice. In 1977, I planted the Southern Best species of rice in 2 mou of high yield experimental fields. From sowing to harvesting, everything was done by myself by hand, and the yield was high. I also participated in experimenting with bacteria fertilizer and achieved better results. Insisting on scientific experimentation is helpful in eradicating idealism, avoiding the evil practice of empty talk and blind commandism, and promoting large-acreage production.

In 1975, I served as deputy secretary of the county's party branch. My position was changed and my work became busier. How could I forever maintain the true nature of the worker and persevere in participating in collective productive labor? I insisted on putting in time before and after each meeting and never participate in meetings whose content was repetitive. I did my best to conduct discussions in the field. During the busy farming seasons, I insisted on taking time out to return to the production team and promised to participate in more productive labor. In this way I was able to participate in productive labor for over 100 days a year on the average, reaching a maximum of 190 days a year.

The many years of practice have proven: Cadres who serve as fighters in carrying out the three great revolutionary movements and grasping the key link of class struggle can lead the masses to weather storms. In the struggle for production the cadres' hoe can lead the hundreds and thousands of hoes of the masses to fight heaven and earth to overcome all kinds of difficulties. In scientific experimentation, if cadres take the lead, the wisdom and talents of the masses can be brought into full play. Extraordinary results can be achieved. Cadres' participation in collective productive labor indeed is a big thing.

9296

CSO: 4004

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