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TRANSLATIONS FROM RED FLAG

No. 7, 1 JULY 1978

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

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TALK AT AN ENLARGED WORKING CONFERENCE CONVENED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Jul 78 pp 2-16

[Talk by Mao Tse-tung at the CCPCC enlarged working conference on  
30 January 1962]

[Text] Comrades: I'm now going to put forward a few ideas. (warm applause)  
Altogether I'll deal with six points, focusing on the question of democratic  
centralism while also touching on other questions.

First, the way the present conference is being held.

More than 7,000 people have come to this enlarged central working conference. At the outset, several comrades prepared a draft report. Before the draft could be discussed by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, I suggested to them that rather than first holding a meeting of the Political Bureau to discuss it, we should immediately issue it to the comrades attending the conference for their comments and opinions. Comrades, there are among you people from various fields and localities--from provincial, prefectural and county committees, from the party committees of various enterprises and from central departments. Most of you are closer to the lower levels and should know the situation and problems better than us comrades on the Standing Committee, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee. Besides, since you occupy different posts, you can raise questions from different angles. That is why we should ask for your opinions. As expected, after the draft report was issued to you, it brought about lively discussion. While agreeing with the basic policy of the Central Committee, you also put forward many ideas. Later, a drafting committee of 21 was set up, which included responsible members from regional bureaus of the Central Committee. After 8 days of discussion it produced the second draft of the report. It should be said that this second draft is the Central Committee's concentration of a discussion by over 7,000 people. Without your ideas it could not have been written. Both the first and second parts have undergone very substantial revision in the second draft, and for this you should be given credit. I hear that you have all commented on the second draft quite favorably and consider it to be fairly good. If we hadn't used this method but had run the conference in the usual manner--that is, hearing a report first, then discussing it and approving it with a show of hands--we wouldn't have done as well.

This is a question of how to hold meetings. Distribute the draft, invite comments from those present and made amendments accordingly before giving a report. When making a report, one shouldn't just read it out, but should offer some supplementary ideas and explanations. By following this method we can promote democracy more fully, pool wisdom from all quarters and compare different points of view, and our meetings will become more lively. It has been advisable to use this method for the present conference which is being held to sum up the working experience of 12 years, and particularly that of the past 4 years, for there are many questions and consequently many opinions. But can all conferences adopt this method? No, not all. To use this method we must have plenty of time. It may sometimes be used at sessions of our people's congress. Comrades from provincial, prefectural and county party committees, when you call meetings in the future, you too, can adopt this method if conditions permit. Of course, you are busy and cannot usually spend a lot of time on conferences. But there's no harm in having a try when you find the conditions right.

What sort of method is this? It's the method of democratic centralism, the method of the mass line: First democracy, then centralism; from the masses, to the masses; integration of the leadership with the masses. This is the first point I wanted to discuss.

Second, the question of democratic centralism.

It seems that some of our comrades still don't understand democratic centralism as described by Marx and Lenin. Some of these comrades are already veteran revolutionaries, of the 1938 mold or some other mold--anyway, they've been members of the Communist Party for several decades and still don't understand this question. They are afraid of the masses, afraid of the masses speaking out, afraid of mass criticism. What possible reason is there for Marxists-Leninists to be afraid of the masses? While they avoid mentioning their own mistakes, these comrades are likewise afraid of having their mistakes mentioned by the masses. The more they're afraid, the more they're going to be haunted by ghosts. In my opinion, one shouldn't be afraid. What is there to be afraid of? Our attitude is, uphold the truth and readily correct mistakes. The question of what is right or wrong, what is correct or incorrect, in our work falls under contradictions among the people. Contradictions among the people can't be resolved by curses or fists, still less by knives or guns. They can be resolved only by discussion and reasoning, criticism and self-criticism. In a word, they can be resolved only by the democratic method, by letting the masses speak out.

There should be full democracy both inside and outside the party, that is, democratic centralism should be practiced in earnest in both spheres. Problems should be brought out into the open frankly and the masses allowed to speak out, speak out even if we are going to be abused. The worst that can come out of this abuse is that we will be toppled and thus be unable to continue in our current jobs--demotion to lower organizations or transfer to other localities. What's so impossible about that? Why should a person



go only up and not down? Why should one work only in one place and not be transferred to another? I think that, whether they are justified or not, both demotion and transfer have advantages. They help to temper people's revolutionary will, enable them to investigate and study many new situations, and acquire more useful knowledge. I myself had experience in this respect and benefited a great deal from it. If you don't believe my point, you might give it a try. Szuma Chien said: "When King Wen was detained, he produced the 'Book of Changes'; when Confucius was in distress, he compiled the 'Spring and Autumn Annals.'" Chu Yuan was exiled and so composed the 'Li Sao.' Tsochui Ming lost his sight and the 'Kuo Yu' followed. Sun Tzu was mutilated before he wrote his book on military science. Lu Pu-wei was transferred to the Shu region and so the world inherited his 'Lu Lan.' Han Fei was imprisoned in the Kingdom of Chin and he wrote 'Shui Nan' and 'Ku Fen,' two chapters of his great work. Of the 300 poems in the 'Book of Odes' most were written by sages to vent their pent-up indignation." In modern times, people have had doubts about whether in fact King Wen produced the 'Book of Changes' or Confucius compiled the 'Spring and Autumn Annals,' and we can leave these examples aside and let the specialists solve these problems. But Szuma Chien believed these things to be true. And it is a fact that King Wen was detained and the Confucius was in distress. Except for the one about Tsochui Ming's going blind, the events related by Szuma Chien all refer to the incorrect handling of people by their superiors in ancient times. There were cases where we too handled some cadres incorrectly, and no matter whether their handling was completely incorrect or only partially so, after re-examination they should be rehabilitated according to the merits of each case. But, generally speaking, such incorrect treatment--demotion or transfer--tempers their revolutionary will and enables them to absorb much new knowledge from the masses. Here I must make it clear that I am not advocating indiscriminate, incorrect treatment of our cadres, our comrades or anybody else, in the way the ancients detained King Wen, harassed Confucius, exiled Chu Yuan and removed Sun Tzu's kneecaps. I am not advocating this way of doing things, I am opposed to it. What I mean is that at every stage of human history there have always been such cases of mishandling. In class societies such cases are numerous. In a socialist society such things cannot be entirely avoided either. They are unavoidable whether in periods of leadership with a correct or with an incorrect line. There is one distinction, however. Under a correct line, as soon as cases which have been mishandled are discovered, after re-examination the people concerned will be rehabilitated and apologies will be made to them, so that they will enjoy ease of mind and lift up their heads again. But under an incorrect line, this becomes impossible, and the mistakes can be corrected at a suitable occasion only by those who represent the correct line through the method of democratic centralism. As for those who have actually made mistakes and who, after criticism by comrades and review at a higher level, have been correctly demoted or transferred, it goes without saying that such demotion or transfer will help them correct their mistakes and acquire new knowledge.

At present, there are some comrades who are very afraid of the masses initiating discussion and putting forward ideas which differ from those of the leading organs or the leaders. Whenever a problem is being discussed, they suppress the initiative of the masses and don't allow them to speak out. This attitude is abominable. Democratic centralism is written into our party constitution and state constitution, but they don't apply it. Comrades, we are revolutionaries. If we have really made mistakes which are harmful to the cause of the party and the people, we should seek the opinions of the masses and of comrades and criticize ourselves. Such self-criticism should sometimes be repeated several times over. If once is not enough and people are not satisfied, it should be done a second time; if they are still not satisfied, then it should be done a third time; it should go on until nobody has any more criticisms. Some provincial party committees have done just this. A few provinces have shown some initiative and let people speak out. The early ones started self-criticism in 1959, the late-starters began in 1961. Some provinces, such as Honan, Kansu and Tsinghai, were forced to carry out self-criticism. Some people say there are other provinces which seem to be starting self-criticism only now. But no matter whether they carry out self-criticism on their own initiative or are forced to do so, no matter whether they do so early or late, provided they look squarely at their mistakes and are willing to admit and correct them and let the masses criticize them, provided they adopt this attitude, we should always welcome it.

Criticism and self-criticism is a method; it is the method of resolving contradictions among the people and indeed the only method. There is no other method. But if we don't have full democracy and don't truly practice democratic centralism, this method of criticism and self-criticism cannot be applied.

Don't we have many difficulties right now? It is impossible to overcome these difficulties unless we rely on the masses and arouse the enthusiasm of the masses and the cadres. But if you don't explain the situation to the masses and the cadres, open your hearts to them and let them voice their opinions, if they are still afraid of you and don't dare speak, it will be impossible to arouse their enthusiasm. I said in 1957 that we should create "a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness". We should create such a political situation both inside and outside the party. Otherwise it will be impossible to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses. We cannot overcome difficulties without democracy. Of course, it's even more impossible to do so without centralism. But if there's no democracy there won't be any centralism.

Without democracy there can't be correct centralism because centralism can't be established when people have divergent views and don't have unity of understanding. What is meant by centralism? First, there must be concentration of correct ideas. Unity of understanding, of policy, plan, command and action is attained on the basis of concentrating correct ideas.

This is unity through centralism. But if all those concerned are still not clear about the problems, if their opinions are still unexpressed or their anger is still not vented, how can you achieve this unity through centralism? Without democracy, it is impossible to sum up experience correctly. Without democracy, without ideas coming from the masses, it is impossible to formulate good lines, principles, policies or methods. As far as the formulation of lines, principles, policies and methods is concerned, our leading organs merely play the role of a processing plant. Everyone knows that a factory cannot do any processing without raw material. It cannot produce good finished products unless the raw material is sufficient in quantity and suitable in quality. If there is no democracy, if there is no knowledge of what is going on down below and no clear idea about it, if there is no adequate canvassing of the opinions of all concerned and no communication between higher and lower levels, and if instead issues are decided solely by the leading organs of the higher levels on the strength of one-sided or inaccurate material, then such decisions can hardly avoid being subjective and it will be impossible to achieve unity in understanding and action or achieve true centralism. Isn't the main topic of our present conference opposition to decentralism and the strengthening of centralism and unity? If we fail to promote democracy in full measure, then will this centralism, this unity, be genuine or sham? Will it be real or empty? Will it be correct or incorrect? Of course it will only be sham, empty and incorrect.

Our centralism is centralism built on the foundation of democracy. Proletarian centralism is centralism with a broad democratic base. The party committees at all levels are the organs which exercise centralized leadership. But leadership by the party committee means collective leadership, not arbitrary decisions by the first secretary alone. Within party committees, democratic centralism alone should be practiced. The relationship between the first secretary and the other secretaries and committee members is one of the minority being subordinate to the majority. Take the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee by way of example. It often happens that when I say something, regardless of whether it is correct or incorrect, if the others don't agree, I must accede to their opinion because they are the majority. I am told that there are now some provincial, prefectural and county party committees where all matters are decided by the first secretary alone. This is quite wrong. How can we justify the idea that what one person says goes? I am referring to important matters here, not to the routine work coming after decisions. If a matter is important, it must be discussed collectively, different opinions must be heeded, and the complexities of the situation and the dissenting opinions must be analyzed seriously. Thought must be given to the various possibilities and estimates made of the various aspects of a situation, what is good and what bad, what is easy and what difficult, what is possible and what impossible. This should be done as carefully and thoroughly as possible. To act otherwise is just one-man tyranny. Those first secretaries should be called tyrants and not "squad leaders" practising democratic centralism. Once upon a time there was a certain

Hsiang Yu, who was called the tyrant of western Chu. He hated listening to opinions which differed from his own. One Fan Tseng offered him advice, but Hsiang Yu didn't listen to what he had to say. There was another man named Liu Pang, the founder of the Han Dynasty, who was better at accepting ideas different from his own. An intellectual called Li I-chi went to see Liu Pang. When he was first announced, it was as a scholar of the Confucian school. Liu Pang said there was a war on and he couldn't see scholars. Li I-chi flared up and said to the gatekeeper: "You can get in there again and say that I'm a drinking man from Kaoyang, not a scholar." The gatekeeper did as he was told. "All right, ask him in." When Li I-chi entered, Liu Pang was washing his feet but he quickly got up to welcome him. Still angry because Liu Pang had refused to see a scholar, Li I-chi gave him a dressing down. He said: "Look here, do you want to conquer the world or don't you? Why do you take an elder so lightly?" Li I-chi was then over 60 and Liu Pang was younger, so Li called himself an "elder." At this, Liu Pang apologized and promptly accepted Li I-chi's plan of seizing the county of Chenliu. This incident can be found in the biographies of Li I-chi and Lu Chia in the 'Historical Records.' In the feudal period, Liu Pang was described by historians as a hero "who was generous and open-minded and who readily listened to advice." Liu Pang and Hsiang Yu fought for many years. In the end Liu Pang won and Hsiang Yu was defeated. This was no accident. Today some of our first secretaries can't even match the feudal Liu Pang but have a bit of Hsiang Yu in them. If these comrades don't change, they'll ultimately be overthrown. Isn't there an opera called 'The Tyrant Bids His Lady Farewell?' If these comrades remain unchanged, the day will come when they too will be "bidding their ladies farewell." (laughter) Why do I have to put the matter so strongly? It's because I hope that by speaking a bit sarcastically, I can prick some comrades and get them to give this some thought. It will be best if they can't sleep for a night or two. If they can sleep, then I'll be the unhappy one because they still haven't felt any pain.

Some of our comrades can't bear to hear any opinion contrary to their own and can't tolerate any criticism. That is very wrong. During this conference, the group meeting of one province started off in a very lively manner, but as soon as the secretary of the provincial party committee went to sit in, a hush fell and nobody said a word. Comrade provincial party secretary why do you go and sit there? Why don't you stay in your own room and think things over and let the others talk freely? Since such an atmosphere has been brought about and people don't dare speak in your presence, then you should absent yourself. Whoever makes mistakes must criticize himself, and we must let others speak up, let others criticize. On June 12 last year, the last day of the working conference in Peking convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I discussed my own shortcomings and mistakes. I asked the comrades to convey what I said to the provinces and localities. I found out later that many localities were not informed. It's as if my mistakes could or should be kept hidden. Comrades, they mustn't be kept hidden! Of all the mistakes by the Central Committee I am responsible for those directly related to me and I have a share of the

responsibility for those not directly related to me, because I am its chairman. It's not that I want other people to slough off their responsibility--there are some other comrades who also bear responsibility--but I am the person who ought to be primarily responsible. The secretaries of our provincial prefectural and county party committees, right down to the secretaries of party committees of districts, enterprises and communes, being first secretaries, should bear responsibility for shortcomings and mistakes in work, shirking responsibility, fearing to shoulder it and forbidding people to speak out as if one were a tiger whose backside no one dares touch--10 out of 10 who adopt this attitude will fail. People will always speak out sooner or later. You think that people really won't dare to touch the backsides of tigers like you? They damn well will!

Unless we fully promote people's democracy and inner-party democracy and unless we fully implement proletarian democracy, it will be impossible for China to have true proletarian centralism. Without a high degree of democracy it is impossible to have a high degree of centralism, and without a high degree of centralism it is impossible to establish a socialist economy. And what will happen to our country if we fail to establish a socialist economy? It will turn into a revisionist state, indeed a bourgeois state, and the dictatorship of the proletariat will turn into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and a reactionary, fascist dictatorship at that. This is a question which very much deserves our vigilance and I hope our comrades will give it a good deal of thought.

Without democratic centralism, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated. To practice democracy among the people and to exercise dictatorship over the enemies of the people--these two aspects are not to be separated. When they are combined, we have proletariat dictatorship, or what may be called people's democratic dictatorship. Our slogan is: "A people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and based on the alliance of the workers and peasants." How does the proletariat exercise leadership? It leads through the Communist Party. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. The proletariat unites with all classes and strata who favor, support and participate in socialist revolution and socialist construction, and exercises dictatorship over the reactionary classes or rather their remnants. In our country where the system of exploitation of man by man has already been destroyed and the economic base of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie done away with, the reactionary classes are no longer as formidable as in the past. For example, they are no longer as formidable as in 1949 when the People's Republic was founded, or as in 1957 when the bourgeois rightists frenziedly attacked us. Therefore, we speak of them as the remnants of the reactionary classes. But in no case should we underestimate these remnants. We must carry on our struggle against them. The reactionary classes which have been overthrown still seek a comeback. And in socialist society new bourgeois elements continue to emerge. Classes and class struggle exist throughout the socialist stage. This struggle is long and complex and at times even very acute. Our instruments of dictatorship must be strengthened, not weakened. Our public security

system is in the hands of comrades who follow the correct line. But it is possible that security departments in one place or another are in the hands of bad people. And there are also a few comrades doing public security work who don't rely on the masses or on the party. In ferreting out counter-revolutionaries, they don't follow the line of working through the masses under the leadership of the party committees, but rely solely on secret work, on so-called professional work. Professional work is necessary; investigation and interrogation are absolutely necessary in dealing with counter-revolutionaries. But the most important thing is to follow the mass line under the leadership of the party committee. It is especially necessary to rely on the masses and the party in exercising dictatorship over the reactionary classes as a whole. Dictatorship over the reactionary classes does not mean the physical elimination of all reactionary class elements; the aim is to remold them, to remold them using suitable methods, to make them into new men. Without broad democracy for the people, it is impossible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be consolidated or for political power to be stable. Without democracy, without arousing the masses and without supervision by the masses, it is impossible to exercise effective dictatorship over the reactionaries and bad elements or to remold them effectively; they will continue to make trouble and may stage a come-back. We must be vigilant on this question, and I hope comrades will give it a good deal of thought too.

The third point: Which classes should we unite with and which classes should we repress? This is a question of basic stand.

The working class should unite with the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the patriotic national bourgeoisie, and first and foremost, with the peasantry. Intellectuals such as scientists, engineers and technicians, professors, teachers, writers, artists, actors, medical workers and journalists do not constitute a class; they are attached either to the bourgeoisie or to the proletariat. Are we to unite only with those intellectuals who are revolutionary? No, so long as intellectuals are patriotic, we shall unite with them and help them do their work well. Workers, peasants, urban petty-bourgeois elements, patriotic intellectuals, patriotic capitalists and other patriotic democrats, together comprise more than 95 percent of the population. Under our people's democratic dictatorship, they all belong to the category of the people. And among the people we must practice democracy.

Those whom the people's democratic dictatorship should repress are landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and anti-communist rightists represent the landlord class and the reactionary bourgeoisie. These classes and bad people comprise about 4 or 5 percent of the population. It is they whom we must compel to undergo remolding. It is they who are the object of the people's democratic dictatorship.

With whom do we stand? With the masses who comprise over 95 percent of the population? Or with the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists who comprise 4 or 5 percent of the population?

We must side with the people and never with their enemies. For a Marxist-Leninist this is a question of basic stand.

Just as this holds true within our country, it also holds true internationally. Sooner or later, the people of all countries, the masses comprising more than 90 percent of the world's population, will want revolution and support Marxism-Leninism. They won't support revisionism; though some people may support it for a while, they will eventually cast it aside. They are bound to awaken gradually, they are bound to oppose imperialism and reaction, and they are bound to oppose revisionism. A true Marxist-Leninist must stand firmly on the side of the masses who comprise over 90 percent of the world's population.

The fourth point: Understanding the objective world.

Man's understanding of the objective world, his leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, involves a process. Take, for instance, the question of how to carry out the democratic revolution in China. From its founding in 1921 to its seventh congress in 1945, 24 years elapsed before our party reached complete unity of understanding on this question. During this period we underwent a party-wide rectification movement which lasted 3 1/2 years, from the spring of 1942 to the summer of 1945. It was a thoroughgoing movement and the method of democracy was adopted, that is to say, no matter who had made mistakes, it was all right provided he acknowledged and corrected them. What is more, everybody helped him to acknowledge and correct them. This was called "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and during the sickness to save the patient" or "starting from the desire for unity, distinguishing right from wrong through criticism or struggle, and arriving at a new unity on a new basis." It was at that time that the formula "unity--criticism--unity" came into being. The rectification movement helped the comrades of the whole party to reach unity of understanding. It was in that period, and especially after the rectification movement, that the problems of how the democratic revolution ought to be conducted and how the general line of the party and its specific policies ought to be formulated were completely solved.

In the period between the founding of the party and the war of resistance against Japan, we had the northern expedition and the 10 years of the agrarian revolutionary war. We won two victories and met with two defeats. The northern expedition was victorious, but in 1927 the revolution suffered a defeat. Spectacular successes were achieved in the agrarian revolutionary war and the Red Army grew to a strength of 300,000. But later we again suffered reverses and our army of 300,000 was reduced to only some 20,000 in the Long March. After it reached northern Shensi, it took in some recruits but still fell short of 30,000, that is, less than one-tenth of the original 300,000. After all, which was stronger, the army of 300,000 or the army of less than 30,000? The army of less than 30,000, because having sustained those heavy reverses and gone through those extreme hardships, we had become tempered and experienced and had rectified the erroneous line and restored the correct line. In the report to this conference, it is said that we have

become stronger, not weaker, because our line was correct and our achievements were primary in the past 4 years and because we have become experienced through making mistakes in our practical work and suffering from them. This is exactly how things stand. In the period of the democratic revolution, we came to understand this objective world of China only after we had experienced victory, then defeat, victory again, then defeat again, only after we had twice drawn comparisons.

On the eve and in the course of the war of resistance against Japan, I wrote a number of essays, such as "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War", "On Protracted War", "On New Democracy" and "Introducing 'The Communist'", and I drafted a number of documents on policy and strategy for the Central Committee. All of them sum up revolutionary experience. These essays and documents could only be written at that time and not before, because until then we hadn't been through storm and stress and couldn't compare our two victories and two defeats, and therefore we weren't adequately experienced and couldn't fully understand the laws governing the Chinese revolution.

Generally speaking, it was the Chinese, and not the comrades of the Communist International handling Chinese problems, who succeeded in gaining an understanding of this objective world of China. These comrades in the Communist International didn't understand Chinese society, the Chinese nation, and the Chinese revolution or we can say that they didn't understand them well. For a long time we ourselves failed to have a clear understanding of China as an objective world, not to mention the foreign comrades!

It was not until the period of the war of resistance against Japan that we formulated a general line for the party and a whole set of specific policies that suited the prevailing conditions. It was only then that we came to understand the Chinese democratic revolution, this realm of necessity, and that we gained freedom. By that time, we had already been making revolution for some 20 years. Through all those years there was a considerable degree of blindness in our revolutionary work. If anyone claims that any comrade--for instance, any comrade of the Central Committee, or for that matter I myself--completely understood the laws governing the Chinese revolution right from the start, then he is a braggart and you must on no account believe him. It just wasn't so. In the past, and especially in the early years, all we had was a passion for revolution, but when it came to how to make revolution, what the targets were, which targets should come first and which later, and which had to wait until the next stage, we didn't have clear or at least wholly clear ideas for a fairly long time. In giving a historical account of how we Chinese communists got to know, with much difficulty yet successfully, the laws governing the Chinese revolution in the period of democratic revolution, I hope to guide comrades to understand one thing: That getting to know the laws governing the building of socialism necessarily involves a process. We must take practice as the starting-point and move from having no experience to having some experience, from having little experience to having more experience, from the building of socialism,



this still unknown realm of necessity, to the realm of freedom, a leap in cognition--the attainment of freedom through the gradual overcoming of our blindness and the gradual understanding of the objective laws.

We still lack experience in the building of socialism. I've discussed this problem with delegations of fraternal parties from several countries. I told them that we had no experience in building a socialist economy.

I have also discussed this problem with some journalists from capitalist countries, among them an American called Edgar Snow. He had long wanted to come to China, and in 1960 we let him. I had a talk with him. I said: "As you know, we have a set of experiences, a set of principles, policies and measures with regard to policies, military affairs and class struggle; but when it comes to socialist construction, we hadn't done any in the past, and we still don't have experience. You may say, 'haven't you been at it for 11 years?' Well yes, we have, but we still lack knowledge and experience. Even if we are beginning to acquire a little, it doesn't amount to much." Snow wanted me to say something about China's long-term construction plans. I said, "I don't know," and he said, "you're being too cautious." I replied: "It's not a question of being cautious. I really don't know, we just don't have the experience." Comrades, it's true that we don't know, we still lack experience and really don't have such long-term plans yet. 1960 was the very year we ran into a lot of difficulties. In 1961 I spoke of these things again during a discussion with Montgomery. He said: "In another 50 years you'll be terrific." What he meant was that after 50 years we would become powerful and would be "aggressive" toward others, but not before that. He had already expressed this view to me when in China in 1960. I said: "We are Marxist-Leninists, ours is a socialist state, not a capitalist state, and therefore we won't perpetrate aggression against others whether in 100 years or 10,000 years. As for the construction of a powerful socialist economy in China, 50 years won't be enough, it will take 100 years or even more. In your own country the development of capitalism has taken several hundred years. We won't count the 16th century, since the Middle Ages weren't over yet. But from the 17th century to the present is already more than 360 years. In our country, the building of a powerful socialist economy will take more than 100 years, I reckon." What period was the 17th century? It was the end of the Ming and the beginning of the Ching Dynasty. Another century was to elapse before we come to the first half of the 18th century, or the Chien Lung period of the Ching Dynasty, the period when the author of the "Dream of the Red Chamber," Tsao Hsueh-chin, lived, a period which gave birth to fictional characters like Chia Pao-yu, who was dissatisfied with the feudal system. In the Chien Lung period, the buds of capitalist relations of production already existed in China, but it remained a feudal society. Such is the social background of the emergence of the multitude of fictional characters in the Ta-kuan garden. Before this, in the 17th century, capitalism was already developing in a number of European countries. It has taken over 300 years for the capitalist productive forces to develop to their present state. Socialism is vastly superior to capitalism and our economy will develop faster than those of the capitalist countries. But China has a large population, had little to

start with and is economically backward, so that in my opinion it will be impossible for her to effect a tremendous expansion of the productive forces to catch up with and overtake the world's most advanced capitalist countries in less than 100 years. Perhaps it will actually take only a few decades, say 50 years as some people envisage. If it does turn out that way, we'll thank heaven and earth and it will be wonderful! But I would advise comrades to anticipate more difficulties and so to envisage a somewhat longer period. It took more than 300 years to build up a powerful capitalist economy; what would be wrong with building a powerful socialist economy in our country in about 50 to 100 years? The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in tremendous struggles which in form will have many features different from those of struggles in the past. In this undertaking, we must integrate in the best possible way the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete realities of China's socialist construction and with those of the world revolution now and in the future and, through practice, gradually get to know the objective laws of struggle. We must be prepared to suffer many failures and setbacks resulting from our blindness, and thereby gain experience and win final victory. When we see things in this light, there are many advantages in envisaging a longer period of time, whereas harm might result from envisaging a shorter period.

In socialist construction, we are still acting blindly to a very large extent. For us the socialist economy is in many respects a still unknown realm of necessity. Take me by way of example. There are many problems in the work of economic construction which I still don't understand. I know very little about industry and commerce for instance. I know something about agriculture, but this is only relatively speaking, I still don't know much. To know more about agriculture one should understand soils, botany, crop cultivation, agro-chemistry, farm machinery and so on. One should also understand the different branches of agriculture, such as grain, cotton, oil, hemp, silk, tea, sugar, vegetables, tobacco, fruit, medicinal herbs and miscellaneous products. There are animal husbandry and forestry too. I myself am a believer in the theory of the Soviet soil scientist V.R. Williams. In his work on soil, Williams advocated combining farming, forestry and animal husbandry. I think we must have this three-way combination, or agriculture will suffer. I would advise comrades to make a serious study of all these problems of agricultural production when you have some respite from work. I too would like to study them a little more. Up to now, however, my knowledge of these matters has been very scanty. I have paid rather more attention to problems relating to the relations of production, to the system. When it comes to the productive forces, I know every little. As for our party as a whole, our knowledge of socialist construction is very inadequate. In the forthcoming period we should accumulate experience and study hard, and in the course of practice gradually deepen our understanding and become clearer on the laws of socialist construction. We must put in a lot of hard work and investigate and study it in earnest. We must

go down to selected spots at the grass roots, to the production brigades and production teams, and to the factories and shops. We used to do rather well in making investigation and study, but after we entered the cities we didn't do it seriously. In 1961 we pushed it once again, and now the situation has changed somewhat. But it has not yet become common practice among the leading cadres--especially senior leading cadres--in some places, departments and enterprises. Some provincial party secretaries have still not gone down to stay at selected spots. If the provincial party secretaries don't go, how can they ask prefectural party secretaries and county party secretaries to do so? This is bad and must be changed.

Twelve years have passed since the founding of the People's Republic of China. These 12 years can be divided into a first period of 8 years and a second of 4 years. 1950 to the end of 1957, constitute the first 8 years, 1958 to the present is the second 4 years. In this conference of ours, we have made a first attempt at summing up the experience of our past work, mainly that of the last 4 years. This summing-up is reflected in the report to the conference. We have already formulated, or are formulating, or shall formulate, specific policies in various fields. Already formulated are such draft regulations as the 60 articles on rural people's communes, the 70 articles on industrial enterprises, the 60 articles on higher education and the 14 articles on scientific research, all of which have already come into force or are being carried out on a trial basis. They will be revised in the future, some perhaps drastically. Among those which are already in the process of formulation are the regulations on commercial work. Among those which will be formulated in the future are the regulations on middle-school and primary-school education. We should also formulate some regulations on the work of our party and government organs and mass organizations. The army has already formulated some regulations. In short, we should do a good job in summing up our experience in industry, agriculture, commerce and culture and education, and in the army, the government and the party, and work out a complete set of principles, policies and measures so that our work in these seven sectors will progress along the correct path.

It is not enough to have a general line. In addition, under its guidance we must have a complete set of specific principles, policies and measures which are suited to our conditions in industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the party. Only then can we persuade the masses and the cadres, using these as teaching materials to educate them so that they can have unity of understanding and action. And only then can we achieve victory in revolution and construction. Otherwise it is impossible. On this point, we had a deep understanding even as far as the war of resistance against Japan. At that time we did function in this way, so that the cadres and the masses achieved unity in their understanding of the complete set of specific principles, policies and measures for the period of democratic revolution and therefore achieved unity in action, which led to victory in that revolution. This is something we all know. During the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, our revolutionary tasks in the first 8 years were: In the countryside, to complete the reform of the feudal land system and then to achieve

the co-operative transformation of agriculture, and in the cities, to achieve the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. In economic construction, our tasks were to rehabilitate the economy and carry out the First Five-Year Plan. Both in revolution and in construction we had a general line which was suited to the objective conditions and which was wholly convincing, as well as a complete set of principles, policies and measures under the guidance of the general line. Hence we could educate the cadres and the masses and unify their understanding, and the tasks were performed fairly well. This is also something we all know. But as things stood in those days, we had to copy the Soviet Union since we had no experience of our own in economic construction. In the field of heavy industry especially, we copied almost everything from the Soviet Union with very little creativeness on our part. It was absolutely necessary to do so at that time, and yet it was also a weakness--a lack of creativeness and of ability to stand on our own feet. Certainly this could not be our long-term policy. Beginning from 1958 we established the clear-cut policy of relying mainly on our own efforts while seeking foreign aid by way of support. At the second session of the party's eighth national congress in 1958, we adopted the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism". In the same year the people's communes were established and the slogan of a "Great Leap Forward" was raised. For a certain period after the general line for socialist construction was proclaimed, we hadn't the time to work out a complete set of specific principles, policies and measures suited to our conditions, nor did the possibility exist for us to do so because our experience was still insufficient. Under those circumstances, a complete set of teaching materials wasn't available to the cadres and the masses, who couldn't get any systematic education on policy and therefore couldn't conceivably have genuine unity in understanding and action. This possibility came into being only after a period of time, after we had suffered some setbacks and acquired both positive and negative experience. Now matters are better. We do have these things or are working them out. Thus we can better carry on socialist revolution and socialist construction. In order to work out a complete set of specific principles, policies and measures under the guidance of the general line, we must employ the methods of drawing on the masses and of systematic, thorough investigation and study. And we must examine the successful and unsuccessful experiences in our work historically. Only thus can we discover laws which are inherent in objective things and which are not subjectively concocted out of people's imaginations, and only thus can we formulate regulations which are suited to our conditions. This is a very important matter and I ask the comrades here to please pay attention to it.

Of the seven sectors--industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the party--it is the party that exercises overall leadership. The party must give leadership to industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army and the government. Generally speaking, our party is good. Our party is mainly composed of workers and poor peasants. The great majority of our cadres are good, and they are all

working hard. But we must also realize that there are still some problems and we mustn't imagine that everything is just fine with our party. At present we have over 17 million party members, nearly 80 percent of whom joined the party after the founding of the People's Republic, that is, in the fifties. Those who joined the party before our People's Republic was founded constitute only 20 percent. Of this 20 percent those who joined before 1930, that is, in the twenties, totaled 800-odd people according to an estimate several years ago. Some have died in the last couple of years, so perhaps there are only 700-odd left. Among both old and new party members--especially among the new members--there are some who are impure in character and work style. They are individualists, bureaucrats, subjectivists, or even degenerate elements. There are also some people who are communists in name but do not represent the working class, on the contrary, they represent the bourgeoisie. All is not pure inside the party. We must be aware of this fact, or we shall suffer.

This is my fourth point. In short, our understanding of the objective world necessarily involves a process. In the beginning we do not understand, or do not completely understand, and it is only through repeated practice which leads to achievements and victories, tumbles and setbacks, and through the comparison of successes and failures that it is possible to have gradually developed complete or relatively complete understanding. When that point is reached, we shall have more initiative, enjoy greater freedom and become somewhat wiser. Freedom is the recognition of necessity and the transformation of the objective world. Only on the basis of the recognition of necessity can people have freedom of action. This is the dialectics of freedom and necessity. Necessity as such is objectively existing law. Before we recognize it our action can never be conscious, it partakes of blindness. Under these conditions we are foolish people. Haven't we done many foolish things during the last few years?

The fifth point: The International Communist movement. On this question I am only going to say a few words.

Whether in China or in other countries of the world, when all is said and done, over 90 percent of the population will eventually support Marxism-Leninism. There are still many people in the world who have not awakened because of the deceptions of the social-democrats, revisionists, imperialists and reactionaries. But sooner or later they will gradually awaken and support Marxism-Leninism. The truth of Marxism-Leninism is irresistible. Sooner or later the masses of the people will rise in revolution. Sooner or later the world revolution will triumph. Sooner or later those who forbid others to make revolution, such as the characters in Lu Hsun's book--Squire Chao, Squire Chien and the Bogus Foreign Devil Who Bar Ah Q from Revolution--will be defeated.

The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of

Soviet party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long. Whatever the time--now or in the future, in our generation or in the generations to come--we should learn from the Soviet Union and study its experience. If we don't learn from the Soviet Union, we'll make mistakes. People may ask, since the Soviet Union is under the rule of the revisionists, should we still learn from it? What we should study is the good people and good things of the Soviet Union, the good experience of the Soviet party, the good experience of Soviet workers and peasants and of those intellectuals who have close ties with the laboring people. As for the bad people and bad things of the Soviet Union and the Soviet revisionists, we should treat them as teachers by negative example and draw lessons from them.

We should always uphold the principle of proletarian internationalist unity. We always maintain that the socialist countries and the world communist movement must unite firmly on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The revisionists of the world never stop abusing us. Our attitude is, let them do as they wish. We will duly reply when necessary. Our party has become accustomed to being abused. Leaving aside those who attacked us in the past, what about the present? Abroad, the imperialists abuse us, the reactionary nationalists abuse us, the reactionaries of various countries abuse us, and the revisionists abuse us; at home, Chiang Kai-shek abuses us, and likewise the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists. This has been the case for a long time and we're already used to it. But are we isolated? I for one don't feel isolated. Over 7,000 people are present here. How can more than 7,000 people be isolated? (laughter) Our country has over 600 million people. Our people are united. How can more than 600 million people be isolated? The masses of the people of all countries are already standing, or are going to stand together with us. Is it possible for us to be isolated?

The sixth and last point: We must unite the whole party and the whole people.

We must unite the advanced elements and the activists inside and outside the party, and unite the middle elements in order to bring along those who lag behind. In this way, we can unite the whole party and the whole people. Only by relying on such unity can we do our work well, overcome difficulties and build up China. To unite the whole party and the whole people does not mean that we do not have our own position. Some people say that the Communist Party is a "party of the whole people", but we do not view things in this way. Our party is the political party of the proletariat, its vanguard, a fighting force armed with Marxism-Leninism. We are on the side of the masses who comprise over 95 percent of the total population. In no case do we stand on the side of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists who make up 4 to 5 percent of the population. The same is true on the international sphere; we advocate unity with Marxist-Leninists, with all revolutionary people, with the people in general. In no case do we want unity with the anti-communist

and anti-popular imperialists and reactionaries. Whenever possible we'll establish diplomatic relations with them too, and strive for peaceful co-existence with them on the basis of the five principles. But this is in a category different from our unity with the people of all countries.

If unity is to prevail throughout the party and the nation, we must give full play to democracy and let people speak up. This holds both inside and outside the party. Comrades from the provincial, prefectural and county party committees, when you return, you must let people speak out. All comrades, absent or present, must act in this way. All leading members of the party must promote inner-party democracy and let people speak out. What are the limits? One is that party discipline must be observed, the minority being subordinate to the majority and the entire membership to the Central Committee. Another limit is that no secret faction must be organized. We are not afraid of open opponents, we are only afraid of secret opponents. Such people do not speak the truth to your face, they only speak lies and deceit. They don't express their real intention. As long as a person doesn't violate discipline and engage in secret factional activities, we should allow him to speak out and shouldn't punish him if he says wrong things. If people say wrong things, they can be criticized, but we should convince them with reason. What if they are still not convinced? They can be allowed to reserve their opinions. As long as they abide by the resolutions and decisions taken by the majority, the minority can reserve their opinions. It is advantageous to allow the minority both inside and outside the party to do so. If they are allowed to reserve their incorrect opinions for the time being, they can correct them in the future. Quite often the ideas of the minority turn out to be correct. Such cases are common in history. In the beginning, truth is not in the hands of the majority of people, but in those of a minority. Marx and Engels held the truth in their hands, but in the beginning they were in the minority. For a long period Lenin was also in the minority. We've had similar experience in our own party. When our party was ruled by Chen Tu-hsiu and also when the "left" opportunist lines prevailed, truth was not in the hands of the majority in the leading organs but on the contrary in the hands of the minority. Historically, the doctrines of natural scientists such as Copernicus, Galileo and Darwin were not recognized by the majority of people for a very long time, but on the contrary were considered incorrect. In their time they were in the minority. When our party was founded in 1921, we only had a few dozen members; we were also in the minority, but those few dozen people represented the truth and represented China's destiny.

There is also the question of arrests and executions on which I want to say something. At present, only a dozen or so years after victory in the revolution, as long as elements of the overthrown reactionary classes have not been reformed and, what is more, as long as some of them are still plotting restoration, a few must be arrested and executed; otherwise the people's anger cannot be placated and the people's dictatorship consolidated. But we must not arrest people lightly, and especially we must not execute people lightly. Some bad people, some bad elements and degenerate elements

who have infiltrated into ranks, ride on the backs of the people, piss and shit on them, behaving in a vicious and unrestrained way, and seriously violate laws and discipline. They are petty Chiang Kai-sheks. We must have a way of dealing with these type of people. The worst among them who have committed heinous crimes have to be arrested and some executed. For if we don't arrest or execute any of them, we won't be able to placate the people's anger. This is what we mean when we say "we can't avoid arrests, and we can't avoid executions." But we absolutely must not arrest too many or execute too many. As for those whose arrest is optional or whose execution is optional, we must definitely not arrest or execute them.

There was a fellow called Pan Han-nien who once served as vice-mayor of Shanghai. Previously he had secretly capitulated to the Kuomintang and had become a member of the C.C. clique. He is now in jail, and we haven't executed him. If we kill one fellow like Pan Han-nien, thereby relaxing the restraints on execution, then all those like him would have to be executed. There was another fellow called Wang Shih-wei who was a secret Kuomintang agent. While in Yen-an, he wrote an article entitled "The Wild Lily", in which he attacked the revolution and vilified the Communist Party. He was later arrested and killed. The execution was carried out by the security organs themselves while they were on the march; the decision was not made by the Central Committee. We have often made criticisms on this incident and we hold that he shouldn't have been killed. True, he was a secret agent, he wrote articles to attack us and simply refused to mend his ways. Still we would have just spared him and let him do labor. It wasn't good to kill him. We should arrest and execute as few people as possible. If we arrest and execute people at will, everybody will fear for himself and nobody will dare to speak. In such an atmosphere there can't be much democracy.

Neither should we put hats on people indiscriminately. Some comrades are addicted to using hats to put pressure on people. The moment they start speaking, hats start flying around everywhere and people are so frightened they dare not speak. Of course there will always be hats. Aren't there many hats in the report to the conference? Isn't "decentralism" a hat? But we mustn't put hats on people at will, calling this one a decentralist and that one a decentralist, until everybody is a decentralist. It would be better for the people concerned to put on the hats themselves--and moreover the right hats--rather than have them put on by others. If people put on hats themselves and wear them for a while, they should be removed when everybody agrees that they no longer fit. This will create a good democratic atmosphere. We advocate not seizing on others' faults, not putting hats on people and not wielding the big stick, so that people will be free from fear and will dare to speak out.

Good will and a helpful attitude should be shown towards those who have made mistakes and those who do not allow people to speak out. We mustn't create the kind of atmosphere in which people feel that they can't afford to make any mistakes or that once they have made mistakes, the consequences will be terrible and they will never be able to raise their heads again.



As long as a person who has made mistakes really wants to mend his ways and has made a genuine self-criticism, we should express our welcome. We must not make too high demands on a person when he makes a self-criticism the first or second time. It doesn't matter if his self-criticism is not thorough yet. We should let him think again and give him well-intentioned help. A man needs help from others. We must help an erring comrade to realize his mistakes. If people sincerely make self-criticism and are willing to correct mistakes, we should forgive them and adopt a lenient policy towards them. As long as their achievements are still primary and they are reasonably competent, let them continue in their posts.

In my speech I have criticized certain phenomena and criticized certain comrades, but I haven't named them; I haven't pointed out who this one or that one actually is. You know what I mean. (laughter) For shortcomings and mistakes in our work in the last few years, the responsibility rests first with the Central Committee and, in the Central Committee, primarily with me; second, the responsibility rests with the party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions; third, with the prefectural party committees; fourth, with the county committees; and fifth, with the party committees of enterprises and people's communes. In short, everyone has his share of responsibility.

Comrades, when you return, you must revitalize democratic centralism. The comrades of the county party committees should lead the commune party committees in revitalizing democratic centralism. First of all, collective leadership must be built or strengthened. You must no longer practise the method of leadership which prolongs the fixed "division of spheres of work and exclusive responsibility". Under that method the secretaries and members of party committees each work on their own, and there can be no real collective discussion or real collective leadership. It is necessary to promote democracy, encourage others to make criticisms and listen to their criticisms. We must be able to face criticism. We must take the initiative and carry out self-criticism first. We must examine whatever needs examining for one or at most two hours, getting it all out lock, stock and barrel-- that'll be the lot. If others consider it insufficient, let them go on. And if what they say is right, we'll accept their criticism. In the matter of letting people speak out, should we be active or passive? Of course it's better to be active. But what if we're already in a passive position? If we were undemocratic in the past and so find ourselves in this passive position now, it doesn't matter. Let everybody criticize us. Let them pour out their grievances all day and in the evening too, instead of going to the theatre. Please come and criticize me day and night. (laughter) Then I'll sit down and think about it coolly, forgoing sleep for two or three nights. After thinking it through and understanding it, I'll write a sincere self-criticism. Isn't that the way? In short, if you let others speak out, the heavens won't fall and you won't be toppled. And if you don't? Then the day will inevitably come when you are toppled.

So much for my speech today. The central point I have discussed is the question of how to realize democratic centralism and how to promote democracy inside and outside the party. I recommend that comrades consider this question carefully. Some comrades still lack the democratic centralist way of thinking. Now is the time they should begin to acquire this way of thinking and begin to understand this question. If we give full play to democracy, we can mobilize the enthusiasm of the broad masses inside and outside the party and unite the broad masses who comprise more than 95 percent of the whole population. When we have achieved this, we will be able to do our work better and better and overcome the difficulties we meet all the more quickly. Our cause will then develop much more smoothly. (enthusiastic applause).

CSO: 4004

CHAIRMAN HUA'S SPEECH AT THE ALL-ARMY POLITICAL WORK CONFERENCE

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[Speech of Hua Kuo-feng at the All-Army Political Work Conference on 29 May 1978]

[Text] Comrades! Our all-army political work conference has been highly successful.

This is the first such conference since our country entered the new period of development in socialist revolution and construction and since the new Military Commission was elected at the party's 11th National Congress.

Comrade Wei Kuo-ching made a report at the conference under the title "Carry Forward the Fine Traditions in Political Work and Improve Our Army's Combat Strength in the New Historical conditions." Giving full scope to democracy and relying on collective wisdom, the conference has prepared three draft documents, the resolution on strengthening political work, the regulations for political work and the regulations for cadres in the service. Comrade Kuo-ching's report and the draft documents are all good; they are sound rules and regulations for political work in the army. Given the principles and tasks set forth and decisions made by last year's meeting of the Military Commission on grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and getting prepared against war, plus the documents produced by this conference once they are examined and promulgated by the Military Commission, our army has a fairly complete set of rules for all aspects of its work suited to the new historical conditions.

This conference has inherited and carried forward the fine traditions established and fostered by Chairman Mao in army political work and made an all-round summary of the experience, positive and negative, gained in this field during the struggle against Lin Piao and the "gang of four." It has also clearly identified the orientation, tasks and methods for strengthening army political work in the new historical conditions. This will have a most important bearing on the whole army's effort to carry out further the line of the 11th party congress and the general task for the new period, to implement the principles and tasks laid down by the meeting

of the Military Commission last year on grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and getting prepared against war, to speed the army's revolutionization and modernization and to raise its combat strength. At the same time, the conference will have a major effect on the effort which is being made in all other fields of work to learn from the Liberation Army and to strengthen ideological and political work.

Vice Chairman Yeh and Vice Chairman Teng are going to make important speeches at this conference. Now, I will make a few points concerning the strengthening of ideological and political work for the fulfillment of the general task in the new period.

Comrades: The 11th national congress of our party has formulated the party line for the new period of development in socialist revolution and construction. To carry it out, our party put forward at the Fifth National People's Congress the general task for the new period, which is to persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and make China a great, powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology by the end of the century. This general task is written into our country's new constitution. We must carry out widespread propaganda and education among the people throughout the country, arousing and organizing them to carry it out. This forms the chief content of all our party's ideological and political work in the new period.

Our country's socialist revolution and construction entered the new period of development with the victorious conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which lasted 11 years, was a great political revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, the continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat on the one hand and the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes on the other, and a continuation of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. In these struggles, it was a decisive and historic battle. In this decisive battle, we successively shattered the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and were victorious in three of the major two-line struggle in the history of our party. During the great struggle to smash the "gang of four," in particular, we got rid of the most dangerous enemies hidden in our party, swept away and are still sweeping away the reactionary dregs of society that for a time ran wild. This enormously raised the level of political and ideological consciousness of the cadres and the masses and fired their enthusiasm for socialism, thus profoundly altering the balance of class forces in our country and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat as never before. This victory cleared away the biggest obstacle to a correct and all-round implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on all fronts and prepared the necessary and adequate conditions for achieving stability, unity and great orders across the

land, for ensuring a sustained rapid advance in the national economy and for carrying out the great plan made by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai in their lifetime for building a modern, powerful socialist country. It is according to these characteristics of the new period that the general task has been set, answering the call of history and reflecting the aspirations of the people.

The general task our party has set for the new period is based on Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to this theory, in socialist society there still exist contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base and there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle. We must correctly understand and handle these contradictions and, taking class struggle as the key link, continue the revolution in the superstructure so that it suits the economic base, continue the revolution in the relations of production so that they meet the needs of the development of the productive forces and, at the same time, put a great effort into technical innovations and technical revolution and speedily expand the productive forces so as to provide the socialist political and economic systems with an ever more powerful material base and facilitate the increasing consolidation, perfection and development of the systems. We smashed the "gang of four," and for some time to come, we shall continue to expose and criticize in depth the gang's counterrevolutionary revisionist line and strike hard blows at the various reactionary social forces which formed the gang's social basis. All this is aimed at sweeping away the most reactionary, decadent economic base and superstructure which they represented, thus emancipating the productive forces. Without overthrowing the "gang of four," socialist modernization would be impossible, and without the four modernizations and the elimination of economic and technical backwardness, it would be impossible truly and effectively to overcome capitalism from within and resist possible social-imperialism and imperialist aggression from without, or truly to consolidate the socialist system and dictatorship of the proletariat. Our process of socialist modernization will be a steady expansion of the productive forces coupled with a steady consolidation, perfection and development of the socialist relations of production and superstructure. The four modernizations are inseparably connected with the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and place revolutionization in command of modernization.

During this new period of development, the principal contradiction in our country is still that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Some of the cases that come under this contradiction belong to the category of contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. But most of the cases belong to the category of contradictions among the people. Enemies who fight against socialism are always only a small handful, while the people who support and back socialism comprise over 95 percent of the population. As the "gang of four" created chaos by reversing the position as between ourselves and the enemy, a very important

problem in carrying out the general task for the new period is to distinguish strictly and handle correctly the two different types of contradictions, and especially to handle correctly the contradictions among the people. Our fundamental principle is to resolve contradictions between ourselves and the enemy by means of dictatorship and to resolve contradictions among the people by means of democracy. Of course, we must firmly exercise dictatorship over those whom iron-clad proof shows to be enemies. In the case of contradictions among the people, even where the contradictions are in nature those between the two classes and between the two roads, we can only resolve them by means of democracy, by means of persuasion and education, and not by means of dictatorship. Law violators among the people must also be brought to justice, but this is different in principle from dictatorship over the enemy. As for those contradictions among the people that are not in nature contradictions between the two classes and between the two roads, those, for instance, which often crop up in ways of thinking and methods of work under the common socialist orientation, they must all the more be resolved by the method of democracy. Resolving contradictions among the people by democratic means, by persuasion and education, calls for strengthened ideological and political work, using proletarian ideology to overcome bourgeois ideology and all other exploiting-class ideology, bringing people with petty bourgeois ideas around to the proletarian ideas and leading people away from incorrect ways of thinking and methods of work to correct ones. This is another important part of the task of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. By doing this well, uniting all the forces that can be united, mobilizing all positive factors and as far as possible turning negative factors into positive ones, we shall greatly speed the building of a modern, powerful socialist country.

Comrades, our People's Liberation Army bears important, historical responsibilities in our country's new period of development in socialist revolution and construction. The general task set by our party for the new period makes a series of new and more exacting demands on army building. The world's basic contradictions are steadily sharpening, the struggle for hegemony between the Soviet Union and the United States is growing fiercer and a war is bound to break out some day. The Soviet revisionists are not abandoning their ambition to subjugate China and they are our chief and most dangerous enemy. We must, therefore, grasp the key link of class struggle to run our army well, get prepared against war, race with time and fight for speed, and step up our army's revolutionization and modernization. We must maintain a high degree of mental preparedness against war and be ready to deal with a possible surprise attack from the enemy.

Our People's Liberation Army is a people's army of a new type, founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. It is the staunch pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the prolonged and arduous struggle of over half a century, our army did great, historic deeds, both in the democratic revolution and in the socialist revolution, winning the love and confidence of the whole party and all the people. I have said at several meetings since the overthrow of the "gang of four": The fact that we

have a People's Liberation Army loyal to the party and the people is one essential reason why our party was able to smash the gang at one blow, keep nationwide stability in the struggle to expose and criticize the gang and carry out the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land.

Chairman Mao said: "The PLA is a good army, and I like it very much." Our army is good because it was built according to Chairman Mao's line on army building and it has a system of revolutionary political work. The Kutien Meeting resolution personally drafted by Chairman Mao laid the foundation for our army's political work and completely differentiated our army from all armies of the old type. Our army has always been under the absolute leadership of the party, firmly followed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and firmly resisted the interference and sabotage of erroneous lines. No bourgeois careerists or conspirators can successfully control the army and seize power. Didn't the Lin Piao anti-party clique bluster about "commanding all" and "mobilizing all"? Yet they ended up commanding and mobilizing nothing. In preparing for a counterrevolutionary coup, the "gang of four" tried to attack and inveigle our army, but it all ended in the same way: They could neither overthrow nor pry away this army. They couldn't get even a single company to go with them. Facts have repeatedly proved that the system of political work initiated by Chairman Mao is indeed the life-blood of our army. The Chinese People's Liberation Army equipped with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will always belong to the party and the people. The foundation of our army's political work is unshakable.

Politics is the commander, the soul in everything. To achieve our country's socialist modernization, we must have revolutionization in command of modernization. This is all the more so with our army's modernization. Our army must speed the improvement of its weapons and equipment and raise its tactical and technical level. Otherwise, it cannot improve its combat strength. At the same time, we must realize that the question of primary importance is who has the guns and at whom they are pointed. The army must have a firm and correct political orientation; the political demands on the army must be stricter and higher. If political work in the army were weakened, it would be impossible to maintain our party's absolute leadership over the army, to preserve our army's proletarian nature, to ensure the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies or to make full use of modern arms and equipment, even when we have them. When our army modernizes, it puts revolutionization in command over modernization, which is entirely different from the case of the troops of Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism. For us, really powerful combat capability comes from a close integration of people who have a high level of proletarian consciousness with modern weapons and equipment.

Most fundamental in using revolutionization to command modernization is to restore and carry forward the five traditions embodied in the system of political work which Chairman Mao formulated for our army and to strengthen army political work, all in terms of the new historical conditions. Political

work, the strengthening of the party's absolute leadership over the army, politically and organizationally leading and guaranteeing the carrying out of the party's line, principles and policies in the army, improving the army's combat strength. The experience derived from the history of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines shows that when agents of the bourgeoisie want to sabotage our army they often first try to undermine its political work. This was so with Lin Piao and the "gang of four." They tried to use bourgeois politics to push aside proletarian politics and to corrupt the proletarian army with bourgeois ideas in an attempt to confuse our army, first of all politically and ideologically, and achieve their criminal aim of usurping the leadership over army, state and party. We must criticize in depth the criminal sabotage which Lin Piao and the "gang of four" perpetrated against our army's political work and eradicate their noxious influence. We must use Chairman Mao's thinking on army building to educate cadres and fighters, to handle correctly the relations between army and party, between army and government, between army and civilians and between officers and men, to handle correctly the relations between higher and lower grades in the army, between political work in the army and its military, administrative and technical work, so as to bring out to the full the power of our army's political work.

Political departments and political work cadres at all levels bear a vital responsibility for strengthening political work. The political departments do party work in the army and lead army political work. Under the leadership of the party's Central Committee and its Military Commission, the General Political Department is the supreme leading body administering party work in the army and organizing the political work of the whole army. One insidious method which Lin Piao and the "gang of four" used to oppose the party, disrupt the army and sabotage political work was to throw the political organs into confusion, paralyze the General Political Department, and repeatedly assault the political departments. This had serious consequences for the whole army. In view of this situation, the 1977 meeting of the Military Commission reasserted the importance of the political departments in our army and called for restoring, within 3 years or so, the functions, role and prestige of the political departments to the level they attained in the period of the revolutionary wars and then develop and enhance their functions, role and prestige in the new conditions. Through a process of consolidation, we must build up the political departments and a powerful contingent of political work cadres. We must improve our understanding of political work, emancipate our minds, bestir ourselves and set about our work in full stride. We must raise the level of political work, improve the working method, get rid of formalism and do the work in a more down-to-earth, deep-going and painstaking fashion, so that it really permeates all aspects of the work of grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and getting prepared against war. Political work should be done not only by cadres in this field but by military and rear service cadres as well. It should be done by the cadres, and by the fighters as well. We must create a good atmosphere in which everyone in the army cares for and takes part in political work.



The key to improving political work is to strengthen the leading role of the party committee. The principal leading comrades of a party committee should personally attend to political work. It is necessary to enable the political commissars fully to play their role. The sabotage of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" has weakened the status and role of the political commissars and this must be quickly changed. Leading comrades in party committees at all levels in the army, and the principal leading cadres in particular, should set an example in political work by conscientiously observing the basic principles of "practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unit, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire"; by grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and getting prepared against war; and by carrying forward the fine traditions of our party and our army.

The comrades present and all the army's political work cadres should firmly and confidently restore the fine traditions of our army's political work quickly and to the full. They should, moreover, progress further so as to make new contributions to improving the combat strength of the troops. Commanders and fighters throughout the army must hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, unite closely round the party's Central Committee, deepen the mass movement to learn from Lei Feng, from the "Hard-Boned Sixth Company" and from the First Flight Division of the Air Force, learn from Taching, Tachai and the people of the whole country, further implement the fighting tasks of grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and of getting prepared against war, speed the revolutionization and modernization of our army, and work hard to defend the motherland, liberate Taiwan and carry out the general task for the new period.

Comrades, to accomplish the general task for the new period requires that we greatly strengthen the unity of the whole party, the whole army and the Chinese people of all nationalities.

Chairman Mao once stressed the absolute necessity of strengthening two kinds of unity: "One is the internal unity of the party and the other the unity of the party and the people. These are two most valuable weapons for overcoming hardships, and all party comrades must cherish them." In our struggle to carry out the general task for the new period, we face an external threat from social-imperialism and imperialism, as well as complicated class struggle internally, in addition to the war with nature. We should cherish these two invaluable weapons all the more, give full play to their infinite power and ensure victory for our great and arduous cause.

After the overthrow of the "gang of four," stability and unity have prevailed in our country. This is a great victory. But we must not underestimate the grave harm and the noxious influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," who disrupted unity and created splits. We must thoroughly expose and criticize their crimes, eliminate their poisonous influence, develop the excellent situation characterized by stability and unity, and further strengthen the great unity of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in our country.

When we speak of unity, we mean unity under the great banner of Chairman Mao and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The experience of more than half a century, the experience in China of countless revolutionary martyrs and hundreds of millions of revolutionary people, and the experience of the international communist movement, have repeatedly proved that the system of Mao Tsetung Thought is an inheritance from and development of Marxism-Leninism, a revolutionary science for the proletariat, and incontrovertible truth. For a large country like ours with a population of 800 million and a large party like ours with over 35 million members, unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action in the new period of development in socialist revolution and construction depends on a comprehensive and accurate understanding and application of Mao Tsetung Thought. The banner of Chairman Mao has been and will continue to be the banner under which we unite and fight to win victory. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" willfully tampered with Mao Tsetung Thought, waving the banner of Chairman Mao as a cover for peddling their sinister counterrevolutionary revisionist wares. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique wildly attacks Mao Tsetung Thought in a vain attempt to make us discard the banner of Chairman Mao. We are determined to defend Mao Tsetung Thought and hold still higher the great banner of Chairman Mao.

Our party is the core of unity among the people throughout the country. Our party's leading cadres at various levels bear an especially important responsibility for strengthening the unity of the party and the unity of the party with the people. They should take the lead in emphasizing party spirit, being mindful of the general interest, giving full play to democracy and observing discipline. They should strictly guard against arrogance. More important than anything else is understanding, help and friendship between leading cadres and between higher and lower cadres based on Mao Tsetung Thought. As Chairman Mao taught us, our leading cadres at all levels must become united and by so doing unite the advanced elements and activists inside and outside the party, as well as the middle elements to bring around the backward elements. In this way, the whole party and all the people will be united. We can do our work well, surmount the difficulties and successfully build our country only by relying on this unity.

Our slogan remains: Study, study and study again; unite, unite and unite again. Unity is strength, unity means victory. Under the banner of Chairman Mao and under the leadership of the party's Central Committee, let us unite still more closely in the struggle to implement the line of the 11th party congress and accomplish the general task for the new period.

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VICE CHAIRMAN YEH'S SPEECH AT THE ALL-ARMY POLITICAL WORK CONFERENCE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Jul 78 pp 23-29

[Speech of Yeh Chien-ying at the All-Army Political Work Conference on 29 May 1978]

[Text] Comrades: I warmly hail the convocation of the All-Army Political Work Conference!

Chairman Hua, the party Central Committee and its Military Commission pay close attention to this conference and attach great importance to political work in the army. The speech by Chairman Hua is very important. I fully support it. Comrade Wei Kuo-ching has made the report "Carry Forward the Fine Traditions in Political Work and Improve Our Army's Combat Strength in the New Historical Conditions." It is a very good report and I completely agree with it.

Although I was not in Peking recently, I always kept the conference in mind. The conference was first suggested by the Military Commission in 1975, but due to disruption and sabotage by the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" it failed to materialize. Now it has been convened, and has gone on well, fulfilling the long-cherished wish of all comrades in the army. "People are in high spirits when involved in happy events." Like you comrades, I am very glad.

The current conference focuses on the important question of how to carry forward our fine traditions in political work and improve the combat strength of our army in the new historical conditions. Thus the key link, the principal contradiction, is grasped. You comrades ask me to say something, but what should I speak about? Well, let me say something about political work at the lifeblood of our army.

Chairman Mao regarded revolutionary political work as our army's lifeblood from the day he founded it. Our army is the army of our party. Without party leadership, without political work to ensure the party's absolute leadership over the army politically, ideologically and organizationally, our army would cease to exist. Wholehearted service to the people

is the sole purpose of our army. Without political cadres and fighters and will to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois and other non-proletarian ideologies, our army would not be able to uphold its purpose and would isolate itself from the people. Unity is where the strength of our army lies. Without political work to ensure the solid internal and external unity of our army and its organizational purity and consolidation, it would fall into a state of disorganization and disintegration. Discipline is the guarantee for implementing our political line. Without political work to ensure the strict enforcement of military and political discipline on the basis of political consciousness, the army would be no more than a heap of loose sand. Our army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution; it has the duty of fighting. It is, therefore, imperative to solve the fundamental question of for whom one performs military service and for whom one fights so that the troops have a high morale and a heroic spirit to vanquish all enemies, so that they fight courageously to carry out the party's program, line and tasks forging ahead unflinchingly, even if they have to go through fire and water. But all this would come to nought without effective political work, which is the source of our army's combat strength.

The gist of all that I have said is that no matter when and what the circumstances, our army can only strengthen but never weaken its political work. Otherwise, it would face the danger of getting away from the party's leadership, of changing its proletarian character, of losing its combat strength and of having its leadership usurped by bourgeois careerists. The party's political work in the army has a direct bearing on the army's strength, success, development and existence. Herein lies the profound significance of the statement that political work is the lifeblood of our army. In 1954, while examining the "Rules and Regulations for Political Work in the Chinese People's Liberation Army," Chairman Mao reiterated the importance of political work and wrote the following words to counter the tendency of Peng Te-huai to disparage political work: "The political work of the Communist Party of China in the Chinese People's Liberation Army is the lifeblood of our army."

A review of the history of the growth of our army will help us to get a clearer and deeper understanding of why it is said that political work is the lifeblood of our army. Many of our veteran comrades witnessed how Chairman Mao initiated political work in our army by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution in the autumn harvest uprising and at the initial stage of the founding of our army. Many of them heard Chairman Mao instructing on how political work should not be neglected and how the work could be done well. Chairman Mao's instructions were simple but profound, specific and vivid. Many veterans saw how our proletarian army, thanks to the power of its political work, grew from small to big, from weak to strong, and how our armymen, heroic and indomitable, forged ahead valiantly, without growing conceited with victory or wavering in face of difficulties. I believe the comrades present here, the veterans in our army, can all cite their experiences to prove that political work is indeed the lifeblood of our army.

The reorganization of the army at Sanwan marked the beginning of political work in our army as initiated by Chairman Mao. At that time, Chairman Mao mainly solved two fundamental problems. One was to establish party organizations at various levels: party groups in squads, party branches in companies, and party committees in battalions and regiments, adopted the system of party representatives at and above the company level, and set up a front committee of the party with Chairman Mao himself as its secretary. By doing this, the whole Red Army was put under the absolute leadership of the party. The other was to do away with the way and commanding methods characteristic of the army of the old type and establish the relationship between officers and men in our army as a relationship between class brothers.

In the period of the struggle in the Ching kang Mountains, Chairman Mao put forward the idea that the leading position of proletarian ideology was of paramount importance for our army. He stressed the need to strengthen political education so that the Red Army men understand that they were fighting for themselves and for the people and not for somebody else. By that time, the three major principles for political work--unity between officers and men, unity between the army and the people and the disintegration of the enemy forces--had in fact taken shape. Chairman Mao applied proletarian democracy in army building--that was a great creation. Our army's officers and men are entirely equal politically and shared hardships in common. When the enemy captives came in contact with the Red Army, they immediately felt that the Red Army and the White Army were worlds apart. After our army took Chaling, Chairman Mao formulated the three main rules of discipline and six points for attention, which later developed into the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention. That was something of exceptional importance. They embodied the essence of the proletarian army and were an expression of the three major principles for political work in matters of discipline. Officers and men in the Red Army were near and dear to each other like brothers. The army and the people were united and related to each other like fish and water. Cadres played an exemplary role, and Chairman Mao and Commander in Chief Chu Te carried provisions as others did. Life was hard and fighting was frequent at that time. The foe encircled us thousands strong; steadfastly we stood our ground. What we relied upon was party leadership and political work. Speaking of the experience and lessons of the northern expeditionary war in his brilliant article "The Struggle in the Ching kang Mountains," Chairman Mao wrote that as Chen Tuhsiu's opportunist line dominated in the party at that time, our party had no organizational roots among the soldiers when we were in the Kuomintang army, and even among Comrade Yeh Ting's troops there was only one party branch to each regiment; that was why we could not stand up to any serious test. Nevertheless, the independent regiment under the command of Comrade Yeh Ting had very powerful combat strength and became the iron army that struck terror into the hearts of the enemy because there were in the regiment communist party members, party organizations and political work under the leadership of the party.

Why could Comrade Yeh Ting's troops win many victories, and especially in the key battle of Tingssuchiaio, why could it defeat the troops of the warlord Wu Pei-fu with a force inferior in number and turn the situation in the war? The main reason lay in the abovementioned fact. This also showed that it makes a great difference whether there is party-led political work in the army.

The Kutien Meeting was of epoch-making significance for both the building of our army and the promotion of its political work. The resolution of the Kutien Meeting drawn up by Chairman Mao was a great program for building up our army. In it Chairman Mao stressed the necessity of educating the armed forces in Marxism-Leninism and in the party's correct line and of correcting various non-proletarian ideas. He pointed out that without the raising of its political level and the elimination of various deviations within the party, the Red Army could not possibly have been founded or expanded, still less could it shoulder major fighting tasks. Chairman Mao emphatically repudiated the purely military viewpoint and criticized the mistaken idea of placing military affairs and politics in opposition to each other or even giving military affairs a leading position over politics. He pointed out explicitly that military affairs are one means of accomplishing political tasks. This criticism of the purely military viewpoint as a repudiation of any deviation from the party's leadership or slighting and even negating political work. If this kind of deviation had not been corrected, our army would have taken the Kuomintang's path of warlordism. From the Kutien Meeting until today, our army's political work has made tremendous progress, but its basic principles and its foundation were laid down at the Kutien Meeting.

The Long March of 25,000 li was a great undertaking that shook the world. The Tsuni meeting put an end to the domination of Wang Ming's line and established Chairman Mao's leading position in the whole party. Afterwards, our party smashed Chang Kuo-tao's retreatist-flightist line and his scheme to split the party and the Red Army, thus ensuring the success of the Long March in accordance with Chairman Mao's line. The difficulties encountered in the course of the Long March were rarely met in human history and the revolutionary heroism and stamina displayed by the Red Army were likewise unprecedented. The immense power of political work revealed itself in the circumstances of extreme difficulties and hardships. The Red Army had to take pass after pass, cross rivers in the teeth of danger and negotiate snow-capped mountains and marshes. Its officers and men had to stand exposure, deprivation and hunger. Yet they maintained a most toughing and noble class solidarity, and their countless heroic exploits moved us to song and tears. Several dozen years have elapsed but those images and scenes of the past keep reappearing before our mind's eye. But for Chairman Mao's leadership, the party's correct line and the vigorous political work which ensured the Red Army's indomitable combat strength, the accomplishment of the Long March would have been inconceivable.

The beginning of the war of resistance against Japan marked a great historic turning point. The Red Army was redesignated as the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, and an anti-Japanese united front was formed by our party and the Kuomintang. But at this crucial juncture, Wang Ming pushed a right capitulationist line, discarding the political commissar system of our army and turning political departments into "political training offices" like those of the Kuomintang. Succumbing to the Kuomintang's allurements of wine and women, some individuals took pride in becoming officers under the Kuomintang and were loathed to continue plain living, and a new warlordism reared its head. Chairman Mao firmly corrected Wang Ming's right capitulationist line, criticized the deviation of neo-warlordism and promptly restored the political commissar system and the political departments, thereby upholding the principle of the Communist Party's absolute leadership over the Eighth Route and New Fourth armies. In those days, Chairman Mao put in a great effort to grasp the political work in the Army and in 1938 he undertook to be concurrently the director of the General Political Department. On his instruction in 1942, the resolution of the Kutien Meeting was reprinted and issued to every officer down to each company commander as an obligatory textbook to be learned through and through. The report on the question of political work in the army, which was issued in the name of the Political Department of the rear detachment and was prepared in 1944 under the guidance of Chairman Mao, was another historic document on the political work of our army following the resolution of the Kutien Meeting. It served to eliminate the influence of the Wang Ming line over political work, carried forward our fine tradition and further raised the prestige and standing of our army's political work. The great rectification campaign and the success of the 7th party congress under the leadership of Chairman Mao led to unprecedented unity and unanimity of the whole party and the whole army in politics, ideology and line. It was the full exercise of the role of political work on this basis that enabled our army to pass the rigorous test of war and win the great victory in the war of resistance against Japan.

During the war of liberation, there was an important development of the political work in our army. In 1947 Chairman Mao personally revised and approved for distribution a report by the Third Column in Liaotung Province on the experience of pouring out grievances. On Chairman Mao's instruction, democracy in the political, economic and military fields was practiced throughout the army and an ideological education movement of a new type was launched in 1948, using the methods of "pouring out grievances" and making three check-ups (on class origin, ideology and style of work). This movement greatly enhanced the political consciousness, revolutionary unity, discipline and combat strength of all officers and soldiers. At the same time it most effectively speeded the process of reforming large numbers of captured Kuomintang soldiers into Liberation Army fighters. Thus it played an inestimable role in effectuating the strategically decisive engagement that overthrew the Chiang Kai-shek regime and won the nationwide victory.

The Korean war was one of the largest modern wars after the World War II. Around the time the Chinese People's Volunteers left for Korea, Chairman Mao personally drafted orders and instructions, enjoining the comrades of the volunteers to show respect for the Korean people, army, government and party, as well as for Comrade Kim Il-song, the great leaders of the Korean people. He also urged them to cherish every hill, every river, every tree and every blade of grass in Korea and go through thick and thin together with the Korean comrades, stick together with them in life and death and fight to the end to defeat the common enemy. Chairman Mao pointed out that this was the political basis for accomplishing the military task of resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea. Because the volunteers acted upon Chairman Mao's instructions and carried forward the fine tradition of our army's political work, they displayed a high order of patriotism, internationalism and revolutionary heroism, became the most beloved people and, together with the Korean people, defeated the U.S. aggressors.

Coming to the period of socialist revolution and construction, there have been further important developments in the whole set of theory, line, policies, principles and methods Chairman Mao established for our army's political work during the protracted revolutionary war years. These have an immense impact and far-reaching influence not only on the revolutionization and modernization of the army, but also on all fields of endeavor throughout the country.

"The Resolution on Strengthening Political and Ideological Work in the Army" passed at the 1960 enlarged meeting of the Military Commission was a collective work pooling the wisdom of comrades present who contributed their thoughts, ideas and words. It was revised under the guidance of Chairman Mao and approved by him. Its basic content set forth in 14 articles was a continuation and development of the tradition of the Kutien Meeting and a summary of the experience in army building and in the political work of the army since nationwide liberation. In a note to the document, Chairman Mao wrote that it comprised guidelines for army building and army political and ideological work, and that moreover its basic spirit was applicable in party organizations at all levels, government offices, schools and industrial enterprises. It has now been made a study material for political work after whatever was smuggled into it by Lin Piao has been deleted.

In the struggles to smash the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, the members of the People's Liberation Army were weathered through storm and stress and underwent severe tests. They greatly heightened their consciousness of class struggle and of the struggle between the two lines and improved their ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism and to apply policies. In response to Chairman Mao's call, many officers and soldiers took an active part in supporting industry, agriculture and the broad masses of the left, exercising military control and giving political and military training. Despite interference and sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," most of them acquitted themselves quite well. In the course of the struggles, our army acquired new experience in its political work.



To uphold and strengthen political work or to weaken and abolish it--this has always been an important facet of the struggle between the two lines in the party. Wang Ming first went "left" and practiced dogmatism and then went right and practiced liquidationism. Chang Kuo-tao practiced warlordism and splittism. They both opposed our army's political work initiated by Chairman Mao and resisted the party's absolute leadership over the army. Peng Te-huai, who copied straight from foreign experience and favored the system of oneman leadership, denigrated and weakened our party's political work. Lin Piao and the "gang of four," who were a bunch of vicious counterrevolutionaries, set new records with the havoc they wrought in our army's political work. From Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-tao to Lin Piao and the "gang of four," they all played various tricks to disrupt our army's political work, which is its lifeblood, all for the purpose of changing our army's proletarian character.

As soon as Lin Piao came to power, he set out to sabotage our army's political work in an all-round way to spoil the party's revolutionary style of study and oppose the comprehensive and systematic study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. He advocated the shoving aside of everything else by politics, which in effect meant the shoving aside of proletarian politics by bourgeois politics. Resorting to two-faced tactics, he lauded political work to the skies but in fact dashed proletarian political work to the ground. The "gang of four" and Lin Piao were jackals of the same lair. They distorted and tampered with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Pretending to be left but being truly rightists, they pushed fascist autocracy and tried to change the proletarian character of our army completely so as to detach the army from the party leadership and turn it into a tool for their plot to usurp the supreme power of the party and the state.

Lin Piao and the "gang of four," who formed a direct line of succession, deliberately tried to disarray or destroy our army's political departments organizationally, in addition to sabotaging army political work in theory, ideology and style of work, rejecting its practice of seeking truth from facts and spoiling the lively situation in political work. First came Lin Piao with his clamor, "Smash the General Political Department, the palace of hell." Then followed the "gang of four" who continued assailing and black-jacking the General Political Department. They hurled unfounded charges at the army's supreme organ for political work, and slandered the lower political organizations as "branch palaces of hell," "replicas of the palace of hell," etc. All this was a sinister plot. They were by no means confining their attacks to the General Political Department, but were brazenly aiming their blows at Chairman Mao, the party's Central Committee and its Military Commission. Their vicious scheme was to negate totally the achievements of army political work since the founding of new China and rob army political work of its unified leadership to serve their own criminal aim of opposing and disrupting the army, usurping party leadership and seizing power. Comrade Lo Jung-Huan during his life-time waged a sharp struggle against Lin Piao. He made important contributions to our army's political work. He was a good director of our General Political Department and an example for all of us to learn from. Led by Chairman Mao, the party Central Committee and

its Military Commission, our army's political work has since the founding of new China achieved outstanding successes, carried forward its own fine traditions, ensured the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies and united the whole army to fulfill the fighting tasks assigned it by the party. The overwhelming majority of our political cadres are good or fair. The slanders and false charges hurled by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" at the General Political Department, all lower political organizations and all political cadres must be repudiated. Their pernicious influence in the field of political work must be thoroughly eliminated. The harm they did to our army's political work was serious; however, once their pernicious influence is thoroughly wiped out and the positive and negative experience summed up, the political work of our army will certainly register a new and greater development. Of this we are fully confident.

Our army, after over two decades of war, has lived for over two decades in peaceful conditions. Changes have taken place in all fields and many new problems have cropped up. These problems stand out all the more as a result of disruption and sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Under these new historical conditions, the fine tradition of political work established since the Kutien Meeting should be restored and carried forward, full use should be made of political work in its role as the leading factor and the guarantee of task performance, there should be conscientious rectification in the army so as to raise its combat strength. As Chairman Hua said at the National Science Conference: "Far from being weakened, political and ideological work should be strengthened in the new period of development in our socialist revolution and construction," and we must "make our political and ideological work an important guarantee for our socialist modernization." Political work is the lifeblood of our army in the new historical conditions just as it was before.

Our army is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to safeguard the accomplishment of the general task for the new period and to cope with any war of aggression social-imperialism or imperialism may unleash, we must be prepared against war. Any hankering for being "peace-time soldiers" or "peace-time officers" is no good. Bourgeois ideas and petty producers' force of habit would dampen our army's will to fight. We must be good at grasping the class struggle in the ideological field, raise the officers' and men's consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle, firmly establish the idea that our army is always a fighting force and be ready at all times to fight to defend the motherland and to liberate Taiwan. A modern war will be more ruthless and more intense than past wars, and this requires a higher level of political consciousness and spirit of sacrifice, more proficient technique and tactics, military skills and commandship, tighter unity, stricter discipline and a higher degree of centralism. All these cannot be achieved without political work. In order to win any future war against aggression we still have to rely on the magic weapon of people's war taught us by Chairman Mao. It will take vigorous political work to arouse and organize armymen and people in their millions in order to bring into full play the power of our armed forces system comprising the field armies, the regional forces and the militia and to create a vast sea of masses in

which to drown the enemy. Here, let me read a passage from "On Protracted War" which Chairman Mao wrote in the early days of the war of resistance against Japan: "This question of the political mobilization of the army and the people is indeed of the greatest importance. We have dwelt on it at the risk of repetition, precisely because victory is impossible without it. There are, of course, many other conditions indispensable to victory, but political mobilization is the most fundamental." This passage by Chairman Mao was a profound and penetrating explanation of the status and role of political work in war. It remains a guideline of great significance for us to win victory in any future war against aggression.

Comrades, I would also like to speak on the question of how to bring up revolutionary successors and carry on the fine traditions of our party and our army. This is a major topic for our political work. The old comrades among us should, in the revolutionary spirit of "crossing these blue hills adds nothing to one's years." Carry the revolutionary work through to the end and choose and bring up successors for the revolution. Let everybody be a Po Lo [a famous ancient judge of horses] and develop a sharp eye for discovering able people and putting them at suitable posts. We have the great Mao Tsetung Thought, the correct leadership of the party Central Committee and its military commission, both headed by Chairman Hua, the five requirements Chairman Mao set for successors and his basic principles of the "three do's and three don'ts" we have the veteran comrades who are enthusiastic about passing on their experience, helping and guiding the young, we have all the military academies exerting their best efforts and we have young comrades who study diligently and practice hard. With these, I am confident that large numbers of outstanding successors will grow up so that we can rest assured. Comrade Chu Te put it well in one of his poems: "Generations of heroes are cropping up in our party, and I need not let worries turn my hair grey."

It is a task for the whole army together to restore and carry forward our army's fine tradition in political work and raise its combat strength under the new historical conditions. It is a task for the party committees at all levels, for the political commissars, for the military commanders, for the rear service and technical cadres, for cadres and fighters alike. Of course, it is all the more so for the political departments and the political work cadres. In short, an excellent situation should be brought about in which everybody does political work. Only thus can political work give forth its infinite power. While all comrades of our army should safeguard the prestige of political work, it is primarily up to the political commissars, political departments and political work cadres at all levels to raise this prestige by their own exemplary role. Our political cadres should fully realize their responsibility and the honor attached to their work.

The teacher's pioneering work goes down in history. Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao performed splendid deeds for the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people. Included in our army's political work which he initiated, a monument that is equally immortal. His teachings on political work in a revolutionary army are an important part of proletarian military science and a significant development of Marxist theory on military affairs. They are unprecedented and without parallel. We must study his theory and instructions on political work, accurately and as an integral whole, take them all up in a systematic way and apply and develop them in the new historical conditions. We should study Chairman Mao's brilliant thought and learn from his great revolutionary practice, learn from the noble revolutionary qualities of Premier Chou, Chairman Chu Te and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and devote all our energies to better political work in our army, so as to preserve its qualities as a proletarian army, and to speeding up the army's revolutionization and modernization.

Finally, I express my ardent wish that comrades unite as one and perform new meritorious deeds on the new Long March under the leadership of the party Central Committee and its Military Commission, which are headed by Chairman Hua!

CSO: 4004

## VICE CHAIRMAN TENG'S SPEECH AT THE ALL-ARMY POLITICAL WORK CONFERENCE

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[Speech of Teng Hsiao-ping at the All-Army Political Work Conference on 2 June 1978]

[Text] Comrades: This All-Army Political Work Conference is another historic meeting held by the army following the last meeting of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The speeches made by Chairman Hua and Vice Chairman Yeh are very incisive, very important, and I fully endorse them. Comrade Wei Kuo-ching's report is very good and I fully agree.

The conference has discussed and revised three draft documents. They are: The resolution on strengthening political work, the regulations for political work and the regulations for cadres in the service. Once they are examined and approved by the Military Commission, the army's political work will have rules and regulations to follow.

This conference concentrates on studying and solving the problem of how to carry forward the fine traditions in political work and improve our army's combat strength under the new historical conditions. In line with Chairman Mao's Thought and taking into account the realities of the army, the conference is identifying problems, analyzing them and solving them. This is very good and highly necessary. It is concentrating on central task, has a clear-cut theme, and focuses attention on the main thing. It is going on better and better every day. The conference is being held in a healthy atmosphere, with full democracy and a free airing of views. At the same time there is no equivocation about questions of principle. Therefore, the conference sets a good example for the lower levels. In short, the conference has been completely successful.

I am going to deal with four points: First, seek truth from facts.

We hold meetings, make reports, pass resolutions and do everything else, all for the purpose of solving problems. Whether what we say and do can solve any problem and whether it can reach a correct solution--the key lies in whether we integrate theory with practice, whether we sum up experience well and whether our approach to objective reality is to seek

truth from facts and proceed from the actual conditions in everything we do. Only if we do all this is it possible for us to solve problems correctly or fairly correctly. But whether the solutions prove correct or entirely correct--this needs to be tested in future practice. If we do not do the above, then it is certainly impossible for us to solve any problem or solve it correctly.

Many comrades in our party persevere in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and adhere to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of revolution. This is very good and we must continue to do so. There are other comrades, however, who talk about Mao Tsetung Thought every day, but often forget, abandon or even oppose Chairman Mao's fundamental Marxist view and method of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality in doing everything and integrating theory with practice. Furthermore, some people even maintain that whoever persists in seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice is guilty of a heinous crime. In essence, their view is that one may only copy straight from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and from Chairman Mao and should rest content with mechanical copying, transmitting and reproduction. They would insist that to do otherwise is to go against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the guidance coming from the Party Central Committee. What they raise is no minor issue. It involves the whole approach to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

There is no doubt that we must at no time violate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. But we must integrate them with reality, analyze and study actual conditions and solve practical problems. To decide guidelines for our work in the light of the actual conditions--this is the most fundamental way of thinking and working method every communist must firmly bear in mind. To seek truth from facts is the starting point, the fundamental point, in Chairman Mao's Thought. This is materialism. Otherwise, then we hold meetings, we can only put out empty talk and cannot solve any problems.

Ever since Chairman Mao joined the communist movement and since he first created our party, he always advocated and practiced investigation and study of objective social conditions and resolutely combated the erroneous tendency of divorcing theory from practice, of doing everything from wishful thinking or strictly according to books and instructions from above, regardless of concrete conditions. In 1929, in the resolution of the Kutien Meeting, Chairman Mao pointedly opposed subjective guidance of work, pointing out that it would "inevitably result either in opportunism or in putschism." In 1930 he specially wrote the article "Oppose Book Worship," in which he set forth the scientific thesis, "No investigation, no right to speak." He firmly opposed the erroneous mentality of those who kept saying in discussion within the Communist Party, "Show me where it is written in the book," as if whatever was written in a book was right. Chairman Mao said: "To carry out a directive of a higher organ blindly, and seemingly without any disagreement, is not really to carry it out, but is the most

artful way of opposing or sabotaging it." He added: "When we say Marxism is correct, it is certainly not because Marx was a 'prophet' but because his theory has been proved correct in our practice and in our struggle. In our acceptance of his theory no such formalistic or mystical notion as that of 'prophecy' ever enters our minds."

After the victory over Wang Ming's left-deviationist line which had caused a serious defeat to the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao summed up the lessons in the struggle and wrote a series of immortal works in 1936 and 1937, such as "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "On Practice" and "On Contradiction," which laid the ideological and theoretical foundation for our party. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Marxists hold that man's social practice alone is the criterion of the truth of his knowledge of the external world.... The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge places practice in the primary position, holding that human knowledge can in no way be separated from practice and repudiating all the erroneous theories which deny the importance of practice or separate knowledge from practice." He said: "Our dogmatists are lazy-bones. They refuse to undertake any painstaking study of concrete things, they regard general truths as emerging out of the void, they turn them into purely abstract unfathomable formulas, and thereby completely deny and reverse the normal sequence by which man comes to know truth."

In dealing with guiding principles for war, Chairman Mao pointed out: "A commander's correct dispositions stem from his correct decisions, his correct decisions stem from his correct judgments, and his correct judgments stem from a thorough and necessary reconnaissance and from pondering on and piecing together the data of various kinds gathered through reconnaissance." When we were fighting battles in the past, we all understood that failure to study our own situation and that of the enemy, failure to know both ourselves and the enemy, meant defeat.

Some people in our party who opposed Mao Tsetung Thought, however, did not change their stand because of these teachings of Chairman Mao's. Therefore, in 1941 and 1942 Chairman Mao started the great rectification campaign. The main documents guiding that campaign were his works "Preface and Postscript to Rural Surveys," "Reform Our Study," "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" and "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing." In the campaign, he repeatedly emphasized the fundamental viewpoint, the fundamental attitude, of seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality. He said: "Facts" are all the things that exist objectively; "truth" means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them; and "to seek" means to study. We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary; that is, we should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us.

Such an attitude is the manifestation of party spirit, the Marxist-Leninist style of uniting theory and practice. It is the attitude every Communist Party member should have at the very least. Against this attitude is the subjectivist method which, contrary to science and Marxism-Leninism, is a formidable enemy of the Communist Party, the working class, the people and the nation; it is a manifestation of impurity in party spirit. Chairman Mao admonished all comrades in the party not to take Marxist theory as lifeless dogma and regard odd quotations from Marxist-Leninist works as a ready-made panacea which, once acquired, can easily cure all maladies. This would impede the development of theory and harm themselves as well as other comrades. Chairman Mao pointed out that there is only one kind of true theory in the world, theory that is drawn from objective reality and then verified by objective reality. Basing himself on this fundamental Marxist viewpoint, Chairman Mao in his report to the 7th national congress of the party defined the style of work which integrates theory with practice as the first of the three styles of work of our party.

Afterwards, Chairman Mao repeatedly explained this viewpoint and this style of work. For instance, in 1953 Chairman Mao said: "The central leading organ is a factory which turns out ideas as its products. If it does not know that is going on at the lower levels, gets no raw material or has no semiprocessed products to work on, how can it turn out any product?" In 1956 he said: "Integration of theory with practice is one of the fundamental principles of Marxism. According to dialectical materialism, thought must reflect objective reality and must be tested and verified in objective practice before it can be taken as truth; otherwise it cannot." In 1958 he said that the ideas, opinions, plans and methods of the toughest hero can only be a reflection of the objective world. The raw and semiprocessed materials that go into them can only come from the practice of the people or from his own scientific experiment. His brain can only play the part of a processing plant turning out finished products, or else it is utterly useless. Whether or not such finished products made by man's brain are useful and correct has to be tested by the masses of the people. In his essay "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" written in 1963, Chairman Mao pointed out: "They (correct ideas) come from social practice, and from it alone." He added that whether or not one's ideas (including theories, policies, plans or measures) coming from social practice "do correctly reflect the laws of the objective external world is not yet proved at this stage, in which it is not yet possible to ascertain whether they are correct or not." Only if man's knowledge is applied in social practice and goes through the test of practice can its correctness or incorrectness be proved, and "there is no other way of testing truth."

Chairman Mao always insisted on using the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to identify, analyze and solve problems. He always discussed problems in the light of different times, places and conditions. Chairman Mao said that in writing articles he seldom quoted Marx and Lenin, and that he felt uneasy that his words were quoted frequently and over and over by the newspapers. People should learn to write in their own words. This, of course, does not mean not to quote from others at all. It means not to quote from others on all occasions.



What was most important was to use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to analyze and solve problems. Concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the living soul of Marxism. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought would lose its vitality if it were not integrated with the actual conditions. It is the duty of us leading cadres to integrate instructions of higher levels up to an including the Central Committee with the actual conditions of our own units in solving our problems. We must not function like a "message center" and simply transmit instructions.

Comrades, let us think this over: Is not seeking truth from facts proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice the fundamental viewpoint of Mao Tsetung Thought? Is this fundamental viewpoint outdated, and will it ever become outdated? How can we be true to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought if we are against seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice? Where would that lead us? Obviously, that would only lead us to idealism and metaphysics, and to losses in our work and setbacks in our revolution.

Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee uphold the fundamental viewpoint of Mao Tsetung Thought of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice. Using this viewpoint, Chairman Hua in his report to the 11th party congress summed up the experience of the party's 11th struggle between the two lines and, later on, put forward the general task for the new period in his report at the 5th National People's Congress. Applying the same method, Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh, in their reports at the Military Commission meeting last year, put forward the new task of grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and get prepared against war. That is why these meetings won the warm support of the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country.

For many years no all-army political work conference has been called. Now that such a conference is called, what method should we adopt in its proceedings? Obviously we can and should only use the method of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice to sum up past experience, analyze the new historical conditions and identify new problems, new tasks and new guidelines. It is only in this way that problems can be tackled and solved correctly at this conference. Comrade Wei Kuo-ching has made a good report at our conference. The report is good because it proposes pertinent solutions after studying the problems posed by the new historical conditions. This is a proof that we firmly uphold Mao Tsetung Thought in our concrete action. Otherwise, if we just copied past documents word for word, we could not solve any problem, let alone solving it correctly. In that case, even if we paid lavish lip service to Mao Tsetung Thought, we would actually be running counter to it. We must eliminate the poisonous influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," set things to rights and shatter spiritual fetters to effect a great emancipation of our minds. This is indeed a most serious task.

Second, on the new historical conditions.

In view of the fact that the 11th party congress, the first session of the 5th National People's Congress and the meeting of the Military Commission had been held, and that the party's and the army's line, guidelines and tasks had all been decided, we asked ourselves while preparing for this conference what problems it would mainly solve. Judging from the problems and conditions actually existing in the armed forces, the most important thing is to study and solve the problem of how to restore and carry forward the fine traditions in political work and to improve our army's combat strength under the new historical conditions. This is precisely to act on Chairman Mao's teaching about seeking truth from facts in studying, analyzing and solving the actual problem.

We are historical materialists and we cannot leave aside the given historical conditions in studying and solving any problem. From the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, we went through 10-odd years of war and have passed another 20-odd years in a peaceful environment. That means a big change.

The switch from an environment of protracted war to a peaceful environment makes the biggest difference to an army. Our political work remains unchanged as regards its fundamental purpose, its essentials and its basic contents, and we have the same store of fine traditions. But times have changed, conditions have changed and the recipients of our work have changed so that the methods of solving problems have to change, too.

In formulating the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention, Chairman Mao varied their specific contents according to different circumstances. He first laid down three rules of discipline and then six points for attention. Later on, there were some changes in the content of the three rules of discipline. The rule "Don't take anything from the workers and peasants" became "Don't take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses"; the rule "turn in all things taken from local bullies" was changed first to "turn in all money raised" and then to "turn in everything captured." To the six points for attention were added two more: "Don't bathe within sight of women" and "don't search the pockets of captives." By 1947 when the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention were reissued, again some revisions were made in the contents. "Put back the doors you have taken down for bed-boards" and "put back the straw you have used for bedding" were replaced by "don't hit or swear at people" and "don't damage crops." "Don't bathe within sight of women" was changed to "don't take liberties with women" and "don't search the pockets of captives" became "don't ill-treat captives."

The basic spirit of the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention cannot be changed and it remains unchanged. If we do not study how to implement them in the light of the new conditions, however, we shall

not be able to carry them out effectively. Take the rule of turning in everything captured. At present, there is no such thing as turning in everything captured when we do not fight any battles. We need to study how to act in the spirit of this rule under the new historical conditions. The principle of unity between the army and the people cannot be changed. But our relations with the people are now different in content. In the countryside, there used to be the individual economy, but now it has been collectivized; our troops used to be in the country, but now many units have entered the cities and are quartered in barracks. These are new conditions. An important problem for a better army-people relationship is to help develop the collective economy. An army should discuss whether it could help one or two communes or study how to help factories if there is any nearby. It is our duty to take account of the new conditions in trying to improve army-people relations in various ways and correctly solving problems in these relations.

There have been many new changes within the army, too. Comrade Wei Kuo-ching in his report has analyzed organizational and ideological problems in the army. Cadres now face many new problems. Soldiers have different characteristics. Since the recipients of our work are different, it is essential that new contents be added to our education work. The practice of recalling past bitterness and contrasting it with the present happiness should, of course, continue. But it is not enough to do this alone. It is necessary to study how to raise the level of political consciousness of the soldiers under the new historical conditions. As far as the relations between officers and men are concerned, they are different from those during the war years. How to uphold this principle of unity between officers and men--this needs careful study.

The Rear Service Department is also holding a meeting. It should also concentrate on the new conditions and new problems in its field of work, which stem from the new historical conditions. For instance, many new problems have cropped up here as military science and technology develop and our military equipment improves step by step. We used to have millet plus rifles, which were not too heavy a burden on the Rear Service Department. But it is another picture, now. Our army has to rely heavily on supplies from the rear in regard to provisions, arms and ammunition, equipment and appliances. There are also continuous changes in the way of stocking war materials. All this needs careful and detailed study. Besides, our belongings used to be comparatively few. Now they have multiplied. This presents the new problem of management for all the rear service work. It requires a whole range of regulations and solutions that are suited to the new conditions as well as a constant fight against violations of financial regulations and against waste and extravagance.

What I have said above is all on new circumstances and new problems resulting from the new historical conditions. By proposing at this all-army political work conference the topic of carrying forward the fine traditions in political work and improving our army's combat strength under the new historical conditions, we are raising and solving the problem of specific

line and policies for political work, after making an analysis of the actual state of affairs in this field. We are doing this precisely for the sake of better performance of the general task in the new period and better implementation of the policy of grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and get prepared against war. This is in full accordance with the spirit of Chairman Mao's instruction that there should be specific lines and policies for specific fields of work in addition to the general line and general policies. If we did not analyze and solve the problems that have cropped up in the new historical conditions, we would be unable to restore and carry forward the fine traditions in political work or improve the army's combat strength in the absence of war and would therefore be unable to accomplish the general task for the new period.

Our revolutionary teachers Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao always attached importance to historical conditions and paid attention to studying history and present conditions and deriving laws from them by which to guide the revolution. To ignore the new historical conditions is to chop up history, to divorce oneself from reality and to abandon dialectics for metaphysics.

Third, without destruction there is no construction.

When we talk about seeking truth from facts, about the new period of development and new historical conditions, we must say something about destruction and construction. At present and for some time to come, "destruction" means in-depth exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and, collaterally, of Lin Piao too, so as to eliminate their pernicious influence. "Construction" means learning Mao Tsetung Thought accurately and as a comprehensive system and restoring and developing the fine traditions and style of work of our party and army in the new historical conditions.

The movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is on the whole going on well in the army. So I won't elaborate. The development is uneven, however. We must make a thorough, deep-going job of it and carry the struggle through to the end. We must never put the lid on.

The exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" is the key link for all work at present and for some time to come. If this key link is not grasped well, there will be no clarification of what is right and what is wrong, no clear-cut class alignment, the leading teams cannot be soundly constituted, the style of work cannot be improved, there will be no basis for unity and no fruitful work. In short, without destruction there will be no construction.

In order to expose and criticize the "gang of four" thoroughly, it is imperative to expose and criticize the Lin Piao line at the same time. Some people say they are afraid that the inclusion of Lin Piao among the targets for exposure and criticism along with the "gang of four" might involve the risk of negating the Great Cultural Revolution. And that this might be construed as digging up bygone problems to the detriment of unity. That is wrong.

Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were partners, colluding long ago to sabotage the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. To expose and criticize the "gang of four" and, collaterally, Lin Piao, is exactly to settle accounts with their crimes in sabotaging the Cultural Revolution and to protect the great gains of the Cultural Revolution which Chairman Mao personally initiated and led.

Lin Piao, who did great harm to the army, was scarcely criticized in the past. This problem was covered by the "gang of four," who refused to criticize Lin Liao, went through the motions of criticizing Confucius, but directed their real attack at Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and Vice Chairman Yeh. It is logical that Lin Piao should be included among the targets of exposure and criticism along with the "gang of four." There is no question of "dwelling on by-gones."

In order to strengthen unity, it is imperative to make an in-depth exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and to link it with the exposure and criticism of Lin Piao. This is exactly for the purpose of distinguishing right from wrong and strengthening unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Only thus can the overwhelming majority be really united. We should place full confidence in those who, having erred in the tenth struggle between the two lines, made a sincere self-criticism, really mended their ways and have since acquitted themselves well politically. Of course, it will be necessary to deal severely with those who persisted in their errors and refused to correct them, and followed the "gang of four" in doing evil. Otherwise, it would be impossible to clarify rights and wrongs, achieve unity and straighten things out.

In exposing and criticizing Lin Piao and the "gang of four," it is necessary to get into realities and straighten things out in every aspect. Straightening out involves both destruction and construction. It means primarily straightening out the leading bodies and rectifying the style of work.

Making a good job of reorganizing or straightening our leading bodies is of key importance at present. The main reason why problems have piled up and remain unsolved in some units is that the leading bodies there have not really been well reorganized. We should firmly enforce the rules adopted at the meeting of the Military Commission as to what kind of people can be placed on leading bodies and what kind of people cannot be placed on leading bodies nor be assigned important work. We should lose no time in making a good selection and rectification of leading bodies at all levels.

We must make a good job of straightening out leading bodies. In 1975 we criticized those leading bodies which were weak, lazy and lacking in unity. But that state of affairs exists today in some leading bodies. We should boldly arouse the masses to uncover the contradictions and clarify the rights and wrongs. The bourgeois factional setup of the "gang of four" must be abolished, and bourgeois factionalism must be eliminated and discredited.

The question of training successors must be resolved because it has a bearing on the overall question of army building and a future war against aggression. The young cadres are worthy successors, provided we select the right candidates, do a good job of passing on experience, helping and guiding them, and give them better school education. We veteran comrades should take the long view on this problem, be active mainstays and select and train our successors carefully. Only when we have done this job well, will we be able to go meet Marx, Chairman Mao and Premier Chou with equanimity.

One important aspect in straightening out leading bodies is to rectify the style of work. Leaders at all levels must change their style of work, getting rid of any bureaucratism and going deeper into things. In every undertaking or piece of work, we must make in-depth investigation and study and solve problems in the light of the realities of our own units.

If the army wants to have an exemplary style of work, it must raise efficiency. Army units must work hard and lead simple lives and carry out tasks with drive and sweep. Slackness, procrastination, discussion without decision and the shelving of decisions are impermissible. They must continue to stress observance of the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention. Orders must be obeyed in all actions. It is possible to win victory only when we march in step.

Straightening things out also involves the restoration of the functions, role and prestige of the political organs. We have often said that within 3 years or so the functions, role and prestige of the political organs must be restored and raised to the level attained in the days of the Red Army, the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation. To achieve this, we must discard the ways of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and reassert Chairman Mao's theory on political work and our traditional style of work, carrying them forward under the new conditions. Before this conference I said again that the functions, role and prestige of the political organs must be restored and that the conference must at least achieve this.

Political work is the party's work, and the political organs are working organs of the party. Higher political organs should guide, prod and supervise the work of lower party committees, political commissars and political organs. This is our tradition.

We must be strict in straightening things out. A driving spirit is essential in readjusting the leading bodies, rectifying the style of work or straightening out the political organs. We must conduct a rigorous check on cadres in the process and make such check-ups a regular, persistent practice.

Four, exemplary role of cadres.

This is a matter of great importance. It is very important for leading cadres, senior cadres in particular, to be exemplary. The rank and file always watch how cadres match their words with deeds. Company commanders and political instructors cannot bring up good soldiers if they fail to set good examples. Leading cadres will not be able to foster good ways and habits in their units and make them combat-worthy if they fail to set good examples.

Emphasis must now be placed on cadres playing an exemplary role. For instance, when transferred, one must move house. How can this be done if senior cadres who are being transferred do not set an example? When an order comes, one must promptly report for duty, and senior cadres must take the lead in doing this. They must also take the lead in plain living and hard work.

Whether the work of a unit is thorough and down-to-earth hinges on whether its leading cadres are exemplary in keeping abreast of conditions in the unit through investigation and in proceeding from reality to analyze and solve problems. Recently, leading cadres of many units are very good.

When we demand strictness in military management, we mean first of all strictness with the cadres and the senior cadres in particular. Senior cadres must be exemplary in acting on the fundamental principles--"Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire"--in hard work and plain living, and in seeking truth from facts. In a word, they must be exemplary in integrating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with revolutionary practice.

Political cadres must lay still more emphasis on being exemplary. That is what we did during the war years of the past. At that time, if you were not brave in battle but feared death, if you were not of one heart with the rank and file and did not stay in contact with reality and with the masses, your political work would go unheeded. A political cadre must not say one thing and do another. It was stipulated in the political work regulations of the Red Army period that "in doing political work, the political instructors rely solely on their direct contact with the masses and their familiarity with the Red Army Fighters"; "both in the performance of their duty and in their personal behavior, the political instructors must be models for all armymen, and achieve this by their words and deeds." In order to restore and carry forward our fine traditions in political work, we must also rely on the exemplary role of political cadres.

Comrades attending the rear service work conference are also present here today. I would like to say that the logistics cadres, leading cadres in particular, should be exemplary, too. They must guard against sponging or, as the saying goes, against being "waterfront towers, the first to catch the moon." More important, they must have integrity and public spirit and become good managers, "Red" managers. They must strictly observe financial discipline and combat any violations of this discipline, any act of jobbery and back-door deals.

Our Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai were exemplary by their deeds. Setting strict demands upon themselves, they worked hard and lived simply for decades. They personified our party's fine traditions and working style. What an immense and far-reaching influence their moving deeds have produced in the whole party, the whole army and among the people throughout the country! This influence not only extended over our generation but will extend over generations to come. Our cadres, veteran cadres in particular, should take Chairman Mao and Premier Chou as their models and, through their deeds, do well at passing on experience and helping and guiding the young.

This all-army political work conference is a conference of unity and victory. All comrades present here have a bounden duty to see to it that the guidelines of this conference are fully carried out. What is more important, party committees and political commissars at all levels must strengthen their leadership and personally and energetically attend to the implementation of the decisions. I believe that with this conference the whole army's political work will surely improve and the fine traditions of our party and our army fostered by Chairman Mao will certainly be carried forward and reach new levels.

CSO: 4004



POWERFUL IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON FOR FULFILLING THE GENERAL TASK OF THE NEW PERIOD

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Jul 78 pp 38-42

[RED FLAG editorial]

[Text] On the occasion of the 57th anniversary of the founding of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China and at a time when the entire party, army and people of all nationalities throughout the country are embarking on a new Long March, the brilliant work "Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung has been made public.

The enlarged central working conference held in early 1962--also known as the 7,000-people conference--is a very important conference in the history of our party. The important talk given there by Comrade Mao Tse-tung sums up the historical experience, both positive and negative, of our party and the international communist movement and, by combining theory with practice, gives a profound exposition of a series of important questions in socialist revolution and construction, particularly the question of democratic centralism--a fundamental question in the party's life and the people's political life in the period of socialism. This is an immortal, brilliant Marxist-Leninist document. Today, in restudying this brilliant work, we feel its pertinence even more. All the basic viewpoints it presents have stood the test of time and are precisely what the party and people urgently need in their struggle to fulfill the general task of the new period.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution our party, leading and relying on our hundreds of millions of people and bringing into full play the masses' initiative and enthusiasm, successively carried out the three major two-line struggles in our party's history and shattered three bourgeois headquarters that had sneaked into the party. The cadres and masses became concerned with state affairs and their revolutionary consciousness and staunchness in defending the dictatorship of the proletariat and safeguarding people's democratic rights were raised to new highs. All this is new proof and a new development of the brilliant thinking contained in this work. On the other hand, for some time in the past Lin Piao and the "gang of four" wildly trampled upon our inner-party

democracy and people's democracy, undermined democratic centralism and very seriously damaged the political life of the party and country. These negative points also prove the profoundness of this work's ideological content. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's brilliant work is our powerful ideological weapon at present for penetratingly exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and thoroughly eliminating the poisonous influence of Lin Piao and the gang. It is our powerful ideological weapon for reviving and carrying forward the party's fine traditions, strengthening socialist democracy, centralization and unification, and further uniting, mobilizing and organizing the entire party, army and people throughout the country for carrying out the general task of the new period.

In this brilliant work, Comrade Mao Tse-tung stresses the importance of the question of democratic centralism for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and links it closely with the all-round struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and build socialism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung sharply points out that there should be full democracy both inside and outside the party. Without broad democracy for the people, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated, political power cannot be stable and a capitalist comeback is possible.

Mao Tse-tung also points out that without a high degree of democracy there cannot be a high degree of centralism and without the latter the socialist economy cannot be established; if socialist economy is not established, our country will turn into a revisionist state, indeed a bourgeois state, and the dictatorship of the proletariat will turn into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and a reactionary, fascist dictatorship at that. On these kinds of problems Comrade Mao Tse-tung significantly reminded us on two occasions. This issue very much deserves our vigilance and I hope our comrades will give it a good deal of thought. Precisely with regard to such an important issue--very much deserving of our vigilance and deep thought--the soul-stirring facts of class struggle, particularly the "gang of four's" towering crimes, have given us a serious historical lesson.

Flaunting the banner of "thoroughly improving the dictatorship of the proletariat," the "gang of four" willfully trampled upon inner-party democracy and people's democracy, frenziedly undermined the socialist legal system and cruelly persecuted revolutionary masses and cadres, directing the spearhead of the dictatorship against the people and the party, and first of all against its proletarian leading core, thus creating a reign of white terror. Waving the banner of "extensive democracy," the "gang of four" distorted this proletarian concept, called for "kicking out the party committee," asserted that "the more chaotic the better" and "the main orientation directs the spearhead at the upper levels" and stirred up a reactionary, anarchic trend of thought. They disintegrated the party's centralized leadership and proletarian revolutionary discipline, and instigated the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements who resisted reform as well as the new and old-line bourgeois elements to come forward in order to blow winds, stir up waves and revolt against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What the "gang of four" did was to thoroughly sabotage proletarian democratic centralism, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, impose a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie on the party and people and effect a reactionary, fascist dictatorship. Although their schemes were carried out for some time in a number of localities and departments, they could only meet with complete defeat in the end. They merely played the role of teachers by negative example, thus allowing people to see their counterrevolutionary features more clearly and more quickly and to better understand the importance of the theses on conscientiously practicing democratic centralism and warning against capitalist restoration which Comrade Mao Tse-tung presented in this brilliant work.

In view of the grave chaos caused by the "gang of four's" reversal of enemies and comrades, strict differentiation and correct handling of the two types of contradictions which are different in nature--the correct handling of contradictions among the people in particular--are a very important question in carrying out the general task for the new period. In his important speech at the All-Army Political Work Conference, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng pointed out this question to the entire party, army and people of the country. During the new period, the principal contradiction within the country continues to be between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. This kind of contradiction is in part in the category of that between the enemy and ourselves; but the greater part is in the category of contradictions among the people. Dictatorship must be resolutely exercised over proven enemies. Democracy must be practiced among the people.

Contradictions among the people, even if they are in the order of contradictions between the two classes and two roads, can be solved only through the democratic method, not through the method of dictatorship. An important task now facing us is to continue to spread and make better use of the democratic methods among the people both inside and outside the party in solving the contradictions that in fact exist among us, so as to promote the cause of socialism. By democracy we mean letting people speak out. This is an important concept that Comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly stresses in this work. Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "Contradictions among the people can't be resolved by curses or fists, still less by knives or guns. They can only be resolved by discussion and reason, criticism and self-criticism. In a word, they can be resolved only by the democratic method, by letting the masses speak out." If speaking out is not permitted within our party and among the people, what democracy is there? Our comrades must draw a clear line of demarcation between us and the "gang of four" who ran "steel plants" and "hat factories" and constantly labeled others as "counterrevolutionaries."

Problems should be brought out into the open, both inside and outside the party, and the masses should be allowed to speak out even if we are abused. We should have a three-nots mentality: Do not pick on others, do not label people and do not brandish a stick against others. Ours is a ruling party. Whether our party's democratic life is healthy or

not has a decisive bearing on the country's political life. What are the limits of promoting inner-party democracy and letting people speak out? Comrade Mao Tse-tung defines these limits by saying: "One limitation is that party discipline must be observed, with the minority subordinate to the majority and the entire membership subordinate to the Central Committee. Another limit is that no secret faction must be organized" and "as long as a person does not violate discipline or engage in secret factional activities, we should allow him to speak out and not punish him should he say incorrect things. If people say incorrect things, they can be criticized. But we should convince them with reason."

There are various kinds of contradictions among the people. Many are contradictions between correct and erroneous methods of thinking and working and between the advanced and the backward. Such contradictions should be looked at in a down-to-earth manner and handled correctly. They should be resolved through discussion and practice and not exaggerated, and there should not be a random putting on of hats. Among the people, even questions concerning orientation and direction or of having a line character should be resolved through the method of unity-criticism-unity, in accordance with the principle of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the disease to save the patient and on the basis of differentiating right from wrong and correcting mistakes. We should also allow the minority to stick to their views on the condition they obey decisions. Only thus, by resolving contradictions within the party and among the people through the democratic method, can we really achieve unity of understanding, of policy, plan, command and action on the basis of concentrating correct ideas. Only thus can we, in accordance with the call of the party Central Committee to "unite, unite and once more unite," rally the entire party under the great banner of Chairman Mao and, through the unity of the party, unite the people of the entire country and mobilize all positive factors in the struggle to carry out the general task for the new product.

In his brilliant work, Comrade Mao Tse-tung also closely relates the full promotion of democracy and revitalization of democratic centralism to the correct understanding and grasping of the objective laws governing the building of socialism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says emphatically that without democracy, without ideas coming from the masses, it would be impossible to sum up experience correctly or to formulate good lines, principles, policies or methods. From the masses to the masses is the Marxist theory of knowledge. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's penetrating thesis points to the correct way to keep deepening our understanding of the objective world in the struggle to build socialism.

Since the founding of new China in 1949, our party and people have paid a price to understand the objective laws of building socialism and gained extremely rich and valuable experience, both positive and negative.

In particular, the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and the gradual clarification of the rights and wrongs they reversed have carried our understanding of the objective laws governing the building of socialism a big step forward. The line formulated by the party's 11th national congress, the general task for the new period and the specific principles, policies and methods that conform to our conditions, which we have formulated or are now formulating for all kinds of work, have been raised on the basis of promoting democracy, summing up the experience of the past 28 years and of pooling the wisdom of the masses. Generally speaking, they reflect the requirements of objective laws and the people's wishes and are correct. Now that the line and policies have been laid down, our cadres and masses can be systematically educated on such a line and policies and thereby can really achieve unity of understanding and action. Thus, we can advance more smoothly than ever before.

Of course, we must be soberly aware of the fact that our understanding of the objective world of China's socialist construction is far from complete. We are bound to encounter many new situations, issues, problems and other still unknown requirements in the process fulfilling the general task for the new period and of socialist modernization. Our knowledge is still far from sufficient. Comrade Mao Tse-tung takes the long view in this work in speaking of the construction of a powerful socialist economy in China in 50 or 100 years or so: "The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in tremendous struggles which in form will have many features different from those of past struggles. In this undertaking we must integrate in the best possible way the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete realities of China's socialist construction and with those of the world revolution now and in the future, and, through practice, gradually learn the objective laws of struggle." This raises an important historical task--that is, we must be good at studying during the new great struggle.

The party Central Committee is calling on us to "study, study and once more study." The study required is many-faceted. We must study politics, work skills, science and culture. For our party, most fundamental is the need to do our best to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and building a modern powerful socialist state and with the concrete realities of the world in carrying out a united struggle against hegemonism and developing the international communist movement.

On the question of study, it is necessary to accurately assess the bad influence on our work style as a result of the sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and strive to wipe out their pernicious influence. We must adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts, studying with a definite objective in mind and combining theory with practice. We must persist in the principle "from the masses to the masses,"

constantly sum up the experience of the great practice of millions upon millions of people, acquire a better understanding of objective laws and creatively apply and develop Marxism to win new victories.

In 1966, when Comrade Mao Tse-tung decided to print and distribute this work within the party, he pointed out: "This seems to be a major question. In order to achieve democratic centralism in a down-to-earth way, it is necessary to conduct conscientious education, carry out promotion and experiments in selected places, and undergo a long period of repeated implementation. Otherwise, this [democratic centralism] will always remain an empty word among the majority of comrades." We hope that, on the basis of earnestly studying this brilliant work of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the comrades of party committees at all levels will think about and discuss whether or not democratic centralism has really been achieved in their own localities and departments and inside and outside the party, and whether or not it is still very unhealthy or remains an empty word. Facts clearly indicate that the key to whether or not we can truly achieve as well as revitalize democratic centralism lies in party committees at all levels, first of all the principal responsible comrades of party committees and "squad leaders" of "squad members" under the party committees. In this work Comrade Mao Tse-tung sharply criticized some leading personnel for not practicing democratic centralism and collective leadership, for acting like the tyrant of Chi during the feudal period who practiced one-man rule.

In ending the talk, he again energetically pointed out: "Some comrades still lack the democratic centralist way of thinking. Now is the time they should begin to acquire this way of thinking and begin to understand this question." In pointing this out, he has profoundly touched upon a fundamental question which concerns some of our leading personnel's world outlooks: whether or not their outlooks embody the Marxist concept of democratic centralism, the concept of mass line and the concept that slaves are the makers of history or the anti-Marxist tyrannical way of thinking--the aristocratic overlords' fear of and contempt for the masses and the concept that heroes are the makers of history. In short, do their world outlooks reflect the concept that heroes are the makers of history. In short, do their world outlooks reflect the concept of historical materialism or the concept of historical idealism? These are two diametrically opposed world outlooks. Our leading cadres at all levels must use the Marxist world outlook to overcome the ideological influence of historical idealism and use the scientific-Marxist method of leadership to overcome a subjective and bureaucratic style of leadership; we must be models in conscientiously practicing democratic centralism; we must strengthen collective leadership, give full play to democracy in and outside the party, and make further efforts to revitalize democratic centralism.

A correct political line must be guaranteed by a correct organizational line. The principle of democratic centralism emphasized by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in this brilliant work, which we are now studying, is a chief component of our party's correct organizational line.

By adhering to democratic centralism within the party and the country, further strengthening the collective leadership of party committees at all levels, consolidating the close ties between the party's leading organs and the masses of party members and between the party and the masses of people, and creating a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, we will definitely be able to successfully achieve the line of the 11th party congress and the general task for the new period.

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RESTORE AND CARRY FORWARD THE FINE TRADITION OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Jul 78 pp 43-50

[Article by Ma Wen-jui [7456 2429 3843]]

[Text] On the occasion of the 56th anniversary of the birth of our party, the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao's brilliant 1962 work--"Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China"--has been made public. This has extremely great significance for promoting democracy in the party and among the people, improving democratic centralism, carrying out the general task for the new period and carrying through to the end the cause of proletarian revolution pioneered by Chairman Mao. The vast number of party members, the broad masses and especially leading cadres at all levels will all be profoundly educated in democratic centralism.

The practice of democratic centralism is a matter of fundamental importance for the life of the party and the political life of the country. Our party always relies on the practice of democratic centralism to arouse the enthusiasm of the whole party and people throughout the country, increase the party's strength, realize the party's political line and constantly win victories in revolution and construction. Historical facts show that, once the party's democratic centralism is sabotaged, the proletarian revolutionary cause will definitely suffer in various degrees. Politically--in order to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism--the "gang of four" pushed an extremely reactionary, counterrevolutionary, revisionist line; organizationally, they attempted to disintegrate our party. On the one hand, they wantonly trampled on inner-party democracy and people's democracy. On the other, they wildly opposed party leadership and revolutionary discipline. They seriously disrupted the party's democratic centralism, ruined the party's mass line and style of seeing [distinguishing] truth from facts and seriously weakened the prestige of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat among the masses.



In view of the "gang of four's" sabotage of democracy both within the party and among the people, wise leader Chairman Hua in his political report to the 11th party congress explicitly pointed out: "We must promote democracy and revitalize democratic centralism." Chairman Hua's instruction reflected the strong wishes of the masses in their hundreds of millions and was wholeheartedly supported by the whole party and the people of the whole country. Since the downfall of the gang, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the whole party and people throughout the country have eliminated chaos and restored order, energetically restored and carried forward the party's democratic traditions and conscientiously practiced democratic centralism. A lively political situation has been developing gradually. But we must not forget Chairman Mao's meaningful teaching in 1966. He said: "It seems that this is quite a problem. Democratic centralism can only be realized through a long process of repeated and serious education, experiment and popularization. Otherwise, it will remain an empty phrase among the vast majority of comrades." This is indeed the case in some areas and units. Therefore, the question of practicing democratic centralism must be brought to the full attention of the whole party and especially of leading cadres at all levels. We must not take this matter lightly!

#### Democratic Centralism Is an Important Guarantee for the Victory of the Proletarian Revolution

Democratic centralism is the organizational principle and fundamental system of a proletarian political party. A genuine proletarian political party is organized according to the principle of democratic centralism, and achieves political, ideological and organizational unity through the exercise of democratic centralism. Without such unity, the party would be disorganized, with its members doing things in their own separate ways. In addition, the party would not be able to lead the hundreds of millions of the masses to vanquish class enemies in the course of an acute class struggle or in a time of momentous changes. Lenin once profoundly pointed out: "The proletariat can become, and inevitably will become, an invincible force only when its ideological unification through Marxist principles is consolidated by the material unity of an organization." ("One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," Selected Works, vol 1, p 510) Here "The material unity of an organization" mentioned by Lenin refers to a party organization which is formed according to the principles of democratic centralism and which has a complete set of rules of discipline and systems of democratic centralism, and which is an organic entity capable of fighting.

Marx, Engels and Lenin all attached great importance to democratic centralism. They wanted the party's leading organs at all levels to be the results of genuine democratic elections in order to firmly block dictatorship by an individual and prevent the party organization from becoming a tool with which a few people could seek personal gain. If the party is to have strict discipline and a strong unified leadership, not only ordinary party members

but also "upper-level party personages" must fulfill the obligations of party membership, so that the party will really become an operational headquarters of the proletariat capable of organizing the people to advance or retreat in the complex environment of class struggle and, when the revolutionary conditions are ripe, opportunely leading the masses to win victory. In his struggle against the revisionism of the Second International, Lenin resolutely defended the Marxist principle of democratic centralism, explicitly stipulated that democratic centralism was the organizational principle of a proletarian political party and personally founded a militant Bolshevik party. In Russia, precisely because Lenin's party was a lively, strong and powerful party, it was able to lead the millions upon millions of laboring people in overthrowing the bourgeois government of that time and founding the first country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Later, the Soviet Union turned into a social-imperialist country and completely forsook Lenin's road. One important reason for this was that a handful of absolutely unrepentant capitalist roaders, represented by Khrushchev and Brezhnev, wildly sabotaged democratic centralism within the party and the political life of the country, formed a gang to usurp party leadership and imposed dictatorship by one person so as to attain their criminal aim of usurping supreme party and state power.

In the protracted struggles of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao fostered our party's democratic style and its fine tradition of democratic centralism and widely applied this revolutionary principle to the building of the army, political power and other organizations. Democratic centralism has become our party's sharp weapon for carrying out both revolution and construction.

Chairman Mao pointed out as early as during the struggle in the Ching Kang Mountains that--since democratic centralism was a new-type political system--it was necessary to conduct propaganda and education on it and to provide the party members and Red Army fighters with political training in democratic centralism. When the Fourth Army of the Red Army marched into southern Kiangsi and western Fukien, Chairman Mao educated the party members and cadres with the utmost patience and overcame the various mistaken tendencies detrimental to democratic centralism existing in the party organizations of the Fourth Army so that it became a staunch fighting force, because it was founded entirely on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. During the war of resistance against Japan--in view of the fact that Wang Ming's opportunist line went from ultra-"left" to ultra-right and bearing in mind the lessons learned from Chang Kuo-tao's flightism and splittism during the Long March--Chairman Mao reaffirmed the party's rules of discipline embodied in democratic centralism. These rules were: The individual is subordinate to the organization; the minority is subordinate to the majority; the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and the entire party membership is subordinate to the Central Committee. Chairman Mao also pointed out that the party's centralism must be linked up with the party's democracy and that democracy within the party must be broadened. These were necessary steps for consolidating and developing the party. Chairman Mao personally launched and led a party-wide rectification campaign in 1942 to sum up historical

experiences and lessons and to oppose subjectivism, sectarianism and the stereotype party writing. It liquidated Wang Ming's opportunist line and eliminated its pernicious influence on the whole party. After this great rectification campaign, democracy was fully promoted and the consciousness of the party members in implementing the party's line was raised. A high degree of centralization was achieved on this basis, making the entire party united and full of vigor and vitality. There was nothing the comrades could not say to each other. There was nothing an individual could not tell his organization. With regard to the relationship between the lower and higher levels and between the local and central authorities, the lower level and the local authorities were permitted to voice their opinions--in the light of their own concrete actual conditions--on the implementation of higher level directives and were also given extensive freedom to handle their problems independently. At the same time, the lower levels and the local authorities could not act arrogantly toward the leadership of the higher levels and the central authorities but had to show their greatest respect and most resolute obedience to them. This high degree of democratic life and fine style of work made the entire party closely united in fighting for the realization of the general line for the new democratic revolution. As a result, we defeated the enemies who were much more powerful than we much faster than we anticipated and won the great victory of seizing nationwide political power.

After the founding of new China, Chairman Mao further expounded upon the profound content of democratic centralism and greatly enriched and developed this Marxist principle. In 1957 he incisively pointed out: "Our aim is to create a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness and, thus, to promote our socialist revolution and socialist construction, make it easier to overcome difficulties, build a modern industry and modern agriculture more rapidly and make our party and state more secure and better able to weather storm and stress." ("The Situation in the Summer of 1957") He thus further explained democratic centralism's relationship with the building of the party in power and with socialist revolution and construction.

In 1962, using both positive and negative experiences in the Chinese socialist revolution and in the international communist movement as a basis, Chairman Mao elaborated on the question of democratic centralism at an enlarged central working conference and raised this question to the high plane of the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao sharply pointed out: "Without democratic centralism, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated." "Without a high degree of democracy, it is impossible to have a high degree of centralism, and, without a high degree of centralism, it is impossible to establish a socialist economy. And what will happen to our country if we fail to establish a socialist economy? It will turn into a revisionist state--

indeed a bourgeois state--and the dictatorship of the proletariat will turn into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie--and a reactionary, fascist dictatorship at that."

These profound and incisive theses, like the theory on the correct handling of contradictions among the people, have become important components of the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a great revolutionary practice in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthening the building of the party in power, preventing capitalist restoration, and combating and preventing revisionism.

In order to usurp our party's leadership and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, the "gang of four" thoroughly sabotaged our party's democratic centralism. Flaunting the banner of great democracy, they advocated that "the correct orientation is to direct the spearhead upward against the leadership," "kick aside the party committees in order to make revolution," and other fallacies and vigorously engaged in counterrevolutionary activities in order to create chaos in the party, the army and the country. They obscured the demarcation line between people's democracy and anarchism, fanned up anarchist trends and vilified all necessary rules and regulations and revolutionary discipline--all indispensable for maintaining social order--as things that "control, check and repress" the masses. They even went so far as to slander the party's leadership as an obstacle to democracy and seriously undermined the party's centralization and unification. They also vigorously used the methods of feudal autocracy and fascist rule, practiced a policy of confinement, set up "iron and steel and hat factories" and, on any pretext, "bashed in your head" and labeled cadres and masses as counterrevolutionaries.

The "gang of four" were a bunch of very ruthless, cunning enemies. They disrupted proletarian democracy and undermined proletarian centralism. They ganged up and formed a faction, replaced the party with their gang, placed their reactionary bourgeois factional setup above the party and people, lorded it over others and practiced a fascist dictatorship, under which "those who bow before it survive and those who resist perish." They had only one aim, that is, to usurp party and state power and restore capitalism. This was a serious lesson for the whole party.

Carrying out Chairman Mao's behest, the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua smashed the "gang of four" with one stroke. A new period of development has begun in socialist revolution and construction. The general task for the new period is to resolutely implement the line of the party's 11th national congress; persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; carry forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; and make China a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology by the end of the century.

In the new period of development, the main contradictions in our country remain those between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads. Such contradictions are partially contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and mainly contradictions among the people. To arouse and organize the masses to struggle to realize the general task for the new period, we must persistently take class struggle as the key link and strictly distinguish and correctly handle two different types of contradictions in line with Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Concerning those enemies against whom we have ironclad evidence, we must resolutely exercise dictatorship. Otherwise, we could not give full play to mass activism. The activism of the masses would also be dampened. As to contradictions among the people, including those inside and outside the party, between the leadership and the led, between the individual and the collective, between long-term and immediate interests, between the advanced and the backward, between right and wrong that often occur with regard to ideological means and work methods, etc, we can only resort to democratic means and seek a solution in a practical manner. These contradictions among the people, even when they involve two classes and two roads, can only be solved by democratic means and through persuasive education.

Therefore, to carry out the general task for the new period, it is urgently necessary for us to fully promote inner-party democracy and people's democracy, practice democratic centralism and bring into full play all positive factors. Only by practicing democratic centralism; correctly handling contradictions among the people; really concentrating upon the correct ideas of the masses; and achieving unity of understanding, policy, plan, command and action--[only thus] will it be possible to implement the party's line, principles and policies, constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and accomplish the great goal of the four modernizations.

Whether or not one practices democratic centralism is not an ordinary question but a question of principle, a question of whether one's party spirit is pure, and a question of prime importance concerning the success or failure of the revolutionary cause.

Democratic centralism is closely united with the building of the ruling party and the proletarian revolution. The party Central Committee has repeatedly stressed restoring and carrying forward the party's democratic centralism. Are our comrades acting in accordance with the demands of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua? Many of our comrades, including leading comrades, are acting in accordance with these demands, but certain units, departments and areas have not seriously done so. Thus, the people's fundamental right to participate in running state affairs and take charge of various economic and cultural undertakings is not insured. Acts such as defying the law, practicing deception, encroaching upon mass interests, and abusing authority to serve private ends have not disappeared. These acts represent what Chairman Mao sharply criticized as a bully's style. They are a manifestation today of the lingering remnant poison and

influence of the "gang of four" who sabotaged democratic centralism. By studying Chairman Mao's "Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," we must eliminate chaos and restore order, wipe out poisonous influence and enable people to understand that democratic centralism is our party's fine tradition and to recognize the paramount importance of democratic centralism for our party and our country's dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must enable people to understand what is meant by a democratic life, what the relationship is between democracy and centralism and how to implement democratic centralism. Every communist party member should set an example by implementing democratic centralism. Every person among the revolutionary masses has the right to demand that his own leaders practice democratic centralism.

To Practice Democratic Centralism, We Must First Let the Masses Speak Out

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Whether inside or outside the party, we must fully promote democratic life. This is to say that we must seriously practice democratic centralism" ("Speech at the Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the CCP Central Committee"). To fully promote democratic life is to let the masses of people speak out and even criticize and take ourselves to task; otherwise, democratic centralism is impossible.

Great leader and teacher Chairman Mao not only provided us with systematic and profound writings on democratic centralism but also set up examples in practice. How did the Yen-an mass production movement get started? One of the factors leading up to it was the mass complaint about requisitioned grain. Many Communist Party members and cadres took this complaint very much to heart then. But Chairman Mao took a different view. He said that it was well justified. It was the voice of the masses! Chairman Mao's skillfulness in discovering problems in all kinds of talks and coming up with problem-solving guidelines and policies exemplified his wisdom and greatness.

To practice democratic centralism, we must first let the masses speak out. Anyone must be allowed to speak out as long as he is not a hostile element, not involved in conspiratorial activities and observes discipline.

Among the people, we must resolutely practice: "Say all you know and say it without reserve," "blame not the speaker but take heed of his words" and "correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not." Among these, "blame not the speaker" is especially important and we must really put this into practice. Without it, no matter how glibly we preach democracy, democracy will remain an empty word. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, all Communist Party members must ask more of themselves than of others in the matter of discipline. They must humbly listen to the views of others, especially dissenting ones. Leaders should especially keep an open mind. They must delight in hearing what is said

about their own faults and take what is said about others as a warning to themselves. What is said may be understated or exaggerated. It may be close or not close to the truth. They should not stick to trifles. Instead they must make a point of discovering what is actually beneficial to work. As to dealing the articulate masses vengeful blows, party discipline and the law of the state especially forbid this.

Controversial issues arising among the people is a normal phenomenon. We must never be afraid to take the trouble to settle them. We must never adopt methods of repression. The only way to settle contradictions among the people is to set forth facts, reason things out, discuss, criticize, persuade and educate. Giving oneself over to blind emotion, acting arrogantly, exaggerating the mistakes of others to the maximum and using influence to suppress others will not only not solve problems but will also prevent people from voicing their opinions, undermine the party's style and sabotage democratic centralism.

It takes time to decide whether certain problems are right or wrong. A rash conclusion should not be drawn. The minority should be allowed to maintain their own views if they implement the party's resolution and observe party discipline. Under general circumstances, the views of the majority are correct. The minority must therefore obey the majority. Under peculiar circumstances, the views of the minority are often right. Thus, we allow people to maintain their views so they can be put to the test. Concerning those who have really said and done wrong, including those who have committed serious mistakes, we should adopt the guideline: "Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones; cure the sickness to save the patient." In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, we must combine watching with helping, and help them realize and correct their mistakes, in order to make things clear ideologically and unite the comrades. Only in this way can we help the regular progress of democratic life.

The "gang of four"—and antiparty clique in which new and old counterrevolutionaries colluded with each other--were capitalist roaders who obstinately refused to repent. In their attempted seizure of party and state power, they always feared the masses and would not let them speak out. As soon as they heard an opinion they did not like, they would seize people, brandish sticks, slap on counterrevolutionary labels everywhere, and never stop until the one whom they hated was dead. Under these circumstances, everybody was scared and did not dare speak out. Democracy was out of the question.

Since the "gang of four" has been ferreted out, the tendency to flagrantly slap on political labels and brandish sticks--actions akin to the "gang of four"—has been reduced. However, some people still are like tigers whose backsides no one dares to touch. They always think they are correct and rarely think they could be in error. They will not let the masses speak out honestly and according to facts. They do not have the slightest conception of democracy in their heads. To them, party discipline and state law are

empty words. If they hear criticism, they bitterly hate it for the rest of their lives. They willfully find fault with and make things hard for those who voice different opinions. They are self-satisfied with their own accomplishments. However, the vile methods of the exploiting classes which they use will eventually and inevitably be exposed to the light of day. The masses, armed with Mao Tse-tung Thought, will not be bullied. Those who use such vile methods are lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet.

The key to improving democratic centralism lies in the exemplary acts of the party leadership organs at all levels. The "gang of four" has in the past few years made things very unclear about unified party leadership and the leadership of the party committee. Many confusing ideas have arisen which has seriously weakened party leadership. Unified party leadership involves the party organization related to various other organizations. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Of the seven sectors--industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the party--it is the party that exercises overall leadership." ("Speech at the Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the CCP Central Committee") The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat and a proletarian organization in its supreme form. The proletariat plays its leading role through the leadership of the Communist Party. It should lead all other organizations, such as the army, the government and various mass organizations. The work of any organization is part of the proletarian revolutionary cause and calls for the thorough implementation of the party's lines and general and specific policies. Such work must be conducted under the unified leadership of the party and can never be separated from party leadership to allow the establishment of an independent kingdom. But the "gang of four" abolished various mass organizations and directed a large amount of routine work to the party organization so that the latter became bogged down in reams of paperwork and had no time for such major issues as guidelines and policies, political thinking, etc. This actually weakened party leadership. In their efforts to abolish mass organizations, the "gang of four" might leave one particular organization alone, such as the trade union, and use it to dictate to the party organization. Such methods used by the "gang of four" to abolish unified party leadership was prompted by sinister designs. It was a conspiratorial tactic to realize their aim of usurping party and state power.

Leadership by the party committee means the party leadership's enforcement of the party committee system and its adherence to the leadership principle of collective leadership and apportioned responsibilities. The party committee system is in itself important in insuring the collective leadership and in preventing an individual from taking all matters into his own hands. Democratic centralism within the party committee calls for putting the relations between the first secretary and other secretaries and the committee members in their right perspective, i.e., the relations of the minority obeying the majority. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, the secretary must play a proper role as the head of a group. He must give full play to the role of the party committee group, put forth problems so



that they can be seriously discussed and seek to establish a fighting-in-unity relationship of mutual support and understanding. He must pay particular attention to uniting those comrades who disagree with him and to working with them.

Certain comrades now chartered with leadership duties are not good at using the principle and the system of democratic centralism to realize party leadership. They have developed a relatively serious style of "patriarchy." At party committee meetings, they do not "let the masses speak out" but do all the talking as if it were "a one-man show." They are conceited about themselves and show no interest in dissenting views. They are even less willing to arouse everyone to discuss complicated matters. Certain comrades are deeply affected by the remnant poison and influence of the "gang of four." They throw their weight around and always talk down to others. They act like "bullies." In the current third campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four" penetratingly; some comrades also do not unburden themselves as they should in order to get to the front unencumbered to lead this battle well. Instead, they hate linking the campaign with the realities in their own relevant units, especially with those problems related to their own thinking, style or work. This tendency dampens the activism of the masses of cadres and people. Subjected to the "gang of four's" persecution, some comrades still have lingering fear. The revolutionary will of some of them has been weakened. They think less of the future of the party, the state and the people and more of themselves, their own families and their children. They are irresponsible in their work. They often let problems slide. They say nothing when they should complain. They keep their proposals to themselves. They know things are wrong. Yet they just muddle on. Democratic centralism will get nowhere under the leadership of such leaders. Our comrades should fully realize that a weakening in democratic centralism or any disruption to it will dent the revolutionary activism of the masses and harm the revolutionary cause. To arouse the revolutionary activism of the masses and promote the party's cause, we must seriously practice democratic centralism. National democratic life must be stimulated by the whole party's democratic life. The whole party's democratic life must be protected by the party leadership organs at various levels through the serious practice of democratic centralism. If every party committee can make itself a model in restoring and carrying forward the party's fine style and seriously practice democratic centralism, then it will surely have the wholehearted support of the masses. We will then work with greater initiative, more skillfully and better.

The purpose of practicing democratic centralism and letting the masses speak out is to become acquainted with conditions at the lower levels, grasp the actual situation, exchange views between higher and lower levels, and commit fewer or no errors with regard to subjectivism, bureaucracy and other things, so that our party can have a centralized, unified leadership which is genuine and staunch instead of fake and weak. In stressing democracy, we never mean to discard centralization. The exact reverse is true. We want to create the necessary conditions so that we will achieve centralization.

Our centralization embodies the centralized opinions of the masses. It never advocates "what I say counts." Therefore, our system differs from an autocratic dictatorship. Ours has scientific centralization--It centralizes the correct opinions of the masses, extends from the masses to the masses, and never intends to just include the few ideas of a few people. Therefore, our system differs from "tailism."

The line, principles and policies which our great leader Chairman Mao set forth for the party during various periods exhibit this correct centralization. The general task for the new period and the principles and policies guaranteeing the realization of the general task set forth by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua also display this correct centralization. How can we have a very democratic attitude toward such centralization? How is the practice of decentralization, under the guise of democracy, used to sabotage this centralization? Can we do things our own way and use our own policies to weaken this centralization? Of course, this is absolutely impermissible.

In short, practicing democratic centralism, letting the masses speak out honestly and sincerely and always adhering to this are by no means easy. Party committees at all levels must work more, take effective measures and repeatedly conduct education in democratic centralism. However, what really counts is conscientiousness. If all our party members take the lead and act conscientiously, the lively political situation that Chairman Mao wanted is bound to emerge.

#### Practicing Democratic Centralism Is Basically a World Outlook Problem

Basically, whether we practice democratic centralism are matters of world outlook. "The communist world outlook is dialectical and historical materialism" ("on new democracy"). Our democratic centralism is built on the foundation of this world outlook. A fundamental Marxist viewpoint is that the masses of people make history. The great proletarian revolutionary cause must be undertaken by relying on millions upon millions of people. It will not suffice to just rely on a minority. The proletariat is the greatest class in human history. Only by liberating the whole of mankind can it at last liberate itself. Our party is the vanguard of the proletariat. It must lead not only the proletariat but the masses of laboring people. It must set in motion millions of revolutionary forces and organize a powerful revolutionary army to trounce the enemy, transform society, carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction and head for the communist goal of eliminating classes. Democratic centralism is also a fundamental method by which we understand the objective world. A Marxist believes that it is the collective, the entire class and the masses that understand the objective world. Correct understanding can be acquired only by repeatedly taking the ideas of the masses and concentrating upon them, and then going back to the masses and implementing them. By developing democracy, the scattered and unsystematic ideas of the masses can be fully expressed; and through study,

the ideas of the masses can be consolidated and systematized. Then we go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, implement them, and test these ideas by such action. Then once again we can concentrate upon ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that these ideas are implemented. This continues over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge. It is also the way to practice democratic centralism. The world is a varied and colorful scene. Time is rolling on. Things are changing ceaselessly. It rests with the leadership organ to do well in using democratic centralism to sum up the ever-unfolding revolutionary practice of the masses; to observe new conditions, problems and things that appear under new historical conditions; and to formulate lines and general and specific policies suited to reality.

Without the masses' practice and democratic centralism, we can only behave like blindfolded men catching sparrows and cannot possibly resolve practical questions or acquire revolutionary truth. As far as setting forth the party's line, principles and policies are concerned, Chairman Mao figuratively pointed out: Human brains and leading organizations are processing plants. All correct leadership, theories, line and policies come from the masses. Marx and Engels made magnificent contributions to socialism from its conception to its scientific development. Without their hard work, scientific socialism could not have been built. The proletariat might possibly be still groping in the dark. But their wisdom did not come from nowhere. Nor was it inborn. Instead it was generated in the great practice of mass revolutionary struggle. It was a scientific capitulation of the brave struggle of the proletariat, which conducts its fight by picking up where another has left off. It was a concentration of mass wisdom—wisdom continuously tested in the practice of the proletarian revolution and supplemented, enriched and developed by new experiences in such practice.

The masses are a motive force in creating history. Their revolutionary practice is a source of knowledge that enables us to understand the objective world. To seriously practice democratic centralism, show unwavering faith in the masses, rely on them, respect their pioneering spirit, and pool their collective wisdom will considerably shorten the time needed to understand the laws governing socialist revolution and construction, especially the laws governing the realization of modernized socialism. This will considerably accelerate the pace of our revolution. We should thoroughly and accurately grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and use its fundamental standpoint, viewpoint and method to observe and solve problems that actually exist and recur in the process of realizing the general task. We should understand that if we do not have a strong class or mass viewpoint, if we do not take an attitude of seeking truth from facts and if we do not seriously remold our world outlook, we cannot conscientiously practice democratic centralism.

The "gang of four" were the most reactionary and decadent counterrevolutionary force faced by the Chinese people. To seize party and state power and restore capitalism they fervently trumpeted historical idealism, advocated the reactionary theory of genius, rabidly opposed materialist dialectics, and practiced metaphysics. They left people completely confused about the dialectical relations between democracy and the dictatorship, democracy and centralism, discipline and freedom, the leadership and the masses and the party and the masses. They seriously sabotaged the principle of democratic centralism in the life of the party and the state. Because such reactionary words and deeds from the "gang of four" were often camouflaged with revolutionary rhetoric, many people played into their hands for a fairly long period of time. Some comrades are still affected by their poison, although they are not conscious of it. In regard to democratic centralism, we can never underestimate the remnant poison and influence of the "gang of four." In this connection, distinguishing between right and wrong, effecting radical reform and eliminating the "gang of four's" remnant pernicious influence are still long-term Herculean tasks.

Is there any reason other than the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as to why some of our comrades and leading comrades in particular cannot conscientiously practice democratic centralism? Yes, there is. The reason is that China has a long feudal history. In the past, feudalist ideology and the patriarchy of small production predominated in our country. People lacked democratic traditions and habits. Though old ideas, customs, habits and traditions have been forcefully criticized and reformed since the proletariat obtained political power, the influence of these "four olds" has not been completely eliminated. The feudal autocracy and patriarchy of small production that characterizes the work style of many comrades are proof. We must fight the third campaign well by deepening the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" so that people can consciously remold their world outlook, emancipate themselves from the "gang of four's" remnant pernicious influence and free themselves from the straitjacket of various old ideas and ideologies. Only in this way can we fully develop democracy, conscientiously practice democratic centralism and consistently adhere to it.

At an enlarged working conference convened by the CCP Central Committee in 1962, the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao said: "It seems that some of our comrades still do not understand democratic centralism. Now is the time to start establishing the idea of democratic centralism and understanding this question."

From 1962 to today when the "Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the CCP Central Committee" has been openly published, 16 years have elapsed. This is not a short period. During this time, the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao passed away; the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and Chairman Chu Te also died. We must never fail to live up to the patient teachings and earnest expectations of our revolutionary predecessors. We must resolve existing questions in our work with concrete actions and

vigorously develop the party's democratic style and glorious traditions of democratic centralism. We must develop the enthusiasm of the masses both inside and outside the party, unite with the masses who constitute more than 95 percent of the population, and, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua and holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, be equal to shouldering the great historical task and march bravely forward in the new Long March to fulfill the general task for the new period by the end of this century and make China a modern and powerful socialist country.

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## THE ENTIRE PARTY MUST STRENGTHEN POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK

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[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] Under the direct leadership of the party Central Committee headed by wise leader and commander Chairman Hua and its Military Commission, the recent All-Army Political Work Conference held high the great banner of Chairman Mao and focused on studying and solving the problems of inheriting and carrying forward the fine traditions in political work personally cultivated by Chairman Mao and of increasing our army's combat strength under new historical conditions. The conference proceeded smoothly and was very successful. This is a political work conference of historical significance--a conference seeking to take things over from predecessors to enlighten successors and to carry forward the past to pave the way for the future. The important speeches at the conference by Chairman Hua, Vice Chairman Yeh and Vice Chairman Teng, which shine with the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, are programmatic documents for the entire party and the whole army in strengthening political work in the new period. Comrade Wei Kuo-ching gave a report at the conference entitled "Carry Forward the Fine Traditions in Political Work and Improve Our Army's Combat Strength in the New Historical Period." This report, the resolution and other documents aimed at a strengthening political work which were formulated at the conference by fully developing democracy and relying on collective wisdom are good rules and regulations for the army's political work. The spirit of the conference and its documents will not only guide the new expedition of the great PLA but also have an extremely great impact and a far-reaching influence on the whole party's effort to strengthen political work and insure the realization of the general task for the new period.

In his speech, Chairman Hua treated in a detailed way the problem of strengthening ideological and political work in order to realize the general task for the new period. He clearly pointed out: "We must conduct widespread publicity and education among the masses throughout the country and mobilize and organize the masses in the struggle to realize the general task for the new period. This is the core of all ideological and political work for our party in the new period." The direction of the general task for the new period is the direction of political work. Everyone knows that the general task for the new period is based on

Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the new period of development, the contradictions between production relations and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base remain the driving force behind our social progress.

Under conditions marked by classes. Class contradictions and class struggle, these contradictions chiefly manifest themselves as contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads. These contradictions in the struggle between the two classes and roads are in part contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and, for the most part contradictions among the people. The process of our socialist modernization involves the ceaseless development of the productive forces and, at the same time, the continuous consolidation, perfection and development of socialist production relations and the superstructure. In this process, we must effect tremendous political, economic and technical changes and must correctly distinguish and handle the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people. Therefore, realizing the general task for the new period is not merely a great economic task. It is primarily a great political task. By relying on revolutionary political work, we must view the strict differentiation between and correct handling of the two different types of contradictions, especially the correct handling of the contradictions among the people, as a very important problem to be properly solved in realizing the general task for the new period. We must resolutely exercise dictatorship over those undesirable persons against whom we have concrete evidence. In the handling the contradictions among the people, we must seek a solution only by democratic means or the method of persuasion, education, criticism and self-criticism. In overcoming bourgeois ideas and all exploiting-class ideas, we must rely on revolutionary political work and bring proletarian ideas into play. We must guide petty bourgeois ideas in the direction of the proletariat, and overcome the negative aspects of ideological means and work methods and develop their positive aspects. We must rely on revolutionary political work to cite the advanced, the backward, and organize well the socialist emulation campaign to compare with, learn from, catch up with, help and overtake each other. We must rely on revolutionary political work to consolidate and build an agricultural army, an industrial army, a national defense army and a scientific, technical and cultural army--armies which are Red and expert and are especially capable in fighting--and to particularly consolidate and build leading groups at various levels. In a word, our revolutionary political work demands that Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party's lines and general and specific policies for the new period be turned into the conscious action of the masses, that they be applied to practical work on various fronts and that the socialist direction for the modernization be insured. Only by considerably

strengthening political and ideological work can we set all positive factors in motion, unite all possible forces, realize the general task for the new period by the end of this century and turn China into a modern and powerful socialist country.

In his speech, Vice Chairman Yeh taught us that under new historical conditions "we must in political work restore and carry forward the fine traditions since the Kutien Conference and give full play to the role of political work as the leading factor and the guarantee of task performance." He said: "We must study Chairman Mao's theory and instructions on political work thoroughly and accurately, carry them forward in an overall and systematic manner, and apply and develop them under new historical conditions." This is urgently needed to insure the triumphant realization of the general task for the new period and involves our holding high and safeguarding the great banner of Chairman Mao. Since the Kutien Conference, which laid a foundation for the political work of our party and army, Chairman Mao has creatively put forward a whole set of political-work theories, lines, general and specific policies and principles, and has personally cultivated fine traditions and styles in political work while leading us through a long period of revolutionary struggle. These are important parts of Mao Tsetung Thought, important developments of Marxism-Leninism and priceless treasures left us by Chairman Mao. Whether in the painful and remarkable war years or in socialist revolution and construction, revolutionary political work initiated by Chairman Mao showed its infinite might. It is a source of strength for our party and army. By relying on revolutionary political work, we consolidated our party and army ideologically and organizationally, consolidated party leadership over all work, insured the thorough implementation of the party's line and general and specific policies, trained a large number of cadres, united and educated the masses, and won one victory after another. The political work and fine traditions initiated by Chairman Mao are an important part of Chairman Mao's magnificent contributions to the Chinese people. Such fine traditions have cost great pain and are not easy to maintain; Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-tao opposed and did away with them. Peng Te-huai and Liu Shao-chi depreciated and shattered them. Lin Piao's and the "gang of four's" sabotage of the political work of our party and army was especially outrageous and vicious and went to extremes. Their evil course of action educated us by negative example. Revolutionary political work is indeed a lifeline that cannot for a moment be detached from our party's tasks and from our army and people. In the struggle to realize the general task for the new period, our whole party must make a point of restoring and carrying forward the fine traditions in political work, insist on making proletarian politics rule and stimulate all work, and insure fruitful results being continuously achieved on various fronts.

In his speech, Vice Chairman Teng stressed that in all work we must adhere to the fundamental Marxist principle of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and linking theory with practice. Seeking truth from



facts--this is the starting point and basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It is also the starting point and basis of revolutionary political work. Just as Chairman Mao pointed out "The Communist Party lives not on browbeating others but on Marxist-Leninist truths, on a down-to-earth approach and on science." This All-Army Political Work Conference was precisely in keeping with Chairman Mao's teachings. It analyzed new historical conditions with the realities of the armed forces in mind, and put forward new problems, new tasks and new guidelines. It set a good example--an example which is worthy of being emulated by the entire party. Vice Chairman Teng aptly said: "We cannot at any time run counter to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. This is without a shadow of a doubt. But we must take realities into consideration, analyze and study actual conditions and solve actual problems. Deciding the guideline for work in accordance with actual conditions--this is a most fundamental ideological means or work method that every Communist Party must bear firmly in mind." Linked with actual conditions, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can give full play to its role and demonstrate its vitality. But they wantonly altered and opposed the fundamental theory and principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Our comrades must make a clear distinction where the reactionary fallacies of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" are concerned. They must take a stand in safeguarding the fundamental theory and principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, keep a clear head and assume a clear-cut attitude. Our comrades must know how to seek truth from facts, proceed from reality and link theory with practice. This is a fundamental Marxist principle. We cannot depart from this fundamental principle in doing any work. We must vigorously advocate dialectical-materialistic ideological means and work methods, seriously study the new conditions and new things appearing in socialist revolution and construction, energetically solve new contradictions and new problems, overcome the bad habits and bad styles resulting from the prevalence of idealism and metaphysics brought about by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," and bring political work to life. We must pay attention to actual results and really achieve a new level.

Strengthening political and ideological work calls for grasping the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as the key link. The various aspects of political work are subordinate to this key link. Now and in the future, it is necessary to continue mobilizing and organizing the masses to carry the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end. The problem of grasping or not grasping this important matter is one of grasping or not grasping the key link in political work. By firmly grasping this key link, deeply exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and linking this with exposing and criticizing Lin Piao and eliminating their remnant pernicious influence, the issue of right and wrong will be cleared up, the battle lines will be clearly drawn, unity will be put on a firm basis, the revolutionary spirit of the cadres and the masses will soar and all kinds of work will advance. The struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has now been crowned with great victories. But we must see that the development of the movement has been uneven and that it is still far from winning a "total victory." The view that the

movement has been conducted "just about right" or that it should be "quickly wound up" does not correspond to the actual situation. Actually, as far as the overall situation is concerned, screening work is basically over. However, this is not so in some localities, departments and units where screening has fallen far short of the mark. While the issue of right and wrong in line has been basically cleared up, the issue of right and wrong in specific line and policies on various fronts and in different fields has yet to be further clarified. We must continue to smash and uproot all the reactionary social forces which served as the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line and its various manifestations philosophically and from the theoretical aspects of political economy and scientific socialism so as to smash their reactionary bourgeois ideological system and eliminate their remnant pernicious influence is an even more protracted and arduous task. Party organizations in various localities and departments must constantly check on the progress of exposing and criticizing the gang and eliminating their pernicious influence, pay attention to ideological trends inside and outside the party, keep pace with the progress of the movement, conscientiously grasp policy and lead the movement to advance step by step until complete victory is won. In some localities, departments and units, the CCP Central Committee's directives are not implemented in connection with the actual situation or are implemented without making any specific arrangements or setting any requirements. This ineptitude in exercising leadership must be speedily corrected. In other localities, departments and units, the leadership attempts to keep the lid on so as to cause a drag to the movement. This resistance must be broken with a free hand regardless of where it comes from or what form it assumes. We must fully mobilize the masses and fight unremittingly so that the features of individual units, departments and localities will change radically. This is an example of political work undergoing stiff tests.

Vigorously waging the ideological struggle to wipe out what is bourgeois and to promote what is proletarian is a regular and important task in conducting political work. The struggle between socialism and capitalism in the ideological sphere in China remains a protracted one. "The bourgeoisie is bent on corrupting people and hitting them with sugar-coated bullets." Due to Lin Piao's and the "gang of four's" practice of shielding and conniving at malpractice, capitalism spread unchecked in a number of localities and departments. This was responsible for the prevalence of the "four olds" and for seriously disrupting the socialist economy and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This shows that properly grasping the class struggle in the ideological sphere and wiping out what is bourgeois and promoting what is proletarian is a task that brooks no delay. If the evil wind is not suppressed, the cause of righteousness can hardly be promoted. Without clamping down on evil bourgeois practices, there is no way to promote the righteous proletarian spirit.

Without firing people with the revolutionary spirit of plain living and hard struggle, it is impossible to mobilize the masses and arouse their enthusiasm

for building socialism in a big way. Some units and departments still have not done anything to suppress malpractice by involving the righteous spirit. Should we allow this to go on? Political work departments should pay close attention to the class struggle trends in the ideological sphere, grasp the law of struggle and fight aggressive battles in the struggle to wipe out what is bourgeois and promote what is proletarian. Such efforts will demonstrate the power of political work and increase the prestige of political organizations.

Wise leader Chairman Hua has urged the entire party to "study, study, and again study." We must actively respond to this call, vigorously organize the vast number of cadres and the mass to earnestly study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, and comprehensively and accurately grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. This is the fine tradition of political work as well as its basic task. We should also see that realizing the general task for the new period has imposed new and higher demands on study, requiring everyone to study science, technology and culture and acquire the basic knowledge of modern economic management. Particular importance should be attached to studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to establishing the communist world outlook. Special attention should be paid to arming our thinking with Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and using it to guide us in the conduct of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Only by doing so can we have the correct orientation, make less fuss, avoid pitfalls and achieve more in less time in digging into modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" never studied the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao. Instead, they steadfastly opposed systematically studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao and did everything they could to disrupt the cadres' and the masses' study efforts. Their pernicious influence spread far and wide and caused considerable harm. Some people believed that studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought was something of no consequence. Once the subject of study was mentioned, they would skirt it on the grounds they had something else to do, or just sit back and talk about other things. This is one manifestation of this tendency. On the other hand, some people were content with mechanically memorizing a few phrases they had not wholly assimilated and which they amplified out of context to impress others. These deviations must be corrected. Given the glorious task of continuing the Long March, we must firmly grasp the basic task of studying theory in conducting political work while mobilizing and organizing the masses to study vocational work and technology and to become both Red and expert.

The key to strengthening political work lies in the CCP committees and in their efforts to strengthen leadership over political work so as to make a success of the task of revolutionizing political organizations. The interference and sabotage of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" had for a long time seriously weakened the party's political work. This impaired the functions of political organizations and reflected unfavorably on their role and prestige. Political work in a number of localities and units is extremely weak even to this day. This makes the task of reviving and carrying forward the fine tradition of political work even more urgent and important. The leading comrades of CCP committees at all levels should follow Chairman Mao's teachings and should take the lead in conducting political and ideological work. They should summon all their energies to reorganize the political organs and put them on a sound footing. They must strive to restore the functions, role and prestige of these organizations to the level attained in the years of the revolutionary wars, and to develop and enhance them under the new historical conditions. All those engaged in political work must understand Chairman Mao's concept of political work and its fine tradition. They must have clear ideas about their responsibilities and know how to conduct their work so they can become examples of implementing the party's line, principles and policies. Political work should be conducted well by the leading cadres at all levels, not just by political cadres and instructors but by administrative cadres as well. The whole party should do political work and every communist should do it. This will create a situation in which everybody does ideological and political work.

The goal of continuing the Long March has now been set. Its line is clear and the roles and procedures are in order. The huge army has set out. Led by the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the entire party is engaged in strengthening political and ideological work in order to invoke the righteous spirit, enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of the vast number of cadres and the masses. An inexhaustible source of strength can be tapped if revolutionary work is carried through to the end with the same vigor, revolutionary enthusiasm and death-defying spirit displayed in the years of the revolutionary wars. Like the surging Yangtze River, this strength can be diverted to achieving the great goal of building a modern and powerful socialist country.

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IN UNDERTAKING THE NEW LONG MARCH, IT IS NECESSARY TO CARRY FORWARD THE TRADITION OF PLAIN LIVING AND HARD STRUGGLE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Jul 78 pp 55-59

[Article by the CCP Committee of First Aviation Division of the PLA Air Force]

[Text] The party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua and the Military Commission have shown great concern for our air force and given us many important instructions. Wise leader and commander Chairman Hua personally wrote the following inscription recently: "Learn from the First Division of the Air Force." Esteemed and beloved Vice Chairman Yeh also wrote the following inscription in his own hand: "Learn from the First Division of the Air Force. Carry forward the PLA's fine traditions and styles. Unite in fighting and continue the revolution." Chairman Hua's and Vice Chairman Yeh's brilliant inscriptions have greatly honored and stimulated the entire body of commanders and fighters in our division and have shown the direction for building our PLA units. We will never betray the fervent expectations of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. On the new Long March, we must raise the great banner of Chairman Mao high, resolutely implement the 11th CCP National Congress line, continue to carry forward our army's fine traditions, forever maintain the political features of plain living and hard struggle, grasp the key link in army building, be prepared for war and fight to realize the general tasks for the new period.

Plain living and hard struggle represent one of the fine styles of our party and army personally advocated and cultivated by great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and are an important guarantee for our persistent continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the eve of the national liberation, Chairman Mao sincerely admonished us: "To win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous. This must be made clear now in the party. Comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work.

Comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle." For over 20 years, our division has bravely forged ahead, overcome multiple difficulties and triumphantly accomplished all the tasks entrusted to us by the party, mainly because we have firmly borne in mind Chairman Mao's teachings and never given up plain living and hard struggle as a treasured family heritage of the proletariat. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee, headed by Chairman Hua has put forward a strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well and put forward the general task for the new period. It has also imposed more exacting demands upon army units. To meet the needs of the new situation, accelerate the pace of revolutionization and modernization and properly prepare against wars of aggression, we are determined to adhere to Mao Tse-tung Thought, carry forward the tradition of plain living and hard struggle, continue the revolution and advance ceaselessly.

### Plain Living and Hard Struggle Is an Important Guarantee for Implementing the Correct Line

Whether the army units can maintain the time-honored tradition of plain living and hard struggle observed in those war years is a major issue concerning adherence or nonadherence to Chairman Mao's army-building line and is an important part of the struggle between two lines. Peng Te-huai pursued a bourgeois military line in a vain attempt to substitute a foreign army line for the fine traditions Chairman Mao cultivated for our army and to use so-called "regularization" as a means to oppose putting revolutionization in command of modernization. In opposing the party and creating chaos in the army, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were especially unscrupulous in sabotaging our army's fine traditions and styles. They rabidly charged that our army's time-honored traditions had "gone out of fashion" and that the style of plain living and hard struggle would "no longer answer the purpose." They slanderously equated traditions with "looking backward, promoting, restoring and turning the clock backward." Their sinister purpose was to basically alter the proletarian nature of our army and turn our army into their tool for usurping party and state power and for restoring capitalism. This tells us by negative example how important it is to maintain and carry forward the fine traditions of our party and army!

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Without a firm and correct political orientation, we cannot have a work style of plain living and hard struggle. Without a work style of plain living and hard struggle, we cannot implement a firm and correct political orientation." Guided by the correct line, we can cultivate a good style of plain living and hard struggle by adhering to the socialist orientation. A good style of plain living and hard struggle will in turn guarantee the implementation of the correct line. In the past few years, we paid attention to linking the ideological realities of the party committee of the division with persistent efforts to study theory, recall traditions, study the lofty qualities of older generation revolutionaries who fought amid hardships and review the division's history of

development. This enabled us to continuously maintain and carry forward the time-honored tradition of plain living and hard struggle. We resisted interference and sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," put the PLA units under the absolute leadership of the party, resolutely implemented the instructions of Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua, and maintained a firm and correct political orientation amid complicated class struggle and line struggle. The "gang of four" rabidly carried out conspiratorial activities in 1976 to usurp party and state leadership and sabotaged efforts to grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war. But we still persistently followed the instructions of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee. We carried forward the spirit of plain living and hard struggle, overcame various obstacles and devoted vigorous efforts in war preparation training and in building barracks. That year, we successfully fulfilled the war preparation training targets, insured flight safety, raised the combat power of the PLA units, and achieved bumper harvests in agriculture and sideline production. We also relied on the masses of cadres, fighters, workers and their relatives to repair and rebuild with their own hands those barracks damaged by an earthquake and to build premises for business purposes.

To properly carry out the guidelines and policies and assignments from the party Central Committee and the Military Commission calls for plain living and hard struggle and penetrating ideological and organizational work. There are two ways to approach instructions from higher authorities. One way is to just make a fuss over them. Another is to conduct investigations and studies through deep involvement with lower levels so that such instructions are linked with actual conditions and are seriously implemented. The first way is a bureaucratic way. The latter calls for hard study and work. For example, to do well in implementing Chairman Mao's instructions on "reorganizing the army" and thus arouse consciousness of the line, stimulate revolutionary enthusiasm and enhance combat power, we must adopt the latter approach. Only the spirit of plain living and hard struggle gives us the determination to stay at the lower levels and not quit until we have clarified things, solved problems and achieved results. Otherwise, it is just like a dragonfly dabbling in water, or a floating gourd in a well that appears to be sinking when seen from above but is well above the water when seen from below. In this way, we cannot grasp, raise or solve problems. For several years, we have required leading cadres to be revolutionaries who practice what they preach. We have insisted that they stay at the lower levels so that they become oriented toward the company unit and toward the grassroots. While at the lower levels, they devote great efforts toward reorganization. In addition, they combine investigations and studies with an effort to do well in passing on experience and in helping and encouraging each other. The leading cadres of our division stayed at the lower levels for over 5 months last year, which enabled us to be relatively well acquainted with the conditions of the PLA units. We knew all about every pilot's thinking, his technical performance, his health, his family background, etc. In our work, we were able to achieve actual results because we were familiar with conditions and because we had a great determination and the right approach.

The spirit of plain living and hard struggle is a political feature of the proletariat diametrically opposed to various bourgeois and revisionist ideas. Hard facts tell us that both new and old bourgeois elements have energetically tried to shoot "sugar-coated bullets," make a breach in ideology and life and promote peaceful evolution. Lin Piao peddled the "theory of trifles being harmless" and used the tactic of "luring with high office, emoluments and favors" to recruit flunkies. The "gang of four" also used many known despicable bourgeois means to involve people in serving their plot to usurp party and state power. Only by carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of plain living and hard struggle can we resist erosion by bourgeois ideas and withstand the fragrant wind and sugar-coated bullets. Only by so doing can we engage in a long trial of strength with the bourgeoisie on the political and ideological fronts, seize the initiative and launch a successful attack. The great majority of party committee members of our division have been tested in revolutionary wars, but it remains a major problem whether they can stand the test in peaceful surroundings over a long period of time. Therefore, we must constantly study Chairman Mao's writing on classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the period of socialism and require party committee comrades to take "necessity" as a motto. They must constantly check whether the thinking of a militant team remains as firm in peaceful circumstances, whether the revolutionary enthusiasm of those war years remains as keen in improved conditions, whether the political feature of plain living and hard struggle remains unchanged. In this way, consciousness for hard struggle will be raised continuously. The revolutionary militant will will be stimulated. The party committee has made a persistent practice of unfolding an active ideological struggle. The beginnings of erroneous thinking, will be nipped in the bud. There will be no looking the other way and no compromise. This will keep our leading group constantly thinking and immune from political disease. The degree of their ideological revolutionization will be increasingly raised. They were tested in the line struggles within the party, especially the 10th and 11th line struggles. They successfully foiled the plot of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" to intervene in the business of our division. Last year, certain units developed the improper style of becoming soldiers by dishonest "back-door" means. Our party committee took a firm stand. On the one hand, we kept Chairman Hua, the party Central Committee and the Military Commission informed. On the other, we made a decision in the party committee: "Not a back-door soldier is to be accepted. None will be allowed to go through the back door." Every member of the party committee received profound education and an ideological test.

Hard Struggle Is an Important Link in Speeding Up Army Building and Increasing Combat Power

Our army is a pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat charged with the weighty mission of guarding against restoration at home and against aggression from outside. The nature of imperialism determines the inevitability of war. Soviet revisionism, which is determined to ruin us may launch



a surprise attack against us any time. Therefore, Chairman Hua pointed out: "We must grasp the key link in building the army, be prepared for war, and seize the hour in accelerating the revolutionization and modernization of our construction efforts." We must resolutely respond to Chairman Hua's call and hurry to get well prepared against aggression before the outbreak of war. Within a few years, we must raise the political quality of our army to a new level, raise war-preparedness work to a new level and raise our army's revolutionization and modernization construction efforts to a new level. This effort will require us to put in great efforts, sweat profusely, fight amid hardships and work hard to achieve practical results. Certain comrades in our group are relatively old and weak. Some are seriously affected with chronic diseases. Under these circumstances, should we stress objective factors and relax the militant will or strengthen the will to overcome difficulties; should we place stress on caring for the old and weak or on calling forth every ounce of energy in everyone? We consider that the former is a negative attitude. Only the latter is the proper revolutionary quality of a communist party member. Chairman Mao said: "In making revolution before, we developed a spirit of all-out exertion. One may live to be 60, 70, 80 or 90 or even older. As long as you can work, you should do whatever you can. You must work with revolutionary enthusiasm and show a spirit of all-out exertion ("Persist in Hard Struggle and Maintain Close Ties with the Masses"). Chairman Mao's instructions have deeply educated and encouraged us. We understand that armed struggle formerly was marked by a spirit of all-out exertion. Therefore, we can not now let old age, infirmity and illness deter us from socialist revolution and army-building. The older a person is, the greater his need to call forth his revolutionary youth and to strive to do more for the party. An ailment can be cured and should never be allowed to dampen our spirits and weaken our militant will. We encourage working under pressure and racing against time. We discourage taking it easy and letting things slide. We encourage racking our brains and pondering problems seriously. We discourage mental laziness. We must not only live a hard life but also think hard, study hard and work hard. Therefore, though relatively old and infirm, certain comrades show unflagging revolutionary will and a spirit of all-out exertion. They take Comrade Chiao Yu-lu as an example and do not stop working when ill.

Hard struggle is our army's spiritual atomic bomb in conquering all enemies and a priceless treasure in overcoming all difficulties and all hazards. By cultivating a style of hard struggle, we can generate combat power. This is an important part of the effort to strengthen army-building. In 1950, we joined the struggle to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. Our army units had just then been established. In material and technical terms, we encountered many difficulties. But we carried forward the fine tradition of fighting amid hardships and fighting bravely and persistently. Despite a disparity in strength, we scored one victory after another. Our division fought 69 air battles with the enemy and brought down or damaged 80 enemy planes. Joined with fraternal units, we smashed U.S. imperialism's

vaunted "air superiority" and accomplished the combat assignments with which we were charged by the party and the people. On seeing our division's performance report, Chairman Mao wrote: "I am very pleased that you fought so bravely." Future antiaggression wars may have many new features. Our army will also be better equipped in many respects. But we must still be prepared to triumph over superior equipment by using poor equipment. A war is decided by human and not material factors. We must carry forward the spirit of fighting amid hardships along with the heroic spirit of "fighting with courage." With such a spirit, we will not fear devils nor believe in the unorthodox and will dare to fight a fierce battle, charge forward, hold the line and sweep all before us.

Chairman Mao called on us to "delve into the strategic and tactical features of modern warfare, assiduously acquire knowledge of modern warfare, master all modern war methods in a practical way and energetically strengthen military and political training for the army units." All this calls for mental and physical efforts. We can get nowhere without struggling hard. To improve the actual fighting skills of army units, we have in the past few years required leading cadres to lead the way in studying and in training. Concerning those exacting training courses involving great heights, the leading cadres of the division first give demonstrations themselves. They also lead the way in night-flight training. To solve the "long-standing" problem of smoke and dust interfering with flying, leading cadres of the division take the lead in studying causes and summing up experiences. To choose a proper firing range, the leading cadres of the division lead everyone in surveying the terrain and in making surveying calculations. They also personally obtain data for firing range use. Due to the leading cadre's leading role in studying and training hard, the annual training program last year was fulfilled one month ahead of schedule. This year flying was again started ahead of schedule, and more training progress was made. Experience tells us that carrying forward the time-honored tradition of hard struggle is required not only in properly revolutionizing army units but also in taking revolutionization as a stimulation to modernization.

#### Hard Struggle Is a Basic Factor in Maintaining Close Ties with the Masses and Fighting in Unity

In the new Long March under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we must arouse the socialist activism of the masses. This requires our leading cadres to set examples and fight amid hardships. A leading cadre is an influence on the masses in his every word and deed. The masses always look to the leadership as an example to be imitated in words and deeds. If a cadre is afraid of hardship, lives a life of ease and comfort, enjoys special privileges and cares nothing about the masses, he will inevitably depart from the masses. To usurp party and state power, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" abandoned the masses to their own fate and slanderously linked concern for their lives with "material incentives." This not only seriously dampened their activism, but also spoiled our party and army's fine tradition and style of maintaining close ties with the masses. In the past few years, under the influence of the remnant poison

of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," a small number of comrades have developed bourgeois ideas and styles and drawn away from the masses. This has detracted from the leadership's prestige. It is a serious lesson to us.

Chairman Mao taught us: "In the past, we shared joys and sorrows with the people. Why can't we do it now? As long as we do so, we will not depart from the masses" ("Speech at Second Plenary Session of Eighth Central Committee of the CCP"). Chairman Mao's instructions have made us realize that sharing joys and sorrows with the masses is an important part of struggle and a prerequisite for maintaining close ties with the masses. A leading cadre can never take life's problems as matters of no consequence. Such problems are mostly concrete, but principle and politics are involved in treating and handling them. Setting strict demands for ourselves and learning from the advanced in our work and setting simple and minimum standards in our life are principles in our approach to work and to individual life. In those war years, the masses of our army's cadres and fighters fought as one displaying great militancy under all circumstances. They did so because the commanders of our army at various levels were capable of mingling with the masses of fighters and sharing their everyday joys and sorrows. Now, conditions have changed. Life has improved. But the spirit of sharing joys and sorrows with the masses cannot change. Only in this way can there be unity between officers and men and between the army and the people. Only in this way can we forever maintain the features of the people's army. The party committee of our division realizes this. Therefore, it imposes strict demands on itself and tries in every way to narrow the gap with the masses. For many years, we have doggedly refused to misappropriate the people's property, refused to eat more food or occupy more space than is required and refused to find any excuse for seeking special privileges. As a result, we are generally treated the same as cadres at the lower levels with regard to housing. The same criteria for grain allowances apply to cadres at the higher and lower levels. Everyone is on the same footing with regard to articles purchased with coupons. For movies and literary and art programs, the dependents of leading cadres get the same treatment as those of ordinary cadres. No seat is reserved for them. All these may be small things, but their impact is great. Not only is our revolutionary will strengthened but we are enabled to draw closer to the masses and cement ties with them. As a result, we experience the same pains with them, think along the same lines and feel the same about what needs immediate attention. Meanwhile, as we provide leadership in doing what we want the masses to do, they will have faith in us and take us at our word. Work will proceed smoothly.

"We must think of the masses at all times." This is a golden rule bequeathed to us by esteemed and beloved Premier Chou. When confronted with a problem, should we put the interests of the masses or the leading cadres first? When certain commodities are in short supply, should we satisfy mass needs and oblige those comrades who need them or should we first satisfy the needs of the leading cadres and favor the "division commander." Problems of this kind often face us. In the past, some comrades considered that it was only

logical to treat the leadership with favor. After a process of study, we rectified such an attitude. We stressed Chairman Mao's teaching that we should "put others' interests before our own." We must not just pay lip service to such a teaching. We must really digest it ideologically and put it into practice. Taking housing for instance: Our division had relatively crowded living quarters. Certain premises were damaged during the earthquake. Several were rebuilt and equipped with heating facilities. Out of concern for the leading cadres of our division, the relevant department suggested that we move into the better-equipped premises. After a discussion, we unanimously held that the leading cadres must lead others in facing difficulties and give others priority in matters of enjoyment. Housing rearrangements must be made with the lives of the masses and the needs of army-building in mind. Those who deserve households must be given first consideration. The heated premises must be allotted to pilots so that they can lighten their family burden and concentrate on their flying. Though the leading cadres of the division have relatively poorly equipped and crowded living quarters, their premises are still far better than Wang Kuo-Fu's "dwelling place of a long-term laborer." Our actions enabled many comrades to improve their living conditions. The masses felt satisfied. We also had the satisfaction of having done the right thing.

To cement ties with the masses, we also stress the need that leading cadres pay particular attention to avoid abusing authority. Chairman Mao admonished us to prevent all working personnel from enjoying any special privilege through the exercise of their authority. Authority is vested in us by the masses. We have only the duty to completely and thoroughly serve the people and never the right to use authority to serve private ends. If we turn vested authority from the people into a means to seek special privileges, then we are no longer servants of the people but bureaucrats. Therefore, we must constantly remind ourselves of Chairman Mao's teaching and not seek any special treatment for leading cadres. We resolutely refuse to do anything that goes against the rule and, therefore, do not serve private ends, practice favoritism or fear to offend others. Thus, certain people complain that we are cold and unsympathetic. But we consider that friendship between comrades must be class friendship bound by a common struggle for the revolutionary cause and not stained by bourgeois sentiment--a sentiment with "selfishness" as its core. By adhering to the revolutionary principle, we may have offended certain people at times. But we have the support of the masses. Their activism has been aroused. A good style of the army units has been cultivated.

Great leader and teacher Chairman Mao pointed out: "I have suggested all along that the army must fight amid hardships and be a model" ("Speech at Second Plenary Session of Eighth Party Central Committee of the CCP"). At the recent All-Army Political Work Conference, wise leader and commander Chairman Hua called on the leading comrades of the party committees at all levels throughout the army, especially leading cadres, to "set personal examples in political work and be models in seriously implementing the

basic principle of 'three do's and three don't's,' in grasping the key link in army-building and getting prepared for war, and in carrying forward the fine traditions of our party and army." In this respect, our division party committee has made achievements, but we still have a long way to go as far as Chairman Mao's instructions and the demands of Chairman Hua, the party Central Committee and the Military Commission are concerned. What we have done is far from adequate to the needs of realizing the general task for the new period. We must be prudent and modest and free from arrogance and rashness and carry forward the spirit of the Red Army of former years which fought hard and crossed over snowclad mountains and grasslands. We must closely follow the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and fight bravely on the new Long March to render new meritorious services for the people.

CSO: 4004

SERIOUSLY STUDY MARXIST-LENINIST TEACHINGS ON PARTY BUILDING--  
INTRODUCING 'MARX, ENGLES, LENIN AND STALIN ON THE REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL  
PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT' PUBLISHED RECENTLY BY THE PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING  
HOUSE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Jul 78 pp 60-62

[Article by Theoretical Group of Central Translation Bureau]

[Text] "Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the Revolutionary Political Party of the Proletariat" was published on the eve of the 56th anniversary of the founding of the great, glorious and correct CCP. This was a very meaningful gift on our party's birthday. The book contains important articles by revolutionary teachers of the proletariat on the nature of the political party of the proletariat, its guiding ideology, program, organizational principles, its leadership, party leaders, solidarity and unity, its work style of seeking truth from facts and its mass line, as well as on criticism and self-criticism, communists and party cadres, the struggle between the two lines within the party and on the party's principles of proletarian internationalism. The book provides the vast number of party members and cadres with concisely compiled teaching materials to comprehensively and accurately grasp Marxist-Leninist teachings on party building.

The Marxist-Leninist teachings on the political party of the proletariat are based on a scientific summation of the experiences of revolutionary teachers in the proletarian struggle at various historical periods and on experiences in building the political party of the proletariat. Revolutionary struggles have continually enriched and developed the teachings and proven them through practice.

In their lifelong dedication to revolution, Marx and Engels struggled persistently and dedicated their lives toward building the revolutionary political party of the proletariat. They pointed out that the proletariat must consciously form an independent political party before it can operate as a class to insure the victory of the proletarian revolution and achieve the ultimate goal of wiping out classes. The Marxist theory they established

has provided the political party of the proletariat with an incomparably sharp ideological weapon for understanding and transforming the world. They wrote immortal works such as "The Communist Manifesto" and "Critique of the Gotha Program." They also drafted important documents for international proletarian organizations consisting of declarations and rules, which defined the nature of the political party of the proletariat, specified its goals for struggle and outlined its organizational and tactical principles. By so doing, they established the teachings on building the political party of the proletariat.

From the 1890's and particularly after the death of Engels, the revisionist parties of the Second International mutilated and betrayed Marxist theory and politically promoted opportunism and reformism until they degenerated into the appendices of the bourgeoisie. In struggling against opportunists and revisionists of every description at home and abroad, Lenin integrated Marxism with the Russian workers movement and founded the bolsheviks, a new type of revolutionary political party of the proletariat. Summarizing his experience in building the bolsheviks on the fundamental principle of Marxism, Lenin greatly enriched and developed Marxist teachings on building the political party of the proletariat. He pointed out that as the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the party must be the proletariat's leader and organizer and that one must not confuse the party with the proletariat. He contended that Marxism is the theoretical basis of the party and that it is impossible to build a strong political party of the proletariat without revolutionary theory. The party is established on the principle of democratic centralism and therefore it must observe strict discipline. The solidarity and unity of the party provide the basic condition for the victory of the proletariat, and partisan activities must not be permitted within the party. Lenin's comprehensive thesis on the various aspects of the political party of the proletariat forms the scientific system of Marxist-Leninist teachings on party building.

In his struggle against Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev and other members of the antiparty clique that emerged after Lenin's death, Stalin defended Lenin's thesis on the political party of the proletariat.

The CCP was established on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. In leading our party in waging protracted revolutionary struggles, in opposing opportunist and revisionist lines within the party and in combating modern revisionism which is centered on the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, great leader and teacher Chairman Mao summarized both the positive and negative aspects of his party building experiences on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teachings on building the political party of the proletariat. Theoretically, he put forward many new ideas and arrived at many new conclusions. His practical approach to promoting and fostering a whole series of fine traditions and work style for our party greatly enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist teachings on building the political party of the proletariat.

The compilation of the important theses and brilliant concepts of the revolutionary teachers of the proletariat is of great immediate significance in deepening the current struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and in making a success of our party building effort.

In order to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, this group of counterrevolutionaries--Lin Piao and the "gang of four"--for a long time had pointed the spearhead of the struggle at the party founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao. By wantonly wrecking the party ideologically, theoretically, politically, organizationally and in its style of work, they caused great harm and their pernicious influence spread far and wide. They vainly tried to replace Marxist-Leninist teachings on building the political party of the proletariat with the many theoretical fallacies and politically reactionary absurdities they had fabricated, to alter the nature of our party as the advanced detachment of the proletariat and to turn it into a bourgeois fascist party.

In order to undermine our party and alter its nature, Lin Piao and the "gang of our" first pointed the spearhead at our party's guiding ideology. With a sinister motive, Lin Piao put forward what he termed "peak" and "short-cut" theories, asserting that basic Marxist-Leninist theories were "outdated." He did so to oppose studying Marxism-Leninism. In wildly mutilating and opposing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, the "gang of four" vainly tried to replace Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought with their reactionary bourgeois ideological system. They habitually quoted the sayings of the revolutionary teachers to oppose the spirit and essence of the entire theoretical system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. Sometimes they even stripped off all their disguises in openly opposing the basic theories and principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought with their absurd and reactionary concepts and viewpoints.

Lin Piao and the "gang of four" defiantly trampled upon basic Marxist-Leninist concepts of the political party of the proletariat. They totally denied that the party, being the advanced detachment of the proletariat, is the highest organizational form of the proletariat. They did this to deliberately reverse the interrelationships between the political party, the class and the masses; to negate party leadership; to advocate that "the mass movement is naturally rational," to "use mass organizations to replace the party," to "put CCP committees under trade unions," and to call to "make revolution and kick out the CCP committees." Regarding eligibility for CCP membership, the "gang of four" went further than Martov, an opportunist Lenin had previously criticized, advocated that "the rebels have merit and are entitled to join the party." They conferred the title of "advanced elements" on riffraff and criminals and recruited them as party members. They slandered the party's organizational principle of democratic centralism and party discipline as "rules and conventions," carried out antiparty conspiratorial activities in a big way, incited bourgeois factionalism, split party ranks, shouted that "pointing the spearhead at the higher level is the general orientation" and whipped up the evil wind of anarchism. They smeared the party's fine tradition and style of work calling them "the



old rut" while using the utterly corrupt style of work of the landlord and bourgeois classes to seriously erode the party and the thinking of party members.

The counterrevolutionary fallacies Lin Piao and the "gang of four" used to wreck party building fully show that they wanted to transform our political party of the proletariat according to the bourgeois image so as to achieve the sinister objective of usurping party and state power.

On the issue of party building, we must eliminate disorder at the source. To do so, we must first review the teachings of the revolutionary teachers of the proletariat. Secondly, we must seriously and systematically review Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought regarding the teachings on building the political party of the proletariat. Once we clearly understand the basic principle of these teachings and grasp the ideological weapon, we shall be able to completely and theoretically repudiate the counterrevolutionary revisionist fallacies of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," correct the issue of right and wrong they reversed and eliminate their remnant poison and influence. If we do so, we shall be profoundly educated by the teachings on building the political party of the proletariat in the struggle to deeply expose and criticize the "gang of four." With a higher sense of the proletarian party spirit, we shall be able to enhance our ability to distinguish between sham and genuine Marxism.

In his political report at the 11th CCP Congress, wise leader Chairman Hua pointed out that in grasping the key link in running the country well, we must first of all run the party well. The party is the core leading the proletariat and the people throughout the country. Doing well in party consolidation and rectification and strengthening party building on the basis of Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's teachings on party building provide the fundamental guarantees for implementing the line of the 11th CCP Congress, for realizing the strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well put forward by the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and for accomplishing the general task for the new period.

To make party building a success requires raising the party members' level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. Theoretical guidance is essential to successfully consolidate and build our party ideologically, organizationally and in style of work. We must comprehensively and accurately study and grasp Marxist-Leninist teaching on building the political party of the proletariat. We must use the basic principle of this teaching to analyze the actual situation in party organizations and in party life and to distinguish, on the basis of integrating theory with practice, between Marxism and the counterrevolutionary revisionism espoused by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Only thus can we be good at displaying the spirit of daring to destroy and construct. Only then can we smash the spiritual shackles, liberate our thinking, conscientiously solve the problem of impurities in ideology, organization and style of work caused by their sabotage, put party consolidation and building on a firm basis, and restore and promote the party's fine tradition and style of work. Led by the CCP Central

Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we must strive to build party organizations at all levels and transform them into strong citadels in leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses fighting to accomplish the general task for the new period.

We believe that the publication of "Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the Revolutionary Political Party of the Proletariat" will encourage everybody to attach importance to studying the teachings on the political party of the proletariat as well as to further promoting the consolidation and building of our party.

CSO: 4004

TAMPERING WITH PARTY HISTORY IN ORDER TO USURP PARTY AND STATE POWER--ON A  
'PARTY HISTORY' FORGED BY THE 'GANG OF FOUR'

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Jul 78 pp 63-69

[Article by the Mass Criticism Group of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee]

[Text] Acting on the "gang of four's" sinister instructions, the former writing group of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee forged a so-called "party history" entitled "Lectures on the History of the Chinese Communist Party." It was published in two editions and in four formats. It was also condensed into a middle school textbook. Its poison spread far and wide and caused great harm. Like "Socialist Political Economy" and the "Pocket Dictionary of Philosophy" concocted on the "gang of four's" instructions, it is excellent material from which the people throughout the country can learn by negative example in deeply exposing and criticizing the "gang of four."

Esteemed and beloved Vice Chairman Yeh pointed out: "Filled with wild ambitions, the 'gang of four' not only tampered with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought but also adulterated our party's history. They spread a great amount of false propaganda. We should rectify their distortions of history." We must follow this instruction, thoroughly settle the score with the "gang of four" for their counterrevolutionary crime in adulterating our party's history and restore our party's history to its original form. By so doing, we can teach the large number of party members and the masses to carry forward the great cause initiated by Chairman Mao and the other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, promote the party's glorious traditions and fine work style and strict to fulfill the general task for the new period.

I

Forging and distorting the party's history was an important step in the "gang of four's" attempt to usurp party and state power. During the 7-year period after the Ninth National CCP Congress until the eve of the gang's

downfall, they carried out a series of criminal activities to tamper with the party's history. As early as the summer of 1969, Chang Chun-chiao, the gang's sinister brain, came to Shanghai where, under the pretext of discussing the party's history, he blatantly attacked the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and ordered the gang's followers to concoct a "party history." Two years later, in 1971, on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party, the gang put their conspiracy to forge the party's history into action. In May of that year Chang Chun-chiao again came to Shanghai where he revealed a complete, detailed plan for forging the party's history. He said: "For the time being the Central Committee will not compile the party's history. This work can be started by local authorities, and the Central Committee will do something in the future." What he meant by "getting the work started by local authorities" was to have the gang's followers fabricate a history of the party behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee and, when the time was right, to illegally use the party's name to distribute it to the entire party, army and the people throughout the country. At the same time, Chang Chun-chiao told the gang's followers: "I have an ambition-- to write Mao Tse-tung's biography." Was it not strange that the oldtime enemy agent Chang Chun-chiao, who rabidly opposed Chairman Mao, would want to write "Mao Tse-tung's biography"? No, it was not. He thought that by so doing he could disguise himself in order to win fame by deceit so that the gang could seize the opportunity and usurp Supreme party and state leadership. This was clear to everyone.

After painstaking scheming, the chieftain of the former writing group, relying on the "gang of four's" despotic power, set up a "Party History Group" in July 1971 and from then on he "worked openly and on a large scale." For popular consumption, they hung out the signboard "The Compilation and Writing Group of University Teaching Materials on Party History," declaring with a false pretense: "What is being compiled is not a history of the party, but a collection of lectures." They exercised strict control over the compilation and writing personnel, giving them a set of "gang rules" such as: "Do not discuss anything about the group with others," "Do not reveal the relationship between the party history group and the writing group," etc. Thus, after 2 years of efforts, a fabricated "party history" was dished up a month before the convocation of the 10th National CCP Congress. This was a signal by the gang to step up their pace to usurp party and state power. It was applauded by everyone from the "gang's Central Committee" to the gang's followers. The political opportunist Ma Tien-shui "felt happy" when he saw it and, dancing to Chang Chun-chiao's tune, said: "Do not wait for the central authorities to make up their minds. Work may be started by the local authorities first." The gang's follower who was in charge of cultural and educational propaganda in Shanghai said gleefully: "I will attend the 10th party congress with this party history, and I appeal to you to do the same." This was aimed at mounting an attack on the party and reporting their merits to their masters for reward. Indeed, the "party history" was quickly sent to the gang, and every one of them nodded their approval. The chieftain of the former writing group became even more arrogant. He blustered: "This party history has been approved. We may use it without

fear." Feeling reassured and emboldened, he ordered the "history" reprinted in large numbers for use as a college textbook and also had it condensed as a middle-school textbook with more than a million copies printed, vainly attempting to stamp their counterrevolutionary brand on the minds of the young people.

As the "gang of four" quickened their pace to usurp party and state power, this "history" was revised for a second time from July to November 1975. As we know, previously the gang was vigorously engaged in "criticizing Confucianists and evaluating legalists" and opposing "empiricism," viciously pointing the spearhead at esteemed and beloved Premier Chou. Their reactionary arrogance was indeed inflated. Closely following the gang's counterrevolutionary strategy, the chieftain of the former writing group vigorously preached that "the struggle between those worshiping Confucius and those opposing such worship is the focus of the struggle between the two lines inside the party." He blatantly regarded the absurdity--"the struggle between the Confucian and legalist schools has continued to the present --" as the basic clue in compiling the party's history.

In revising the "party history," they tried their utmost to inject into it so-called additions "criticizing Confucius." For instance, in the section introducing "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," they added with an ulterior motive that "Chen Tu-hsiu opposed the revolution with the ideas of Confucius favoring regression and restoration." In a far-fetched manner, it refuted the so-called "doctrine of the golden mean." In the first and second volumes they added the reactionary content of criticizing "empiricism" so as to attack by insinuation Premier Chou and the other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

Having produced two editions of this "party history," the followers of the gang then proposed a plan for compiling and writing a "modern history series." Chang Chun-chiao urged his followers to copy the literary style of "historical records" so as to "write in a lively and concrete manner." Saying that "the wordage need not be restricted," he also urged them to be "careful" to as not to show their cloven hoof. The chieftain of the former writing group faithfully carried out his master's sinister design and proposed the method of "breaking up large forces into scattered groups," saying: "If a locality cannot publish a party history, we may put out pamphlets dealing with separate events, personalities and problems. We may put out 10 to 20 such pamphlets each year. After several years we will have 60-70 pamphlets, which will combine to form a history of the party." Having two volumes of "party history" evolve into 60-70 pamphlets was certainly not a case of "breaking up large forces into scattered groups." Rather, the opposite is true. They not only wantonly engaged in the counterrevolutionary activity of forging a history of the party, but also extended this "history" to cover modern history in order to provide the gang with more ammunition to bombard the party.

Great leader Chairman Mao passed away in September 1976. At this most difficult time for our party and state, the "gang of four" attempted to usurp supreme party and state leadership with one stroke, and their followers' criminal activities in tampering with the party's history reached a new high. In late September, the No 10 issue of "Study and Criticism," the gang's journal, was published ahead of schedule. It carried in serial form "Chairman Mao in the Ching Kang Mountains." This was the first article that fulfilled Chang Chun-chiao's wish to write a "biography of Chairman Mao." His followers cried aloud: "Let us take this opportunity to pave the way for the open publication of the party history." In early October, they came out into the open. In total disregard of the party Central Committee, they ordered Shanghai's publishing houses to rush the "party history" into print for distribution throughout the country in order to prepare public opinion so the gang could launch a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat. However, a wicked person is sure to bring destruction upon himself. The party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua smashed the "gang of four" with one blow. That "party history," which was never published, became evidence of the gang's crimes in attempting to usurp party and state power.

## II

How did the "gang of four" tamper with our party's history? When we take a look at their forged "party history," we will discover that they grossly misrepresented the shining course of our party over the past half a century or so. In tampering with our party's history, they concentrated on distorting and altering Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, opposing Premier Chou and the other proletarian revolutionaries of the other generation, and fanatically flattering and elevating the "gang of four." In the final analysis, the aim was to pave the way for the release of the gang's counterrevolutionary political program.

First, let us look at volume one of this "party history." It was about the history of the new democratic revolution.

In tampering with the party's history, the most cunning method the gang and its followers used was waving the banner of "giving prominence to Chairman Mao" while emasculating the great Mao Tse-tung Thought and distorting the glorious course traveled by our party. Chairman Mao systematically summed up the historical experiences of our party during various periods and drew scientific conclusions on many major events that conformed with historical reality, thereby supplying us with an ideological weapon for the compilation and writing of the party's history. However, the gang and its followers, while loudly chanting "give prominence to Chairman Mao," sang a tune completely opposite to Chairman Mao's theses. The "party history" they blatantly forged denied Chairman Mao's conclusion that during the 4 May Movement there were large numbers of intellectuals with the rudiments of communist ideology, distorted Chairman Mao's assessment of the Nanchang and Canton uprisings, adulterated his thesis on inner-party ideological struggle in

his work "On Contradiction," tampered with his thesis on the counter-campaign against cultural "encirclement and suppression" in "On New Democracy," and so forth. Far from "giving prominence" to Mao Tse-tung Thought, all this willfully trampled on it and radically opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The big chieftain of the former writing group blatantly ordered the editing and writing staff of the "party history": "With the exception of the chairman, there should be as few references as possible to other people." The "other people" he was referring to meant Chairman Mao's close comrades in arms: "Premier Chou, NPC chairman Chu Te and other revolutionaries of the older generation who pioneered the revolutionary cause with Chairman Mao. To begin with, in compiling and writing the party's history, fully acclaiming Chairman Mao's great exploits and fully affirming the outstanding activities of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation are in keeping with each other and mutually complementary. By accurately expounding the heroic exploits of the revolutionaries of the older generation, we can give prominence to Chairman Mao's status as the leader and the decisive role of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in concrete and not abstract terms, truthfully and not falsely. But in the "party history" forged by the gang, as little as possible, even nothing at all, was said about "other people's" activities. This was clearly an attempt to use the method of making a figurehead of Chairman Mao to tamper with the party's history and deny his leadership.

In its very first chapter, this "party history" grossly distorts the party's history in its founding period. In this chapter, no names other than Chairman Mao's were mentioned in connection with the communist groups in various places. Not a single word was said about the branch in Europe led by Comrade Chou En-lai and Comrade Tsai Ho-sen, which at that time had great influence. The contributions made by large numbers of intellectuals with the rudiments of communist ideology to building the party were written off with one stroke. Even though one of our party's founders, Comrade Li Ta-chao, was mentioned, this volume did its best to vilify him. As early as the summer of 1969, Chang Chun-chiao told the gang's followers: "Li Ta-chao can be described as a radical bourgeois democrat." As soon as this absurdity was uttered, the followers picked it up as the "newest viewpoint" and concentrated on spreading it, shouting: "Now is the time to change the assessment that Li Ta-chao was a representative propagating Marxism during the 4 May period." The forged "party history" arbitrarily asserted that Comrade Li Ta-chao was a "radical bourgeois democrat" and "he welcomed the October Revolution from a bourgeois democratic stand." Moreover, through secret correspondence and meetings, they slandered Comrade Li Ta-chao as a "turncoat in his last years." We must reverse the gang's reversal of history. During the 4 May period, Comrade Li Ta-chao was the first to write one militant article after another from the Marxist viewpoint to hail the victory of the October Revolution. As an early communist intellectual, he made indelible historical contributions to the spreading of Marxism and

the founding of our party. His heroic sacrifice for the party and the people on the gallows of the enemy will always be revered by later generations.

The gang and their followers made these false accusations against Comrade Li Ta-chao because they wanted to make a breach in the first chapter of their "party history" from which they could hit hard at many and label the large numbers of early communists during the party's founding period as "bourgeois democrats." Apart from attacking Comrade Li Ta-chao, they often privately expressed their decision "not to recognize the premier as a communist of the early period" but to downgrade him into a "bourgeois intellectual." Thus, in the first part of their "party history," the image of Comrade Li Ta-chao was distorted, the revered name of Premier Chou disappeared, and no reference was made to the names of such well known martyrs as Tsai Ho-sen, Hsiang Ching-yu, Yun Tai-ying and Teng Chung-hsia. They declared: "We may as well mention only Chairman Mao as a general representative because there is no need to mention others by name." This revealed their intentions. On the pretext of "giving prominence to Chairman Mao," they wanted to write off all proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation in the history of our party so as to oppose Chairman Mao. Their intentions were extremely vicious and their methods most despicable.

Distorting the army's history was another significant aspect of the gang's efforts to tamper with the party's history. We all know that our party's leadership in the Chinese revolution was characterized by its use of armed revolution to oppose the armed counterrevolution. In compiling and writing the party's history, it is necessary to explicate the brilliant course of our army's founding and development and the tremendous contributions made by the commanders, fighters and revolutionaries of the older generation who followed Chairman Mao in fighting in the south and north of the country. But the gang, driven by their wolfish ambition to oppose the party and disrupt the army, inserted all sorts of intolerable distortions and adulterations into the army's history. In their fabricated "party history," the Nanchang Uprising was blatantly regarded as a practice of "taking cities as the main target." This was a desperate effort to obliterate the uprising's great historical significance in the army's founding. They also ignored the significance of the Canton uprising which they did not positively assess. All they did was attack it for what they called its "mistake concerning the line."

No denigration of the heroic armed uprisings will be tolerated. After the failure of the vigorous great revolution, our party--having defeated Chen Tu-hsiu's right capitulationist line--held high the red banner of armed revolution, as Chairman Mao pointed out: "Having learned a bitter lesson from the failure of the revolution, the party organized the Nanchang Uprising, the Autumn Harvest Uprising and the Canton Uprising, and entered on a new period, the founding of the Red Army. That was the crucial period in which our party achieved a thorough understanding of the importance of



the army" ("Problems of War and Strategy"). The Nanchang Uprising, launched under the leadership of Comrade Chou En-lai and comrades Chu Te, Ho Lung, Yeh Ting and Liu Po-cheng, signaled the first shot, under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung Thought. In the fight against the Kuomintang reactionaries, it raised a bright banner of armed struggle before the whole party and the people of the whole country. Its general orientation was always correct. After the Autumn Harvest Uprising, Chairman Mao, having summed up both the positive and negative experiences gained during the First Revolutionary Civil War, led the workers and peasants to the Ching kang Mountains, thus opening the road of using the countryside to encircle the cities. This was a great pioneering feat in the history of the proletarian revolution. It is obvious that, when they ignored the course of history and unscrupulously attacked the Nanchang Uprising, the gang was deliberately defaming and discrediting the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

Many proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation in our party came to understand through their own practice that the only correct road to take was the revolutionary road indicated by Chairman Mao, and they followed it at every step. Take Comrade Chu Te, one of the leaders in the Nanchang Uprising, and other old comrades: They lost no time in going to the Ching kang Mountains, where they joined forces with great leader Chairman Mao. Since then, they have always followed him in fighting in the south and north of the country. But, in this "party history," the gang attacked and slandered many old comrades despite the fact that these old comrades had already taken the road of going to the Ching kang Mountains. On the other hand, after writing about a series of armed uprisings involved in setting up rural revolutionary base areas, the gang added this remark: "In particular, the Hengfeng and Koyang uprisings led by Comrade Fang Chih-min implemented Comrade Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary line." This remark was then used to make false accusations against leaders of the other armed uprisings for implementing not Chairman Mao's revolutionary line but a wrong line. What was especially intolerable was that when the "party history" touched on the reorganization of the first and fourth front armies into the left and right route armies after the Maoerhkai meeting, it only said that "the Left Route Army was commanded by Comrade Chu Te, with Chang Kuo-tao as its political commissar," while omitting any reference to Comrade Chu Te's struggle against Chang Kuo-tao's attempt to endanger the party Central Committee, let alone the resolute struggles waged against Chang Kuo-tao by Comrades Jen Pi-shih, Kuan Hsiang-ying and Ho Lung. The gang's criminal intent was to throw indiscriminate accusations at many of the older generation revolutionaries who risked their lives in hard and bloody battles, slandering them as "bourgeois democrats" who implemented the "erroneous line" or as opportunists. It may be recalled that in the early days of the Great Cultural Revolution, the "gang of four," along with Lin Piao, abused our army's leading comrades as "sinister commanders," "old rightists," "warlords" and "bandits." Isn't it clear now that this "party history" precisely suited the counterrevolutionary needs of the "gang of four"?

Based on their ulterior motive, the gang and their followers also asserted that "it is essential to give prominence to Chairman Mao's military line and his thinking in military affairs, but no prominence should be given to the role of the commanders." What absurd logic! It goes without saying that Chairman Mao's military line has played a decisive role in our army's struggle against the enemy. Nevertheless, it is the masses of commanders and fighters who implemented it by displaying their sharp wisdom and heroic spirit in many fierce battles, and it is through their fighting experiences that the correctness of Chairman Mao's military line has been further demonstrated. But this "party history" separated Chairman Mao's military line from the masses of commanders and fighters who implemented it. When it described the Huai-Hai Campaign, it made no mention whatsoever of Vice Chairman Teng and Comrades Liu Po-cheng, Chen I, Tan Chen-lin and Su Yu. When it touched on the Peiping-Tientsin Campaign, there was not a single word about Comrades Lo Jung-huan and Nieh Jung-chen. As for the vast numbers of army cadres who fought bitterly against the enemy on the battlefields, they did not deserve any mention at all. Isn't it clear whether they gave prominence to Chairman Mao's military line and concepts or negated them!

Another serious crime of the gang in tampering with the party's history was their total negation of the revolutionary struggle waged under the party's leadership in areas controlled by the Kuomintang and their obliteration of the tremendous contributions made by the cadres fighting in these white areas. The Chinese revolution, that surged with tremendous momentum included, in addition to the first frontline where the enemy's positions were stormed by armed struggle, the second frontline in the white areas where the mass struggle was waged. Without the worker movement, the student movement and the patriotic democratic movement, without a broad united front that encompassed the majority of the nation's people, there could not possibly have been a victorious new democratic revolution. But Chang Chun-chiao ranted about such nonsense as: "You should not write about the worker movement, the student movement and the youth movement in the cities. Weren't you workers and students in Shanghai liberated by the peasants? What is the point of writing about you! My consistent position is that we should not write about urban struggles in the white areas." What a "consistent position" indeed: This is a confession that Chang Chun-chiao, who long ago sold his body and soul to the Kuomintang reactionaries, "consistently" opposed the Chinese revolution.

We all know that Chairman Mao set forth the correct policy and tactics for our party's struggle on the second frontline. The party's great achievements made in revolutionary work in areas under the Kuomintang's control greatly facilitated the victorious advance of the revolutionary war. Of particular significance was the fact that, during the war of resistance against Japan and the initial period of the liberation war, our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou courageously defied the danger in a tiger's lair by fighting in areas controlled by the Kuomintang. Along with Vice Chairman

Yeh and Comrades Tung Pi-we and Lin Po-chu, he upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, restored and established powerful underground party organizations, and led the worker movement, the student movement and the patriotic democratic movement--thereby performing immortal exploits in establishing, consolidating and expanding the revolutionary united front, among other things. Adhering to Chang Chun-chiao's sinister instruction, this "party history" contained almost nothing about the party's work in the Kuomintang-controlled areas. The purpose was to negate the history of struggle waged by Premier Chou and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation on this frontline. As for the fallacy that "nothing should be written about the wrong line," it was merely a bad excuse. Wang Ming's "left" opportunist line in fact appeared at one time during the revolutionary struggle in the Kuomintang-ruled areas, but this line was rectified under the leadership of Premier Chou and other revolutionaries of the older generation during the war of resistance against Japan. Even though Wang Ming's erroneous line caused the failure of some struggles and the heroic deaths of many cadres and revolutionary people in prison cells or on execution grounds, the stories of their struggle should not be obliterated. The wrong line should be blamed on opportunist chieftains, not on party members, cadres and other people. The aim of the gang in deliberately creating confusion over the "impermissibility of writing about the wrong line" was to write off with one stroke the heroic and unyielding struggle waged for decades against the Kuomintang reactionaries by the masses of people in the white areas under the party's leadership, and, in particular, to give vent to their deepseated hatred for the revolutionaries of the older generation represented by Premier Chou who made tremendous contributions while working in the white areas.

In the above three respects, namely, from the 4 May period to the war of liberation, from the founding of the party to the founding of the army, and from the rural revolutionary base areas to the revolutionary struggle in the white areas, a sinister thread ran through the "party history" from beginning to end: By hoisting the banner of "giving prominence to Chairman Mao," it opposed Chairman Mao and attacked the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and the vast numbers of veterans cadres as "bourgeois democrats" or opportunists guilty of following a "wrong line," thereby providing the historical basis for the reactionary formula of "equating veteran cadres to 'democrats'." This historical basis was entirely fabricated.

### III

If the first volume of this "party history" sinisterly charged that "old cadres are 'democrats,'" then the second volume devoted to the socialist period (up to the eve of the Great Cultural Revolution) had two aims: 1) to advocate that "veteran cadres" were bound to turn into "capitalist roaders"; and 2) to prepare public opinion for the rise of the "gang of four" to power. Such adulterations fully expose the gang's ugly pipedream of a "dynastic change."

The "party history" tampered with the history of the socialist period in an all-round way. Based on the theory of "the dictatorship of the sinister line," a theory dished up by the gang in collusion with Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta, it vigorously proclaimed that in the 17 years since the founding of China the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat. It alleged: "The revisionist line dominated the sphere of education for a long time." It said that "a counterrevolutionary dictatorship was imposed on the proletariat and public opinion was prepared for the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship" in the academic, educational, journalistic, literary and art and publishing circles. It also said that the "Soviet revisionist methods" were still being followed in many industries and in capital construction work. With this keynote set in the "party history" and the theory of the "dictatorship of a sinister line" applied in all other areas, it would then follow that the bright red chapter of the history of new China in the 17 years since liberation could only be painted in dark colors, and the socialist superstructure and economic base would also be negated. There is a big trap here. Since it was a "sinister line" which dominated during those 17 years, the vast majority of cadres must have been persons in power taking the capitalist road and implementing the "sinister line." If this was the case, there must have been many capitalist roaders. One could also conclude that old cadres would inevitably become "capitalist roaders" after becoming "democrats."

With a view to branding veteran cadres as "capitalist roaders" and putting them to death, the "party history" waving the banner of "carrying out the struggle between the two lines," willfully confused the two different types of contradictions in the course of the two-line struggle and tackled the contradictions among the people as if they were contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. For instance, dealing with the Third National Rural Work Conference held in May 1955, it pretentiously criticized the "right opportunists within the party" who were in fact cadres who made the mistakes in line which were in the nature of contradictions among the people. At that time, Chairman Mao not only made strict demands on these comrades but also cherished and cared for them, thinking that if they corrected their mistakes, all would be fine. However, this "party history," basically defying Chairman Mao's doctrine on inner-party struggle, deliberately blurred the distinction between contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and those among the people, lashing out at these old comrades as "Liu Shao-chi's accomplices." This was done entirely to meet the needs of the "gang of four" in pushing their counterrevolutionary political program.

The fact was that under Chairman Mao's leadership, many of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation in our party performed immortal and tremendous exploits during the protracted revolutionary wars. They have also made great contributions to the cause of socialist revolution and construction. To strengthen the gang's contention that old cadres were "capitalist roaders," the "party history" blatantly used the tactics of mud slinging and slandering. It only casually mentioned the important revolutionary activities carried out by Premier Chou during the period of socialism.

The names of the party and state leaders including Chu Te, Tung Pi-we, Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien, Chen I, Ho Lung and Li Fu-chun all disappeared, and their meritorious efforts in closely following Chairman Mao to continue the revolution were completely written off.

The "gang of four" resorted to all despicable means to tamper with the party's history. Their despicable means boiled down to one point--this bunch of maggots first ate the content of the party's history hollow and then filled it in with themselves. Although Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching wormed their way into the party during the democratic revolution period, it would be difficult to associate their names with the party's solemn history. This is why they used that portion of party and state power they had usurped, as well as the mass media under their control, to give themselves such laurels as "representatives of the correct line," "standard bearers of the revolution in literature and art" and "Marxist-Leninist theorists." It seemed as if the revolutionary cause initiated by Chairman Mao, Premier Chou, NPC Chairman Chu and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation should be taken over by these revisionists who boasted of "holding high" and "followed closely." Naturally, this was nothing but a beautiful dream.

The followers of the "gang of four" repeatedly clamored for "more writings on Chiang Ching." However, since Chiang Ching had neither outstanding military exploits nor political achievements, what could people write about her? Then, they used the blueprint they had designed long before to magnify Chiang Ching's image with "close-ups" by stressing what they called "the struggle in the ideological sphere." First, in the chapter dealing with the democratic revolution, they devoted a special section to the "cultural front" in the 1930's. In this section, they alleged that there had been a "sinister line" in literature and art during that period. Chiang Ching shouted at the top of her lungs that she had sided with Lu Hsun in those years. She advertised herself as having struggled against this "sinister line." By completely negating the literature and art of the 1930's, the "party history" attempted to prepare public opinion for Chiang Ching's assumption of power. Therefore, the name of Chiang Ching appeared as many as 10 times in the second and last volumes of the "party history." The criticism of "Inside Story of the Ching Court," "The Life of Wu Hsun" and "Studies of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" was all credited to Chiang Ching. What a shame! Chiang Ching consistently worshipped foreign things and fawned upon foreigners. Her fate being linked with those of Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi and Wu Hsun. How could she be expected to criticize these reactionary films advocating national betrayal and capitulationism? We all know that since the founding of the PRC all major struggles in the ideological sphere had been initiated by Chairman Mao himself. It was Chairman Mao who found that "'Inside Story of the Ching Court' was a film of national betrayal." It was he who wrote for the PEOPLE'S DAILY the editorial entitled "We Should Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film 'The Life of Wu Hsun.'" It was also he who personally wrote

the "Letter Concerning the Studies of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" to the comrades of the Political Bureau and other comrades concerned. However, the "party history" alleged that Chiang Ching "promoted" all these major struggles. In making such an allegation, they obviously directed their spearhead at great leader Chairman Mao and prepared counterrevolutionary public opinion for Chiang Ching's assuming office as "empress."

What is more serious is that when this "party history" was revised and reprinted in 1975, they further upgraded Chiang Ching by advertising her as "having directly led the great struggles in the ideological sphere" since the 10th plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee, although she was not even a member of the 8th CCP Central Committee. This allegation is as strange as the fabrication that Lin Piao joined forces with Chairman Mao in the Ching Kang Mountains. But they still feared that they had not said all they wanted to say. In the concluding part of the final chapter, the "party history" particularly mentioned that "the proletariat first mounted an offensive in the ideological fields long dominated by Liu Shao-chi and company, such as the Peking Opera, the ballet and symphony orchestra. Through arduous struggle, important achievements were gained "which prepared the groundwork for the great cultural revolution." Finally, "as an inevitable full-scale battle between the two classes, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was about to unfold in an all-round way." Since they credited the "important achievements" to Chiang Ching, it was obvious that with the advent of the Great Cultural Revolution, the "empire" was to be inherited by Chiang Ching.

Counterrevolutionaries who pretend to be revolutionaries are more deceptive and dangerous than those who openly carry out counterrevolutionary activities. As far as the history of the party is concerned, the "gang of four" a bunch of anti-Marxist swindlers who claimed to be "leftists" holding the banner of the "revolution," carried out unprecedented counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities in the realm of the party's history. They not only wantonly reversed right and wrong regarding the struggle between the two lines within the party and distorted historical facts, but also fundamentally confused the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and mixed the spurious with the genuine. We must rectify the reversal of the party's history by the gang and distinguish right from wrong politically and theoretically. In response to the call of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, we must assiduously study the history of our party. May the history of the Chinese Communist Party that has shone in all its splendor for more than half a century light our way in closely following Chairman Hua on the new Long March.

CSO: 4004

STRIVE TO MAKE A SUCCESS OF 'HSIN HSIANG PING LUN' TO SERVE THE REALIZATION OF THE GENERAL TASK OF THE NEW ERA

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Jul 78 pp 70-73

[Article by the Editorial Department of HSIN HSIANG PING LUN]

[Text] RED FLAG Editor's Note:

This article by the Editorial Department of HSIN HSIANG PING LUN summarized the experience of the past year or more in running a theoretical publication and proposed measures for further improvement. It deserves our perusal. The growing success of the publication was mainly due to their consistent attention on raising high Chairman Mao's great banner, closely following the strategic arrangement of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and adhering to the correct direction. The leading comrades of the provincial committee showed a great interest in the publication, not only providing a clear policy for editorial work, but also personally examining the manuscripts and taking the lead to write articles. They closely coordinated the propaganda of basic theories and the intensive exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," and adhered to combining theory and practice, giving attention to local characteristics while also vigorously raising the theoretical level. Such experiences possess a universal significance for the theoretical publications of all provinces and municipalities. Since smashing the "gang of four," many areas have resumed or created theoretical publications, reflecting a flourishing new atmosphere on the theoretical front. Nevertheless, certain provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions have not resumed or created such publications. Our wise leader Chairman Hua time and again stressed the importance of the party's theoretical work on party building and realizing the general

task of the socialist revolution and construction in the new era. The experiences of HSIN-HSIANG P'ING-LUN deserve the serious attention of the leading comrades of the provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional party committees. Those provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions without theoretical publications must start them. Those which have such publications must summarize their experiences and raise the theoretical level. All theoretical publications must implement the revolutionary and critical policy of combining theory and practice proposed by the Party Central Committee, undertake the task of propagandizing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought completely and accurately, and produce their proper effect in the current struggle to intensively expose and criticize the "gang of four" and realize the general task of the new era.

[End of RED FLAG Editor's Note]

HSIN HSIANG PING LUN is a theoretical publication of the Chinese Communist Party Hunan Provincial Committee which our great leader and mentor Chairman Mao personally approved and wrote an inscription for. It was started in 1960. After smashing the "gang of four," the Chinese Communist Hunan Provincial Committee, pursuant to our wise leader Chairman Hua's important directive to "succeed in newspaper theoretical propaganda and in theoretical publications," made the "Decision on Resuming the Publication of HSIN HSIANG PING LUN." After publication was resumed, it received the serious attention of the party committee, which not only clarified its main tasks and editorial policy, but also conscientiously scrutinized the major articles for each and every issue. The responsible comrades of the party committee also took the lead to write articles for the publication. Under the concrete and correct guidance of the provincial committee and its propaganda department, the editorial department of the publication, in the past year or more, performed some work in theoretical propaganda and study. By June this year, HSIN HSIANG PING LUN had published 18 issues, amounting to over 1.63 million words, with 308 original articles and 31 reprints, totaling 339. The 308 original articles extolled the great achievements of our great leader and mentor Chairman Mao, eulogized the brilliant revolutionary practice of our wise leader Chairman Hua in Hunan, discussed impressions in the study of Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, exposed and criticized the "gang of four" from the philosophical, political-economic, and scientific socialist aspects, reflected the national economic construction of our province, described party building, commemorated the revolution, and expounded other subjects. After the successful Fifth National People's Congress, the publication placed a relatively greater stress on the propaganda of the new constitution



and the general task of the new era. Such articles expressed the deep feelings of the party, government, military, and civilians of the entire province for the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation such as Chairman Mao, Premier Chou, and Committee chairman Chu Teh and their boundless devotion to our wise leader Chairman Hua; they demonstrated the determination of the soldiers and people of the entire province to follow the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and struggle courageously for the realization of the general task of the new era; they reflected, from different aspects, the results gained by the party committees of all levels and the broad worker-peasant-soldier masses and theoretical workers in studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought and criticizing the "gang of four's" counter-revolutionary ultra-right revisionist line and their reactionary theories in conjunction with the struggle practice of grasping the keypoint to rule the nation on all fronts. Among the articles, some possessed a certain theoretical coloring, but most of them expounded certain Marxist-Leninist and Mao Tse-tung viewpoints by combining theory and practice, criticized certain fallacies of the "gang of four," or discussed the experience of a certain aspect in practical work to guide the current socialist revolution and construction. The writers included responsible comrades of the party committees of all levels, worker-peasant-soldier masses, and specialized theoretical workers, old, adult, and young. From the published articles and the large numbers of not yet accepted manuscripts, one can see that, since the smashing of the "gang of four," the thinking of the cadres and masses of the entire province has been liberated, the study atmosphere has been greatly activated, and a new vigor in theoretical and research work has emerged. A proletarian theoretical army is rapidly maturing in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four."

In the past year or more, the editing, publishing, and distributing work of the publication ceaselessly improved, and the quality of the articles gradually rose. Since the beginning of this year, the number of original articles has been growing. Besides reprinting two of Chairman Mao's unpublished articles, Issue Number 1 consisted entirely of original articles. In layout, such special columns as "Party Life," "Selected Manuscripts," "Minor Criticisms," "Short Criticisms," "Impressions of Study," and "Study Reference Material" were gradually added. In style, attention was given to simplicity and conciseness. Last year, each issue averaged 16 articles, but this year, the 6 issues averaged 24 per issue. The circulation of the publication gradually rose. At the beginning, it was over 40,000 copies, but by the end of last year, it reached 220,000 copies. From the first quarter this year, it was stabilized at around 274,000 copies.

While devoting our main energy to the success of the publication, we also, under the aid of the units concerned, organized forces and formed special teams to study and write articles on four special subjects. These special subjects were:

"Chairman Mao's Youth;"

"Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Household;"

"Peasants' Philosophy Reader;"

"Popular Lectures on Political Economy (Socialist Portion)."

Investigation and study were started on "Chairman Mao's Youth" since May of last year. Currently, revision on the second draft has been completed.

Investigation and study on "Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Household" were started in February of last year. Up to now, the parts on Patriots Yang Kai-hui, Mao Tse-chien, Mao Tse-min, Mao Tse-tan, and Mao An-ying have been published and the biography of Patriot Mao Chu-hsiung has been drafted. The readers showed a strong reaction to the biographies of the patriots: Some wrote letters and poems to extol, others sent money for copies, some drama groups rewrote the deeds of Patriot Yang Kai-hui into a play, and some motion picture studios prepared to revise it into a movie script. Some also intended to edit the deeds of Patriot Mao Tse-chien into a play.

Investigation and study on "Peasants' Philosophy Reader" began in July last year. The preliminary draft of the 22 lectures of the book has been completed, and is currently under revision.

"Popular Lectures on Political Economy (Socialist Portion)" are in the process of being organized and written, and the preliminary draft will be completed in the third quarter of this year.

Hunan was the home of Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao led and pursued a series of great revolutionary struggles in his youth. Studying and writing "Chairman Mao's Youth" and "Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Household" and the biographies of other revolutionary patriots who sacrificed their lives for the revolution are the nondelegable glorious yet arduous mission of Hunan's theoretical workers. That we selected these subjects was because we wanted to conduct an education of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and thought, of the revolutionary tradition, and of the revolutionary theory and revolutionary future on the masses by propagandizing the practical revolutionary activi-

ties and brilliant mind of Chairman Mao in his youth and the deeds of his revolutionary household and other revolutionary patriots, raise even higher Chairman Mao's great banner, closely follow our wise leader Chairman Hua in the long expedition, and prosecute the revolutionary cause created by Chairman Mao and the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation to the final end. To perform this solemn propaganda work, we stressed, in the process of study and drafting, conscientious investigation and meticulous collection of material. The objectives of our investigation were first, historical information, including Chairman Mao's articles in his early years, relevant documents of the party and all kinds of relevant publications of that time, and relevant articles and works published after liberation and next, individuals understanding and familiar with the situation, including negative figures as well as revolutionary comrades. On the foundation of extensive investigation, we conscientiously analyzed and studied, discarding the coarse and retaining the essence, and discarding the false and retaining the true. In regard to the data gathered by us, including relevant material published in recent years and especially verbal information, we made solemn and conscientious assessments to determine their reliability. For instance, in recent, as well as previous, articles, it was said that Chairman Mao read the entire "Communist Manifesto" in a Lama temple in Peking in January 1920. After discovering that the "Communist Manifesto" was not translated into Chinese until March 1920 and published in April and that the propaganda in the past was not compatible with the historical facts, we resolutely discarded the information. Or, in regard to the sacrifice of Patriot Yang Kai-hui, there were many theories, which were quite inaccurate. After going through large volumes of historical data, we found the reliable information that Comrade Yang K'ai-hui was actually killed by the reactionaries at 1 pm on 14 November 1930, and we clarified the confusion of the past on the subject. We vigorously attempted to depict the development process of the mind of the figures. The two patriot biographies in "Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Household" first published did not stress the point sufficiently. The three patriot biographies published subsequently reinforced it somewhat, but it was vigorously demonstrated in "Chairman Mao's Youth."

"Peasants' Philosophy Reader" was a popular publication on peasant philosophy written by the People's Publishing House. In the process of studying and writing, we gave attention to the following four issues: (1) In reader objectives, we decided that the book would mainly aim at the rural basic level cadres, women, backbone militia, and young intellectuals sent to the countryside. (2) We took Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking, especially "on Practice," "On Contradiction," and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," [as the guiding thought.] Prior to writing the book,

the writing group conscientiously studied such articles and selectively compiled the discourses of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Chairman Mao on philosophical issues. (3) Pinpointing at the "gang of four's" idealism and metaphysics, we selected and compiled the relevant fallacies of the "gang of four" as the target of criticism. (4) We strove to make the book popular and easy to understand and used language familiar to the peasants. For this reason, we cited some proverbs which were widely circulated among them.

To adapt to the need of intensifying the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," the need of the impending new high tide of the national economy, and the demand of the broad cadre masses, and to develop the effect of theoretical workers, we decided to hold political economic lectures and propagandize the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's economic theories. This work has just been started. We will pursue it actively and produce results as soon as possible.

The year 1978 is an important one to realize the 3-year project of grasping the keypoint to rule the nation, as well as a year for the courageous struggles of the hundreds of millions of soldiers and civilians to perform the general task of the new era. All occupations and fields are confronted with the glorious yet arduous task of vigorous work and rapid advance. Striving hard to succeed in running HSIN HSIANG PING LUN, turning it into a publication possessing the unique characteristics of Hunan and gradually catching up with the national theoretical level, so that it can better serve the struggle to realize the general task of the new era, to enliven the theoretical work of our province, and to reflect the results of theoretical studies, is the responsibility of our theoretical publication as well as the demand of the broad party members, cadres, and masses of the entire province. To succeed in running the HSIN HSIANG PING LUN, our general guiding thought hereafter remains to be: Continuing and developing Chairman Mao's glorious tradition when he created the HSIN HSIANG PING LUN in our province in 1919, raising even higher the great red banner of Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Tse-tung Thought, closely following the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, vigorously serving the socialist revolution and construction, and fully developing its fighting effect. Aiming at this goal, we plan to accomplish the following:

First, we will continue to study and propagandize vigorously the outstanding achievements of our great leader and mentor Chairman Mao and spread the brilliant revolutionary practice of our wise leader Chairman Hua. The study of Chairman Mao's outstanding achievements, including his revolutionary practices in Hunan in his early years, is an important component in the study of his ideological system. Be-

sides continuing our effort in the research and writing of "Chairman Mao's Youth" and "Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Household" and producing results as soon as possible, we plan to continue publication of articles commemorating and extolling his outstanding achievements. Our wise leader Chairman Hua worked for more than 2 decades in Hunan and devoted a tremendous effort to the socialist revolution and construction of our province. To study and propagandize his brilliant revolutionary practice is our nondelegable task. We plan to continue publication of articles in this aspect hereafter and become even more successful in propagandizing Chairman Hua's work.

Next, we will vigorously propagandize the new constitution and the general task of the new era. The publication will continue to publish articles propagandizing the new constitution and the general task of the new era from different aspects. Meanwhile, by combining theory and practice, we will conscientiously summarize the typical experiences created on all fronts in the struggle to realize the general task of the new era. Through propaganda, the new constitution and the general task of the new era will become known to each and every household and individual, and the cadre masses throughout the province will, with a new attitude, energy, and work style, take new steps on the road of the continuous long expedition and make new contributions to the realization of the general task of the new era.

Thirdly, we will strengthen the propaganda of the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles and clarify the right and wrong of the theories, ideologies, and lines disrupted by the "gang of four." In recent years, the "gang of four," on the fundamental theoretical issues of philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism, completely revised Marxism and created a chaos. Rectifying the theoretical confusion and purging their remnant poison remain an arduous task. Besides continuing our effort on the "Peasants' Philosophy Reader" and the socialist portion of the political economic lectures, we plan to continue publishing some theoretical and critical articles propagandizing the fundamental Marxist principles with analysis and insight and criticizing the "gang of four's" counter-revolutionary revisionist fallacies.

Fourthly, we will implement the policy of "let 100 schools of thought contend" and continue to improve the layout and the writing style. Theoretical issues, especially those that are controversial, must undergo discussions before they can be gradually clarified. In answer to the situation, we plan to make some improvements in the layout. Besides starting some special columns, suitably increasing the number of short articles, and reinforcing the vividness and informative quality of the articles, we plan to organize certain discussions of theoretical issues and publish some articles with a viewpoint, analysis and material.

LEARN THE TACHING AND TACHAI SPIRIT, MAKE A SUCCESS OF COMMERCIAL WORK

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Jul 78 pp 74-78

[Article by the theoretical group of Ministry of Commerce]

[Text] Under the direct concern and guidance of our wise leader Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee, the National Conference to Learn from Taching and Tachai in Finance and Trade has been successfully convened. This is a great event on the finance-trade front. To realize the general task of the new era, we must, in accordance with Chairman Hua's bright inscription for the conference, conscientiously learn the Taching and Tachai spirit and perform commerce work successfully, so that the socialist commerce will truly serve as the promoter of the great leap forward of the national economy, the efficient quartermaster in the new long expedition, and the intimate of the masses.

The general task of the new era requires the high speed development of China's national economy, building our country into a modern socialist power in agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology within this century. According to the 10-year outline for the development of the national economy passed by the Fifth National People's Congress and the plan for the 23 years hereafter, commerce work will face many new situations and solve many new issues.

With the rapid development of industry and agriculture, the socialist commodity production and exchange will expand continuously. By 1985, the planned grain output will reach 800 billion catties, and all kinds of economic crops will also make relatively large gains; therefore, the purchase volumes of commodity grain and other agricultural and supplementary products will rise on a large scale. With the adoption of new science, skills, raw material, and technology, the machine, chemical fiber, plastics, and electronics industries will

supply large quantities of colorful daily need articles of good quality and low cost. Urban and rural markets will further flourish.

With the growth in the purchase volumes of agricultural and supplementary products and the increase in the total amount of wages, urban purchasing power and commodity demand will further rise. This calls for the close coordination between the commerce units and other departments concerned in analyzing and studying the purchasing power and the growth trend of commodity demand. They must give special attention in studying the demand and supply of grain, major supplementary food products, and major industrial articles, participate in production planning, and render active guidance to consumption, so that the balance between commodity supply and purchasing power is preserved, especially between the supply and demand of major consumer goods.

With the construction of 120 large industrial projects, a group of new industrial bases and medium and small cities will emerge, while the existing cities will also undergo a transformation. The number of staff and workers, especially that of two-earner households, will gradually increase. The broad staff and worker masses urgently desire the socialization of household labor such as cooking, sewing, laundry, and repairs now handled by the households individually. This calls for the vigorous development of food and beverage and service industries, the creation of certain new fields, and the gradual mechanization and modernization of manual labor now performed in the food and beverage and service industries.

With the introduction of foreign technology and the increase in import equipment and export resources, domestic and foreign resource exchange will expand continuously. For this reason, the units of all levels in charge of domestic commerce must start from the overall situation, closely coordinate with the foreign trade units, and supply export resources in support of foreign trade and export. Only when our export resources increase and our international payment capacity grows will we be able to import more new technology and equipment, in order to serve the four modernizations.

All these indicate that, with the advance of the four modernizations and the increase in industrial and agricultural output, we must develop commerce correspondingly. Marx said: "In commodity production, circulation is just as essential as production itself; therefore, those in charge of circulation are just as essential as those engaged in production." ("On Capital," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Volume 24, page 144). Our great leader and mentor Chairman Mao said: "Our emphasis must be placed on production development, but developing production and improving the people's life must both be given

consideration." ("Opposing the Bourgeois Ideology inside the Party"). When discussing how to realize the four modernizations, the comrades of the various industries and professions will always bring up the problems of food and clothes on the road of the long expedition. We find that these problems are closely linked with the new long expedition. Thus, there is a new demand on our commerce work, which is also a great support and encouragement. It makes us further understand that success in quartermaster work will serve to promote the new long expedition while the lack of success will affect the smooth realization of the four modernizations.

Since the founding of the nation, with the development of industrial and agricultural production and the expansion of domestic and foreign trade, China's socialist commerce has continuously expanded and grown, making positive contributions to the people's living and the proletarian dictatorship. Nevertheless, in recent years, the unfavorable results on commerce work created by the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage are also very grave. Primarily, the "gang of four" confused man's thinking. They recklessly obliterated the essential distinction between socialist and capitalist commodity production, accused China's current commodity system as "protecting the old bourgeoisie while breeding a new one," and attempted to fundamentally eliminate the socialist commodity production and circulation. They waved the big stick of the "theory of production force only," sabotaged industrial and agricultural production, and created the shortage of certain commodities in the market, the reduction in variety, and the lowering of quality. They also clamored that "good service will lead to revisionism" and produced an undesirable influence on the attitude and quality of service of certain commerce work personnel. They themselves disregarded party discipline and state law, trampled underfoot the regulations and systems, recklessly wasted state property, instigated the evil trend of special privileges and back-door dealing, corrupted man's mind, and disrupted the relations between the party and the masses. Under their support and protection, the class enemies took advantage of certain defects and weak links in our commodity exchange work, and vigorously engaged in speculation, corruption, and theft, creating a capitalist inundation in some areas. The "gang of four" was the ringleaders in disrupting commerce work. To perform commerce work successfully, we must continue to intensively expose and criticize them, grasp the problems producing the biggest influence on commerce work, investigate the dangers and damages, purge the remnant poison, and bring order to the chaos, in order to liberate the broad commerce staff and workers from their spiritual shackles and enable them to perform commerce work with a greater positivity and creativity. Meanwhile, in conjunction with the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must



further strengthen market management, strictly follow the regulations and systems, and vigorously check speculative, corrupt, and thieving activities.

For the general task of the new era, we must conscientiously implement the overall policy of "developing the economy and ensuring supplies" in commerce work, learn the Taching and Tachai spirit, actively support the high speed development of industry and agriculture, and serve the people's living heart and soul. The demands of the masses on commerce consist mainly of three things: Availability of the articles needed; relatively convenient locations to do their shopping and use the service facilities; relatively good service attitude and quality. Their demands are reasonable.

Primarily, the masses ask that commerce supply commodities of adequate quantity and variety and of good quality and low cost. Commerce must actively promote the development of industry and agriculture and devote its effort to supporting production. The commerce units must, in coordination with the departments concerned, vigorously realize the balance of commodity supply and social purchasing power, so that the people's daily needs can be basically satisfied. They must do their best to make the varieties complete and the quality up to state standards for the physical and mental wellbeing of the people.

Many of the commerce units have made very big achievements in promoting production and accumulated much experience. The Ning-hsiang County Meat and Aquatic Products Corporation of Hunan Province is an advanced model. Following Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's directive while he was working in Hunan, the staff and workers attained the stage where "those slaughtering hogs take charge of hog raising," participated in and organized production, and performed much concrete work in helping the communes and brigades implement policies, solve the feed problem, and carry out epidemic control and superior variety selection. Under their promotion, the county, for 7 successive years, realized the goal of 1 hog per capita and 1 hog per mou. The number of hogs purchased by the state in 1977 reached 440,000 head. On the foundation of developing production, the commerce units also completed their tasks in an outstanding manner. We must conscientiously learn the experiences of Ninghsiang county, fully develop the effect of the commerce units, and vigorously support the development of industrial and agricultural production.

In supporting agriculture, we must concretely assure the supply of industrial articles to the rural villages and the purchase of agricultural products. We must firmly implement the party's rural economic policies and bring into full play the socialist enthusiasm of the broad com-

mune members, in order to promote a relatively large growth in grain output and all kinds of agricultural and supplementary products. We must especially, together with the units concerned, voluntarily create commodity bases for grain, oil, sugar, traditional medicinal herbs, hogs, cattle, and sheep, building such bases and supplying the commodities as rapidly as possible. While further promoting the production of domestic animals and fowl in the suburbs, the commerce and grain units of large cities must, together with the livestock units, successfully create mechanized or semi-mechanized hog and chicken farms, raise more meat and dairy cattle, and elevate the self-sufficiency level of meat, fowl, and eggs. Mechanized hog and chicken raising is quite different from raising them by individual households. We must, in coordination with the units concerned, strengthen the scientific research work on feed, open up feed sources, organize feed collection, processing, and supply, and reinforce epidemic control, in order to adapt to the need of the rapid development of collective animal raising.

In supporting industry, the main things are to bring close the cooperation between industry and commerce, perform successfully the work of raw material supply and products purchasing, voluntarily participate in studying, report the opinions of the masses, and urge the industrial units to complete the state plans according to the specified quality, quantity, and variety. In the next 2 or 3 years, we must, together with the industrial units, give special attention to attaining self-sufficiency in general light industrial articles in the provinces and autonomous regions, rapidly changing the situation of long-distance shipping of such general merchandise as ink, paste, and matches, solving the shortages of the people's daily need articles such as light bulbs, batteries, and detergents, and remedying the condition of inferior quality, high cost, lack of variety, and obsolete style of certain commodities. As China's handicraft has a long history, many of its products are closely linked with the people's life, and others are well-known inside and outside the country, we must develop it vigorously. Not only for export, but we must also supply the need of the domestic market. We must actively urge the industrial units to adopt new techniques, raw material, and technology and produce new patterns and varieties, in order to enrich the people's life. We must, in coordination with the industrial units, strengthen commodity inspection and promote the continuous improvement of quality.

The commerce units also directly manage industries employing hundreds of thousands and producing large volumes of commodities. These plants must conscientiously learn from Tach'ing and successfully handle production. The Second Flour Mill of Tsingtao City, with old equipment of the 1930's, persevered in learning from Taching for 13

years, completed the state plan according to the specified quality and quantity year after year, and maintained the national advanced level in such major indicators as power consumption and cost. At the time when the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage were most rampant, the plant remained free from confusion and stoppage--no confusion in the leadership team, staff and worker ranks, or enterprise management, and no stoppage of production. It is an excellent model. The plants under our commerce units must conscientiously learn its experiences and make more contributions to the state and the people.

On the foundation of production development, the amount of commodities has increased. The wholesale enterprises of the commerce units must successfully handle the distribution of commodities among areas, between the city and the village, and among retailers. The retailers must actively organize merchandise procurement, make all items available, correctly implement the commodity supply policy of the state, and strictly prohibit back-door dealing, so that all kinds of commodities are supplied to the broad masses adequately and rationally. The commerce units of all levels and the commercial enterprises of all categories must, under the principle of correctly implementing the state policies and plans, vigorously expand commodity circulation, adhere to the policy of diligent and thrifty operation, strengthen economic accounting, improve operation and management, submit more profit to the state, and make contributions to the realization of the four modernizations.

Nationally creating commerce and service networks and points is an important issue in commerce work requiring conscientious solution. This issue has become ever more prominent in recent years. At the party's 2d Central Plenum of the 8th Session in 1956, Chairman Mao pointed out: "There is a problem in the construction of the past several years. As described by some comrades, attention is given only to the 'bone,' not much to the 'flesh.' The plants and machine equipment have been installed, but urban construction and service facilities have not been created correspondingly. It will be a big problem in the future." In some of the cities and new industrial and mining areas at present, the relations between the "bone" and the "flesh" are either not very harmonious or very disharmonious. Take commerce work for instance: The people complain most about the lack of adequate service networks and points. The population of some cities has grown in doubles compared with that at the beginning of the founding of the nation, yet the networks and points of commercial service have decreased, and the number of personnel has not risen. The department stores of some cities and industrial and mining areas are often crowded beyond capacity. In some areas, three or four thousand households are served by only one market, and the residents must line up daily to buy grocery. They even have to line up to buy

rice or get a haircut. It is a frequent occurrence for travelers on business to fail to find accommodations. Though such situations are partial, they also indicate that, if commerce work cannot keep pace with the development of industry and agriculture and the realization of the four modernizations, it will create difficulties, add burden to the people's life, and become unfavorable to grasping the revolution and promoting production.

Commercial service networks and points must be created rationally according to the principle of "benefiting production; facilitating living." The residential areas of large and medium cities must, according to the number of households, establish shops, grain stores, restaurants, barber shops, bathhouses, laundries, photography shops, and all kinds of repair services. The newly built concentrated residential areas must create large and small commercial networks and points on the ground floor of the new buildings or a large shopping center with a fairly complete variety of facilities at a certain section. The existing urban commercial networks and points can only be increased, not reduced. In April this year, the Central Government commented on and forwarded the opinions of the State Council on strengthening urban work and decided that allocations for commercial service facilities in new cities and industrial and mining areas must be included in the total budget for industrial projects and built at the same time. The ward revolutionary committees and neighborhood organizations of large and medium cities must consider organizing the people's economic life one of their central tasks. The neighborhood committees may, according to the need, organize the dependents and unoccupied people to operate such service networks and points as dining halls, barber shops, repair stations, and retail agencies. The commerce units must actively support and encourage their work.

While increasing the number of retail stores and service networks and points, the commerce units must also possess an entire set of structures and facilities for the storage and shipping of commodities in order to serve retail, build a group of warehouses, and add a batch of means of transportation for general or special use. In large cities, some modern warehouses, granaries, oil storage facilities, refrigeration warehouses, and constant temperature vegetable cellars must be built at crucial spots, and advanced scientific management techniques actively introduced.

The people come into direct contact everyday with and are most sensitive to the service attitude and quality of the commerce personnel. Our socialist commerce has always had the superior tradition of serving the people heart and soul. Under the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage, the service attitude and quality of the commerce personnel were affected. After knocking down the "gang of four" and

criticizing their reactionary fallacies, the right and wrong of the ideological lines have been clarified, and the situation has begun to improve. We must further activate and rely on the masses, improve the service attitude and raise the quality, and produce results within a short time. We must, similar to the campaign to learn from and surpass Tienchiao Market in the great leap forward year of 1958, promptly launch a mass movement to improve the service attitude and raise the service quality, and turn everyone into a vanguard in serving the people by his practical actions.

Special-grade salesperson Comrade Chang Ping-kuei of Wang-fu-ching Department Store in Peking discussed his impression of performing sales work for the revolution. Feeling a great concern for the worker-peasant-soldier masses, he diligently studied the skills of his occupation and placed a great value on the customers' time. He felt that every minute he saved for the customers increased their time to contribute to the realization of the four modernizations. He meticulously studied the pattern of selling and correctly handled all kinds of contradictions. In 2 decades or more, he served over 2 million customers, always voluntary, enthusiastic, patient, and careful, and won the respect of the broad masses. Our commerce staff and workers must follow his example, persevere in the continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship, devote themselves to commerce work, and perform unusual deeds in serving the people at the commonplace post of commerce.

The issue of service attitude and quality is an important one linked with industrial and agricultural production and the people's living, involving the relations between the party and the masses, and producing an international influence. In a socialist society, the production means public ownership system determines the relationship among individuals within the people; it is a new relationship whereby the revolutionary comrades show mutual concern and render mutual aid. The broad masses must respect the labor of the commerce personnel and continuously overcome the scorn for trade in the mind of some people. Our commerce work personnel must have a good service attitude and a high service quality. In this way, the masses will directly feel the party's concern and warmth and realize the superiority of the socialist system. Especially now, when our country is in a new development period and the people in the entire nation are fighting tensely for realizing the general task of the new era, we must continuously improve the store sanitation, merchandise display, business hours, and selling pattern, supply the articles needed in industrial and agricultural production and the people's daily life as promptly as possible, and make the customers feel pleasant and carefree. It will be our contribution to the high speed development of the national economy. On the other hand, if we do not solve the problems successfully,

it will affect the feelings of the masses and influence production and work. Therefore, the broad commerce work personnel must possess the idea of enthusiastically serving the people heart and soul, diligently study the techniques of their occupation, raise their scientific and cultural levels, master the ever developing knowledge of merchandise, acquire the skill to serve the people, and become red and expert commerce warriors.

Commerce labor is relatively arduous, and there are more women among the staff and workers whose household burdens are relatively heavy. The work hours of most of the units are relatively long while such welfare facilities as dining halls, dormitories, rest rooms, and nurseries are relatively inferior. We hope that the leading party and government organs of all levels will feel a concern over the life of the commerce staff and workers, take concrete and feasible measures in regard to their practical difficulties, and actively and gradually solve them.

Socialist commerce is the bridge and the link between industry and agriculture, the city and the village, and production and consumption, involving a wide area. Close to 100,000 retail and grain stores with independent accounting and special corporations handling all types of merchandise are found in all areas and widely scattered. The commerce units of all levels must closely rely on the leadership of the party committees and party of their own areas, and strive to perform their work successfully. In regard to important issues, they must strengthen investigation and study, see the whole and the far, and serve as the chief-of-staff to the party. We hope that the leading comrades of the party committees of all levels will follow the bright example of Chairman Hua in his revolutionary practice when he was in charge of finance and trade in Hunan, and strengthen the party's leadership of commerce work. We believe that, with the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and the party committees of all levels, the impetus of the movement to learn from Tach'ing and Tachai, and the positive effort of the millions of staff and workers, commerce work throughout the nation will develop greatly and make new contributions to realizing the general task of the new era.

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SERVE THE PEOPLE HEART AND SOUL--A SURVEY OF THE HARBIN FIRST DEPARTMENT STORE

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[Article by Investigation Team of Harbin Municipal CCP Committee]

[Text] A large retail store, the Harbin First Department Store employs over 900 staff and workers. As a result of Lin Piao's, and especially the "gang of four's," interference and sabotage, the store was once known in the city as an "old, big, and difficult" unit. After the "gang of four" was smashed, the store party organization closely followed the strategic arrangement of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, grasped the keypoint to rule the store, and created a transformation. The salesrooms are neat and clean, the merchandise abundant and colorful, and the displays beautiful and elegant. The good tradition of superior service has been restored and developed, and the customers are warmly received and meticulously served. The sales procedure has been simplified, and repair, parts, rental, and mail order departments added, making it convenient for the masses. With the higher service quality, operation and management have also improved. Last year, the store generally completed the state plan above norm, and reached and surpassed the historical peaks in all economic indicators. The annual sales volume surpassed the historical peak by 17.7 percent, and increased 51 percent compared to that before the Great Cultural Revolution. The store rose from the last to the 6th among the 10 great department stores in the nation. Its profit paid to the state increased 360,000 yuan while the annual expenses dropped .17 percent. The labor production rate of the entire personnel rose 16.9 percent.

How did the store accomplish its superior service work?

First, the right and wrong of the lines were clarified after criticizing the "gang of four." In exposing and criticizing the "gang of

four," they closely linked the struggle with the reality of the store, criticizing the "four pests," purging their remnant poison, curing the "internal injuries," bringing order to the chaos, and gradually clarifying the following issues.

1. Was satisfying the many needs of the worker-peasant-soldier masses promoting "feudalism, capitalism, and revisionism?" Lin Piao and the "gang of four" arbitrarily declared the abundant and colorful socialist merchandise and the many needs of the worker-peasant-soldier masses to be "feudalism, capitalism, and revisionism" and chopped them down recklessly. At that time, the clothes handled by the store were all "monochromes"--"yellow, black, and blue" for men or women, old or young. Facial creams, perfumes, and powder were eliminated, and customers could only buy clam oil. Special counters for clothes and for hats and shoes were discarded, the sale of industrial art articles abolished, and mirrors and shoe stools destroyed. The entire store became deserted and empty. In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," the staff and workers studied Chairman Mao's teaching on "serving the people heart and soul," summarized the lessons of positive and negative experiences, and realized that the store was the bridge and the link connecting industry and agriculture, the city and the village, and production and consumption. They realized that circulating commodities, enlivening the market with abundant and colorful merchandise, and satisfying the many needs of the masses and industrial and agricultural production would help improve the people's living and develop production, and that these constituted the direction of socialist store operation, not "feudalism, capitalism, and revisionism." Thus they clarified the right and wrong of the lines, and launched a store-wide high tide to increase the varieties of merchandise and expand the operation. Woollen materials, overcoats, leather goods, industrial art articles, special-type merchandise, and cosmetics which had been eliminated by the "gang of four" for being "feudalist, capitalist, and revisionist" were again displayed on the counters. The specifications and varieties of large volume merchandise, small miscellaneous articles, clothes, cultural supplies, hats and shoes, and hardware needed by the worker-peasant-soldier masses were generally increased. Last year, the varieties handled by the store rose from 12,000 to 16,000, and further increased to 19,800 by April this year. The 1,600 varieties handled by the miscellaneous articles department in the past rose to 2,800.

2. Would good service lead to revisionism? The "gang of four" changed the direction of socialist commerce, advocated that "good service will lead to revisionism," and confused the mind of the staff and workers. Under their influence, some of the staff and workers considered service work as "waiting on the lords and ladies," and said that, "as the workers, peasants, and soldiers do not wear a label on



their heads, we will easily be serving the bourgeoisie by mistake." Some even felt that they must show some "rebel spirit" toward the customers, refusing to let them examine the merchandise or make selections and do nothing to help them package the goods such as cloth and rice bowls. Altercations with the customers were frequent. Sometimes when one person started a quarrel, everyone would join in. All these were created under the influence of the "gang of four." Was serving the customers enthusiastically "socialism or revisionism?" The store party committee organized the staff and workers to analyze the typical instances, visit the neighborhood, and listen to the opinions of the masses. The masses had many complaints against the store. One customer said that, after returning home with a mechanical toy seal, she discovered that it was defective. Steeling herself to return to the store, she was afraid to approach the salesperson or talk to him. After more than half an hour, she finally opened her mouth. She self-examined time and again, and the salesperson gave her a long "lecture" before exchanging the merchandise. Trying it out, she found it even worse than the original one. She was angry and indignant, and the salesperson did not give her a refund until after a lot of hassling. The masses said that, in recent years, they avoided going to the store, because they could not endure the disdain of the salespersons and there was no sense to "pay money to get angry." When they had to go to the store, they were afraid to return the merchandise when found unsuitable and could only "spend money to pay for the unfairness." Some said indignantly: "It doesn't look like a socialist store at all!" Hearing such complaints, the staff and workers felt very uncomfortable. They realized that good service was the concrete manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system as well as the demand of the broad masses. Only when the service work was successfully performed would the concern of the party and Chairman Hua be transmitted to the heart of the people via the hands of the commerce personnel. By their advocacy that "good service will lead to revisionism," the "gang of four" intentionally sabotaged the relationship between the party and the masses and smeared the socialist system.

3. Would good service hamper the improvement of operation and management? In the past, they always felt that good service conflicted with improving operation and management, and often concentrated on the latter. As a result, while service remained inferior, operation and management failed to improve. After vigorously criticizing the "gang of four," they gained a new understanding of the issue and deeply realized that, while the operation and management of the store were very important, the purpose for improving them was to perform commerce work successfully and serve the people more effectively. Therefore, the store must consider service the direction of the main attack while also improving operation and management. When service improved, so did management. Once in the past, the clothing depart-

ment processed more than 2,000 pairs of blue slacks of only 3 specifications for women students. After 7 years, half of them were still on the shelves. Last year, after studying the many needs of the masses, they bought 50 bolts of khaki at one time and processed them into men's and women's clothes with 12 specifications, and they were sold out in a matter of months. To satisfy the needs of the masses, the store, going beyond simple buying and selling, expanded its business area by 500 square meters, and created a repair and parts department, with 47 repair items including over 300 varieties. It also rented out umbrellas, sewing machines, and bicycle repair tools. It won the favorable reaction of the masses.

Next, the store successfully tackled ideological education and devoted its effort on changing the thinking and feelings of the personnel. Due to the "gang of four's" remnant poison and influence, some of the staff and workers of the store did not have an adequate understanding of the importance of commerce work. They always felt that commerce work was "waiting on others," considered the relationship between the socialist commerce and masses as a simple buying and selling relationship, and had no warmth for the customers. They feared hardship and trouble and were unwilling to expend effort. To counter this trend, the store party organization vigorously stepped up political-ideological education. They organized the staff and workers to study Chairman Mao's articles and Chairman Hua's speeches. By recollecting the bitter and thinking of the sweet and by criticizing the "gang of four," they stimulated the class awareness of the masses. Among the 972 staff and workers of the store, 199 of them served as permanent help of the landowners in the old society, 78 as store clerks of the capitalists, 56 as child laborers, and 8 as child brides. In conjunction with reality and by their own personal experience, they recollected the misery of the old society, discussed the happiness of the new society, clarified the essential distinction between socialist and capitalist commerce and between serving the people in a socialist store and the oppression and exploitation of the landowners and capitalists of the past, and educated the staff and workers of the entire store, especially the younger members. The party organization also carried out two things. One was to establish model pace-setters in learning from Taching and wholeheartedly advancing the interests of the people, so that there were pace-setters at every level and in every job. The other was to transform the backward comrades. Though the number of backward comrades was not large, their influence was quite substantial, and many problems often arose from them. To do a good job in transforming these comrades, the party organization sponsored some good-service study classes in which the participants listened to lectures by model workers and were directed to visit pace-setters to study their performance, thus enabling these comrades to quickly improve their own service standards. The party organization also directed the staff members and workers of the store to

participate in plant and rural labor and conduct social surveys, totaling more than 360 man-times. As a result, their field of vision was widened, their feelings for the workers, peasants, and soldiers strengthened, and their understanding of the importance of commerce work intensified. Today, the broad staff and workers of the store were able to think the thoughts of the masses, feel their needs, and consider service a glorious duty. They tried all means to perform service at the counter successfully, satisfy the special needs of customers from distant areas, and develop mail order service. They delivered merchandise to the door for five-guarantee households, families of patriots, and the blind and the mute. They took care of customers suffering a sudden illness and personally delivered lost children to their homes. The masses reported that the superior service tradition of the store had recovered and developed.

Thirdly, they adhered to a high standard, made strict the requirements, and followed the streamlined service criterion. To improve service, the store started from reality, collected the practical experiences of many years of the staff and workers, and summarized them into a set of standards for service work: One-full (shelves and counters full of merchandise); two-complete (complete varieties for all-day selling; complete plans); three-good (good service; good discipline; good sanitation), four-fulfillment (warmly receiving the customers; patiently helping them select merchandise; conscientiously handling reasonable exchanges and refunds; generally and correctly handling the customers); five-knowledgeable (goods number and name; specifications of the producing areas; quality and function; usage; safekeeping); six-can (computing; accounting; operating; discerning; packaging; use). The staff and workers called it the streamlined service criteria. As the criteria were created by themselves, the masses could see, touch and remember them, making it easy to evaluate and inspect their work. The criteria were used not only to judge the work of each and every individual from day to day but also as the central content for competition in service. At ordinary times, the requirements and inspections were strict. Those who made achievements were given commendations and encouragements. Any problem in service work was not lightly overlooked. One time, the store had women's leather shoes in stock. While the customers could not buy any, the staff and workers purchased 11 pairs privately. After the problem occurred, the store party committee handled it strictly. Besides asking the staff and workers to return all the leather shoes sold through the backdoor and bring them to the merchandise sales department for sale, they also charged the branch concerned to make an investigation, published big-letter posters of the results and educated the salespersons violating discipline.

Fourthly, the members of the leadership team became the leaders in learning and working. They were united and positive. After knocking down the "gang of four," they became even more energetic, never shirking responsibilities, never uttering empty words, never eating ready-cooked rice, but working solidly. To clarify the problems in service, the major leading comrades led the office cadres to make surveys of the clothing, hat and shoe, hardware, communication, and electrical departments and conduct social visits. After more than 1 month of surveying and visiting, they understood the history and the current condition of service work, ascertained its gap, and clarified the direction of the main attack. To simplify merchandise sale procedure and solve the problem of filling out invoice, making payment, and obtaining merchandise purchased, the "three-line up and three-wait," they selected the clothing department as the trial point, performed ideological work on the salespersons, abolished the payment center, introduced the cash-and-carry system, and eliminated the "three-line up and three-wait." Thereafter the experience was expanded to the entire store, facilitating the masses and winning the praises of the customers.

The store leaders all toiled alongside the staff and workers as ordinary business personnel. They followed the business hours, coming to work before the business personnel and leaving after them. From the leaders to the office cadres, every morning they labored in the salesrooms first, helping in taking in merchandise and doing sanitation work. During the busy seasons at New Year's and festivals, basically they toiled all day with the shifts. During the entire year last year, cadres of the intermediate level and above averaged more than 100 days of labor.

They gave attention to the welfare of the masses and activated the positivity of the broad staff and workers. One chairman devoted himself specially to such work, giving overall consideration to such details as meals, drinking water, commuting, taking the children to the nursery, and grocery shopping. The store had many women workers, and many of them had infants. As the nursery was not properly operated in the past, the mothers were concerned. Now the nursery practiced the eight-contract system: Meals, haircut, injection and medication, isolation of contagious diseases, picking up and delivery of children of those having difficulties, laundry of diapers and pants, laundry of covers and sheets, and making clothes for children of those having difficulties. To supply the staff and workers with water for drinking and working, they manufactured a "four-way stove" which could boil water, warm up rice, give out heat, and furnish warm water, delivering warm water to every floor and boiling water to the counter. After investigation, they rationally added stations for the commuter buses and shortened the delay en route. The masses said: "When the leaders are so considerate of the masses, we will serve every member of the worker-peasant-soldier masses coming to the store with an even better attitude and more abundant merchandise."

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