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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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MANUSCRIPT OF MAO TSETUNG POEM 'TO THE TUNE OF HO HSIN LANG'

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 1 Oct 78 p 1

揮毫落紙，意氣凌雲。
壯心向苦，情重訴。眼裏眉梢，
都似恨，愁淚盈盈。更看這佳句，
會可翻書讀。正韶流，也宜吟詠，
算得人百知，已足初法。人有病，亦知
否？一語重來，一語。可憐
此意，明月清風，入許。汽笛聲
隔江對，流水長。雁影孤。憑對對
秋絲，似錦。似此岸，當此明，
不恰像，龍風掃，騎寧。看此，
和章，老句。

吊罗荣桓同志

记得当年草上飞，
红军队伍里相违。
长驱直入不是难，
方为大问题。
每战每胜笑老翁，
居今不幸离人世。
固青疑狱可问谁。

TWO POEMS BY MAO TSETUNG

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 1 Oct 78 pp 3-4

[Text] "To the Tune of Ho Hsin Lang, 1923"

Waving our hands thus we part each other.
How can I stand facing you with sorrows
And telling you the sufferings once again.
Filled with hatred as can be seen from the eyes and eyebrows
I cannot refrain from shedding tears.
Knowing you might have misunderstood my previous letter,
Let bygones be bygones.
You and I are the only intimate friends in the world.
If man get sick
Will heaven know it?
The road to the east gate is covered by heavy morning frost
And the waning moon is shining over the pond.
Dreary and desolate the scene is.
My heart is broken with the sounding of the siren
And thenceforth we will take our lonely journey.
Let's cut off the source of sorrows and hatred
And do something just like the collapsing cliffs of Kunlun Mountain
Or like a hurricane sweeping over the whole world.
Let's fly together wing to wing again and soar to the sky.

"Mourning Comrade Lo Jung-huan--A Lu-shih, December 1963"

I recall the old days when we crossed the grassland like flying
But we always failed to meet each other in the Red Army.
The Long March was not our hard time,
The big problem was to attack and seize Chinchou.
Small birds like quails used to challenge a big bird
And chickens often laugh at the eagles doing wrong.
It is unfortunate that you have now left the world
And whom shall I consult with if there is a state problem?

CHAIRMAN HUA'S INSCRIPTION FOR THE FOURTH NATIONAL WOMEN'S CONGRESS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 1 Oct 78 p 5

[Text]

全國各族妇女
团结起来，为把
我国建设成为
伟大的社会主义
强国而努力
奋斗！

华国锋
五七年九月

"Chinese women of all nationalities, unite and work to build China into a great, powerful socialist country!"

Hua Kuo-feng
September 1978

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 1 Oct 78 p 6

[Text]

全國婦女要學馬列主義毛澤
東思想，學文化，學科學，樹雄
心，立壯志，充份發揮“半边天
的作用，為實現社會主義現
代化強國而努力奮鬥。

蔡劍英
一九七八年
九月七日

"Women of China: Study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, study culture and science, foster lofty ideals, aim high, play your full role in 'holding up half the sky,' and work hard to make China a modern, powerful socialist state!"

Yeh Chien-ying
7 September 1978

SPEECH AT THE FOURTH NATIONAL WOMEN'S CONGRESS (8 SEPTEMBER 1978)

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 1 Oct 78 pp 8-10

[Speech by Wang Tung-hsing]

[Text] Comrades, the Fourth National Women's Congress of China opens today. On behalf of the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, I extend warm greetings to the congress and cordial regards to woman comrades of the people of all nationalities and on all fronts throughout the country.

Women of China have a long revolutionary tradition and represent a great revolutionary force. They took part in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom movement, the I Ho Tuan movement and the 1911 revolution in modern history. After the 4 May movement they fought against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and for national independence and democratic freedoms under the leadership of the CCP, thereby writing one glorious chapter after another. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China they have made great efforts and magnificent contributions in the course of the socialist revolution and construction and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The road trekked by Chinese women is a glorious road indeed. As an industrious and courageous fighting force, Chinese women with sharp political consciousness have "held up half the sky" in China's revolution and construction.

Today socialist revolution and construction in our country has entered a new period of development. The 11th National CCP Congress and the Fifth National People's Congress have set forth the line and the general task for the new period. To implement the line of the 11th party congress, fulfill the general task of the new period and build China into a great, powerful socialist country with modernized agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology before the end of this century is a glorious and yet arduous task before us. At present the domestic and international situation is very good. The great political revolution to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has promoted the development of the socialist cause. Our political stability and unity has brought about

an upsurge in economic and cultural construction. Our revolutionary line in foreign affairs has scored monumental victories, and the world's revolutionary people and many countries want to see China become powerful. Faced with such an excellent situation and many new problems, we must emancipate our minds, creatively apply Marxist principles, and by all means quicken the tempo of our four socialist modernizations. We must persist in our continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, bring into full play the superiority of the socialist system, mobilize all positive factors and strive to catch up with and surpass advanced world economic and technological levels. Our principle, fundamentally, is to rely on our own strength. However, self-reliance means in no way to close our doors to the outside world. We should learn from the strong points of all nations and countries, particularly from the current advanced science and technology of foreign countries. It is the urgent desire of the people of the whole country, including our women, to achieve prosperity and swift progress in our country. Accounting for half our population, the Chinese women's positive action is tremendously significant for realizing our magnificent goal. Chairman Mao said during the period of the democratic revolution: "When women all over the country rise up, that will be the day of victory for the Chinese revolution." This also holds true for the realization of our four socialist modernizations. Chinese women must join the people of the whole country in grasping the opportune moment, making big efforts for rapid progress and working for socialist modernization at high speed. We hope our women comrades of the entire country will continue and carry forward our revolutionary tradition, heighten revolutionary spirit, completely emancipate minds, foster lofty ideals, set high goals, study assiduously, constantly raise their own political consciousness, scientific and cultural levels and working abilities, combat all the influence of the old society's ideas and all the backward and conservative force of habit, and play a still greater role in the new Long March.

The people are the driving force in the making of history. To achieve socialist modernization is a profound revolution. The most fundamental way to win victories in this revolution is to rely on the broad masses of people. Hundreds of millions of daring people, armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, are taking active part in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. This is a most effective guarantee for building our country into a powerful socialist country. Our strength comes from the people. Our knowledge and experience come from the people's social practice. The fundamental method of our leadership is one of from the masses and to the masses. Our cause will surely be successful if we have faith in the masses, rely on them and never divorce ourselves from them for even a moment. We are holding this National Women's Congress, and after this we will hold the National Trade Union Congress and the National CYL Congress. These congresses are intended to mobilize the broad masses throughout the country in a widespread and deepgoing

way to struggle for the accomplishment of the general task for the new period. The reestablishment of the All-China Women's Federation, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and the CYL Central Committee and the further improvement of their organizations at various levels will greatly strengthen the flesh-and-blood relationship between the party and the people and further organize the broad masses of people into the contingent making the new Long March.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China our women's movement, under CCP leadership, has been advancing triumphantly. It has always been guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The line, policy and tasks set by various national women's congresses in the past are correct. The All-China Women's Federation and the women's federations at various lower levels have done a great deal of work and made remarkable achievements. All the professional women cadres are working diligently and conscientiously and serving the people wholeheartedly. In the past decade and more, interference and sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" caused the All-China Women's Federation and the women's federations at various levels to discontinue their work to various degrees. After the establishment of new women's organizations, we should continue to penetratingly expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four" at the same time and eliminate their pernicious influence. We should organize the broad masses of women to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and acquire scientific and cultural knowledge. We should resolutely implement the party's general and specific policies and fully arouse enthusiasm among the broad masses of women. We should pay close attention to the well-being of women, firmly protect their rights and interests and struggle against those who discriminate against and persecute women and who infringe upon their rights and interests. We should educate women with children to carefully nurture the next generation and turn their children into successors of the proletarian revolutionary cause. Women of all nationalities should strengthen unity among themselves and do their work well. Chinese women should promote solidarity, cooperation and friendly exchanges with women from other countries and support their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemony, their struggle for the progress of mankind and their struggle to protect the rights and interests of women and children. You cadres working among women should fully realize the significance of your work. Your success in your work will greatly help in accelerating the socialist revolution and construction in China and will have a positive impact on the world.

Party committees at all levels should include work among women on their daily agenda and regard it as an indispensable component of their work as a whole. Work among women must be done by the entire party. We should strengthen and improve women's organizations at all levels and pay attention to bringing their unique role into play. We should actively train women comrades, boldly use them and place them in various workposts. We should give them opportunities to study and temper

themselves in order to enhance their working abilities and ideological levels. In the course of elevating the scientific and cultural level of the Chinese people as a whole, we should pay particular attention to helping the broad masses of women raise their educational levels and acquire scientific and technological knowledge. When we train skilled personnel in various fields, we should consider women and train a certain percentage of them. I hope that many backbone, leading cadres and specialists who are Red and expert and know how to manage modern industry and agriculture and many, many model workers, advanced workers, scientists, engineers, designers, writers, artists, educators, doctors and other specialists will emerge from the ranks of women in the near future. They will further promote the women's movement in China.

Comrades: The dark clouds created by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" have disappeared, and the sun shines brightly over our land. We have a boundlessly good future. Let us work under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, hold high Chairman Mao's great banner, and carry out the behests of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Te and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. We Chinese people have hopes, ability and confidence. We certainly can accomplish our glorious historical mission. People of the whole country, unite! Women of the whole country, unite! Let us struggle valiantly to build China into a modern and powerful socialist country before the end of the century!

EMANCIPATE OUR MINDS, QUICKEN OUR ADVANCE--WARMLY CELEBRATING THE 29TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 1 Oct 78 pp 11-16

[RED FLAG editorial]

[Text] While marching toward the socialist modernization with bold strides and loud songs, the 800 million Chinese people ushered in the 29th anniversary of the establishment of the PRC, founded by the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao. This is the second National Day for the people of our country since the smashing of the "gang of four." The vast land of China is filled with a jubilant atmosphere; glad tidings are pouring in from all sides.

With the party Central Committee headed by the wise leader Chairman Hua holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao and grasping the key link and running the country well, a very impressive change has taken place in the whole country in a short 2 years. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies have been correctly implemented in an all-round way. A decisive victory has been won in the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." The hundreds of millions of people have had high spirits and a strong morale since they freed themselves from the mental shackles of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The political situation, showing stability and unity of the whole country, has been further developed. The situation in industrial and agricultural production is gratifying, financial income has increased on a large scale, and some improvements have been made in the people's livelihood. Military work has taken on a brandnew appearance. A movement to march toward culture, education, science and technology is still growing. A thriving scene has emerged on all fronts. Our country's international position is rising in an unprecedented way. Our great socialist motherland is advancing with big strides on the broad road of socialism.

Today, when we are jubilantly celebrating our victories and carrying out with full confidence our new Long March to realize the general task for the new period, a broad and bright new prospect of our great cause is

emerging before us. After 2 years of revolutionary practice and a series of investigations and studies, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has discovered the possibility of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in realizing the four modernizations and has acquired a clear view of the road on which we advance. At present, what is important is no longer a question of whether we can build our country into a modern, powerful socialist country before the end of the century but the necessity to realize such a task more rapidly and to realize the modernization at a relatively higher degree in accordance with the original idea. Based on such a new prospect, the wise leader Chairman Hua recently issued the clarion call to the whole party, army and people of all nationalities throughout the country: "More emancipation of the mind, greater daring, more resourcefulness and bigger strides forward." This is the voice of the time! This is the fighting call! This is the direction of our future efforts and the guidance for our future actions. The whole party, army and people of the entire country should conscientiously study, deeply understand and thoroughly implement it in connection with our concrete work.

Chairman Hua's call fully reflects the urgent demand of the development of the current situation and concerns the future and fate of our motherland. In the current excellent international situation we cannot help but see that contention between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, is growing fiercer and the danger of war has increased noticeably. The Soviet revisionists have never given up their ambition to subjugate China. Marxism-Leninism, the lessons of past history, and the realities of the present show us that although a new world war can be postponed, in the end it is inevitable. We must have no illusions about this. The more we sweat in peacetime, the less we bleed in wartime. We must complete all preparations before war breaks out, and the best and most complete preparation is to carry out the four modernizations. If we fail to accomplish this task, we will suffer a great deal and have a guilty conscience before the people of our country and the world. Therefore, racing against time has become an extremely important political question. It is a major question concerning the existence or destruction of our country and must be dealt with seriously.

Chairman Hua's call correctly reflects the aspirations of hundreds of millions of people and is linked with the thinking and requirements of the people of our country. It is no secret that our country is big in terms of population, area, natural resources and history but small and weak in terms of material production, science, technology and the people's life. These two extremes are too far apart. This is an important problem that must be urgently solved. Eighty percent of our people work diligently to feed themselves, many production departments in our country still remain at the manual labor or semimanual labor level, and the average income and labor productivity of our people are still as low as those of the poor and backward countries of the world. This is

incompatible with a glorious superior socialist system such as ours. The sooner we end this backwardness, the better. Overcoming and ending this backwardness is of personal interest to the people of our country. It is also their urgent demand. It is a precondition for consolidating and developing the socialist system--the only road to communism--and a sacred duty entrusted to us by history and the people.

Chairman Hua's call is based on reality and is an example of seeking truth from facts. The current excellent situation at home and abroad provides us with an excellent opportunity for realizing the four modernizations. At home we possess many strong points. We have the great party, the great army and the great people--all of which were tried and tempered by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We have the correct leadership of the party Central Committee headed by the wise leader Chairman Hua. We have the superior socialist system. We have a lively political situation in which there is stability and unity. We have relatively sound leading organs at all levels--organs that have undergone consolidation. We have fine traditions and workstyle that have been restored and developed. We have the strong desire of the people of the whole country to end backwardness, and we have the people's enthusiasm for building socialism in a big way. We have sufficient rich natural resources, large-scale economic and technological bases, and considerable numbers of qualified scientific and technical personnel and economic management personnel. We have both positive and negative experiences in building socialism. Although our country's socialist construction had undergone serious interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," it has been restored and developed after being consolidated in the past 2 years. We can say that as a result of the tempering and tests we went through, the positive and negative experiences we obtained, and the laws of construction we learned we are in better condition than ever before. Thus, with such good bases, if we bring into full play our subjective driving force, we will certainly be able to achieve still greater, faster, better and more economical results in doing a good job in our undertakings.

In terms of foreign relations, we now have an unprecedentedly favorable international environment. Although the danger of war has increased somewhat, Soviet social imperialism, which is the major source of war today, has further exposed its features and is in a more isolated situation and unwelcomed by the people. It has encountered opposition from people throughout the world. Its exploitative undertakings are not very pleasant. On the other hand, the Third World is awakening with each passing day, and the international anti-imperialist and antihegemonic united front is further developing. Our fraternal socialist countries, friends in the Third World and people throughout the world are standing on our side. The majority of the countries in the world are hoping that we will be prosperous and powerful. We should have the courage and the ability to fully use such a favorable international situation in order to

speed up our construction by introducing into our country the necessary advanced technology and equipment, by using funds from abroad, by summing up experiences, by training personnel, and by other methods. History has clearly indicated that some Second World countries achieved modernization in only 10 years by using foreign knowhow. Is it true that socialist countries cannot achieve what capitalist countries have achieved?

Chairman Hua's call was also based on the following points: Socialist modernization is a great revolution to fundamentally change the backward features of our country's economy and technology and to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through such revolution we should shift our country's socialist economy onto the track of socialist large-scale production and build a powerful, modern technical foundation for such socialist large-scale production. Further development of such productive forces demands reforms in the relations of production and the superstructure on a broad scale and to a high degree. It demands changes in people's activities and thoughts in order to meet the requirements of a modernized large-scale economy. The magnitude of this revolution, the extensiveness, fierceness and depth of its changes, the seriousness, urgency and far-reaching significance of its tasks are by no means less than those of any other revolution carried out under the leadership of our party and in some respects exceed them. To carry out such a great revolution, the fundamental point is to take Chairman Mao's great theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as a guide, continuously understand this theory through practice, and learn how to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in carrying out revolution. Once such a method is discovered, we will be able to speed up revolutionary practice and achieve even better results than expected. This requires us to have a fearless revolutionary spirit and the boldness to "press on irresistibly from a commanding height," and at the same time it requires us to be good at learning, pay attention to new situations, study new problems and accept innovations in order to meet the requirements in the development of the revolution.

Chairman Mao once said that the situation must be clear, the determination must be firm and the methods adequate. Chairman Hua's call reflects his great determination, made in accordance with the clear-cut situations mentioned above. It is precisely in the light of the aforementioned situation that Chairman Hua has called on us for "more emancipation of the mind, greater daring, more resourcefulness and bigger strides forward." The important aspect of this call is the emancipation of minds. On the basis of a given material foundation, the mind is capable of mastering everything and changing everything as well. Only with emancipated minds can we have a staunch will (greater daring), effective measures (more resourcefulness) and bolder action (greater strides forward). Moreover, only with emancipated minds will it be possible for us to launch such a great revolution and carry out our socialist modernization effectively and in a down-to-earth way.

Touching on the emancipation of minds, Chairman Mao criticized those who were tottering along like "a woman with bound feet" as early as the agricultural cooperation movement. He also taught us: "People's thinking must adapt itself to the changed situations. Of course, no one should go off into wild flights of fancy or make plans unwarranted by the objective situation or insist on attempting the impossible. The problem today is that rightist conservatism is still causing trouble in many fields and preventing the work in these fields from keeping pace with the development of the objective situation. The present problem is that many people consider impossible things which could be done if they exerted themselves." (Preface to "Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside") It was precisely under Chairman Mao's teaching that a socialist upsurge vigorously took place in the countryside of China. In 1958 Chairman Mao issued the militant call "Do away with all fetishes and superstitions and emancipate the mind," and he guided the people throughout the country to go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism with the spirit of "reshaping mountains and rivers." This swept away such erroneous thinking as dogmatism which aimlessly and mechanically follows the experience of the Soviet Union, the inferior "chia kuei [6328 2710] mentality" and the philosophy of the cowardly and the lazy who are afraid of everything, and it brought about a sublime and heroic Great Leap Forward. This shows the importance of emancipating minds in relation to socialist revolution and construction.

To emancipate our minds means that, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, we free ourselves from the noxious influence of anti-Marxist ideas and the yoke of backward ideology. To emancipate our minds means to combine the universal truth of Marxism with the actual practice of socialist revolution and construction at present, use the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism to study new situations and new problems and to understand and master the laws of objective things, and transform the objective world accordingly so as to proceed from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. To emancipate our minds means to catch up with the situation and adapt ourselves to the development of the objective situation ideologically, integrate our revolutionary steadfastness with foresight and our thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit with the scientific approach of seeking truth, firmly adhere to the orientation in all fields of work, and comprehensively and correctly implement the line, principles and policies laid down by the party Central Committee.

Today the emancipation of our minds means, first and foremost, thoroughly criticizing the reactionary anti-Marxist ideology of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," who were pseudoleftists but actually rightists. Lin Piao and the "gang of four," motivated by their need to usurp party and state power, unscrupulously practiced idealism and metaphysics, frenziedly distorted, tampered with and fabricated Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, confused right and wrong in line, ideology and theory and even the criteria for distinguishing right from wrong, abolished the distinction

between right and wrong and between genuine and fake in many aspects, thus creating a state of wild ideological confusion among the people. For instance, among the many questions they confused were those concerning mutual relations between theory and practice, politics and economy, revolution and production, productive forces and the relations of production, the superstructure and economic base, democracy and dictatorship, democracy and centralism, and leadership and the masses. Furthermore, the party's mass line, democratic centralism and the fine traditions and workstyle of seeking truth from facts were also negated by them indiscriminately. They also deliberately disregarded the question concerning the objective law of economy, the question of "to each according to his work," the question concerning rules and regulations, production quotas and labor discipline among the enterprises, the question concerning economic accounting and economic effectiveness among the enterprises and the question concerning socialist profits and the material benefits of the laboring masses. According to their dictionary, modernization means turning a socialist enterprise into a capitalist one, grasping production means promoting the theory of productive forces, developing science and technology means taking the road of becoming bourgeois specialists, grasping vocational work means failing to give prominence to politics, and the idea of making foreign things serve China means national betrayal and slavish comprador philosophy. In their heyday, those who did not report to work or did not attend classes were regarded as heroes; meanwhile, it was extremely difficult to introduce some advanced technology and equipment and to learn something advanced from foreign countries. Under no circumstances should we underestimate the extent and danger of their pernicious influence. Their shadows linger and their fallacies still exist. As a result, some comrades have not yet recovered from their "internal injury," or are still imbued with the pernicious influence, or still harbor lingering fear. All this seriously affects our present work. There is no construction with destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest. Today, only by thoroughly criticizing the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," solving the problem thoroughly from the source, and eliminating their pernicious influence can more comrades free themselves from their mental shackles and speak the more common language of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We must carry the struggle to expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four," a Marxist ideological emancipation movement, through to the end.

More emancipation of the mind also means breaking with the habits of petty production. In China the natural mode of petty production, which is characterized by self-sufficiency, lasted for thousands of years. Following the change of the natural mode of petty production through the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production, "invariably, remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time, and they do not easily give way." (Preface to "Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside") Now remnants of old ideas

and old habits of petty production still remain in the minds of some personnel in leadership, planning and management. Their main manifestations are lack of vision, being hidebound, selfish and narrowminded, having no clear perspective and having a predilection for "self-sufficiency," that is, advocating "all-in-one complexes, big or small." All this is incompatible with the requirements of modern, large-scale, socialized production, the wide use of up-to-date science and technology, growing specialization and coordination in production, tight-knit organization and planning and scientific management. We have paid a dear price for such contradictions, which have been laid bare with each passing day following the development of socialist modernization. If we do not conscientiously break with the habits and influence of petty production, destroy the narrowminded vision of petty production and improve our style and methods of management, then we will definitely create a major obstacle to achievement of the four modernizations. Therefore, we must regard the struggle to break with the habits of petty production and overcome the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes as an important content of continuing the revolution in the realm of the superstructure. Special efforts should be made to foster and advocate a thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionary spirit among leading bodies and leading cadres so they can be bold in vision and break free from the confines of small production ideas, raise their concept of leadership to a much higher level and extensively transform their methods of leadership and workstyle. This is what the cause of socialist modernization requires of us.

More emancipation of the mind also calls for a struggle against the dangerous attitude of smugness, resistance to change and parochial arrogance. Materialist dialectics tells us that the development of everything is achieved through struggle between two contradictory aspects. Between the opposites in each contradiction that exists during the four modernizations there is at once unity and struggle, and this will impel our cause to advance continuously. After all, awareness of the existence of advanced and backward sectors, achievements and shortcomings, only comes about by making comparisons, and their development is realized through struggle. However, some comrades often become complacent and stick to the beaten track when they score some achievements and make some progress in their work. What they see is the achievements but not the shortcomings, and what they like to hear is praise, not criticism. For them, all signs of enthusiasm and initiative of the masses are nonexistent, and the advanced are not worthy of emulation. This metaphysical method of thinking is a manifestation of the poisonous influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." It is also the outgrowth of the narrowmindedness of a small producer. This is a stumbling block to realization of the four modernizations. Chairman Mao once made this stern statement: "It must be pointed out that large numbers of fine comrades are frustrated by those comrades who are highly placed with fat emoluments and live in style, who are conceited and complacent and are only too glad to stick to

the beaten track, and who are addicted to bourgeois metaphysics; in other words, these fine comrades are frustrated by the bureaucrats. This situation must be changed right now." ("Strive To Learn From Each Other and Don't Stick to the Beaten Track and Be Complacent.") We should come to our senses and see that the gap between our country's science and technology and that of the advanced world level has become wider and wider as a result of rabid sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." With a socialist but economically backward state such as ours, what reason is there for us to become conceited and not work assiduously and vigorously to make the country strong? Doubtlessly we must uphold the principle of independence and self-reliance in the course of economic construction. But independence does not mean closing the door, and self-reliance is not to blindly exclude things foreign. To adopt the attitude of parochial arrogance will only manifest one's ignorance and make people laugh their heads off! We must be good at absorbing all foreign things that are good, import advanced technologies, and combine our efforts to learn from foreign countries with our own creativity so as to facilitate acceleration of the four modernizations.

Chairman Hua's great call can and must be implemented. Could it be possible that we, a country under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and with the advanced system of socialism, cannot stand toweringly by ourselves in all respects among all nations of the world? Could it be said that a country with 9.6 million square kilometers and a population of 800 million industrious and courageous people will long remain willingly in a state of backwardness and open to attack? Could it be possible that a nation which has long been known for the four greatest inventions in history will not be able to scale the heights of modern science and technology? Could it be said that there is any insurmountable difficulty and danger facing the heroic people who have gone through the 25,000-li Long March? The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, whose brilliant images are right before our eyes, are encouraging us to speed our advance!

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY--CRITICIZING CHANG
CHUN-CHIAO'S 'ON EXERCISING ALL-ROUND DICTATORSHIP OVER THE BOURGEOISIE'

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[Article by RED FLAG contributing commentator]

[Text] In April 1975 Chang Chun-chiao published an antiparty article entitled "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie." It revised in an all-round way the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. From the standpoint of "all-round dictatorship," it vigorously negated the nature of the dictatorship of our proletariat and socialist democracy. It advocated the practice of bourgeois fascist dictatorship in our country and directed the spearhead of this dictatorship against the masses of laboring people, especially against the backbone proletarian leaders of our party and state.

Kuomintang special agent Chang Chun-chiao and his cohorts--Chiang Ching, Wang Hung-wen and Yao Wen-yuan--never forgot about subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the early stages of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Chang Chun-chiao vehemently said: "The Great Cultural Revolution means change of government," and "the existing state machinery must be thoroughly shattered and a new start must be made." After the 10th national party congress, the "gang of four" feverishly carried out conspiratorial activities to form a cabinet and seize power. "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship" was a theoretical reflection of the "gang of four's" energetic, long-time efforts to usurp party and state power and practice fascist dictatorship. It was a new signal for launching a rabid attack against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship" was dished up, certain people were deceived. It is indeed a very good piece of material for teaching by negative example. It enables the masses of people to clearly see how contemporary counterrevolutionary revisionists can create counterrevolutionary public opinion under the banner of the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, especially under the banner of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is based on the major premise that, above all else, we affirm the socialist nature of our country. "In a few words, China is a socialist country." This provides a basis for analyzing all of China's political and economic problems and the problem of our continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship" precisely negated the major premise that China is a socialist country. Under the cover of criticizing Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, it used the restoration of Soviet capitalism by Khrushchev and Brezhnev as an excuse for the wild argument that an analogy could be drawn between China and the Soviet Union. True, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, Khrushchev and Brezhnev were all revisionist chieftains. But one point not to be overlooked is that in the Soviet Union Khrushchev and Brezhnev usurped supreme party and state power and altered the nature of the party and state. Yet in China Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao failed in their plot to usurp supreme party and state power, and our party and state have maintained their own proletarian nature. The article negated the fundamental difference between our country as the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet Union as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It devoted great space to distorting our political and economic systems. It equated our socialist system with the old society and hinted that in our country leadership had not been grasped by genuine Marxists and Leninists.

By negating the major premise that we have a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chang Chun-chiao basically altered Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat means continuing the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie, continuing the struggle to make the socialist road triumph over the capitalist road, continuing the revolution in the superstructure to bring it in line with the economic base, continuing the revolution in relations of production to bring them in line with the development of productivity, and continuing technical innovation and revolution to quickly develop socialist productivity and thus create material and spiritual conditions for the transition to communism--doing all this under conditions in which the proletariat has seized state power and established a socialist system.

Continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is a continuation of the proletarian revolution to seize power. But there are fundamental differences between the two revolutions regarding the historical tasks with which they are charged and the means of realizing these tasks.

Like the proletarian revolution to seize political power, the revolution continued under the dictatorship of the proletariat is aimed at solving contradictions that exist in society. What sets it apart is that the proletariat has changed from a ruled class to a ruling class, and its revolutionary task has changed from overthrowing bourgeois rule into consolidating proletarian rule. The ruling proletariat must fight not only with the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes in society but also with capitalist roaders who hold power within the party. The bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes pin their hopes for capitalist restoration on the capitalist roaders within the party. But so long as party and state leadership is grasped by a leadership core that adheres to the Marxist-Leninist line, the handful of diehard unrepentant capitalist roaders will be continuously exposed and eliminated. Therefore, continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat does not call for overthrowing the rule of the existing class or shattering the existing state machinery. On the contrary, the proletariat must consolidate its own ruling position and continuously strengthen the state apparatus already in its hands. It must draw on the strength of this apparatus to insure the smooth progress of the revolution.

Like the proletarian revolution to seize political power, the revolution continued under the dictatorship of the proletariat is aimed at solving the fundamental social contradictions between the relations of production and productivity and between the superstructure and the economic foundation in order to stimulate social development. But the fundamental contradictions to be solved in the two revolutions are basically different in their social nature and in the means of solution. With the establishment of the socialist system, a state of harmony and disharmony exists between the relations of production and productivity and between the superstructure and the economic foundation. We must not only continue to develop whatever leads to harmony between the relations of production and productivity and between the superstructure and the economic foundation, but also change the reasons for disharmony between the relations of production and productivity and between the superstructure and the economic foundation. We must seek more technical innovations and revolution to quickly develop productivity itself, thus stimulating the development and transformation of the relations of production and the superstructure. Therefore, this revolution cannot overthrow the existing socialist system. It can only make adjustments in this socialist system. It must continuously solve basic social contradictions, further develop the socialist system and create conditions for the gradual transition to communism.

Unlike the proletarian revolution to seize political power, the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has a bumpy, rocky road ahead. Its task is more arduous, its meaning more profound and its goal greater. It is charged with the great task of eliminating classes, wiping out all forms of exploitation, getting rid of the social foundation which class differences rely upon for existence, creating a

level of productivity development that is higher than that of the bourgeoisie, and creating conditions for the transition to communism. To conduct a revolution so extensive in scope and profound in meaning, the proletariat must rely upon violence to suppress the resistance of the toppled bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and guard against the aggression and subversion of imperialism and social imperialism so as to safeguard the socialist system and socialist revolution and construction. This is obvious. At the same time, in solving contradictions among the people (including certain antagonistic contradictions that can be regarded as contradictions among the people), the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat relies not upon violence but upon democratic means. With regard to such things as reeducating workers, peasants and intellectuals, guiding ideological and cultural work, organizing the socialist economy, transforming small-production, and so forth it can only adopt democratic means. In this sense, Lenin said: "The dictatorship of the proletariat does not just use violence against exploiters. Its chief means is not even violence." ("A Great Beginning," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 9) Chairman Mao pointed out that in the historical period of socialism we must correctly understand and handle problems of class contradictions and class struggle and correctly distinguish and handle contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and contradictions among the people. Chairman Mao also said: "Fighting with the class enemy--this was the basic content of politics in the past. But after the people establish their own regime, their relationship with this class enemy is basically one among the people. The means it adopts is not oppression but persuasion. This is a new political relationship." In this regard, Chairman Hua told us: The main contradictions in our country at present are still between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads. Such contradictions are partially those between the enemy and ourselves, but they are mostly those among the people. Those enemies who resist socialism always number no more than a handful. Of course, we must resolutely exercise dictatorship over them. Even with regard to those contradictions between two classes and the two roads, we can only use democratic means and persuasive education and cannot resort to the means of dictatorship.

All this shows that socialist democracy--including rectification and such great democratic practices as airing views freely, writing big-character posters and holding great debates--is an important form of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, because it is suited to the content of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the correct handling of contradictions among the people and to giving fullest play to the activism and initiative of the masses of people in socialist revolution and construction. Therefore, developing socialist democracy is of extremely great importance in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, building socialism and carrying through the socialist revolution to the end.

In saying that negation of our socialist system is an important requirement, Chang Chun-chiao talked glibly about "continued revolution" and said not a word about socialist democracy. His sole aim was to make the dictatorship of the proletariat a target of revolution. Under the cover of the banner of continued revolution, he directed the spearhead against the socialist system. By talking about using the iron broom to attack "native fortifications," he meant to topple large numbers of government and military leaders who adhered to Marxism-Leninism within the party. By "a change of government" and a thorough smashing of the existing state machinery, he meant using the "gang of four's" hodgepodge of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism as a "new form of government" to take the place of the dictatorship of our proletariat. By "all-round dictatorship," he meant totally negating socialist democracy and promoting bourgeois fascist dictatorship.

II

Chang Chun-chiao threateningly declared that Marx and Lenin often verified the exercise of "all-round dictatorship" over the bourgeoisie.

He said that by dictatorship of the proletariat Marx meant the exercise of "all-round dictatorship" over the bourgeoisie when we have "come to the inevitable transition stage of eliminating all class differences, all relations of production arising from these differences and all social relations compatible with these relations of production, and changing all concepts arising out of these social relations." ("Class Struggle in France From 1848 to 1850," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 479)

He also quoted Lenin: "The dictatorship of the proletariat means waging a rugged struggle against old social forces and established traditions-- a struggle involving bloodshed or no bloodshed, violence or peace, a struggle military and economic, educational and administrative." ("Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 200) This, he said, was the exercise of "all-round dictatorship" over the bourgeoisie.

This was really an outrageous alteration. Here Chang Chun-chiao tried to foist fake things upon the people. On the one hand he distorted the great historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the proletariat's "exercise of dictatorship" over "everything." On the other hand he distorted all the proletarian forms of waging class struggle as the means of the dictatorship.

The fundamental historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to eliminate classes. With his profound knowledge of the law of historical development, Marx recounted in great detail all that must be achieved in every field so as to eliminate classes. He pointed out that only by

eliminating all class differences and the relations of production and social relations connected with class difference, and by changing concepts arising from these social relations, can we ultimately eliminate classes. Marx' teaching is the same as Lenin's: "Socialism is the elimination of classes." ("Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 89) "We must create conditions in which the bourgeoisie can neither exist nor reappear." ("The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 498) This is just as Chairman Mao said: "Our aim is to eliminate capitalism--root and branch--and wipe it off the face of the earth--a historic task." ("The Debate on the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture and the Current Class Struggle," "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung," Vol 5, p 198) But in his remarks Marx referred only to the historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat and basically did not say whether military and violent means or economic and educational means should be used to eliminate classes. Chang Chun-chiao arbitrarily said that what Marx mentioned was the exercise of dictatorship over "everything." This was a willful alteration of Marxism.

Elimination of classes is a long, arduous and rugged class struggle. To eliminate classes the proletariat must, of course, exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and all other toppled exploiting classes. This means suppressing their activities to resist and disrupt socialist revolution and construction efforts, suspending the political rights of reactionary capitalists, landlords, and rich peasants who have not been thoroughly reformed, and punishing new bourgeois elements and counter-revolutionaries, landlords and rich peasants who seek class revenge, and other bad elements. To eliminate classes the proletariat must wage protracted, complicated and at times even very heated struggle with the bourgeoisie and its political forces and political representatives on the political, economic and ideological fronts--struggles including a rugged struggle against all habits and traditions left behind from the old society. Such struggles are not confined to those between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. To a substantial degree they involve workers, peasants and intellectuals and all classes and strata in society. The struggle with old social habits and established traditions among the laboring people also takes on the nature of class struggle. This is because, as the main contradiction in socialist society, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie regulates various contradictions among various classes in society. It determines the inevitable subjection of workers, peasants and other laboring people to the corrosive influence of bourgeois thinking and to the invasion of established social traditions and old habits and ideas. It determines the existence of the struggle of the proletariat against capitalist tendencies and bourgeois influence among the working class, various laboring classes, state workers and the proletarian government and party. For this very reason contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road are only partially those between the enemy and ourselves; mostly they are those among the people, as mentioned before.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, various means are inevitably adopted in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and in the proletarian struggle with old social habits and established traditions. Because of the different characteristics of various fields and the existence of two different types of contradictions, the means of struggle may involve bloodshed or no bloodshed, be violent or peaceful, or be military, economic, educational or administrative. No matter how many forms of struggle there are, it basically boils down to two--dictatorship and democracy. Dictatorship is exercised over the enemy, and democracy is practiced among the people. The two cannot be confused. Chang Chun-chiao's "all-round dictatorship" willfully negated the difference between the two methods adopted by the dictatorship of the proletariat. It distorted the various forms of class struggle which the proletariat follows in various fields as ways of exercising dictatorship. This is a basic alteration of the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After Chang Chun-chiao's clumsy alteration of Marxism-Leninism, his so-called "all-round dictatorship" became, not an attempt to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, but an attempt to exercise dictatorship over all class differences and all relations of production, social relations and concepts related to class differences.

To exercise dictatorship over all classes is to impose fascist dictatorship on the masses of workers, peasants, intellectuals, cadres and other laborers. Everyone knows that, in the historical period of socialism, apart from the two opposing classes of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, class differences that must be eliminated include differences between workers and peasants, between town and countryside, and between mental and physical work. For many years, in areas under their control, the "gang of four" directed the spearhead of dictatorship at the masses of revolutionary cadres and people and at party cadres. They held power over life and death and framed or wrongfully accused many people. The people's political, economic, cultural and other rights were seriously violated.

A proletarian state can never exercise dictatorship over the people. People also cannot exercise dictatorship over themselves. Nor can one portion of people oppress another. State workers can only faithfully and earnestly listen to opinions and wholeheartedly serve the people.

The dictatorship of the proletariat can never direct the spearhead at the party. The party leads everything. The machinery of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be put under the absolute leadership of the party. Any weakening or instability in the party leadership will immediately weaken or destabilize the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A proletarian dictatorship state does not rule by killing. Only those class enemies guilty of the most heinous crimes are arrested and killed. But the state must not kill and arrest people freely, for no reason.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Protecting or suppressing the masses of people is a basic difference that sets apart the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." (Quoted from PEOPLE'S DAILY of 2 June 1968) The "gang of four" directed the spearhead of dictatorship at the masses of people and our party. They imposed fascist rule on the people, set up kangaroo courts and arrested and killed people freely. This was bourgeois dictatorship through and through and the most barbarous and darkest version of dictatorship by the Kuomintang.

The so-called exercise of dictatorship over all relations of production connected with class differences means directing the spearhead of dictatorship at the economy owned by all the people and the collectively owned economy. In our country, socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production has already been accomplished. The socialist system of public ownership embodying ownership by all the people and collective ownership by the laboring masses has already been universally established. The "gang of four" arbitrarily described our socialist system of public ownership as "the system of ownership by capitalist roaders." They cried: "Every factory sabotaged, every enterprise thrown into disorder tightens the stranglehold on capitalist roaders." They tried in every way to disrupt production. In those areas and departments where they usurped leadership, they promoted "applying legalist means to running factories" and "applying the means of dictatorship to agriculture." They openly sabotaged socialist enterprises and promoted fascist slave labor.

A proletarian state cannot apply violence to its own enterprises. On the contrary, it must safeguard the consolidation and development of the economy of the socialist system of ownership by all the people and the economy of the socialist system of collective ownership by the laboring masses. It must protect socialist public property against damage and forbid the use of any means by any person to upset social economic order, sabotage state economic plans, misappropriate and waste state and collective property and encroach upon public interests. These methods fully reflect the desire of the "gang of four"--representatives of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes--for capitalist restoration in China.

A proletarian state cannot apply violence to small production. Now we have led the masses of peasants from small production onto the road of collective ownership by the laboring masses, with the people's commune as the basic organizational form. The transition will be from collective ownership to the socialist system of ownership by all the people.

The existing private plots and family sidelines are necessary supplements to the collective economy. Practice shows that we can only use such democratic means as persuasive education, actual demonstration, state aid, and so forth with regard to small production. Before the transition to the socialist system of ownership by all the people, indiscriminate requisition and transfer of labor, production tools and products of collective enterprises cannot be allowed. Only the patient carrying out of education can be applied to the peasants' small production and capitalist tendencies among the people. The "gang of four" cried: "Apply the dictatorship of the proletariat in transforming small production" and "impose a 24-hour dictatorship on small production." Their call was an extremely reactionary one aimed at sabotaging the worker-peasant alliance and undermining the foundation stone of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Here it must be pointed out that in his article Chang Chun-chiao quoted a passage from Chairman Mao's speech on enterprise leadership at the first plenum of the Ninth CCP Central Committee as the "basis" for his directing the spearhead of dictatorship at socialist enterprises. This was a sheer distortion prompted by sinister designs. In his speech Chairman Mao aptly pointed out that, before the Great Cultural Revolution, not the great majority but a large number of our factories and enterprises were not controlled by genuine Marxists and the masses of workers. This is to say that not the great majority or a small number but a fairly large number of comrades among the leading personnel of our enterprises implemented Liu Shao-chi's counterrevolutionary revisionist line. Meanwhile, Chairman Mao correctly pointed out that those leading personnel who followed Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line included party committee secretaries and deputy secretaries, party committee members and party branch secretaries as well as some good people. This meant that the leading personnel of those enterprises who were not "genuine Marxists" were mostly good people, and the bad people were in the minority. This was Chairman Mao's consistent, basic assessment of the ranks of our party cadres. He presented an important problem to be solved in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This is the leadership problem in our enterprises. This was an important, strategic idea of Chairman Mao.

In the historical period of socialism a proletarian political party, proceeding from the interests of the whole revolutionary cause and bearing in mind the destiny and future of the party and state, must show concern for its own leadership. Only by placing the control of factories and enterprises in the hands of Marxists and the worker masses can we properly implement our party's basic line and run socialist enterprises well. Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, especially since the struggle with the "gang of four," we have clearly seen the extremely great importance of this strategic idea of Chairman Mao. At present we are reorganizing the leading groups of factories and enterprises in the

struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." By so doing we intend to solve the problem of leadership. Experience has shown that, in our factories and enterprises, not the great majority or a small number but a fairly large number of leading personnel have followed the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line and are not "genuine Marxists." Among these leading personnel, bad elements are in the minority, and good people who have committed mistakes are in the majority. The latter are reformable after a period of education and after efforts at raising their line consciousness are made. Chang Chun-chiao wrote off all the leading personnel of enterprises who are not "genuine Marxists" as bad elements and targets of dictatorship and equated them with class enemies. This was a shameless alteration of Chairman Mao's strategic thinking and a wicked plot of the "gang of four" to put socialist enterprises into disarray, sabotage socialist production efforts and seize power.

The so-called exercise of dictatorship over all social relations means, first of all, directing the spearhead at our political system and at the ruling position of our proletariat in the life of the state. In a situation marked by classes and class struggle, relations among men, including political relations, that occupy a dominant position in political, economic, cultural and social life, in family life and in various other social relations are a kind of relationship subordinate to the proletariat's ruling position in the life of the state. The "gang of four" vociferously called for "giving up the old for the new," "thoroughly smashing public security, procuratorate and law enforcement organs," and "ferreting out the handful in the army." This meant overthrowing the proletariat's ruling position in state life and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletariat must never weaken the state apparatus in its own hands. On the contrary, it must continue to strengthen it. Dictatorship must be unhesitatingly imposed on those reactionaries who wildly attempt to resist and sabotage the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The people's state apparatus is an unsheathed, treasured sword or the sharp point of a knife always aimed at a handful of anti-socialist class enemies. It serves the purpose of effectively keeping the enemy away, protecting the people and safeguarding the socialist system.

The so-called exercise of all-round dictatorship over all concepts means promoting cultural despotism, forbidding people to air different views and imposing dictatorship on the laboring people in their thinking and in their words and deeds. In the ideological and cultural realms, truths and lies, the beautiful and the ugly, good and evil, fragrant and poisonous weeds exist in relative terms and develop in mutual struggle. Such struggle is protracted. The leading position of Marxism in the ideological and cultural realms has been established in this struggle. The "gang

of four" had no truth on their side. They were a handful of butchers who strangled socialist culture. They practiced cultural despotism, forbade the revolutionary people to speak out and suppressed the "let a hundred flowers blossom" movement in cultural circles and free discussion in academic circles. Those cultural departments and ideological strongholds they strictly controlled and directed were left in a mess; they had no freedom and were desolate places marked by wilted flowers and silent horses. This served the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp party leadership and restore capitalism.

The proletariat cannot use suppression in treating problems of ideology. As regards thinking among the people, it cannot and does not need to use rough and suppressive methods. As regards non-Marxist thinking, so long as it is not clearly the reactionary speech of counterrevolutionaries and bad elements who do serious damage to the socialist cause, the proletariat must adopt the methods of criticism, persuasion and education. So long as a proletarian state insists on Marxism's dominating all spheres of ideology and culture and adheres to the guideline of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," we can surely make socialist culture thrive.

Chang Chun-chiao called for hitting out at all persons influenced by bourgeois ideas among the people as bourgeois "native fortifications." This was a case of willfully reversing the relations between the enemy and ourselves. It was actually an attempt to find an excuse for the "gang of four's" imposing fascist dictatorship upon revolutionary cadres. Because by "native fortifications" he meant the backbone of the proletarian leadership of our party and state.

From this it can be seen that, by calling for exercising dictatorship over all processes and all fields in his antiparty article, Chang Chun-chiao really meant exercising dictatorship over the masses of workers, peasants, intellectuals and revolutionary cadres and all people who can be united. Such so-called "all-round dictatorship" can only be the fascist dictatorship of the Kuomintang reactionary group. This fully reflected the "gang of four's" desire to restore capitalism in China. It was most eloquent proof that the "gang of four" were the political representatives of the newborn bourgeoisie and all toppled exploiting classes.

III

The "gang of four's" so-called "all-round dictatorship" fundamentally reversed the relations between dictatorship and democracy, seriously trampled upon the people's democracy, shook the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and had serious evil consequences. This is an extremely profound lesson for us. From the high level of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must recognize the

relations between the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy and learn how to correctly handle the relations between them so as to consolidate our proletarian dictatorship and help the smooth progress of socialist revolution and construction.

Beginning with the October Socialist Revolution in the current century, the dictatorship of the proletariat has a history of only 60 years. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has existed for only 29 years. Even counting the 72 days of the Paris Commune, the state system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is still a new undertaking. In this short period of several decades, heated and complicated struggle has provided the dictatorship of the proletariat with an accumulation of positive and negative experiences. Historical experience shows that the practice of democracy among the people and the exercise of dictatorship over the people's enemy are inseparable. Whether we can correctly handle the relations between the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy is of decisive significance in consolidating the socialist system.

Regarding the 1871 Paris Commune, Marx, summing up experience, not only severely criticized the lack of force in exercising dictatorship over counterrevolutionaries but also attached great importance to the kind of working class democracy that had just appeared. Theoretically, he expressed his great concern about the fact that the working class cannot simply hold the state apparatus in its hands but must smash the old state apparatus and find a substitute for it. He was quick to note the democratic measures taken by the Paris Commune. He highly praised an election system which the commune used to elect all public workers without exception. This system allowed them to be transferred or replaced. Their salary scale was reduced to the same level as that of ordinary workers. The significance of these democratic measures lies in their preventing the state workers from seeking position and wealth and from turning from public servants into masters of society, thus realizing the transformation of bourgeois democracy into proletarian democracy and insuring the proletarian dictatorship of the commune.

In light of the experience of the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin stressed on the one hand that dictatorship is ruthless, violent, bloody and painful and that revolution cannot succeed without the exercise of proletarian dictatorship and without the suppression of the exploiters. On the other hand, he pointed out with emphasis that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most extensive democracy. The fundamental difference that sets it apart from the dictatorship of previous exploiting classes lies in dictatorship being exercised by a great majority of people over a minority. Bourgeois dictatorship is dictatorship exercised by a minority of people over the great majority. Its maintenance relies solely on violence. Proletarian dictatorship is dictatorship exercised by a great majority. Its maintenance relies on the masses' confidence in it

and on drawing the whole body of people in an unrestrained and most extensive and effective manner into its regime.

The historical experience of our proletarian dictatorship shows that the dictatorship of the proletariat draws its strength not only from the suppression of the enemy but from the most extensive socialist democracy. The power of suppressing the enemy is inseparable from the people's democratic rights. The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be opposed to socialist democracy. The stress on socialist democracy cannot be regarded as a weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the stress on the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be regarded as a weakening of socialist democracy. The dictatorship of the proletariat can triumph over all class enemies at home and abroad and shoulder the great historical task of eliminating classes precisely because it practices among the masses of people the kind of democracy not realized by bourgeois democracy of any kind.

Any practice that restricts the development of people's democracy is harmful to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Without extensive democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated and its regime is unstable. Without democracy, without calling the masses into action and without supervision, we cannot effectively exercise dictatorship over reactionaries and bad elements and cannot effectively transform them. They are likely to continue making trouble and may stage a comeback." (Mao Tsetung: "Speech at the Enlarged Work Conference of the CCP Central Committee") Even in the crucial period of class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat must practice the most extensive people's democracy. The more heated the class struggle, the greater the need for the proletariat to rely on the masses of people and on their revolutionary enthusiasm to triumph over counterrevolutionary forces.

The most extensive socialist democracy practiced by a proletarian state is built on the trust of the masses. The proletarian state must firmly believe in the great majority of people, and primarily in the great majority of the worker-peasant masses as a basis. This is our basic starting point. We must firmly believe that the great majority of the people are good, that the great majority of workers, peasants and intellectuals are good and that the great majority of Communist Party members are good. Those who are for socialism account for 95 percent of the population of the whole country. Their percentage may be raised to 98 percent after a certain amount of work. Those who disapprove of or oppose socialism represent around 5 percent. Of them, only 2 percent are dead set against socialism.

Our party and army have glorious democratic traditions. In the long period of revolutionary war we did not receive pay from anyone and had no factory to produce guns and artillery pieces. Instead, we relied on

the fighters and on the people. We consulted with the masses on all matters. In the period of socialist revolution and construction we still rely upon the masses of people. Whenever we rely upon the people in a proper way, the revolutionary cause is successful and progresses smoothly. Whenever we detach ourselves from the people, the revolutionary cause is beset with difficulties and setbacks.

Only by relying on the initiative and activism of millions upon millions of people could the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have successfully waged three major line struggles and smashed the three bourgeois headquarters. Reviewing the course of struggle with Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, Chairman Mao said that in the past we waged struggle in the countryside, in factories and in cultural circles and conducted the socialist education movement, but we did not solve our problems. The key lay in arousing the masses in a most extensive manner. The Great Cultural Revolution movement is great democracy with the participation of millions upon millions of people. Only by fully arousing the masses can we raise their consciousness to an unprecedented height with regard to concerning themselves with major issues of the state, safeguarding the dictatorship of the proletariat and maintaining socialist democracy. Their consciousness and their discernment have been most vividly demonstrated in the arduous and complicated struggle against the "gang of four."

Our country has now entered a new period of development. Due to the great chaos which resulted from the "gang of four's" reversal of the relations between the enemy and ourselves, a very important problem for us is to strictly distinguish between and correctly handle the two different kinds of contradictions, especially contradictions among the people, and arouse the activism of the people. To promote stability and unity and create a situation of peace and order across the land we must energetically carry forward socialist democracy while continuously strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must shatter the spiritual shackles of the "gang of four" and eliminate the remnant poison of the antiparty article "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship." We must again conduct education in democratic centralism among the masses of cadres and people, continue to energetically revive and carry forward the democratic traditions of the party, gradually establish a whole set of systems insuring democracy among the party and people's democracy, perfect the socialist legal system, strengthen the people's supervision over state organs, and develop democratic means which allow the people's participation in state management and enterprise management, and as we develop extensive socialist democracy and continue making revolution systematically under the dictatorship of the proletariat we can surely guarantee victory in fulfilling the general task of the new period.

CRITICIZING YAO WEN-YUAN

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 1 Oct 78 pp 25-37

[Article by the mass criticism group of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee and the RED FLAG editorial department]

[Text] Yao Wen-yuan, the bourgeois careerist, conspirator and counter-revolutionary doubledealer, was quite an actor during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. An alien class element who sneaked into the party, he was at first a paltry follower beating the drums for the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique and the bourgeois rightwing. He suddenly changed into a prominent figure in China's political arena. For many years he controlled the news media, called black white, confused right and wrong and prepared counterrevolutionary public opinion for the "gang of four's" usurpation of supreme party and state leadership. He was extremely arrogant and used the most despicable tactics. No matter how well he disguised himself, his true features revealed themselves more clearly to us. This counterrevolutionary clown was eventually inundated by the roaring waves of the revolution and came to a deservedly shameful end.

Although Yao Wen-yuan was overthrown with the antiparty clique of the "gang of four" 2 years ago, he still deserves a thorough analysis as a valuable teacher by negative example. Let us therefore analyze him in regard to several major aspects.

The Sinister General Manager of Counterrevolutionary Public Opinion

The "gang of four" had colluded for a long time with the Lin Piao anti-party clique to widely prepare counterrevolutionary public opinion for the sabotaging of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. After the collapse of the Lin Piao antiparty clique, the "gang of four" gained exclusive control of the public media, redoubled their efforts and manipulated one antiparty high tide after another with a view to usurping supreme party and state leadership. The "gang of four" cooked up their own schemes in various political movements and even went to the

extent of openly fabricating Chairman Mao's "last will." Once their counterrevolutionary fallacies were put forward, they were frontpaged by newspapers and other publications. The "gang of four's" tune was sung in broadcasts, television programs, novels, plays, films and all sorts of publications. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought was distorted and tampered with, the party's principles and policies were trampled upon and discarded and the people's voices were stifled. While revolutionary public opinion was being strangled, counterrevolutionary sinister articles became rampant, and poisonous weeds of all descriptions flooded the news media, spreading a pernicious influence throughout the country.

How did such a situation occur? It occurred because the "gang of four" had usurped the leadership over our party's Propaganda Department. Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao made plans and decisions and Yao Wen-yuan controlled all the media.

In 1968 Yao Wen-yuan took over the directorship of RED FLAG from Chen Po-ta. To turn this theoretical publication of the party Central Committee into a "gang of four" mouthpiece, he drove almost all the comrades of the former editorial department away. Without the approval of the party Central Committee, he recruited cohorts and planted his confidants, forming a so-called "six-man group" under his command and completely seizing the leadership of RED FLAG. In the 8 long years before the downfall of the "gang of four" he never asked advice from or made a report to Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee. Except for the "gang of four," the leading comrades of the party Central Committee were not allowed to ask questions about this magazine. Yao Wen-yuan made excuses for refusing to carry articles in RED FLAG that had been recommended by Vice Chairman Yeh and other comrades of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee. Thus, RED FLAG became an impregnable independent kingdom strictly controlled by the "gang of four."

Esteemed and beloved Premier Chou showed constant concern for and always looked into the work of PEOPLE'S DAILY and NCNA. After stretching their black hands into these two organizations, the "gang of four" adopted all possible means to reject Premier Chou's leadership. They seized leadership step by step by placing and fostering their followers and hitting at and persecuting cadres who followed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. To monopolize these two units, they ordered that all important contributed articles be sent to Yao Wen-yuan for approval. They strictly controlled KWANGMING DAILY and the broadcasting administration in the same way. WEN HUI PAO and LIBERATION DAILY in Shanghai were already in the hands of Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan. During and after 1973 they published some "gang publications" such as STUDY AND CRITICISM, MORNING GLOW and DIALECTICS OF NATURE MAGAZINE.

They grasped the positions with one hand and the ranks with the other. Ganging up with Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan not only

controlled as many news media as possible but also manipulated several writing groups, using them as "artillery units" to prepare counterrevolutionary public opinion. Among these writing groups, the mass criticism group of the former Peking and Tsinghua universities and the writing group of the former Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee were the vanguards of the "gang of four" in usurping supreme party and state leadership. The former received orders chiefly from Chiang Ching and occasionally from Yao Wen-yuan. The latter was directly commanded by Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan. Chih Heng--which was fostered and strictly controlled by Yao Wen-yuan himself--and Tang Hsiao-wen and Chu Lan--which were supervised chiefly by Chiang Ching--were writing groups hired by the "gang of four." Working in coordination, these several "artillery units" generated great power, although they did not have a large number of men. Using different pseudonyms, they were quite capable of putting up a false front and creating a spirited atmosphere. Moreover, they were designated by the "gang of four" as "authorities." The sinister articles they concocted were taken by newspapers and other publications all over the country as the "theme" of propaganda. They caused inestimable damage.

In the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary chorus, Yao Wen-yuan worked both as backstage planner and stage director. Based in Peking and remotely controlling Shanghai, he followed the "gang of four's" plans, particularly the instructions from Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, and directed the news media under his control to stir up all kinds of big trouble. He was painstaking with his work in this regard: He told STUDY AND CRITICISM to speak out on matters that were inconvenient for RED FLAG to deal with in order to "see the response from all sides." This was the tactic of a burglar "throwing a stone into a house to find out if the occupants were awake." Articles which had already been basically finalized "were put aside and would be published at an opportune moment." This was a tactic of "waiting for a chance." Stress was laid on "showing concern for the general situation of class struggle" and "grasping the main ideological trend." This was a tactic of "not losing one's bearings." From this we can see how well he was versed in machination.

How did Yao Wen-yuan, as the sinister general manager, direct the news media against the party and pave the way for the "gang of four's" attempt to usurp supreme party and state leadership? As an example we may take the antiparty farce he directed of "going all-out to oppose empiricism." As a result of the "gang of four's" machination, on 1 March 1975 Yao Wen-yuan put forward his sinister article "On the Social Basis." In this article he lied that Chairman Mao had said on many occasions in the past decade that "empiricism is the main danger." At a forum of the whole army Chang Chun-chiao on the same day also suggested taking the struggle against empiricism as the "key link." At that time Chiang Ching also clamored that empiricism was "a deadly enemy at present." Cranking up the propaganda machine, Yao Wen-yuan spared no effort to trumpet their

fallacies. By his order a PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial was stuffed with the idea of going against empiricism. The day this editorial was released he immediately told NCNA to publicize it and deliver reports on some "good models." When revising a short RED FLAG commentary he again issued sinister instructions to "speak out more specifically" against empiricism. This short commentary was finalized after several revisions. He ordered PEOPLE'S DAILY to reproduce it and at the same time told NCNA to "organize some response with emphasis on certain key points." NCNA published for internal circulation the sinister article written by Ma Tien-shui and other followers of the "gang of four." This article gave an account of the "10 expressions" of empiricism in the Shanghai machine tool plant. Upon receiving this article, Chiang Ching felt she had hit the jackpot. She immediately asked for several dozen copies of this article, sent them in her name to some leading comrades and forced these comrades to "look into the mirror." Manipulated by Yao Wen-yuan, RED FLAG gave prominence in March and April 1975 to the propaganda against empiricism; PEOPLE'S DAILY carried 21 articles and reports on the fight against empiricism, and NCNA broadcast 18 similar articles and reports. This stirred up counterrevolutionary winds and pointed the spearhead of attack against Premier Chou and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. In late April Chairman Mao gave some brilliant instructions which were a direct blow to the "gang of four's" conspiracy against empiricism. However, Yao Wen-yuan feigned compliance while opposing them. Collaborating with Wang Hung-wen, he kept the whole party completely in the dark about Chairman Mao's instructions. Meanwhile, he instructed RED FLAG to concoct articles to embellish their crimes and put up a fight.

Yao Wen-yuan made painstaking efforts to pave the way for the "gang of four" to mount the rostrum. In July 1974 he told the chieftain of the Lo Ssu-ting writing group: "The government was good during the reign of Empress Lu." Taking his hint, this chieftain understood that this time he had to extol Chiang Ching by praising Empress Lu. Regardless of historical facts, in his sinister article "On Class Struggle During the Period Between the Chin and Han Dynasties" he babbled: "The region of Kuanchung under the leadership of Empress Lu and Hsiao Ho" "became a base area aiding the frontiers." Yao Wen-yuan made two additions. He equated Empress Lu with Liu Pang and gave this sinister instruction: "The problem has not yet been thoroughly discussed. It may be dealt with in other special articles." The chieftain immediately made arrangements for writing the article "On Empress Lu." This article was never published, because its purpose was "too distinct." Later, "Empress Wu Che-tien" was published in the gang's publication STUDY AND CRITICISM. Realizing that it was just not enough to praise Empress Lu and Empress Wu Che-tien, Yao Wen-yuan had an interview with the ringleader of the Chih Heng writing group in August 1974 and stressed the importance of "answering the question of what kind of impact the study of the Confucian-Legalist struggle has on the dictatorship of the proletariat." Obeying his sinister instruction, RED FLAG carried Liang Hsiao's article

"Studying the Historical Experience of the Struggle Between Confucian and Legalist Schools." In its issue No 10, living up to Yao Wen-yuan's "expectations," this sinister article expounded this "historical experience": Legalists should be put in important positions and "be appointed to important posts in the central government," and "the presence of a relatively consistent Legalist leading group in the central government insures adherence to the Legalist line." Following suit, STUDY AND CRITICISM also carried a sinister article in its issue No 11, "On Politics and Taoism During the Early Western Han Dynasty," which said that Empress Lu "persistently implemented not only the Legalist political line adopted by Liu Pang but also his Legalist organizational line," so that the Legalists "were assigned to key leading posts." Did Yao Wen-yuan not say that "in a sense we also are Legalists"? On the eve of the Fourth NPC and when the "gang of four" conspired to "form a cabinet" and seize power, Yao Wen-yuan vigorously trumpeted the "theory that Legalists should hold power." Was his intention not clear enough?

Exercising strict control over the news media and frenziedly enforcing the "gang of four's" fascist cultural autocracy and policy of taboos, Yao Wen-yuan silenced all voices taking exception to the "gang of four's" allegations, totally deprived the people of their freedom of speech, suppressed all outstanding films, dramas and novels created before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and attacked from all sides recently created good and relatively good literary works. He even prohibited publication of such phrases as "let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," "Red and expert," "develop productive forces," "realize the four modernizations" and so on. A young worker once contributed an article to RED FLAG disagreeing with the criticism of the "theory of productive forces." He was charged and sentenced to 12 years in prison. As the Chinese saying goes, "The magistrates were allowed to burn down houses while the common people were forbidden even to light lamps." The "gang of four" wantonly spread poison but forbade the people to air their dissent.

Turning all news media into the "gang of four's" exclusive property, Yao Wen-yuan allowed the party Central Committee no admittance whatsoever. He withheld from publication PEOPLE'S DAILY articles which had been examined and approved by the central leading comrades. He even went to the extent of assuming a fierce look and reproaching these comrades: "You want to use four Politburo members to suppress one? You are splitting the party Central Committee!" Actually, it was he who wanted to split the party Central Committee. He also held the party Central Committee at bay. Internal information and data which various news media wished to pass on to the party Central Committee were not transmitted without his approval.

Yao Wen-yuan kept himself busy day and night controlling public opinion and using it to serve the "gang of four." His service to the "gang of

four's" counterrevolutionary cause was so distinguished that Chiang Ching openly announced: "Wen-yuan should be the commander in chief after my death." Good gracious! Yao Wen-yuan, the sinister general manager for preparation of counterrevolutionary public opinion, was indeed highly valued by Chiang Ching!

The Headsman Who Kills People With a Pen

Chairman Mao said: "There are two ways of killing a man, either with a gun or with a pen. The latter is a tactfully camouflaged way of killing a man without shedding blood." Yao Wen-yuan was an executioner who killed people with his pen!

Yao Wen-yuan rose to power by clubbing people; he was known as "Club Yao." The commonplace products of his pen were subjective, arbitrary, farfetched, perverted, truculent and unreasonable articles--articles which exaggerated other people's mistakes to the maximum. At the outset his pen was like a club. Once he had risen to power his pen became like a knife. Someone said in an article that the sun had a black spot. Yao Wen-yuan made a big noise and said that this meant "openly cursing our party and great leader." His daily routine was to write articles handing out a political death sentence on somebody.

Yao Wen-yuan killed people by means of his pen. He was merciless at heart and in deeds. As soon as the ninth party congress concluded, he took part in the "Sang Wei-chuan incident" concocted by Chang Chun-chiao and madly launched counterrevolutionary encirclement and suppression against a small assistant technician. Written under his instruction and revised by him, a sinister article made charges against Comrade Sang Wei-chuan, who had dared to uphold truth and object to criticism of the novel "Morning in Shanghai." The article clamored that Sang Wei-chuan's "reactionary ideas" must be "hit at continuously and relentlessly for a few decades and even a few centuries until they have really been beaten to death." Thus, woe befell Sang Wei-chuan. In a year or so he was led through the streets more than 290 times to be accused by the public. Eventually he was sentenced to 7 years in prison. Yao Wen-yuan publicly said that "clubbing is justified." Sang Wei-chuan was certainly not the only one he clubbed. Let us consider this: Which of the unjustly and wrongly judged cases and false charges was not connected with the counterrevolutionary public opinion concocted by Yao Wen-yuan? Sinister articles concocted by Yao Wen-yuan himself or at his instruction were innumerable. There are people everywhere who suffered directly or indirectly from these articles. Many people were killed and even had their families and relatives involved in their cases.

Yao Wen-yuan's knifelike pen was pointed mainly at the central and local party, government and military leading comrades at all levels. He took an active part in concocting and frenziedly publicizing the

counterrevolutionary political program which held that "veteran cadres are 'democrats' and 'democrats' are 'capitalist roaders.'" The aim of this program was to overthrow leading cadres at all levels who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

On 2 January 1976 Yao Wen-yuan wrote this instruction on the plan to organize contributing commentator articles in RED FLAG: "There must be a brief and concise commentary on ideology that tells how some comrades remaining at the stage of the democratic revolution have been transformed." The Chih Heng writing group immediately went into action and concocted sinister articles. Not long after that Chang Chun-chiao wrote his notorious "Thoughts on 3 February 1976," and the "gang of four" went further to cook up new schemes. On 18 February Yao Wen-yuan telephoned his cohort working with RED FLAG: "The article on cadres whose thinking remains at the stage of the democratic revolution should be written in light of the development of the current situation." He fiercely emphasized that "the spearhead of criticism should be pointed at unrepentant capitalist roaders in the party." In light of Yao Wen-yuan's sinister instruction, this article was rewritten and its title changed from "Recognize the Nature and Tasks of the Socialist Revolution" to "Changing From Bourgeois Democrats Into Capitalist Roaders." This change clearly brought out the point. On this article's third draft, after its title had been changed, Yao Wen-yuan added the phrase "making revolution against the bourgeoisie in the party." He cherished a murderous intent. This so-called "bourgeoisie in the party" meant the revolutionary veteran cadres who had been wrongly called "democrats" or "capitalist roaders." This so-called "making revolution against the bourgeoisie in the party" was a reprint of "making revolution against those among us who had participated in the revolution" as advocated by Lin Piao. After six revisions by Yao Wen-yuan, this big poisonous weed, which systematized and theorized the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary political program, was published in RED FLAG No 3 of 1976.

Yao Wen-yuan came forward to trumpet the counterrevolutionary political program. PEOPLE'S DAILY carried an 18 May article entitled "There Really Is a Bourgeois Class in the Party." This title was derived from a sinister instruction given by Yao Wen-yuan. Yao Wen-yuan ordered NCNA to immediately publicize this article throughout the country. On the same day WEN HUI PAO carried an article "On the Bourgeoisie in the Party" by Kang Li (a pseudonym of the writing group of the former Shanghai municipal committee). About the same time LIBERATION DAILY carried an article titled "The Bourgeoisie Is Right Inside the Party," STUDY AND CRITICISM magazine carried "On the Capitalist Roaders" and RED FLAG carried "The Capitalist Roaders Are a Bourgeois Class in the Party." These sinister articles were filled with malicious remarks about the party and shameless slander against the ranks of party cadres, and they completely negated the great revolutionary cause led by our party. At the same time Yao Wen-yuan clamored at the top of his voice that "it is necessary to ferret out people

at all levels in light of the concrete conditions on all fronts," to sweep clean "all spheres one after another" and to publish antiparty articles one after another. He made a lot of noise spreading such fallacies as the "theory of halfway revolution," the "theory that rights take the central position" and the "theory that the bourgeoisie develops by three stages." The evil wind of ferreting out "capitalist roaders," "capitulationists," "restorationists," "the homegoing legion" and the "pigtailed party" blew ever more wildly all over the country.

The "gang of four's" perverted deeds aroused the people's resentment. From Yuhuatai in Nanking to the people's heroes memorial monument in Peking, "people came in unending streams and there was a sea of flowers." Millions upon millions of workers, peasants, army men, revolutionary cadres and intellectuals and college and school students expressed their deep memories of esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and their boundless hatred of the evil "gang of four." This unprecedented revolutionary deed of the masses put the "gang of four" in an extremely uncomfortable position. Unable to restrain himself, Yao Wen-yuan hastily telephoned his confidant working with PEOPLE'S DAILY and told him to send some reporters to copy down the poems, see the actual conditions and write materials for internal circulation. These materials did not truly reflect the facts. With an ulterior purpose, Yao Wen-yuan still made changes in this material. Yao Wen-yuan summoned that confidant and the reporters concerned on 7 April and told them to write a public report based on a few copies of classified material. This report was published on 8 April after he had revised it. In this report, playing the tricks of quoting passages from the text and grouping unrelated parts, he pieced together the revolutionary poems of the masses and took them as "counterrevolutionary evidence" in an attempt to suppress the thousands upon thousands of revolutionary people. Moreover, he racked his brain to push the blame onto Vice Chairman Teng. Disparaging and attacking Vice Chairman Teng in the most malicious way, he insisted that the so-called "Nagy" be mentioned by name in the report. After this report, which stood truth on its head, had been published, he ordered that RED FLAG No 5 be published early. This issue of RED FLAG carried the sinister articles by the Chih Heng and Liang Hsiao writing groups which falsely accused Vice Chairman Teng of being "chief boss behind the scene" and an "arch-culprit." He was elated and then told a confidant of the "gang of four": This is "very important material in the history of proletarian journalism." He concocted the darkest page in the history of proletarian journalism yet boasted of what he had done. How shameful and detestable he was!

An executioner who used a pen to kill people, Yao Wen-yuan was praised by renegade Chiang Ching as "a gold club of the proletariat." Now it can be seen that this was a fascist club used especially to beat the proletariat and the revolutionary people. In fact, he did not use a pen exclusively to kill people. He wrote this clearly in his reactionary

diary: "Why is it impermissible to shoot dead a number of counterrevolutionaries? Dictatorship is not embroidery, after all." Was this bellicose remark about "shooting dead" so-called "counterrevolutionaries" not made against the millions of revolutionary cadres and people who fought against the "gang of four"?

The Chungshan Wolf Which Commits Treachery Once It Is in a Position To Have Its Own Way

"He is like the wolf of Chungshan which commits treachery once it is in a position to have its own way." Yao Wen-yuan once used this line from a poem in "Dream of the Red Chamber" to describe the Lin Piao antiparty clique. In fact, the "gang of four" were jackals of the same lair with Lin Piao. This line is "quite applicable" to Yao Wen-yuan and his partners.

The "gang of four" made further advances in gaining high positions after the 10th National CCP Congress. As their power increased, their counterrevolutionary ambition inflated. They employed all kinds of schemes and tricks to oppose great leader Chairman Mao, esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, Chairman Hua, Vice Chairman Yeh and Vice Chairman Teng. They even made frenzied attempts to overthrow all leading party, government and military cadres who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They were particularly hostile to leading comrades who had been entrusted by Chairman Mao to take charge of the day-to-day work of the party Central Committee. Those who took charge of this work became the targets of concentrated attacks by the news media set in motion by Yao Wen-yuan.

A close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao, esteemed and beloved Premier Chou was a great proletarian revolutionary. In the course of protracted revolutionary struggles, Premier Chou carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line creatively and comprehensively. However, the "gang of four" regarded this good premier of the people as a thorn in their flesh and colluded with Lin Piao in opposing him. To realize their conspiracy to "form a cabinet" after the 10th National CCP Congress, they took the opportunity to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and stirred up evil waves in opposition to Premier Chou. Yao Wen-yuan participated in mass meetings to launch surprise attacks and called group meetings to plot in secret. He was busy making telephone calls, giving instructions, dispatching his men, suggesting topics for articles and revising these articles. He arranged for the Lo Ssu-ting writing group to come forward first and fire two shots, i.e., the two elaborate sinister articles "On Honoring Confucianism and Opposing Legalism" and "Struggle Between Restoration and Counterrestoration in the Course of the Founding of the Chin Dynasty." The former article spread the fallacies that the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools had been going on for 2,000 years, the Legalist school had been suppressed and there were Confucianists in the party, thus setting the tune for the so-called "comment on Legalism and

criticism of Confucianism." The latter article concentrated on criticizing Lu Pu-wei's "eclecticism" and criticized seven or eight prime ministers by name, thus paving the way for criticism of the so-called "Confucian prime ministers." Later, by command of Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, the hack writing groups of Liang Hsiao, Chih Heng and Tang Hsiao-wen echoed one another and made much noise. They published one reactionary article after another, used ancient things to satirize the present, made slanderous charges by innuendo and maliciously attacked esteemed and beloved Premier Chou. Yao Wen-yuan continued to issue sinister instructions reiterating the necessity to write "political articles" and "to bear the current political struggle in mind." His intention was to remind his cohorts and followers never to forget that they were making trouble this time for the purpose of dragging out "the present-day big Confucianists" and "the disciples of Confucius." In revising Liang Hsiao's article "Reflections on the 'Discourses on the State Control of Salt and Iron,'" he stuffed it with "criticism of the Duke of Chou." To a PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial he added the sinister words that the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools had been going on for more than 2,000 years and "is still underway at present," thus preparing public opinion for ferreting out "Confucianists" at all levels. Designed by the "gang of four," the waves of innuendo in writing about history became a disaster, and the evil wind of "criticizing prime ministers" blew wilder and wilder. The minor charges included "expounding theories without producing one's original writings" and "making compromises." Serious charges included "restoration and regression" and "capitulation and national betrayal." Countless arrows were shot at esteemed and beloved Premier Chou.

A reactionary literary rascal, Yao Wen-yuan racked his brain and employed all possible means to attack Premier Chou. At that time many innocent people did not clearly see the intention of the "gang of four's" public opinion company in writing the numerous foul and long-winded articles. Now the facts have been laid bare. From the discussion of abnormal weather to the criticism of the so-called "sinister picture," from the criticism of the so-called "evil theoretical wind" to the "S.S. Fengching" incident, from the fight against empiricism to the criticism of "Water Margin," from the criticism of "absolute music" to the attack on the film "Hai-Hsia," the criticism of Chia Cheng in "Dream of the Red Chamber" and the criticism of conservatism and servility to foreign things, the "gang of four" either wove things out of thin air, seized on some pretext, attacked by innuendo or made indirect accusations. All their tactics were aimed at Premier Chou and other leading comrades of the party Central Committee and at Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Capitalists sometimes run the risk of being hanged in their pursuit of huge profits. Similarly, Yao Wen-yuan acted recklessly in attempting to seize supreme party and state leadership. In January 1974 he went to Shanghai to assign counterrevolutionary tasks to the Lo Ssu-ting writing

group; he wanted it to step up the concoction of the article "Criticizing 'Lu's Spring and Autumn Annals.'" He emphasized that "this is a political article." The Lo Ssu-ting writing group took the hint but hesitated, because it would have had to face nationwide condemnation for opposing Premier Chou. Seeing this, Yao Wen-yuan encouraged it by saying: "There is nothing to be afraid of.... It isn't important if we fail. We will never die out anyway." Look. Isn't this the countenance of a political gambler? Even though he had such an arrogant appearance, Yao Wen-yuan was in fact very timid. He used the "conservation of matter" to swindle himself and other people. This showed how feeble he was. But he could never wash his hands of the conspiracy. He also was aware that any careerist who opposes the party will someday bring ruin and shame upon himself. Wasn't Chang Chun-chiao always worrying about "being dragged out and shot dead"? Even when the "gang of four" were running wild, the No 2 man of the Lo Ssu-ting writing group also mumbled that "an article now means a tombstone in the future." Yao Wen-yuan had the same gloomy outlook!

Around the time of esteemed and beloved Premier Chou's death, the "gang of four" concentrated their principal forces and went all out to attack and vilify Vice Chairman Teng. Great leader Chairman Mao highly esteemed Vice Chairman Teng: He is a man with rare talent and has a strong concept of politics. After the Fourth NPC, Chairman Mao instructed Vice Chairman Teng to take charge of the daily activities of the party Central Committee when Premier Chou was seriously ill. Obeying Chairman Mao's instructions, the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee led by Vice Chairman Teng launched a tit-for-tat struggle against the "gang of four," thus further foiling the gang's conspiracy to seize power. At the same time Vice Chairman Teng adopted a number of measures to strengthen party leadership and reorganize work in all aspects, scoring remarkable results. The "gang of four" deeply hated and mortally feared Vice Chairman Teng. In a sinister instruction given in late 1975, Chang Chun-chiao openly likened Vice Chairman Teng, who was then in charge of the daily activities of the party Central Committee, to revisionist ringleaders like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, Trotsky and Bukharin. This showed how anxious the "gang of four" were to deliver vital blows to denigrate Vice Chairman Teng. Yao Wen-yuan displayed all his abilities as a reactionary literary rascal in fabricating charges against Vice Chairman Teng and attacking him. Vice Chairman Teng's speech at the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture was perused and approved by Chairman Mao. But Yao Wen-yuan wantonly distorted and openly criticized it. The export of crude oil was approved by Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee. Yao Wen-yuan also agreed to it. But he accused Vice Chairman Teng of "in practical terms, shifting the oil crisis onto us" and "out-and-out national betrayal." What was still more despicable was that Yao Wen-yuan heard Chairman Mao tell comrades of the Political Bureau that "people of the ninth category must not quit," but he flatly denied this and said that this was a rumor spread

by Vice Chairman Teng. With affected seriousness, he wrote this comment on an NCNA memo for internal circulation: "That statement was a fabrication and a deliberate alteration. Now it can be used as negative material for criticizing the influence of the rightist wind of reversing verdicts." He became so reckless that he took Chairman Mao's instruction as "counter-revolutionary rumor" and wanted to track it down and criticize it in public. In this way he overtly directed the spearhead at great leader Chairman Mao and adopted all possible means to vilify Vice Chairman Teng.

After Premier Chou passed away, Vice Chairman Teng was attacked and vilified again. The "gang of four" thought that this time they could mount the rostrum and take the reins. However, great leader Chairman Mao saw through their machinations. Adopting a very clear-cut, firm attitude, he would not allow the "gang of four" to take charge of the daily activities of the party Central Committee. In January and April 1976, upon Chairman Mao's proposals and with the decisions approved by the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng was appointed acting premier of the State Council, first vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee and premier of the State Council. This was a wise, decisive measure affecting the future and destiny of our party and state. It also was a telling blow to the "gang of four's" conspiracy to usurp supreme party and state leadership. The "gang of four" were so exasperated that they gnashed their teeth in hatred. Yao Wen-yuan hurriedly commanded his "artillery units" to hit at and vilify Vice Chairman Teng while simultaneously firing their shots at Chairman Hua. In early February he scrutinized and approved for internal circulation a piece of material on a Liaoning conference in which Chairman Hua and Vice Chairman Teng were attacked by name. Having a guilty conscience, he removed the names but retained the content of the attack. On 6 February, following the "gang of four's" instruction, Liang Hsiao cooked up an antiparty article "Another Discussion on Confucius--What Kind of Man Was He?" This article maliciously attacked Chairman Hua by innuendo. Fearing that this article might betray his intentions, Yao Wen-yuan, who called himself a "careful" man, telephoned his confidant working at the PEOPLE'S DAILY. He said: "It is necessary to link ourselves with class struggle. Some historical events may be linked with class struggle," but the appointment of the ancient minister of crimes as prime minister "should not be linked with class struggle for the time being." The crux lies in "for the time being." They wanted to oppose the revolution and watch for an opportune moment so they would not spoil their scheme or show their cloven hooves. So, when this article was published the words of attack were rather obscure, but the direction in which the spearhead of attack was pointed could be seen distinctly. At about the same time RED FLAG vigorously criticized the formulation of "softness, laxity and laziness," and the KWANGMING DAILY also carried a number of reactionary articles such as Liang Hsiao's "Again Criticize 'Restraining Oneself and Restoring Rites'" and "As Soon as Sung Chiang Ascends Liangshan Mountain, He...", thus attacking Chairman Hua by innuendo.

In early April 1976, when great leader Chairman Mao nominated Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as his successor, he clearly pointed out: "It is necessary to propagandize and give publicity to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to gradually make him known to people throughout the country." This instruction manifested Chairman Mao's boundless confidence in Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and had vital, far-reaching significance. But Yao Wen-yuan not only tightly concealed this important instruction but also racked his brains to "work in opposition" to it and used propaganda and reports to disparage Chairman Hua. On the evening of 30 April, after he had received some foreign guests, Chairman Mao wrote to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng the six brilliant characters, "With you in charge, I am at ease." That same evening, when selecting pictures of his interview with the foreign guests, Chairman Mao made a special request: I want pictures showing me and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng together. But Yao Wen-yuan impudently refused to do so. Didn't Yao Wen-yuan say that he was the person most loyal to Chairman Mao? At this crucial moment he tore off his mask and bared his true features of recklessly opposing Chairman Mao. But dark clouds can never cover the sun. Great leader Chairman Mao's instruction has already been realized. The people of the whole country not only have come to know Comrade Hua Kuo-feng but also show boundless love for, utmost confidence in and firm support for their wise leader.

In June 1976, when great leader Chairman Mao was seriously ill, the "gang of four" ran wilder with their antiparty activities. On 1 July Yao Wen-yuan revised a sinister article concocted under the direction of his male and female lieutenants at Tsinghua University. He openly said that "we shall rebel against anyone who practices revisionism and takes the capitalist road." With ulterior motives he stressed the necessity of increasing vigilance against the emergence of revisionism in the party Central Committee, thus pointing the spearhead at the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and at Chairman Hua. He added: "Heighten vigilance and pay attention to the trend of class struggle." The concrete meaning of his words was manifested in what Chih Chun said while concocting this article: "Each level should keep an eye on the other," and "each level should keep an eye on the next higher level" and "on the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee." At the end of July Yao Wen-yuan discovered the "trend of class struggle" after the strong earthquake at Tangshan. He first instructed the PEOPLE'S DAILY to babble in its editorial: "The ringleaders of the opportunist line always try to take advantage of temporary difficulties caused by natural disasters in order to change the direction of the revolution and restore capitalism." This was a malicious attack on Chairman Hua. The day after this editorial was published, i.e., on 12 August, Yao Wen-yuan came to the editorial department of RED FLAG to talk drivel, vilifying Chairman Hua as taking advantage of the earthquake and relief work to "give up class struggle" and "change the key link." He especially pointed out that this was "a new trend" "in the party." So RED FLAG in its No 10 issue carried a sinister article entitled "Perseveringly Take Class

Struggle as the Key Link," which was revised three times by Yao Wen-yuan. In this article Vice Chairman Teng was the direct target and Chairman Hua was an indirect target of attack.

After the death of great leader Chairman Mao, the "gang of four" quickened their pace of usurping supreme party and state leadership. Yao Wen-yuan secretly ordered his followers in Shanghai to "lift up their spirits, step up their work and prepare for combat." At the same time he directed the farce of fabricating Chairman Mao's so-called "last will." On 13 September, when planning the publication of an editorial, he told his confidant at the PEOPLE'S DAILY: "In this editorial the most important thing is to insert Chairman Mao's words, 'Act according to the principles laid down.' After its publication this editorial will greatly affect the future." He also specified the time for its broadcast and transmission by NCNA. After this editorial was published, a huge clamor arose concerning "Act according to the principles laid down." How the "gang of four" went wild with joy at that time! But, unexpectedly, their lie was uncovered immediately. On 20 October, in his written comments on a document, wise leader Chairman Hua completely exposed their fabrication. But the "gang of four" were not reconciled to defeat. Yao Wen-yuan had the effrontery to tell his confidant at the PEOPLE'S DAILY to send some people to make a counterinvestigation, in an attempt to level false charges and launch a counterattack on Chairman Hua. On 4 October the "gang of four" again gave a counterrevolutionary signal in the KWANGMING DAILY, frenziedly attempting to overthrow the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. However, the situation developed in a direction contrary to their wishes. This was only a mad attempt of the "gang of four" before their doom.

Like Lin Piao, the "gang of four" resorted to counterrevolutionary tactics in hoisting Chairman Mao's banner to oppose Chairman Mao. In opposing Premier Chou, Chairman Hua, Vice Chairman Yeh and Vice Chairman Teng, they directed their spearhead right at great leader Chairman Mao and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They clamored that some people were trying to "make Chairman Mao a figurehead" and called for "eliminating the undesirable elements close to the emperor." Actually, it was none other than they themselves who tried to do so. They willfully accused other people of "opposing Chairman Mao" and wildly attacked and persecuted these people. In fact, they themselves were the most sinister, most vicious careerists and conspirators in opposing Chairman Mao. This is a historical conclusion.

The Anti-Marxist Political Swindler

The "gang of four" practiced revisionism behind the signboard of "Marxism." They opposed Chairman Mao while flaunting the flag of "closely following Chairman Mao." These sly anti-Marxist political swindlers used this beautiful cloak to deceive other people and play tricks.

As a theoretician of the "gang of four," Yao Wen-yuan put on an air of Mr Know-it-all. In fact, he was uneducated and ignorant and knew virtually nothing about theory. As an example, with his lack of rudimentary knowledge, he willfully interpreted bourgeois rights as the "economic base." He even made himself a laughingstock by babbling that "Engels criticized Duhring's theory of force." He was really an "expert" in distorting and tampering with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. For many years he had worked hard to specialize in this field.

The relationships between being and consciousness and between material and spiritual things are basic philosophical problems. Marxist philosophy holds that "it is not men's consciousness that determines their being but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness." But in a sinister article written in September 1967 Yao Wen-yuan criticized the concept of "being is primary, thinking secondary; the objective is primary, the subjective secondary" as "reactionary metaphysics." He said: Holding that "being is primary, thinking secondary" means "totally obliterating man's subjective actions," i.e., "doing away with the transformation of the objective world, the revolution and the struggle to push history forward." Isn't this "reactionary metaphysics"? He added: "This criticism alone is not enough"; it is necessary to elevate this criticism to the level of principles--some people want to "publicize a kind of opportunism which goes with the stream, betrays proletarian interests at any time and serves the bourgeoisie." Look. It was by adopting such a "revolutionary" attitude that Yao Wen-yuan attempted to upset the basic principle of dialectical materialism. Moreover, in the same sinister article he madly attacked the idea of "proceeding from objective reality." He said: "The first and foremost meaning of 'reality' is the 'reality' of class struggle." He later drew this conclusion: Advocating the "attitude of proceeding from objective reality and of saying yes to mean yes and no to mean no" means "using abstract 'rights and wrongs' to cover up one's class stand when considering a problem--a 'common' characteristic of opportunists who sell their souls." Alas! Anyone who does not want to sell his soul and does not want to become an opportunist must not proceed from objective reality and must say yes to mean no and no to mean yes! It was in this way that Yao Wen-yuan used high-sounding "revolutionary" phrases to cheat and frighten people and to wildly, slyly attack Marxism.

Touching on the relationships between the productive forces and the relations of production, between practice and theory and between the economic base and the superstructure, Chairman Mao said: "The productive forces, practice and the economic base generally play the principal, decisive roles; whoever denies this is not a materialist. But it must also be admitted that under certain conditions such things as relations of production, theory and the superstructure may assume the principal, decisive roles." In the arena of propaganda controlled by Yao Wen-yuan, the latter sentence was distorted, and the restriction "under certain

conditions" was obliterated so that the relations of production, theory and superstructure were shown to play the principal, decisive roles unconditionally, generally and absolutely. The former sentence was also basically negated, i.e., the prerequisite of materialism was negated. In a so-called "theoretical discussion meeting" controlled by their followers in Liaoning, the "gang of four" openly stated: "Throughout the historical period socialism, the relations of production and the superstructure constantly play the principal, decisive roles in their relationships with the productive forces and the superstructure." Lenin said this very well: Even in the case of an irrefutable truth, "put only one small step forward, seemingly in the same direction, and truth will become a mistake." Yao Wen-yuan elaborately played this trick of putting "one small step" forward. He was very good at playing this trick.

In the arena of discussion under his control, Yao Wen-yuan went all out to criticize the "theory of productive forces" time and again. In essence he put the label of "revisionism" on the basic principle of historical materialism, which holds that the productive forces determine the relations of production and ultimately determine all social relations, and he criticized it. In "On the General Program," written in late 1975, the following passage was quoted from Chairman Mao's works in light of the "gang of four's" perverse deeds: "In the last analysis, the impact--good or bad, great or small--of the policy and practice of any Chinese political party upon the people depends upon whether or not and how much it helps to develop their productive forces and on whether or not it fetters or liberates these forces." Yao Wen-yuan had the effrontery to write a comment beside this passage: "This distorts Marxism-Leninism and reverts to the theory of productive forces." In line with Yao Wen-yuan's comment, the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary "artillery units"--the writing group of the former Shanghai municipal party committee--concocted a sinister article obliquely attacking Chairman Mao's correct assertion and calling it "a typical theory of productive forces." This fully exposed the ferocious features of Yao Wen-yuan and his jackals in opposing Chairman Mao. The "gang of four" undermined socialist production and brought our country's national economy to the brink of collapse. Among other causes was the very abominable role played by Yao Wen-yuan in controlling public media, opposing the "theory of productive forces" and creating confusion in thinking and theory.

On this basis, Yao Wen-yuan vigorously peddled Lin Piao's trash that "politics may encroach upon other things," and he asserted that "proletarian politics must be the decisive factor in all work." He and his cohorts cursed "the material enthusiasts" and criticized the "theory of the base." Actually, they were criticizing and cursing the viewpoint that there must be a material base for doing everything. They practically wrote off the development of productive forces as a task of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They also prepared this public opinion: Marxism never discusses material interests, and talking about material

interests means "revisionism." This was derived from their reactionary philosophy, which stood truth on its head. One point deserves close attention: The "gang of four" invariably belittled and denounced anything connected with material things, such as material production, material life, material interests, material base and material incentives, as if they themselves had really "overcome the scope of 'material' things" and were free from worldly desires. In fact, they indulged themselves in sensory enjoyment but disguised themselves as "revolutionaries." This was nauseating. Theoretically, this shows precisely that they completely opposed Marxist historical materialism.

Stalin once emphasized: "We must be good at distinguishing between words and the essence of Marxism." He pointed out that Lenin had been able to creatively apply and develop Marxism "because he held that Marxism was not a dogma but the guide to action; he was not enslaved by words but was good at grasping the essential, fundamental things in Marxism." The "gang of four" acted in just the other way: they substituted words for the essence. As did Lin Piao, they quoted words and phrases out of context and turned them into something absolute and religious. At the same time, in light of their needs, they altered concepts, carried them to extremes or fragmentized them. In the name of "propaganda and implementation," they distorted and altered concepts, thus turning truth into fallacy. They played "fake left, real right" tactics. This was convenient for them in "using the great banner as a tiger skin to hide themselves" and in robbing Marxism of its principal, fundamental points and stuffing it with their own trash.

Yao Wen-yuan really reached the peak in distorting Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, tampering with Chairman Mao's great theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and passing off the "gang of four's" reactionary ideological system as "Marxism." He acted this way in various spheres. He said that "great rebellion is good medicine for curing the political illness of China." He stirred up rebellion against the dictatorship of the proletariat. He distorted the principal contradiction in socialist society as a contradiction between rebels and capitalist roaders and between Legalists and Confucians. Calling enemies friends, he said that "the real danger to the proletarian dictatorship at present...is the bourgeoisie in the party," and he directed the spearhead at the vast numbers of revolutionary veteran cadres who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Under the pretext of tackling the problem of bourgeois rights, he vigorously carried out antiparty activities, wantonly vilified the socialist system and attacked the policy of "to each according to his work" and the socialist production of commodities. He babbled: "The aim of the four modernizations is to enable the bourgeoisie to mount the rostrum." The four modernizations "can only result in the restoration of capitalist relations of production and the serious destruction of productive forces." He wildly opposed the great plan for

making people happy charted by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou. Brandishing the club of "intellectual education comes first," "technique is supreme" and "take the road of bourgeois specialists," he destroyed education, science and culture. In other words, he employed all possible means to turn the revolutionary science of the proletariat into false science and directed everything to the track of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line and reactionary bourgeois ideological system.

The political swindler Yao Wen-yuan did not do all these things by accident. He was motivated by the interests and desires of the exploiting class he represented, and he was guided and directed by his ultra-subjective idealist world outlook. He and Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching were disciples of the German reactionary philosopher Nietzsche's "theory of the will to power" and "superman philosophy." Nietzsche regarded "the will to power" as the highest will to live. In his eyes, all men in the world should be dominated by supermen who have the greatest power; the supermen should be masters of the world, while the rest only serve as their slaves and tools for realizing this will to power. The "gang of four" devoutly believed in this fascist "theory." Their motto was that will decides everything. Power was the center of their will. "Seize power wherever possible" was the criterion for their action. They seized power for the purpose of applying it to realize their will, i.e., the strong will of the new and old exploiting classes to seek revenge and stage a comeback. They regarded the masses as worthless people but viewed themselves as "supermen" who should have supreme power to master all other people. They never forgot "to hold power in their hands." They did everything according to their will and interests in usurping supreme party and state leadership. They rejected anything that hindered them on their road to usurping supreme party and state leadership. As long as they had power in their hands, they cared about nothing else!

Such Was the "Yao Wen-yuan Path"

Lenin said: "In the marketplace it often happens that the vendor who shouts the loudest and calls on God to be his witness is the one selling the shoddiest goods." The "gang of four" and their followers went everywhere to advertise the so-called "Yao Wen-yuan path"--their shoddiest goods for sale.

They delighted in saying that Yao Wen-yuan took "the fighter's road, not the academician's road." It is true that he was a "fighter," but the question is: a fighter of which class? What was he fighting for? Facts have clearly shown that he was a "fighter" of the landlord and bourgeois classes, playing tricks all day long and fighting to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

Now let us see what path Yao Wen-yuan did take.

Yao Wen-yuan hailed from a landlord-capitalist family. Yao Peng-tzu, his father, was a renegade and enemy agent. Yao Wen-yuan also had a foster father named Hsu En-tseng, who was a Kuomintang chief special agent and a deputy director of the Kuomintang Central Statistics Bureau. His foster mother, Fei Hsia, was Hsu En-tseng's concubine, a renegade and enemy special agent and at one time a member of the Kuomintang's puppet Legislative Yuan.

After sneaking into the party, Yao Wen-yuan always concealed his landlord family background and the history of his father's counterrevolutionary crimes and never mentioned his foster parents. For a long time he adopted various tactics and put on different disguises. But no matter how he changed his appearance, he could never change his reactionary landlord-capitalist class stand.

Following in the footsteps of his reactionary father, Yao Wen-yuan began his counterrevolutionary life by pursuing a literary profession. He first made himself known during the movement against the Hu Feng clique. Then his reputation climbed considerably during the struggle against the rightists. As he took advantage of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, his fame soared. This was Yao Wen-yuan's trilogy concerning self-introduction by default and prosperity through disguise.

It was true that, after the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique was exposed, Yao Wen-yuan wrote a number of articles to "criticize Hu Feng." But he did this just to deceive others. Hu Feng and Yao Peng-tzu were very close friends. When Yao Wen-yuan was in his twenties, he often rode a bicycle between the "writers' book house" and Hu Feng's house. During the early postliberation period he learned from his father that Hu Feng and others of his clique had heaped abuse on our party and the new society. He thought this was quite natural and did not report it to his organization. He also took the sinister poems of some members of the Hu Feng clique as maxims. He often praised Hu Feng's "wisdom" and his cohorts' "resourcefulness." He volunteered to systematically introduce Hu Feng's literary thought. All these facts testified to his deep admiration of Hu Feng. That was only one of his small tricks. An even more important show which he staged was that, many years afterward, he took over the heirloom of the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique and tried to "promote" and "develop" it. Please look. After he had gained a prominent position, how his "subjective fighting spirit" to usurp supreme party and state power soared! How skillfully he applied his tactic of feigning "compliance" while secretly and intensively "honing his sword"! How ferocious he was when he threw "handgrenades," one after another, at the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation!

In 1957 Yao Wen-yuan wrote an article entitled "For Future Reference," published by WEN HUI PAO on 10 June. After that his personal reputation swelled enormously, and he seemed to be an "antirightist vanguard." Listed below are a few items to be used as "reference for 'For Future Reference'" that reveal Yao Wen-yuan's true sham-left features.

After the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956, some ants in our country crept out of their hole. In the spring of 1957 the bourgeois rightists launched a wild attack. Dark clouds gathered in the skies. At that moment Yao Wen-yuan wrote a great number of sinister articles against the party and socialism. Imitating Khrushchev's tone, he clamored for "sweeping away all personality cults." He abused party cadres for "selling themselves as goods" and vilified them as "apathetic people" and "mechanical puppets." He ranted that only when the leaders at all levels had "shed" their "aristocratic airs" would it be possible to "pull down the wall" and "fill the gap." Under the pretext of opposing "dogmatism," he hit at the most fundamental things of Marxism. Singing Hu Feng's old tune, he vigorously opposed so-called "vulgar sociology." He applauded and started a clamor for poisonous articles and novels. His other deeds of this nature were innumerable.

He was obviously a ferocious rightist but became an "antirightist vanguard" overnight. How did this happen? The principal responsible person of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee at that time noticed the reactionary arrangement of articles and reports in WEN HUI PAO and suggested organizing articles to criticize this arrangement. The wily Chang Chun-chiao hastily notified Yao Wen-yuan of this. Thus, Yao Wen-yuan wrote the article entitled "For Future Reference." Facts have clearly shown that "For Future Reference" did not contain any brilliant ideas by Yao Wen-yuan, nor was it written entirely according to his wishes.

The farce of "three articles and two faces" illustrates this point. On the day when "For Future Reference" was published, i.e., 10 June 1957, Yao Wen-yuan also published two other articles--"Thoughts About Youth," published by LAO TUNG PAO, and "Between Friends and Enemies," carried by LIBERATION DAILY. The aim of "Thoughts About Youth" was to oppose "ideological guidance." He babbled: "When they are given ideological guidance, some youths who do not like to rack their brains will tend to think in simple terms and will not form the habit of thinking independently and making independent judgments amid complicated ideological waves, but will echo other people's words and follow them blindly." What else is this except open opposition to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought? Doesn't this clearly show that opposing the party's ideological leadership under the pretext of opposing the style of "echoing other people's words" and encouraging "independent thinking" means leading the youths astray? The other article, "Between Friends and Enemies," aimed at protecting bourgeois rightists. At that time our party had just launched a counterattack on the rightists. However, Yao Wen-yuan came

forward to oppose "hurting comrades' souls" and wantonly attacked our party for "taking comrades as enemies and hitting at them." Consider bourgeois rightists as friends and the great party as the enemy--this was what he meant.

Please look. Yao Wen-yuan showed his two faces on the same day. Wasn't he a "two-faced man" as portrayed in the novel "Ching Hua Yuan"? It wasn't difficult to see that he used his article "For Future Reference" as a mask for grabbing political assets. The deep-seated hatred for the party and socialism illustrated in "Thoughts About Youth" and "Between Friends and Enemies" (and, of course, in many other sinister articles he wrote) was an expression of his counterrevolutionary nature.

Another ladder by which he climbed to prosperity was an article published in November 1965 to criticize the play "Dismissal of Hai Jui." This incident was written into the so-called "party history" concocted by the "gang of four" in Shanghai, without the approval of the party Central Committee, in which Yao Wen-yuan was "eulogized" by name. In fact, this was only another big bet Yao Wen-yuan made in his political gamble. In the early days Yao Wen-yuan praised the play about Hai Jui and strongly agreed that newspapers should "support" it. But it would be far-fetched to say that he was a man who knew what was going to happen. Obviously he did not suggest writing this article. But here we want to note a small episode: Before the article criticizing the play "Dismissal of Hai Jui" was published, Yao Wen-yuan showed the proof to a comrade. After this comrade expressed his opinion, Yao Wen-yuan blurted out: "So, I'll let it go regardless of the consequences!" This vividly portrayed his ugly features as a political swindler.

At that time renegade Chiang Ching was hiding in Shanghai. Kuomintang special agent Chang Chun-chiao always accompanied her. By then Yao Wen-yuan was working very closely with Chang Chun-chiao. Through Chang Chun-chiao's introduction, he became a guest in Chiang Ching's house. Chang Chun-chiao secretly told his cohorts: "We just have to lick Chiang Ching's boots. We are determined to do so." Yao Wen-yuan was also deadly determined to follow Chang Chun-chiao and pin his hopes for a quick political rise on Chiang Ching.

In August 1967 Yao Wen-yuan told several confidants a story about Emperor Yu Shun: "When Emperor Yu Shun went to the shore of the East Sea, the people followed him. When he moved to the southern hills, they again followed him." He added immediately: We are now in a "similar situation." By "we" he meant Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao and himself. He openly likened the "gang of four" to Emperor Yu Shun. Wasn't Yao Wen-yuan already cherishing the wild ambition of forming a gang to usurp party leadership?

Yao Wen-yuan was fast approaching the "peak." The final stage saw him forming a counterrevolutionary clique with Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao

and Chiang Ching and wildly conducting criminal activities to usurp supreme party and state leadership. It was also a stage in which he completely exposed his counterrevolutionary class nature. With all-out support from Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan proclaimed that "the whole country" was studded with "big and small independent kingdoms manipulated by bourgeois elements." Under his command, "work was conducted on one front after another," and every place--from the spheres of education, literature and art, public health and physical culture in the superstructure to the scientific, technological and economic fronts--was under the "dictatorship of the black line" and saw "backlash" and "restoration." Once Yao Wen-yuan brandished his "magic wand" of the counterrevolutionary political program, all revolutionary leading cadres at all levels of the central and the local party, government and army organizations became "democrats" and "capitalist roaders," the dictatorship of the proletariat was put in a mess, the people's cause became worthless and all revolutionary cadres were toppled. He wanted to launch a vengeful counterattack not only against the socialist revolution but also against the democratic revolution. He completely poured out his resentment and hatred--which he had inherited from his father and foster father--against the party, socialism and the revolutionary people, as if he could swallow the 9.6 million square kilometers of China's land and rivers with one gulp and throw the 800 million Chinese people back into the abyss of suffering. But his fond dream could never come true. Once he reached the peak, he went down the opposite side and eventually met his doom.

'Growing up" in the nest of such renegades and enemy agents as Yao Peng-tzu, Hsu En-tseng and Fei Hsia and ending his political life by forming a counterrevolutionary sinister gang with the renegade Chiang Ching, enemy agent Chang Chun-chiao and newborn bourgeois element Wang Hung-wen--this was Yao Wen-yuan's shameless counterrevolutionary path.

The party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua smashed the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao antiparty clique. The dark clouds in the skies have been dispelled, the sludge on the land has been swept away, the 800 million Chinese people now see daylight and the great motherland is heading for an ever-brighter future. Our party develops during internal struggles, just as a thing is divided into two. Once the "gang of four" were dumped on the garbage heap of history, our party became purer and more staunch. Under the leadership of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China, we will surely win still greater victories in the course of our new Long March. A great and modern socialist China will appear with a brandnew look and stand aloft in the east!

CRITICIZING GENERALS AND MARSHALS IS A BIG CONSPIRACY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 1 Oct 78 pp 38-46

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

[Text] Like their criticism of prime ministers, appraisal of the Legalist school and glorification of the empress, the "gang of four's" criticism of generals and marshals was an important aspect of their conspiracy to manipulate history so as to usurp party and state power. RED FLAG, then directly controlled by Yao Wen-yuan, spearheaded the attack, set the tune, issued orders and served as a vanguard in opposing and creating chaos in the army. Why did the "gang of four" criticize and launch a punitive campaign against past generals and marshals? This is something worth studying.

I

Although the "gang of four" ran rampant for a time, they were not without "worries." They always lamented in private: "What worries us most is that the army is not in our hands." "What is to be done if the army turns against us?" Even their sworn followers in various localities often howled in alarm after their wild actions. They said: "With the old fellows holding the reins," "the army is most difficult to deal with." Thus, it can be seen that they perceived, through their own counterrevolutionary dealings, that the great PLA was an insurmountable obstacle to their usurpation of party and state power. They therefore tried their utmost to disrupt and overthrow the army, particularly to discredit and topple those senior officials who commanded great respect throughout the party and the army.

Back in the early days of the Cultural Revolution, Chiang Ching banded with Lin Piao to whip up the evil wind to oppose the army under the reactionary slogan "Ferret out the handful in the army." After the 10th national party congress, the even more ambitious "gang of four" quickened their tempo in usurping party and state power and intensified their

activities to oppose and disrupt the army. Flaunting the banner of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, they "shot three arrows simultaneously" in a surprise attack against our esteemed and beloved premier, Vice Chairman Yeh and other leading comrades of the Central Committee. After that they sallied forth in full strength to "kindle a prairie fire" in the leading organs of the army, bloodthirstily shouting that they were out to "fix the army." They wantonly vilified our senior army officers as "big warlords," "dead bureaucrats" and "heads of preservation societies." They were eager to crush all leading army organs and topple all leading army cadres with one stroke.

In those days when dark clouds hung low and demons and monsters danced in riotous revelry, the "gang of four" dictated to their hired writing groups, namely, Liang Hsiao, Lo Ssu-ting, Chih Heng and Tang Hsiao-wen, to foment public opinion and carry on counterrevolutionary deals of "killing people with the pen" through the propaganda media under their control, particularly RED FLAG. Yao Wen-yuan once smugly said that "RED FLAG is the center of attention," as if he were in command of the whole situation. Following in the "gang of four's" footsteps to usurp party and state power, they staged one foul performance after another by criticizing past generals and marshals and trying to destroy the Great Wall.

in 1974 the No 2 issue of RED FLAG trotted out an article entitled "Reading Liu Tsung-yuan's 'On Feudalism,'" by Professor XX, who was a member of the Liang Hsiao writing group and one of Chiang Ching's "Northern Gate scholars." This article, which fired the opening shot in the criticism of generals and marshals, first appeared in PEKING DAILY and the Peking University journal. In the name of discussing history, this article actually aimed at opposing the army. With ulterior motives it kicked up a rumpus about "the division of the country into rival principalities" and talked at great length about "arrogant soldiers and mighty generals who claimed independence from the central government in Changan." No sooner was it cast forth than Chiang Ching lavishly praised it at a rally attended by 10,000 people, and she ordered all newspapers and magazines to reprint it. Yao Wen-yuan also commended it and made a few corrections. Moreover, he asked Chih Heng to tell the author to make revisions "in certain parts" of the article. As was expected, when the revised version appeared in RED FLAG, more thinly veiled phrases were added. For example, it said that the cause of the division of the country into rival principalities and of rebellion lay "in the army" and that we must be "good at controlling the army." Furthermore, to vent the "gang of four's" bitter hatred for the generals and marshals in our army, it purposely played around with and repeatedly stressed quotations like "the fault does not rest with the district but with the armed forces" and "there were rebellious generals and no rebellious districts." Not content with this insinuation, it further pointed out: "While discussing history in 'On Feudalism,' Liu Tsung-yuan also implied that the past must

serve the present. The aim was to make his article serve his own political viewpoint." It also cunningly tried to enlighten the reader with this remark: "In this light, should we not try to understand some interpretive historical essays of ancient times?" Ostensibly an appraisal of Liu Tsung-yuan, this passage is in fact a self-justification by the author. This "enlightenment" stripped the professor of his mantle of historian and starkly revealed his true purpose in opposing and disrupting the army by using the past to disparage the present.

Liang Hsiao's "Study 'On Salt and Iron'" which appeared in issue No 5 of RED FLAG that same year can be considered a sister work to "Reading Liu Tsung-yuan's 'On Feudalism.'" Under one pretext or another, this article discusses at great length how "Liu Pi [0491 3456], the king of Wu, took control of Haipin, and the big official Teng Tung [6772 6639] forcibly occupied Hsishan," and how "they carried out large-scale splittist, secessionist activities and repeatedly launched or participated in rebellions, thereby threatening centralization and national unification." What were these sensational remarks directed against? Yao Wen-yuan made his point quite clear when he selected the topic. He said: "Don't write anything academic. What you should write is a political, argumentative essay." When Chih Heng and Liang Hsiao worked on this plot, he further made a point of the transfer of leading cadres in the army. Was it not clear against what the spearhead of the "gang of four" was directed?

The most unbridled and despicable of all sinister RED FLAG articles that criticized generals and marshals was the one by Li Shih of Liaoning University entitled "What Was the Decisive Factor That Enabled Chin To Unify the Six States," appearing in issue No 3 of 1974. At the end of 1973 Yao Wen-yuan instructed the ringleaders of the Chih Heng writing group to "write a criticism article to counter the undue glorification of the military exploits of Wang Chien [3769 5054] and his son Wang Pen [3769 6321] and to demonstrate that Chin Shih Huang's correct line rather than the generals' feats was the decisive factor in unifying the six states." Yao Wen-yuan also furtively emphasized: "Since this topic has never been discussed, it is very important that you write this article well." Taking their cue from Yao Wen-yuan, the ringleaders of the Chih Heng writing group at once made this their "main target" and decided to pick a "more capable" provincial writing group to do the job. Since the whole idea was a conspiracy and "it was inconvenient to explain things over the telephone," one of the ringleaders sneaked into Shenyang to give the author confidential instructions in person, urging him to "give prominence to the role of the Legalist line" and to explain the point that "under the correct line a state can win even if its generals are no good." Thus, the author racked his brains to shamelessly alter historical facts. With the false charge that Wang Chien "did not know himself but became arrogant and even made unreasonable demands on Chin Shih Huang" and "retired on the pretext of ill health," the author obliquely attacked Vice Chairman Yeh and a large number of leading army comrades

who followed Chairman Mao in fighting north and south and made magnificent contributions to the Chinese revolution. The ringleader in Shanghai took the manuscript to the "despotic ruler of the south," i.e., the Lo Ssu-ting writing group, and privately discussed with them the relationship between this article and its background--the transfer of leading cadres in the army. After four revisions by Yao Wen-yuan, the manuscript was finally decided upon and released. Do you see how the "gang of four" jumped up and down before and behind the curtain and racked their brains to fire this heavy shot against generals and marshals? This article, written in the early stages of the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, did not direct its spearhead at Lin Piao or Confucius but rather made a scapegoat of a general who rendered meritorious services to the unification of China under Chin. For fear that his cloven hoof might be revealed, Yao Wen-yuan took an expedient measure by calling upon the ringleaders of the Chih Heng writing group to discuss "how to link this article with criticism of Lin Piao" before the piece was released for publication. However, the more they tried to hide, the more they were exposed. This "link" fully revealed their venomous motives in not criticizing Lin Piao, spuriously criticizing Confucius and always resorting to intrigues and conspiracies.

The gang-controlled RED FLAG prepared quite a number of sinister articles against the army which were to be released when the time was ripe. "Criticizing Kuan Yu, the 'God of War'" was one such article. Actually, appraisal of the historical figure Kuan Yu can be taken as a topic of discussion. However, with ulterior motives the "gang of four" dragged out Kuan Yu for criticism. Eight months passed from the time Yao Wen-yuan personally made arrangements for the writing of the criticism article on the "God of War" to the time he wrote the note, "The article on Kuan Yu may be released when the time comes." During this period Yao Wen-yuan twice revised the manuscript. Why did the "gang of four" set so much store by this article? It was because Kuan Yu was a general whom Liu Pei "esteemed as his 'right-hand man' and entrusted him with sole responsibility in handling important matters." It was fully in accord with the gang's need to oppose and disrupt the army to choose him as the target in their criticism of generals and marshals. This unpublished sinister article described Kuan Yu as "conceited and arrogant" and "very particular with regard to class and grade." It said that he had become "a stumbling block" and drew the conclusion that "Kuan Yu deserved to be killed." Since the article presented such a strong "sense of reality," no wonder Yao Wen-yuan repeatedly said, "That will do!" But why not trot it out sooner? Why wait for an "appropriate time"? If we associate the slogan "Kuan Yu deserved to be killed" with the gang's murderous plan, we can plainly see their evil intentions.

A common feature of all the sinister articles trotted out by the "gang of four" in RED FLAG for the purpose of opposing and disrupting the army was that they were all written on the instructions of Yao Wen-yuan, were

closely linked with the gang's plan to oppose the party and usurp power and were spearheaded against our senior army officials. In terms of method, they were mostly clumsy and very much alike. The habitual trick of the Lo Ssu-ting writing group was to look for "targets of attack" from the past in order to obliquely attack those in the present whom they wanted to topple. The secret skill of the Liang Hsiao writing group was to paint a historical picture of someone and make a big row about "this man." They were really two of a kind who played the same tune on different instruments. They both used the past to disparage the present, cursed one thing while pointing at another and made indirect accusations. If you had a good class origin, took part in the revolution in the early years and performed meritorious services, they would compare you to Han Hsin [7281 0207], Peng Yueh [1756 6390], Ying Pu [5391 1580] and others by saying: These people "had a better class origin than Chang Liang [1728 5328] and performed meritorious services to a greater or lesser degree in the course of revolution. But later, presumptuous about their meritorious services, they went wild with ambition, acted independently, practiced splittism and thus degenerated into agents of the slaveowning class." (Kang Li [1660 4539]: "On the Change of Chang Liang's Political Stand") If you had seniority and rich practical and revolutionary experiences, they would paint a "picture" of you based on the model of Hsia-hou Yuan [1115 0186 3220], saying: Hsia-hou Yuan, who was "content with the fighting experience he had acquired in past decades, occasional successes and partial views, committed the mistake of empiricism" and "wound up in a really pitiful state." (WEN HUI PAO: "It Makes a World of Difference Whether or Not We Study") If you implemented Chairman Mao's instruction regarding "army rectification," eliminated chaos, restored order and revived and carried forward our army's glorious traditions, they would indirectly accuse you by saying: "The moment Yuan Shih-kai rose to power, he wanted to reverse the verdict of the 1911 revolution," "overhaul rules and regulations" and restore "all previously established forms of military discipline and police regulations." (STUDY AND CRITICISM: "Yuan Shih-kai After the 1911 Revolution") Examples like these are too numerous to be cited one by one. For the purpose of opposing and creating chaos in the army, they sometimes also spoke highly of past generals and marshals. For example, they extolled Liu Kun [0491 3824] because he had written the "Entreaty About Taking Over Supreme Power," i.e., the so-called "letter of allegiance." They glorified Lu Meng [0712 5536] because he closely followed Sun Chuan [1327 2938] in "quelling the independent regimes of the influential clans in the lower reaches of the Yangtze River" and, following Sun Chuan's orders, conscientiously studied "Legalist and historical works." They also praised Li Su [2621 1954], saying that he did not "become arrogant" because of his military exploits and respected Pei Tu [5952 1653], who had little experience, and "humbly stood by the roadside with his quiver behind his back, waiting for the arrival of Pei Tu." They fostered these "models" in the hope that people like Ma Tien-shui, who sold out their souls and humbly danced to their baton, would emerge in the army. The stick and the carrot, with the stress on

the former, were the counterrevolutionary dual tactics of the "gang of four." The gang brazenly advocated that "for pragmatic reasons" we present "70 percent truth and 30 percent falsehood" in writing history. In their hands, history became a lump of clay which they could mold into a big stick or a tempting sugar-coated bullet to serve their need to oppose and create chaos in the army.

II

"The removal of principalities" and "the killing of generals" were common themes of the "gang of four's" sinister articles against the army. These sinister articles were replete with bellicose remarks like "oppose the arrogant soldiers and mighty generals," "remove the rival principalities," "behead Han Hsin" and "kill Kuan Yu." To give prominence to these themes, the "gang of four" fabricated a so-called "historical law" which asserted that "the cause of the division of the country into rival principalities lay in the amassing of large forces by the local warlords," and that the cause of rebellion "did not lie in the setting up of districts and counties but in the armed forces." In short, the army "threatened centralization and national unification." Were these the true facts of history?

The division of our country into rival principalities was a historical phenomenon in feudal China. What caused this phenomenon? Marxism holds that the history of a class society is the history of class struggle, which in the final analysis is conducted around economic interests. When we analyze the historical phenomenon of rival principalities, we must also look for causes from social economic relations and hold fast to the basic fact of the division of society into classes. When Chairman Mao analyzed the political system of the Chinese feudal society, he pointed out: "While the feudal state was torn apart into rival principalities in the period before the Chin dynasty, it became autocratic and centralized after the first Chin emperor unified China, though some feudal separatism remained." ("The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party") This form of feudal state after the Chin dynasty arose from an economic base predominated by a self-sufficient natural economy and was basically in harmony with a state system dominated by the landlord class. Although China had built itself into a centralized and unified country after the Chin dynasty, the decentralized nature of its economy to a certain extent still afforded possibilities for feudal separatism. Therefore, in a feudal society centralization and unification were limited, and feudal separatism invariably continued to exist as a by-product of centralized power. The 2,000 and more years of the history of feudal society witnessed many major splits and divisions into rival principalities. With the exception of a few which were caused by national conflicts, the struggles between centralization and feudal separatism were mostly contentions for economic exploitation and political domination between one faction and another within the ranks of the landlord class. In the final

analysis, the scramble for greater political rights to rule was aimed at securing greater economic rights to exploit. The history of the Han and Tang dynasties upon which the arguments in "Reading Liu Tsung-yuan's 'On Feudalism'" and "Study 'On Salt and Iron'" were based also proved this point. In the Western Han dynasty the big feudal lords owned "dozens of cities covering several districts and prefectures." Within their feudal domains they levied taxes, "minted coins and prepared salt," "issued decrees," appointed and dismissed officials, built armies, resisted central authority and even contemplated taking over the throne. Emperor Ching of Han adopted Chao Tso's [2513 6934] proposal by taking back a portion of the land owned by the vassal states and putting it under the direct jurisdiction of the central government. As a result, conflicts between the vassal states and the central government sharpened, culminating in the outbreak of the "rebellion of seven states" headed by Liu Pi, the king of Wu. Unless a person had ulterior motives, he would not draw the conclusion that the army was "the source of trouble." The struggle between the central government and the generals of rival principalities in the Tang dynasty also revolved around economic interests. After the rebellions by An Lu-shan [1344 4389 1472] and Shih Ssu-ming [0670 1835 2494], central authority was weakened and the forces of the rival principalities expanded. They "passed on their land to their sons" and took forcible possession of land taxes and other levies. "As their territory and military power grew, they became all the more ambitious and even wanted to usurp the throne." Amid a situation in which "landed property and titles" were strictly classified, they "sent their troops to plunder everywhere" and fought for land and property. This eventually led to fighting among rival principalities. These facts show that in the struggle between the central government and the independent regimes in a feudal state the army indeed played an important part, because without a considerably strong army an independent regime could not survive. The army was particularly indispensable in times of armed conflict. However, the army was only the tool and means of carrying out this struggle, not the fundamental cause of separatism and rebellion. As Engels pointed out: "Force is only the means, and the end is economic advantage." ("Anti-Duhring," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 199)

Liu Tsung-yuan's "On Feudalism" was a progressive piece given the historical conditions of his time, because he not only expounded on and proved that the practice of the prefectural system was an inevitable trend of historical development, but also affirmed the historical significance of the founding of a centralized and unified state by Chin Shih Huang. However, due to his class and historical limitations, he could not analyze the social causes of the division of the country into rival principalities and of armed rebellions in relation to the economic base and classes, and he could not explain and prove the pros and cons of the prefectural and feudal systems in relation to the state and government systems. He merely based himself on the superficial phenomenon that in the Tang dynasty "there were rebellious generals but no rebellious districts," and he drew

the conclusion that "the fault does not rest with the districts but with the armed forces."

The "gang of four" "made the past serve their own needs" and purposely misinterpreted Liu Tsung-yuan's words, saying that the army was the cause of "separatism" and "rebellions." They equated the proletarian army with the army of the landlord classes in order to foment counterrevolutionary public opinion to topple a large number of our leading army cadres. For a long time they committed every evil in dealing blows at and framing the leading cadres of our army. In the early period of the Cultural Revolution they worked hand in glove with Lin Piao and conspired to topple Ho Lung and other leading army cadres by fabricating rumors that there had been a "mutiny" and a "seizure of power." They proposed the counterrevolutionary slogan "Down with the reactionary line of those who carry the gun" and schemed to ferret out "a handful of persons within the army" everywhere. They went all out to oppose the so-called "adverse current" and dealt merciless blows at Comrade Chen I and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation who persistently fought against Lin Piao and the "gang of four." They "fired three arrows simultaneously" in a surprise attack on Premier Chou and Vice Chairman Yeh. They advocated "making the fight against empiricism the key link" and clamored about smashing the "mountain strongholds" in a vain attempt to remove at one stroke a large number of long-tested revolutionary veteran cadres in our army. They incited people to ferret out "capitalist roaders who wear PLA insignia" and vilified Vice Chairman Yeh and Vice Chairman Teng by every possible means. Most intolerable of all, they fabricated unjust and framed-up charges and deliberately harmed certain outstanding leading comrades of our army on the pretext of "curing the patient," with the result that some died with grievances and others were crippled. Their vicious crimes are too numerous to be listed one by one. Despite the fact that they constantly changed their tactics, they always cherished the same goals throughout the past decade, i.e., to attempt to topple a large number of our leading army cadres, to put the gun under the command of their gang instead of the party and, consequently, to usurp the supreme leadership of the party and state. This is the crux of the "gang of four's" criticism of generals and marshals.

What merits attention is that the "gang of four's" subversive activities, which were nominally aimed at "dealing blows at the forces of independent regimes" but actually directed against our leading army cadres, were all conducted under the signboard of "strengthening the central government" and "consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat." When Yao Wen-yuan assigned people to revise the sinister article "Reading Liu Tsung-yuan's 'On Feudalism,'" he made a special note that the paragraph on "the significance of building a unified state with centralized power" should "talk more about the significance of the unification of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Thus, the sinister article which had been revised on the instructions of Yao Wen-yuan raised this interesting

question: "Was the unification 2,200 years ago not similar to our present unification in respect to meeting the demand for reform and progress and to satisfying the needs of the progressive class in the ascendancy?" The centralized power of the landlord class and the dictatorship of the proletariat had nothing in common. In arbitrarily mixing these two different, unrelated things and in trying to "consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat" by the same method the landlord class used to strengthen its centralized power, the "gang of four" had completely revealed their evil intention to attempt to replace the dictatorship of the proletariat with feudal fascist dictatorship.

The "gang of four" proclaimed themselves to be "the force of renovation" and "the progressive class," yet their "demands" and "needs" were very similar to those of Chiang Kai-shek, autocrat and traitor to the people. Even their language was the same. In his notorious book "China's Destiny," written in the 1940's, Chiang Kai-shek viciously attacked our party and army as "a disguised warlord and new-type institution of a ducal state" which exercised "separatist rule by force." He also vociferously advocated "the theory of autocratic unification" to strengthen the rule of his feudal fascist regime. In the 1970's the "gang of four" wantonly slandered our army as "the source of trouble" and a menace to the state. They clamored about "removing the rival principalities" and "killing the generals" and disguised their feudal despotism as Marxism to pave the way for the establishment of their gang empire. This was decidedly not accidental but was determined by their common class nature. The "gang of four" were an extremely feudalistic counterrevolutionary clique. They were typical representatives of the new and old bourgeoisie and of the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements inside our party. Without truth in their hands and without the backing of the masses, they could only seek help from feudal despotism and resort to extremely brutal and high-handed policies to strengthen and safeguard their rule. Was it not true that the kind of reactionary and fascist dictatorship which Chairman Mao had warned us against was found in places and units the gang directly meddled in and tightly controlled? Lin Piao and the "gang of four" practiced "I am the state" and "I am the party." They lorded it over the party and the people, truculently trampled on socialist legality, frenziedly strangled socialist democracy and mercilessly persecuted the masses of revolutionary cadres and people. They sabotaged the socialist ownership system, crippled socialist construction, robbed by force or by trick and unscrupulously embezzled state property. They rigged up a bourgeois factional network and sabotaged the unity of the party and of the people, because they drew their own demarcation lines by which those who obeyed them prospered and those who defied them perished. They practiced cultural autocracy and pursued the policy of making the masses ignorant, with the result that poisonous weeds thrived and flowers withered. They lived the decadent and licentious life of feudal kings and rode roughshod over the people. Chiang Ching even shamelessly advocated "practicing communism under an

empress." She always scolded those who worked with her, saying: "How dare you bandy words with me! Would you dare do this if it was 2,000 years ago? What was the relationship between me and you 2,000 years ago?" These remarks give a vivid picture of the ugly features of this modern empress. These horrid facts enable us to see that there certainly would have been a great historical regression if the "gang of four" had succeeded in their conspiracy--not only would capitalism have made a comeback, but feudalism would also have been resurrected under a new guise, and socialist China would have been reduced to its former status as a semicolonial and semifeudal country. However, gone forever is the China ruled by feudal despotism. China today is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has an economy based on socialist public ownership, with modern large-scale production playing the primary role. It has the leadership of the Communist Party, a revolutionary army which wholeheartedly serves the people, and a population armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were only daydreaming when they attempted to establish their feudal fascist regimes.

Lenin once said: "One speaks of what hurts one most." ("Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 51) The "gang of four," who had a habit of practicing revisionism and restoration under the banner of combating revisionism and restoration, viciously vilified the leading cadres of our army as "the source of trouble" and "the main danger that will lead to restoration." In point of fact, the true source of trouble and danger came from no one else but the very "gang of four," the nation's scourge. Who engineered the counterrevolutionary armed coup d'etat and tried to set up a counterrevolutionary independent regime? Was it not the "gang of four's" partner Lin Piao? Who schemed to set up a counterrevolutionary "second armed force" and plotted a counterrevolutionary insurrection? Was it not the "gang of four" and their handful of followers? Facts are irrefutable. "The main danger" of capitalist restoration and "the source of trouble" jeopardizing our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat are two labels fit only for the "gang of four."

III

Counterrevolutionary politics needs counterrevolutionary philosophy.

To reverse enemies and friends and prepare a theoretical basis for their toppling of a large number of leading army cadres politically, the "gang of four" invariably had to reverse the relationship between theory and practice, consciousness and matter, and advocate the idealist historical concept that heroes create history in people's thinking. Li Shih's article was a typical example of one written with this end in mind.

The article raises this strange question in its beginning paragraphs: "So far as the Chin dynasty itself was concerned, what was the decisive

factor that enabled Chin Shih Huang to achieve unification? Was it because some generals were good at war, or was it because there was a political line that suited historical development?" This question was groundless in itself, because no one ever attributed the unification of the six states under Chin to the merits of individual generals. Although the writing group did acknowledge that, from Duke Hsiao of Chin to Chin Shih Huang, "the Chin state, which had experienced the rule of six sovereigns in more than a century, enjoyed absolute superiority over the six states to the east in the political, economic and military fields" and that "the unification of the six states under Chin conformed to the law of historical development" and was "the inexorable trend of historical development," to them these were not decisive factors. They insisted on finding some other decisive factors besides "the law of historical development," exaggerated the role of Chin Shih Huang's line to the maximum and placed the role played by the line and that played by generals in opposition to each other to prove that "Wang Chien was not so great." In his article, which has 16 paragraphs, the line was discussed in more than 10 places, and nearly all conclusive points boiled down to Chin Shih Huang's line. Not only was everything which took place during Chin Shih Huang's reign attributed to Chin Shih Huang's line, but the development made by the state of Chin in the political, economic and military fields in the century and more before his birth was also attributed to this line. It seemed that Chin Shih Huang's marvelous line had long existed in the upper world, blessing his six predecessors. Honorable members of the "gang of four," was there a shred of the materialist concept of history in your masterpiece, which "adhered to the materialist concept of history and opposed the idealist concept of history"?

We cannot deny Chin Shih Huang's merits in unifying the six states and establishing the first feudal state in Chinese history based on centralized power. What enabled Chin Shih Huang to play such a role? How did his line and his set of policies and measures come about? How were they realized? To all these questions we can only give historical materialist answers.

As a result of protracted struggle and labor by the masses since the Spring and Autumn Period, the vassal states successively entered the feudal society. The development of the productive forces and the strengthening of economic ties between various states toward the end of the Warring States Period had already given shape to objective conditions for unification. However, the strife between feudal lords brought great suffering to the laboring people and hampered economic and cultural development. Thus, the general trend and the popular feeling both pointed toward ending the state of disunity and achieving unification. It was not Chin Shih Huang's line that determined this historical trend but rather this historical trend that determined the inevitable emergence of a man like Chin Shih Huang and his line, policies and measures for

unifying the six states. Chin Shih Huang could reflect the trend of historical development to a certain extent, because the new and rising landlord class he represented found it necessary to establish a unified feudal state based on centralized power to strengthen its economic exploitation and political domination over the peasantry. He was considered a head taller than other representative figures of the landlord class in his time, not because he was armed with an apriorist line, but because he was better at summing up experiences and rectifying mistakes in the course of practice. He was good at listening to and concentrating the views of civil and military officials like Li Ssu [2621 2448], Wei Liao [1414 4933], Yao Chia [1202 6328] and Wang Chien, and he was good at assimilating and applying the experience accumulated by people of former times through long years of practice. Li Shih's article, which was divorced from the material conditions in society and from social practice at that time, described Chin Shih Huang's line as something innate in Chin Shih Huang. Could this be anything other than the idealist theory of genius?

Li Shih's article was malicious in that it gave undue prominence to Chin Shih Huang's line, underrated the role played by the generals, deliberately placed Chin Shih Huang and famous generals like Wang Chien and his son Wang Pen in opposition to each other and obliterated their immortal feats. This was not only a distortion of history but extremely ridiculous in a theoretical sense. Marx said: "Thoughts simply cannot achieve anything. To translate thoughts into reality there must be people who can make use of the force of practice." ("The Holy Family," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 152) Chin Shih Huang's line and policies for the unification of the six states could be carried out fundamentally because the state of Chin had built up a stronger economic, political and military force than the six states in Shantung as a result of industrious labor and hard struggle by the laboring people in the previous century. On this basis we should affirm the role of outstanding figures like Chin Shih Huang, including outstanding generals like Wang Chien and his son Wang Pen.

The "gang of four" claimed that "under the correct line a state can win even if its generals are no good." This was sheer nonsense. While victory in battle is determined by objective material conditions and the guidance of a correct line, it is inconceivable that this victory can be won without a number of outstanding generals who are good at using the objective conditions and carrying out the correct line. This is true in modern warfare but was even more true in ancient times, when technical factors like transportation and communications were very backward. Take, for example, the battle to wipe out the state of Chu cited in Li Shih's article. According to the chapter on "Pai Chi [4101 6386] and Wang Chien" in "Records of the Historian," before dispatching troops to wipe out the state of Chu, Chin Shih Huang rejected the correct recommendation made by Wang Chien in light of the relative strength of the two sides that

"there be at least 600,000 troops." He accepted the wrong advice of the young General Li Hsin [2621 0207] that "no more than 200,000 men were required" and sent Li to lead the troops. As a result, the expedition ended in defeat. Later, having learned his lesson, Chin Shih Huang went to Wang Chien's home in Pinyang to admit his mistake and asked Wang Chien to lead 600,000 troops to attack Chu. In this expedition Wang Chien used correct combat methods to exhaust the Chu army. When the Chu army was bogged down and forced to retreat, Wang Chien ordered the pursuit and destroyed the Chu army, thereby winning the crucial battle in the unification of the six states under Chin. Was this example of first defeat and then victory not enough to show the important role played by outstanding generals in winning battles? With ulterior motives, Li Shih distorted the facts and attributed all the merits to Chin Shih Huang. Wang Chien and his son Wang Pen had made great contributions leading their troops to wipe out the five states of Chao, Wei, Chu, Yeh and Chi in the battles to unify the country. Under the pen of Li Shih, Wang Chien not only had no merit but was falsely accused of "being arrogant" and "making unreasonable demands" because he once asked Chin Shih Huang to "grant him land and houses" in the hope of ridding Chin Shih Huang of his worries and assuring the emperor that he did not have any wild ambitions. What an utterly mean trick it was!

The "gang of four" tried to pass off this series of subjective and idealist fallacies as dialectical materialism under the signboard of holding in great esteem Chairman Mao's thesis that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." We must set things right, comprehensively and accurately understand this scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's and draw a clear line of demarcation between it and the idealism advocated by the "gang of four."

Things invariably come into being and develop in given times, places and conditions. Truth, which reflects the objective law of things, is always concrete and linked with given historical conditions. In philosophy the struggle between our party and the Lin Piao antiparty clique was a struggle between dialectical materialism and subjective idealism. Chairman Mao penetratingly criticized Lin Piao's subjective and idealist world outlook and pointed out that Lin Piao's theoretical outline was based on "the theory of genius." He wrote a brilliant essay criticizing the theory of genius, stressing that we must adhere to the materialist concept of history, which says that slaves make history, and oppose the idealist concept of history, which says that heroes make history, and that we must adhere to the materialist theory of reflection and oppose idealist apriorism. An important aspect of Lin Piao's subjective idealism was that it advocated "power decides everything" to poison the party and the masses. Because of this, people only saw power but not the line. In light of this situation, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Chairman Mao's thesis was an integrated thought which correctly explained

the dialectical relations between matter and consciousness. The opening words, "correctness or incorrectness," refer to whether or not we should insist on making the objective determine the subjective and the subjective reflect the objective, i.e., whether or not we should uphold materialism. The final words, "decides everything," refer to the reaction of the subjective on the objective, with the latter playing the decisive role, i.e., the upholding of dialectics. The correctness or incorrectness of the line decides victory or failure in revolution and the winning or losing of political power. However, the line is something of the mind. A revolutionary line is correct because it reflects objective reality and conforms with the objective law of historical development. Therefore, it can lead a revolution to victory, a process which takes place on the foundation that man's social being determines his consciousness. As Chairman Mao once said: "On a given material base, ideology marshals and changes everything." ("On Political Work in the Army") We should not interpret literally the teachings of revolutionary teachers but should grasp their spirit and essence. Take, for example, Lenin's famous words in "The Three Sources and Three Parts of Marxism": "The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true." Doctrine is something of the mind. If we seize on the word "omnipotent" and draw the conclusion that "the mind is omnipotent," we are obviously being very ridiculous. In this article Lenin also told us that philosophical materialism is the basis of the Marxist doctrine and explained "how profoundly erroneous is every deviation from this basis."

Chang Chun-chiao babbled: "If it is wrong to say that 'the mind decides everything,' is it then right to say that matter decides everything? Our chairman says that 'the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.' He does not say that other things can decide everything." Was this really the case? As we all know, throughout the course of the various two-line struggles inside our party, Chairman Mao always upheld the comprehensive and solemn world outlook of dialectical materialism and historical materialism when he waged uncompromising struggles against idealism of all hues and descriptions. While he attached great importance to the reaction of mental things in discussing the relationship between matter and consciousness, he also pointed out right from the beginning: "We recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness." ("On Contradiction") While he attached great importance to theoretical guidance in revolutionary practice in discussing the relationship between theory and practice, at the same time he also repeatedly noted that the viewpoint of practice is the primary and basic viewpoint of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge. He pointed out: "Marxists regard man's activity in production as the most fundamental practical activity, the determinant of all his other activities." ("On Practice") While he attached great importance to the role of the line in discussing the relationship between line and cadres, he also said: "Cadres are a decisive factor once the political line is determined." ("The Role of the CCP in the National War")

Since conditions vary in different periods of the revolutionary struggle, revolutionary teachers sometimes stressed materialism and sometimes stressed dialectics. However, when they stressed materialism they always upheld dialectics to make it different from mechanical materialism; and when they stressed dialectics they always upheld materialism to make it different from idealist dialectics. The "gang of four" behaved as though they were more "dialectical" than dialectics itself and more "revolutionary" than all revolutionaries. Ignoring the historical conditions of this thesis of Chairman Mao's and ignoring the basic viewpoint of dialectical materialism and historical materialism which Chairman Mao stressed in every two-line struggle, particularly the 10th one, they exaggerated the role of the line to the maximum, distorted Chairman Mao's scientific thesis to make it sound like a religious dogma transcending history and matter, and peddled their reactionary philosophy--"the theory that the mind is omnipotent"--under the banner of this dogma. With this philosophy they actively engaged in the criticism of generals and marshals. Their evil aim was to attack, vilify and topple those senior leading cadres of our army who followed Chairman Mao in fighting north and south in the past decades so that they, the so-called "representatives of the correct line," could "decide everything."

Without a people's army the people have nothing. The training of a large number of backbone cadres who are capable of running the army is of vital importance to winning the Chinese revolution and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Like a galaxy of stars, the renowned senior officials of our army who had distinguished themselves through revolutionary struggles over the past half century shone with splendor. They were the flower of the revolution watered by the blood of countless revolutionary martyrs, the glory of the people and the valuable asset of the party and the state. Led by the party and Chairman Mao and guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, they shed blood, laid down their lives and made magnificent contributions to overthrowing the three great mountains in the hard and bitter war years. In the period of socialist revolution they made indelible contributions to defending socialist revolution and construction and revolutionizing and modernizing our army. They resolutely defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the acute and complex struggles between the two lines. When the "gang of four" ran rampant and the survival of our party and state was at stake, they rallied closely around the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and pledged to fight the counterrevolutionary "gang of four" through to the end, even at the risk of death. As Chairman Mao pointed out: "With cadres like ours who have been tested in different periods of the revolution, we are able to 'sit tight in the fishing boat despite the rising wind and waves.'" ("Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth CCP Central Committee") It was precisely for these reasons that the "gang of four" regarded them as thorns in the side and made them targets of the most vicious vilification and the most ruthless persecution in a vain attempt to overthrow one by one the monuments they erected in the

history of the Chinese revolution and to efface one by one their lofty images in the people's minds. However, this could in no way shake the confidence and love that millions of people felt toward them. Instead, it revealed the repulsive features of the "gang of four," aroused the great indignation of the people throughout the country and brought about the complete bankruptcy of this gang.

A wicked person is sure to bring destruction on himself, and he who tries to destroy our Great Wall is doomed to self-destruction. Is this not a conclusion drawn from history?

AN ELEGANT POEM THAT PORTRAYS BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES--STUDYING
CHAIRMAN MAO'S POEM 'READING HISTORY--TO THE TUNE OF HO HSIN LANG'

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[Article by Liu Tsai-fu [0491 0375 1788] and Sung Chia-yu [1345 1367 6877]]

[Text] In the spring of 1964, Chairman Mao, after reading ancient history, felt a great inspiration, broke into song, and wrote the powerful poem entitled "Reading History--to the Tune of Ho Hsin Lang." In simple and clear words, the poem generalized the essence of historical materialism and discussed the long history of China and the entire human society. Covering heaven and earth, from beginning to end, and spanning thousands of years, it is noble in spirit and expansive in outlook. Reading it makes one ponder deeply, and one's mind travels 10,000 li.

Compared with his poems which have been published so far, this poem presents a new, unique feature. He ingeniously combined the artistic method of mental imagery and the strict scientific thinking of historical materialism into a harmonious whole, so that poetry and history, art and science, are closely linked. In barely 20 lines, he makes one feel the throbbing pulse of the history of mankind through millions of years. One can say that it is a theme song of the development of China's history and a profound and unique critique of its ancient times. Only a great revolutionary and thinker who thoroughly understood the pattern of history by applying Marxism and who was expert in reflecting the objective world with his pen could have created such poetry with both novel artistic features and rich historical content. In the history of poetry in China and the world, it was the first time that the historical philosophy of Marxism and the objective pattern of human history were so profoundly generalized into such moving poetry and depiction. Truly, it is an incomparable, powerful and beautiful poem.

Artistically, the poem is an advanced integration of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism; ideologically, it contains the fundamental truth of Marxist historical materialism.

As regards the basic viewpoint of historical materialism, Chairman Mao once expounded it as follows: The history of civilization over several thousand years was a history of class struggle wherein certain classes won and others perished. The poem under discussion again expounded such a basic viewpoint of Marxism. "Laughter is rare in this world. Like a new moon, the bow is stretched tight. Blood covers the countryside." With the continuous development of the social production force and the advent of the class society, the antagonistic classes seldom greeted each other with joy, because their class interests were irreconcilable. Therefore, weapons clashed, battles joined, and blood soaked the land. The class struggles between the hostile classes were continuous. The history of civilization of China and the world proved this point.

Nevertheless, the Marxist viewpoint that the class struggle is the direct force promoting the development of the history of human society is fundamentally different from the class struggle discussed by bourgeois historians. Prior to Marxism, though the bourgeois historians also admitted the existence of class struggle, such class struggle was merely for the purpose of realizing a sort of abstract and vague reasoning and a constant and just kingdom. When interpreting history, they discarded the material foundation of the class struggle; therefore, though discussing the class struggle, they still fell into the unscientific quagmire of historical idealism. On the other hand, Marxist historical materialism linked the birth, development, and disappearance of classes with a specific historical stage of the development of the social production force and scientifically explained the relationship between class struggle and material production conditions. Therefore, it corrected two prejudices of historical idealism which were the "two major defects" generalized by Lenin: "First, historical theories in the past at most examined the ideological motive of man's historical activities but did not study the cause of this motive, find the objective pattern of the development of social relations, or discover that the extent of the development of material production was the source of such relations; next, historical theories in the past did not explain the activities of the masses. Only historical materialism, for the first time, enabled us to examine the social conditions of mass life and the changes in these conditions with the precision of natural history." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 586) Chairman Mao's poems brought out the brilliance of his criticism on precisely these two points and figuratively generalized the Marxist historical philosophy while criticizing the idealist historical philosophy.

Chairman Mao, in the first half of the poem, concisely expounded the material source of the formation and development of class contradictions and explained that class struggle was the product of the development of the social production force at a specific stage and was founded on material production.

The poem begins with the history of the development of the social production force. The social production force is the very thing which walks

foremost in the development of history. It is the most revolutionary and positive factor among the various factors of social development and constitutes the determining strength in social progress. "Man and monkey say farewell to each other." Man becomes independent from the animal world and thus begins the first page of the history of human society. Man's ability to make production tools with his hands and pursue the labor of material production signifies this great change. When mankind strides into the first social gestalt--primitive society--it is still in its infancy, living naked and using the crudest stone tools. "Only a few rubbed stones, the time of infancy" is a portrayal of the desolate, ancient Stone Age. Under the condition of such an extremely low social production force, man must rely on collective labor to avoid starvation. The fruits of labor are barely sufficient for survival, and no one has any surplus product for exploitation by others. Therefore, in this society there is no exploitation, no class and, naturally, no class struggle.

The beginning of class struggle was the result of the development of the social production force to a specific historical stage. With the line "flames roar in the copper and iron furnaces," Chairman Mao pointed out the material source of the formation and development of China's class society--the slave society. According to archeological discoveries and the research of historians, red copper was present in the latter period of China's primitive society, bronze tools were generally used in the times of Yin-Shang and Western Chou, and iron was also in evidence. By the time of the Warring States, iron tools were gradually introduced into the various aspects of social production. Copper and iron had a gigantic effect on the history of mankind. The manufacture and use of such metal tools resulted in a new leap in the social production forces. Besides articles produced for minimum survival, there were also surplus labor products, which led to the possibility of exploiting the labor of others and the split between the exploiting and exploited classes. Thereupon, class contradiction and class opposition were formed for the first time in the history of mankind. It was only now that class struggle had its objective material foundation and became a sort of historical inevitability. Nevertheless, historians still disagreed on the beginning and end of China's slave society. Therefore, Chairman Mao wrote in his poem: "When will it be determined?" He was hoping that an early scientific solution would be reached on the historical issue of China's slave society.

By the latter period of China's slave society, iron tools were generally in use. The flames of iron refining pushed China's history to yet another new era, and the feudalist production relationship became a historical inevitability, replacing that of the slave system. In China, the birth and development of the slave and feudal societies was a process of long duration, but in the long river of the entire history of mankind it was but a short interval. Therefore, Chairman Mao wrote: "Merely a

few thousand hot and cold seasons." The history of those few thousand years tells us that class struggle in society is essentially a manifestation of the contradiction between the new production force and the old production relationship. All classes struggle for their own material interest. Only the struggle waged by the class representing the progressive production force against the old production relationship constitutes a revolution promoting social progress.

Then, in the history of mankind, who promoted the development of the social production force, continuously broke the shackles blocking such development and furthered social progress? Were they the representatives of the exploiting class and the few kings and generals, or were they the slaves of the exploited class? Chairman Mao answered this question in the second half of his poem.

The scientific, historical materialist answer to this question underwent a long process of development in the history of man's awareness. Over a long period of time the old historians before Marxism came to China interpreted and explained history with the historical idealist viewpoint. History books through the dynasties packed the archives; one could not read them all in a lifetime. Truly, "one's hair turns white after reading one volume." Yet this vast history, thousands of chapters and tens of thousands of sections, could not touch the truth. What could be used as reference for a clue to historical development was merely "drops and dribblets, a few lines and traces of the old." The old history books were covered with the dark fog of historical idealism. Back and forth, they could not escape the confines of the emperors and generals. Therefore, chairman Mao wrote: "The sacred deeds of the five emperors and three kings deceived innumerable passersby." The "Historical Records," the famous first biographical classic of Chinese history by Szuma Chien, and the gigantic chronological "Tzu-chih Tung-chien" by Szuma Kuang both took the legendary "five emperors and three kings" as the beginning of China's history. The "Chinese History" of over 3,000 volumes compiled by the feudal historians through the generations revered the feudal rulers as the masters of history and obliterated the position and role of the laboring people. Though criticizing the feudal historical studies to a certain extent and revealing the mythical quality of the "five emperors and three kings," modern bourgeois historians still maintained that history was created by heroes and great men, and they negated the objective law of historical development. In his poem, Chairman Mao swept away such historical idealist fog and explained the glorious truth that only the people constituted the great motive force promoting the progress of history. "How many truly great and noble-hearted men were there? Like Tao Chih and Chuang Chiao, who became famous in history, and like King Chen, who rose to wield his royal ax." The indomitable struggles of the slaves and peasants formed the noble and beautiful chapters of history. History was created by the oppressed classes represented by heroic figures. Only they were the noble figures of history; only their

cause was sacred. The broad masses shouldered the heavy burden of social material production and continuously opened the way for the development of the production force. Nevertheless, in the historical period of China's feudal society, due to the restrictions of historical conditions, no new production force or production relationship appeared, nor any new class strength, nor any progressive political party; therefore, the peasant uprisings always failed, and they were always utilized, during or after the uprisings, by the landowner class and turned into tools to change the dynasties. When Chairman Mao wrote "song not yet ended," he was regretting the failure of the revolutionary struggles of the laboring people in history and recalling and extolling their moving, heroic deeds. By "the east turning bright," he meant that only when the worker class ascended the stage of history under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party did the people overthrow the exploiting system of thousands of years and gain thorough liberation, and the bright east replaced the darkness, thereby completing the unfinished cause of the people's struggle through the generations and creating the proletarian dictatorship.

Studying Chairman Mao's "Reading History--to the Tune of Ho Hsin Lang" has an especially important realistic significance today. The poem furnishes us with an effective fighting weapon to expose and criticize the historical idealism of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," as well as the key to our accurate and complete study of historical materialism and Chairman Mao's scientific discourses on the pattern of development of China's history.

Over a long period of time, to realize their counterrevolutionary ambition to usurp the party and seize power, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" launched a reckless attack on Marxist historical materialism and viciously revised and altered the Marxist theory on the class struggle and the fundamental Marxist principle that the masses were the creators of history. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" shouted loudly, "Always remember the class struggle" and "Stretch tight the string of the class struggle." Yet they placed the class struggle and social material production on opposite sides. Under the excuse of criticizing "the theory of the extinction of the class struggle," "the theory of production force only," and "the theory of foundation," they turned "the class struggle as the key point" and "promoting the national economy" into two opposing elements, like fire and water, intolerant of each other, and completely negated the economic source of the class struggle, the historical pattern of the production struggle antedating the class struggle, and the production force as the final determining strength in social development. The class struggle of our proletariat is a struggle to replace the bourgeois private ownership system and all exploiting systems with the socialist public ownership system, eliminate all class differentiations and their social sources, create a higher labor production rate in order to subjugate the capitalist struggle and, finally, realize communism.

If our production breaks down, our economy collapses and socialism loses its superiority, the result can only be the restoration of the old capitalist system. Yet the "class struggle" advocated by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" was a "class struggle" to destroy production, construction and the material foundation of our socialist system; a "class struggle" launched against the current of history; a "class struggle" to restore capitalism in China; a "class struggle" to drag the people back to the colonial and semicolonial abyss of misery. In sum, it was entirely a bourgeois "class struggle" against the proletariat. We absolutely do not want such "class struggle." We must resist the landowner bourgeois class struggle with the proletarian class struggle.

To promote their anticommunist and antipeople "class struggle," Lin Piao and the "gang of four" also widely spread the idealist historical philosophy that individuals, power and determination decided history. They wildly claimed that the struggle between the Confucians and Legalists "threaded through ancient and modern times," raised to the stage of history the emperors and generals and the Legalists approved by them, and bragged that the thinking and determination of the emperors and generals were the major strengths determining China's historical progress. They also advocated: "Whoever has the strength and the power will, spiritually, enforce control by his particular class." According to them, with power they could "change the appearance." In other words, individuals, power and determination could change everything, including the entire appearance of society and history. On the other hand, the people were merely pawns following their directions, and they could trample freely on the party's mass line, democratic centralism and the tradition of seeking the truth through facts. Their fallacies and perversity were a precise reprint of the "sacred deeds of the five emperors and three kings" and a big confidence trick of the modern "sacrosanctity of the emperor." In a class society, any individual is always a representative of a specific class interest, any authority always the control of one class over another, and any social will the will of the class occupying the controlling position. They may not exceed the confines of the social material production conditions of their era, nor those of the interest of the specific class. Only when the individual, the authority and the will become adjusted to the need of social progress will they produce a progressive effect on historical development. On the other hand, if they block social development, regardless of how great the authority of the individual, they will be crushed by the great wheel of history. Clear proof of this is the fact that Lin Piao and the "gang of four" despised the material foundation of social development and the great strength of the masses, blindly believed in themselves as individuals, in their power, and in their will, resisted the law of development of history, and finally encountered the severe punishment of history.

Chairman Mao's "Reading History" is a great historical poem spanning ancient and modern times. Today, to hasten the realization of the four

modernizations, our entire party, entire army and the people of the entire nation are, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by our wise leader Chairman Hua, rushing forward on the new Long March. Studying Chairman Mao's poem at this great historical moment, we will increase our confidence a hundredfold and raise our fighting spirit high. We must, in accordance with the law of development of history shown us by Chairman Mao in the poem, adhere to the key point of the class struggle, wage the struggle to expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four" to the end, mobilize the hundreds of millions, develop the initiative of the masses in creating history and pursue socialist modernization construction even faster and better.

6080

CSO: 4004

A CHICKEN CAN NEVER FLY AS HIGH AS AN EAGLE--READING CHAIRMAN MAO'S POEM
'MOURNING COMRADE LO JUNG-HUAN'

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 1 Oct 78 pp 51-54

[Article by Chiu Shih [5941 2508]]

[Text] According to the classification of conventional poetry, the poem "Mourning Comrade Lo Jung-huan" which great leader and teacher Chairman Mao wrote in December 1963 belongs to the category of elegy. Through the ages, volumes of elegiac works have been written, generally around the themes of the sorrow of separation and joy of reunion, the feeling of pathos in moments of separation and memories of people who have departed. The better works may sadden heaven and earth in expressing the feelings of the individual. But that is all. This poem by Chairman Mao, however, is written from the high plane of a great proletarian revolutionary who takes Marxism as his guide, weeds through the old and brings forth the new, writes in a novel manner, creates his own style and far surpasses his predecessors. The poem is about the line struggle. It describes the combat friendship among revolutionary comrades and relates anxieties over the safety of the country and the sorrows and happiness of the people. The heroic spirit, lofty tone and vivid lines are unmatched by previous poems on the same subject. Plainly speaking, this poem by Chairman Mao and other poems by him together have pushed our country's classical poetry to a brandnew realm.

Comrade Lo Jung-huan was an outstanding proletarian revolutionary of the older generation in our country. He was an outstanding leader of the Chinese PLA and a loyal comrade-in-arms and good student of Chairman Mao. He took part in the Autumn Harvest Uprising in 1927. From the time when he was enlisted at Sanwan heading for Chingkangshan to the year 1963 when he died, for 36 years he had closely followed Chairman Mao in making revolution and manifested steadfast loyalty. In the several line struggles within the party, he firmly followed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and waged tenacious struggle against the "left" and right opportunist lines. On his deathbed he said: "I have done one correct thing in my life, and that is to have closely followed Chairman Mao!" He

manifested boundless loyalty to the revolutionary cause, adhered to principle, insisted on unity and for several decades devoted himself body and soul to the cause. In the revolutionary struggles he rendered important contributions to blazing new trails, opening new land, thinking out plans with care and farsight and overcoming dangers. He performed heroic feats in developing and strengthening the Chinese Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Armed Forces, in founding the Chinese PLA, in comprehensively and accurately implementing Chairman Mao's line on army building and in giving prominence to the traditional political work in our army which Chairman Mao fostered. In all this he was a glorious example for the whole party and the whole army. Chairman Mao's poem mourning him is full of infinitely profound feelings and meaning and is in no way a casual work.

"I remember those years of tripping over grass." Some people interpret "tripping over grass" as traversing the grassland. Other people interpret the phrase in reference to the second revolutionary civil war. And still other people interpret the phrase as an allusion to the flying general in describing Comrade Lo Jung-huan. In composing a verse, the poet embodies his meaning in the imagery he chooses, and a fine verse is often so enigmatical that different readers will yield different readings. This is not unusual. But in context the phrase should be read in reference to the entire period of the revolutionary war, when we still had not seized the country's political power and when we were still in the mountains fighting a guerrilla warfare amidst the grass. The guerrilla life of those years is precisely the event which the poet employs to evoke the meaning of his entire poem. Comrade Lo Jung-huan was the salient figure and survivor of the guerrilla life of the time.

The verse "In the Red Army there were separations" is generally interpreted as the poet's deep sense of regret in having been separated from Comrade Lo Jung-huan. In fact, the occasions on which Chairman Mao and Comrade Lo Jung-huan met could not have been too infrequent; and even if their meetings were infrequent, the poet might not find it worthy enough to give vent to his feelings in this connection. Some comrades believe that "there were separations" implies the line struggle. This interpretation has its points. This is because ideological struggles and line struggles were frequent within the revolutionary ranks. Furthermore, the entire poem is about the ideological struggle and line struggle within the party. Adopting this interpretation, then the first verse "introduces the subject" of the entire poem and enables the poem to develop from beginning to end in one breath. This interpretation is also in accordance with the emotion of the poet when he was writing the poem. On the day Comrade Lo Jung-huan passed away, Chairman Mao took the lead in standing in silent mourning at the meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee. He said: "Comrade Lo Jung-huan has passed away. It is not easy to find a person who has been loyal to the party's line for several decades." He further said: Comrade Lo Jung-huan was a man of principle. He was relentless

toward his enemies and never spoke behind people's backs. We must have principle and a principled spirit within the party. These few statements by Chairman Mao precisely form the "synopsis" of this poem. It appears that when Chairman Mao was writing this poem his heart was thinking about commending the principled spirit which Comrade Lo Jung-huan clearly displayed in the ideological struggle and line struggle within the party, as well as his bold and skillful style of carrying out active struggle against erroneous tendencies.

"The days of the Long March were not difficult ones; the battle at Chin would indeed become a big problem." Here we must first consider the phrase "the battle at Chin," which some people interpret to mean combating the idea of "returning home in Chin clothes." Others, however, think the phrase means the battle at Chinchou. Obviously, the former is a misinterpretation, while the latter is a correct understanding. This is clear when we read the entire poem. We should not interpret the meaning of words out of context.

"The days of the Long March were not difficult ones" does not mean that the Long March was not an arduous endeavor, nor does it mean that there were no line struggles on the Long March. The Long March has long been used as a term signifying the ability to overcome countless difficulties and dangers. The Long March itself took place under the impact of Wang Ming's "left" opportunist line. It ended in victory in the severe struggles to overcome Wang Ming's "left" opportunism, overcome the vain attempt by Lin Piao and Peng Te-huai to overthrow the leadership of Chairman Mao and overcome Chang Kuo-tao's right escapism and splittism. Then, could it be, as some people say, that since Chairman Mao once said, "The Red Army fears not the trials of the Long March, Holding light ten thousand crags and torrents," the verse "The days of the Long March were not difficult ones" therefore implies the spirit of holding light all hardship? If the verse is thus interpreted, then does it mean that the verse "the battle at Chin would indeed become a big problem" lacks the spirit of holding light all hardship? Obviously this explanation is not logical.

We should understand the verses "The days of the Long March were not difficult ones; the battle at Chin would indeed become a big problem" from the high plane of our party's strategic guidance to our country's revolutionary war and from the angle of the historical change from the preparation of a revolutionary force to the direct seizure of political power. The historical facts were that, in the 21 years from Chingkangshan until the battle of Chinchou, our country's revolutionary war was in a stage of strategic preparation, when we were accumulating revolutionary strength, and not in a stage of strategic decisive battle. During that period the gain or loss of a moment or a place was of no great consequence. This was so even with the period of the Long March, when we lost 90 percent of the base areas and had to depend on walking on two

legs. Although that was serious, compared with the decisive strategic battle situation which the "battle of Chinchou" faced, the Long March did not constitute "difficult days." The "left" opportunists like Wang Ming once nonsensically stated that the victory or loss of the fifth counter-"encirclement and suppression" campaign would determine the victory or loss of the Chinese revolution. That, however, only illustrated the essence of their "left" opportunism.

As to "the battle at Chin would indeed become a big problem," the phrase does not mean that "the battle to be fought in Chinchou" was a big problem but that it would become a big problem. "Big problem" here is used as a parallel to "difficult days" and alludes to the historical facts of the time, when the country was facing the situation of a decisive strategic battle. By the fall of 1948 our country's PLA had already destroyed many enemies. Not only was the most difficult period over, but we were faced with the excellent situation of a strategic offensive. How, then, did it become a big problem? This was because a strategic offensive meant a decisive strategic battle, and a decisive strategic battle was related to the big problem of the direct seizure of the country's political power, to the big problem of the victory or loss of the revolution and to the big problem of "throwing the last dice." In the light of historical facts, the victory of the Chinese people's war of liberation was determined by the Liaoning-Shenyang campaign, the Peking-Tientsin campaign and the Huaihai campaign. Of these three campaigns, the Liaoning-Shenyang campaign was the first and key one to be launched. In the Liaoning-Shenyang campaign the battle of Chinchou was the initial battle and was therefore the key battle of the key campaign. Thus, Chairman Mao instructed that our army in the northeast should "concentrate their attention on the battle of Chinchou and endeavor to take the city as swiftly as possible. Even if other targets are not accomplished, as long as Chinchou is taken you will be able to take the initiative and will have won a great victory." Precisely at that crucial moment, Lin Piao, who was then commander of the Northeast Field Army, openly opposed the "combat policy concerning the Liaoning-Shenyang campaign" of Chairman Mao, the party Central Committee and the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee. He jeered at, found faults with and attacked Comrade Lo Jung-huan, who defended Chairman Mao's correct policy. He uttered such nonsense as "There are no battles to be fought in the direction of Chinchou" and insisted on fighting to capture Changchun. Chairman Mao had to send some 70 cables to repeatedly criticize Lin Piao severely before Lin Piao was compelled to march south. The "big problem" which Chairman Mao referred to was this case. Here Chairman Mao was commending Comrade Lo Jung-huan and rebuking Lin Piao.

"The sparrow would often bully the big bird; the quail would make fun of the eagle." These two verses, following the above verse, mercilessly rebuked the right opportunism of Lin Piao and highly praised the correct line of the party Central Committee which Comrade Lo Jung-huan defended.

They further illustrated the essence of the verse "the battle at Chin would indeed be a big problem," as well as the essence of all line struggles. The sparrow is a small bird. The "big bird" refers to the roc. The verse "The sparrow would often bully the big bird" alludes to a fable in Chuang Tze's "Carefree Journey." One passage in "Carefree Journey" reads: "In the extreme north is a dark sea called the heavenly pool, where there is a fish whose breadth is several thousand li and which is called the leviathan before its transmutation to become a bird, called the roc (Note: In the preceding passage, Chuang Tze had already indicated that the leviathan was transmuted into a bird and was called the roc), whose back is as broad as Tai Mountain, whose wings are like clouds covering the sky. It soars nine thousand li, rousing a raging cyclone. It wipes out the mists, shoulders the blue sky, and fares south to the ghostland of the south. The sparrow laughs and says: 'So what! I can ascend and descend several feet amidst the rushes. This also is flying. So what!'" What is worth our attention is that Chairman Mao later alluded to this fable in writing "Two Birds: A Dialog--to the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao." "The quail" is a bird that likes to cry and makes a miserable sound. In "Nine Arguments" from the "Songs of Chu" there is the line "the quail twittered and cried." In Mei Cheng's poem "Seven Thoughts" there is the line "the quail cried and drooped its wings." The verse "the quail would make fun of the eagle" also alludes to the fable "The Eagle and the Chicken" by the Russian writer Kirilov. In "Short Commentary of a Political Commentator," Lenin also alludes to this fable; he praises the Marxist Luxemburg for "being an eagle from beginning to end" and rebukes Kautsky and the likes as a group of chickens in the backyard garbage heaps of the workers movement: "The eagle sometimes can fly lower than the chicken, but the chicken can never fly as high as the eagle." ("Collected Works of Lenin, Vol 13, p 151)

What point does the poet want to make by alluding to the two fables? As mentioned above, in the battle of Chinchou, Lin Piao refused to implement Chairman Mao's combat policy and attacked Comrade Lo Jung-huan, who resolutely defended Chairman Mao's correct policy. Just at that critical moment when the plans for attacking Chinchou had been completed and the battle to take Chinchou was about to take place, Lin Piao still sent a cable behind the back of Comrade Lo Jung-huan to the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee, requesting permission to transfer the forces northward to attack Changchun and give up Chinchou. Comrade Lo Jung-huan severely criticized him and reported to the Central Committee. Chairman Mao sent two cables in succession to severely refute Lin Piao's absurd suggestion, thus thwarting Lin Piao's scheme. Flying into a rage, Lin Piao jeered at, attacked and found fault with Comrade Lo Jung-huan, saying: Your cable is well written, your future is bright. How shameless! Later on, Lin Piao admitted that "Lin and Lo must separate. Lin and Lo were never together." We can see that Comrade Jung-huan had all along drawn a clear line of demarcation with Lin Piao, which made Lin Piao so resentful of Comrade Lo Jung-huan.

What resulted from Comrade Lo Jung-huan's leading the Northeast Field Army and resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's correct policy? History has drawn its conclusion: On 12 September 1948 the battle of Chinchou was fought. By the 15th of that month the enemies had been completely wiped out. By 2 October the Liaoning-Shenyang campaign had achieved all-round victory. Some 470,000 enemies were killed, and Northeast China was liberated. From then on the decisive strategic battles over the country were launched with the force of a thunderbolt. In 6 months the PLA fought in Huaihai and moved on to Peking and Tientsin; hundreds of thousands of soldiers crossed the river and liberated Nanking in a heroic manner. Lin Piao and other revisionists who were like sparrows would always laugh at and seize every opportunity to bully genuine Marxists who are like rocs. This is not unusual. But these chickens that like to cry on the garbage heaps "can never fly as high as the eagle." They cannot shake off their destiny of facing total bankruptcy.

Lin Piao's real features were repeatedly exposed by Chairman Mao. As far back as the Chingkangshan period, Chairman Mao exposed and criticized his despicable role of pretending to "believe firmly" in Marxism-Leninism but actually bemoaning "how much longer the red banner could remain hoisted." At the Huili meeting during the Long March, this fellow, together with Peng Te-huai, slandered Chairman Mao's command as "creating haggardness" and "dragging down the forces," in a vain attempt to seize power from Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao severely rebuked him, saying: You are a child. What do you know?! In regard to the battle of Chinchou, he sent over 70 cables to compel Lin Piao to march south to take Chinchou. Once again he severely exposed Lin Piao's real feature of right opportunism. Chairman Mao was also aware of Lin Piao's opposition to our country's volunteer army's resistance to the United States and assistance to Korea. The logic of history is unmerciful to opportunists like Lin Piao. The publication of Chairman Mao's poem "Mourning Comrade Lo Jung-huan" further publicizes the historical crimes of Lin Piao, lashing Lin Piao mercilessly. This is a new motive force in our exposure and criticism of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" today.

"Now you have left the world. Whom should we turn to when the country has difficulties?" The verses display great force and embody infinitely profound feelings. At the same time they are a silent lesson of limited words yet unlimited meaning. The verses announce Chairman Mao's highest praise of Comrade Lo Jung-huan. They also reveal Chairman Mao's reliance on and trust in proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation! As early as 1956 Chairman Mao said: "Having a group of cadres who have undergone experiences at different revolutionary periods, we do not have to mind the storm but just have to sit tight in the fishing boat." Chairman Mao placed the destiny and future of our country in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, for they are precisely the proletarian leading core of our party and our country, the vanguards who will pass on the proletarian cause to the

younger generation, and the Great Wall that opposes and prevents revisionism. At that hour, Chairman Mao felt the presence of "difficulties," which were the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi's counterrevolutionary revisionist line and the adverse historical current of the emergence of modern revisionism in the international communist movement. At such a moment, Chairman Mao pondered day and night over one problem, which was how to prevent revisionism in China and to prevent China from restaging the tragedy in the Soviet Union. Later, Chairman Mao issued the strategic policy decision of launching the unprecedented Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. To attain their counterrevolutionary aim of seizing party and state power, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" employed every means in a vain attempt to overthrow a large group of proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and revolutionary veteran cadres. This meant destroying the backbone of the socialist motherland and disregarding the destiny of the nation. This meant pointing the spearhead directly at Chairman Mao. The two verses revealed how great a concern Chairman Mao had for the destiny of the country and its people! Lin Piao and the "gang of four" formed gangs to forward their selfish ends. They were out-and-out pests of the motherland and criminals of the people! Marx once heroically rebuked the opportunists, saying: What I sow are seeds of the dragon, but what I reap are bugs. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" are bugs that have infiltrated the revolutionary ranks!

The immortal lesson offered by Chairman Mao's poem and the living model of Comrade Lo Jung-huan will forever illuminate our road of advance!

9335

CSO: 4004

THE GIFTED PEN PORTRAYS TRUE EMOTIONS; THE PROUD POPLAR WILL BE IMMORTAL--
READING CHAIRMAN MAO'S POEM 'TO THE TUNE OF HO HSIN LANG,' 1923

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 1 Oct 78 pp 54-57

[Article by Wu Keng-shun [0702 1649 5293]]

[Text] On the second anniversary of the death of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, when we reverently read his early work, the poem entitled "To the Tune of Ho Hsin Lang," and recall the revolutionary history, we are filled with powerful emotions. Love is the main theme of the poem, reflecting the life, thinking and feelings of Chairman Mao and Comrade Yang Kai-hui [2799 7030 1979] during the turbulent early period of the new democratic revolution. It is a valuable revolutionary document. It will help us gain a greater understanding of the significance of proletarian love.

The life of Comrade Yang Kai-hui was a fighting life. She was born in 1901 in Changsha, Hunan. In her youth she met Chairman Mao, who was then attending the Hunan First Teachers School and who discussed the world and history with his progressive schoolmates. After the "4 May" Movement, Chairman Mao's activities in studying Marxism-Leninism, searching for the way to reform China and the world and spreading the revolutionary truths deeply influenced her. In October 1920, after continuing to organize communist cells in Hunan, Chairman Mao formed the Socialist Youth League, and Comrade Yang Kai-hui joined it. Upon the birth of the Chinese Communist Party the following year, she became one of the earliest members in our party's history and followed Chairman Mao to pursue revolutionary activities. In 1925 she accompanied Chairman Mao to Shaoshan to launch the peasant movement, served as a teacher in the peasant's night school and propagandized the revolutionary truths in popular and readily understandable language. She was extremely enthusiastic toward the poor peasants, felt a great sympathy for them and rendered them aid; therefore, everyone had great confidence in her. After the failure of the great revolution in 1927, Chairman Mao led the famous Autumn Harvest Uprising and ascended Ching-kang Mountain. Comrade Yang Kai-hui remained in Changsha to do underground work. In 1930 she was arrested by reactionary

Ho Chien [0124 6943]. Before her arrest she calmly advised the comrades to take off and rapidly disposed of the party documents. In jail she suffered all kinds of cruel torture and was covered with wounds, but she remained indomitable. When the enemy asked her to reveal the list of underground party members, she refused; when the enemy wanted her to announce in the newspapers that she had severed relations with Chairman Mao in exchange for so-called "freedom," she sternly rejected this. At that time she had a child and a mother, and the enemy attempted to shake her determination through them, but she remained adamant. In November 1930, Comrade Yang Kai-hui, then 29 years of age, calmly accepted martyrdom and was killed outside Changsha's Liuyang Gate. Chairman Mao said: "Innumerable revolutionary patriots sacrificed their lives in the interest of the people, saddening the survivors whenever we think of them." Every time we read the poem "Butterfly Loves Flowers--Answering Li Shu-i," we think deeply of Comrade Yang Kai-hui, while also remembering the patriots sacrificed in the various periods of the revolution at Shanghai's Lunghua, Nanking's Yuhuatai, Shangjao's Chichungying, Chungking's Paikungkuan and Chatzetung, etc. Today, in the minds of the people, "Yang Kai-hui" and "revolutionary patriot" have become synonymous.

In the days when the "four pests" rampaged, due to their counterrevolutionary essence and their goal to usurp party and state power, the anti-party Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao clique and their loyal followers persecuted the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and the old cadres and recklessly insulted the revolutionary patriots who had sacrificed themselves nobly. They recklessly attempted to erase patriot Yang Kai-hui's name from China's revolutionary history, insanely described as "criminal evidence" the basket of flowers offered by the people to patriot Yang Kai-hui, and slanderously charged that "We yearn for Comrade Yang Kai-hui," which reflected the people's heartfelt feelings, was a "counterrevolutionary" slogan. Chiang Ching even issued an order to delete from "Chairman Mao's Poems" a footnote concerning Comrade Yang Kai-hui. How rampant was their reactionary arrogance! However, history is ruthless. "The bodies and names of those like you may have turned to ashes but the indestructible river flows on forever." The history written with the blood of our revolutionary forefathers and patriots will never be obliterated. It will shine like the sun and the moon and illuminate a thousand generations.

Written 55 years ago, "Ho Hsin Lang," through the depiction of love, profoundly reflected the pure and noble feelings between Chairman Mao and Comrade Yang Kai-hui and their courage and determination to struggle together for the revolution, giving us a bright model of proletarian love.

With a power to move and artistic imagery, the first half of the poem expressed Comrade Yang Kai-hui's love for Chairman Mao. The poet began with the scene of parting. In life, those who part often raise their

arms and wave them to show their reluctance to leave each other. "Wave our hands and you are gone; the spotted horse neighs." Li Po, in "Seeing a Friend Off," seized the activities of the moment and created an endless effect. Borrowing a line, Chairman Mao depicted his impending separation from Comrade Yang Kai-hui. They did not groan and sigh at the prospect. It was still the old society at that time, and the people suffered endless miseries. The sufferings of a revolutionary as an individual would inevitably possess a social essence. "Retelling our sorrow," they faced each other sadly and found it hard to bear. "The eyes and eyebrows all seem to be filled with sadness; hot tears wanting to fall yet held back." These two lines depicted Comrade Yang Kai-hui. The "sadness" here was an unhappiness which showed itself in the eyes and eyebrows. Hot tears filled her eyes, yet they were held back. It was a profound portrayal of the gentle yet rational personality of Comrade Yang Kai-hui and her complicated sentiments at the time of parting.

Why was her love so fervent? It was because the love between her and Chairman Mao was born in the storms of the revolution. In the winter of 1918 they began their love in the snow-covered north country. After a long period of understanding they were married in 1920. Thereafter they worked together for a long time. After attending the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao returned to Hunan to establish the first provincial committee of our party--the Hunan Regional CCP Committee--and served as its secretary. Comrade Yang Kai-hui performed the party's confidential and liaison work. During this period Chairman Mao led Anyuan railway and coal mining workers, Changsha construction workers, workers of the Wuchang section of the Canton-Hankow Railway, and Changsha printing workers, barbers, seamstresses, weavers, pen industry workers, rickshaw workers and ceramic workers to carry out powerful strikes, and conducted a peasant movement at Yuehpei. Comrade Yang Kai-hui shared with Chairman Mao the hardships and dangers, dedicating herself to the revolution. Their love also developed on such a foundation. In April 1923 Chairman Mao was transferred from Hunan to the party Central Committee. In June he attended the party's "Third Congress" in Canton. Thereafter he traveled continuously, constantly journeying between Changsha, Wuhan and Shanghai for the revolution. Judging from the contents of the poem, he may have returned to Changsha in the late fall of that year and then left hurriedly. Leaving Comrade Yang Kai-hui, he wrote the poem on the trip. "I know you misunderstood my previous letter." What kind of "misunderstanding" was it? Life is complicated and contradictions prevalent. Temporary misunderstandings may occur between comrades in arms and lovers, but they do not damage the friendship between them. After the rain the sun shines. Once the misunderstanding is eliminated, the heart grows fonder. Comrade Yang Kai-hui's deep feelings made Chairman Mao recall the noble years of the past; thus, "the rolling clouds and fog passing before one's eyes." It was then the time of great social changes, and many things of the past were like clouds and fog surging forward and passing. Chairman Mao and

Comrade Yang Kai-hui were close comrades-in-arms and intimate lovers. "You and I know each other best in this world." This was Chairman Mao's conclusion, and it was how he, throughout his entire life, regarded the relationship between them. In the winter of 1930, when the news of Comrade Yang Kai-hui's martyrdom reached the Kiangsi Soviet Region, Chairman Mao said sorrowfully: "One hundred deaths of me will be unable to tip the scale of Yang Kai-hui's martyrdom." Upon national liberation, Chairman Mao successively sent Mao An-ying and Mao An-ching, the two brothers, to pay homage to her grave in Hunan. In 1957 he wrote the famous "Butterfly Loves Flowers---in Answer to Li Shu-i." Upon the death of Comrade Yang Kai-hui's mother in 1962, Chairman Mao, in his letter of condolence, referred to the martyr as "my beloved wife Comrade Yang Kai-hui."

The last two lines of the first half of the poem read: "The person has an ailment. Does Heaven know?" Did he feel sad because she was ill? Or was he expressing his indignation at Heaven's unfeelingness for the sorrows and pains of mankind? From the wording, either interpretation seems acceptable. However, since this is a love poem, the first is more appropriate.

Though the first half of the poem mentioned Chairman Mao's mental state, it actually concentrated on Comrade Yang Kai-hui. Only the second half depicted Chairman Mao's sorrow over parting. He and Comrade Yang Kai-hui mutually encouraged each other. Right from the start the poem describes the time and place of parting and leads the reader to an unforgettable and fresh artistic state. "This morning the frost is heavy on the East Gate Road. The falling moon shines on the pond, so very desolate." "Heavy frost" indicates late fall. The Changsha Railway Station and Chingshui Pond were both outside the East Gate. The frost covering the East Gate is an accurate indication of the season. The "pond" was Chingshui Pond, not far from the East Station, and it was there that Chairman Mao and Comrade Yang Kai-hui lived. "Falling moon" is the moon soon to drop behind the mountains. Near dawn the moon slants toward the west. The desolate scene makes the reader feel sad. Amid the steam whistles, Chairman Mao bid farewell to his wife and his hometown, traveling ever further, feeling himself "a lone traveler to the end of the earth." Parting was a frequent theme in ancient literature and was considered a sorrowful thing. "What saddens the soul most is parting!" ("Farewell Poem" by Chiang Yen) Due to the limitations of the class and the era, the people of the old era often failed to see the future and the light; therefore, they had no way to relieve their sorrow over parting. Though they purposely pretended to be carefree, there was always a feeling of emptiness and depression. Chairman Mao's "Ho Hsin Lang" is different from the old poetry. Instead of making the reader feel depressed, it stimulates him. It is because the proletarian revolutionary had mastered the law of social development and believed in the inexhaustible strength of the revolutionary people; therefore, he was full of

confidence in the future and could foresee the tide even during the ebb of the revolution and the victory in the struggle against the three great enemies. Thus, from the depth of his heart he shouted: "Cut apart the thread of sadness and the line of sorrow." In Shaoshan in 1920, Chairman Mao instructed his wife to abandon the small family for the big family, sacrifice oneself for the people and plunge into the revolutionary struggles. It was what he always required of himself. "Cutting apart the thread of sadness and the line of sorrow" and "hot tears wanting to fall yet held back" both expressed such a valuable revolutionary spirit. "Cutting apart" indicates that he wanted to cut apart. The ancients compared lingering sentiments to the threads of the silkworm. Here "the thread of sadness and the line of sorrow" illustrates the parting sentiment. It was a warning to himself and an encouragement to Comrade Yang Kai-hui. From here the entire poem shifts naturally to courage and vitality. Such harmony in integrating two styles was unprecedented in the history of poetry. Its foundation was the revolutionary life and thinking, and it was the content of proletarian love. "Kunlun rises above the steep cliff" and "typhoon sweeps the universe" are two powerful illustrations. Kunlun is China's greatest mountain range and the most majestic in legends. Typhoon possesses an irresistible force, used here to illustrate the violent storms of the revolution. Chairman Mao foresaw the high tide of the rising great revolution under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the inevitable great social changes. When the bird flies high, it is called "soaring." The poet imagined that, in the revolutionary storms engulfing the nation, he and Comrade Yang Kai-hui would, like eagles in the sky, soar into the clouds wing to wing. Indeed, they soon plunged into the first domestic revolutionary war and fought shoulder to shoulder in Shanghai, Canton, Wuhan, and Hunan.

The poem, from its subject matter to the main theme, expresses love. Can literary works express love? Can they depict proletarian love? Can they depict the love of heroic figures? Can they depict love in the violent struggle of life? Can they, especially, reflect the love of revolutionary leaders? The "gang of four," enforcing a fascist cultural dictatorship, answered all the questions in the negative. Chairman Mao's poem thoroughly smashed the forbidden zone delineated by them and illuminated their true anti-Marxist features. In "The End of Ludwig Feuerbach and the German Classic Philosophy," Engels said: "The sentimental relationship between individuals, especially between the two sexes, has always existed since the beginning of mankind." In "Talk at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art," Chairman Mao also said that love was a conceptual thing, a product of objective practice. Depicting love in literary and artistic works reflecting social life, or even using love as the main theme, is normal. We must make a class analysis of love, but no one may negate ancient and modern literary and art works on the excuse that they depicted love. Large numbers of ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign, literary works indicate that no one questions

the value of the many works depicting love or using love as the subject matter, such as "The Peacock Flies Southeast," "Western Chambers," "Dream of the Red Chamber," the musical "White-Haired Girl" and "War and Peace." Proletarian love is the most beautiful and noblest love of mankind. The love of Marx and Jenny has long been a model, as has that of Chairman Mao and Comrade Yang Kai-hui. Chairman Mao even recorded it in his poems. The fact that, by means of the sentiment over parting and a life of love, the poem "Ho Hsin Lang," for instance, expresses proletarian thinking and feelings and gives us a positive education is the best proof thereof.

All along the people have compared Chairman Mao's poetry to a pictorial of China's great revolution. The publication of "Ho Hsin Lang" is like showing a detail at the beginning of the historical pictorial, making it even more dazzling.

"Tzu" is a unique form of China's classic poetry, and it has something in common with "shih" in the pattern of artistic creation. When studying the development pattern of poetry and summarizing the lessons of experience of the poetry of Tang and Sung, Chairman Mao affirmed that writing "shih" required mental imagery, which was also applicable to writing "tzu." In any country, poetry and prose always take different routes. Even when it comes to prose-style poetry, it must also possess the special essences of poetry before it can be recognized. The "Book of Odes," "Chu Poetry," and the prose of early Chin each provides different interests. When we want "poetry to express determination," it means ideological content and emotions. Meanwhile, when studying the "Book of Odes" we find that it uses different forms. When Lu Chi of the Chin dynasty wrote "Wen-fu," he proposed the criterion that "poetry portrays sentiments and vanity," stressing the beauty of wording. It was the trend of the times. Though he pointed out the necessity of special characteristics for the different forms of composition, the essence of the matter was not grasped. When discussing the works of Wang Wei, a poet of the Tang dynasty, Su Shih pointed out: "When tasting Mo-chieh's poetry, one finds picture in the poetry; when looking at Mo-chieh's painting, one finds poetry in the picture." The comment deserves some thought. "Picture in poetry" was not only a characteristic of Wang Wei's writing but also a general phenomenon of Tang poetry. This superior tradition was overlooked and discarded by some of the "shih" writers of the Sung dynasty but somewhat continued, created and developed in the "tzu" of Sung. Over a long period of time, no serious attention was paid to such valuable experiences. Some people had some dribblets of understanding, in words and phrases, but such understanding was not elevated to the height of rational understanding. In a letter to Comrade Chen I on poetry, Chairman Mao stressed mental images, which has a guiding significance in prospering today's creation. Chairman Mao's poetry is a model of writing on the basis of mental images. His works are therefore filled with poetic sentiments and pictorial reflections. When we read his poetry a clear and sharp picture of life appears before our

eyes, leading us to Chiehtzuchou and Huangholou in the days of the great revolution, the very frontline against the "encirclement" at Chingkang Mountain, and the mountains and rivers of the Long March. As for Chairman Mao's poems on the Red Army's march to the north against Japan, its occupation of Nanking, and the majestic and beautiful socialist revolution and construction, they are, once read, unforgettable. With his insuperably gifted pen, Chairman Mao has left the people of China a historical pictorial worthy of our pride forever. Under the new historical conditions today, we are following the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua on a new Long March. Let us, with the spirit of striving morning and evening, offer ourselves to the great socialist and communist cause, make contributions to mankind and paint the newest and most beautiful pictures!

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A GLORIOUS MISSION FOR CHINESE WOMEN

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 1 Oct 78 pp 58-63

[Outline of group discussions held by some delegates to the Fourth National Women's Congress]

[Text] With the kind concern and under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the Fourth National Women's Congress obtained complete success. To implement the important instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, mobilize the whole party to pay great attention to women's work and mobilize the great revolutionary force of women of all nationalities throughout the country to shoulder the glorious tasks which history has entrusted to them, the editorial department of this journal, while the congress was in progress, invited 10 women delegates to hold group discussions on the problem of how to give full play to the great revolutionary role of Chinese women in the new period. Here is the outline of group discussions held by the delegates.

The Four Modernizations Need Women, and Women Need the Four Modernizations

The delegates unanimously held that Chinese women are a great revolutionary force for the realization of the four modernizations of socialism. The historical experiences of the revolution in China proved that nothing could have been accomplished had the masses of women not participated in the revolutionary struggle. During the period of the democratic revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Women make up one-half of the total population; the economic status of working women and the fact that they suffer special oppression not only prove that women urgently need revolution but are a decisive force for victory or failure of the revolution." Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the masses of women

actively participated in the struggle to overthrow imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and performed laudable and glorious feats. During the period of the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao again pointed out: "To build a great socialist society it is of the utmost importance to arouse the broad masses of women to join in productive activity." Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, hundreds of millions of women in our country have occupied combat posts in the three great revolutions and have given play to their tremendous role in revolution and construction. In the 9th, 10th and 11th line struggles of the party the masses of women, fearing neither hardship nor danger, stepped forth courageously to wage resolute struggle against the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and, in particular, of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Politically, economically and domestically, the status of women in new China has changed basically, and women have become the masters of the country. Take Shanghai, for example; in the 28 years since the founding of the nation, the women of Shanghai Municipality have been liberated gradually from household chores such as the shopping basket, the cooking stove and children, and 1.74 million women have actively joined in social productive labor. They have become a strong reinforcement on the industrial, agricultural, finance and trade, scientific and technological, cultural and educational, and health fronts. A great number of advanced women collectives and models have appeared and have given play to their role as "the other half of the sky" in the three great revolutionary struggles.

The delegates recalled the liberated road traversed by Chinese women and profoundly realized that the movement for the liberation of women was an integral part of the entire cause of the proletarian revolution. Only by actively joining in the three great revolutionary struggles can women obtain their own liberation. Just as Chairman Mao taught us: "The emancipation of working women is inseparably bound up with the victory of the entire proletariat. Women can win genuine emancipation only with the victory of the class." In the various periods of revolution and construction, the party has, in accordance with the specific demands of the general tasks of revolution and construction at the time and of the masses of women, formulated policies and tasks for the women's movement and correctly led the women in their struggle for liberation. Every victory won in our country's revolution and construction is inseparable from the active participation of the masses of women; similarly, every victory of the revolution and every step forward in the cause of socialist construction enables the movement for the liberation of women to advance one step.

The delegates said: At present our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction have entered a new period of development. The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua is leading the people throughout the nation on a new Long March to courageously advance toward the grand goal of building a powerful, modern socialist country. The

realization of the four modernizations of socialism is the inevitable road toward building a powerful socialist country and toward communism. It has also opened up an even broader vista for the movement for the liberation of women. Thus, the realization of the four modernizations is the basic interest and common aspiration of the people throughout the nation and is the basic interest and urgent demand of women of all nationalities throughout the country. The four modernizations need women, and women need the four modernizations. The general task of the party for the new period is also the lofty task of women of all nationalities throughout the country. We must organize the masses of women to actively plunge themselves into the frontline of the three great revolutions, be good fighters supporting the frontline and render greater contributions to realizing the general task for the new period.

Smash the Spiritual Shackles and Thoroughly Liberate Thinking

In discussing the problem of how to realize the lofty tasks of women for the new period, the delegates said: To give fuller play to the role of the masses of women in the new Long March, it is first necessary to smash the spiritual shackles of women, thoroughly liberate their thinking and boost their revolutionary spirit.

What are the spiritual shackles that are presently placed on women? The delegates said: They are the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and their reactionary bourgeois ideological system. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" are the sworn enemies of the Chinese people and are also the sworn enemies of Chinese women. Out of their criminal aim to usurp party and state power, they resorted to the trick of fake leftism and real rightism and seriously sabotaged the women's movement in China. They slandered the women's movement since the founding of the nation as one "ruled by a black line"; slandered women's participation in social productive labor as following the "theory of productive forces"; slanderously charged that building the country industriously and thriftily and managing households industriously and thriftily was promoting the theory of the "dying out of class struggle"; slandered the concern for women's sufferings and the launching of welfare causes for women and children as promoting "welfarism" and as engaging in "trivialities"; slandered the launching of united front work as "class capitulation"; and slandered "8 March" red standard bearers and women models as "black specimens" and "old troubles" who "only watched the cotton thread and did not watch the line," and so forth. These fallacies spread throughout the country, incurring grave consequences and seriously sabotaging women's work. At one time the "gang of four" disbanded the Women's Federation organizations at various levels, cruelly attacked and persecuted a large number of veteran female working cadres and completely paralyzed the women's movement. Only by eliminating the pernicious influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" can women's work be put back on the correct path.

The delegates said: The old thinking left over from the old society and the influence of all kinds of backward, conservative habits are also ideological shackles placed on the women. At present the old thinking that "men are superior and women are inferior" is fettering many women. In society, old ideas such as "women are useless," "women are backward" and "women are inferior" are still reflected in one context or another. In enrolling workers, some exclude women comrades; in some places women do not get the same pay as men for the same work; in some cases women are not allowed to study culture, science and technology; and in some cases there is a reluctance to select and foster women cadres. At the same time, many women also feel inferior and look down on themselves. Some are content with things as they are and desire an easy life; all they want is to find a husband and have a comfortable small family. Some are troubled by inertia and the thinking of sluggards and cowards; they do not look for progress in work, do not work hard in their undertakings and erroneously feel that the realization of the four modernizations will not be affected whether or not they participate in work. If these ideological shackles on women are not thoroughly smashed, then it is impossible to give play to the enthusiasm and creativeness of women.

All held that class struggle is the motive force pushing history forward. To smash the spiritual shackles that are placed on women and to liberate their thinking, it is necessary to firmly grasp the key link of exposing and criticizing Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and carry this great struggle through to the end. Only by affirming the fact that our country's women's movement advanced in victory under the leadership of the party, that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has all along occupied the leading position and that the line, policies and tasks of the women's movement are correct, and by criticizing the fallacy of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" slandering the women's movement as "being subjected to the dictatorship of a black line for 17 years" and by distinguishing the correct line from the wrong line can we boldly persevere in the correct line. Only by affirming the movement for the liberation of women as an integral part of the proletarian movement for liberation and distinguishing the basic difference between employing women cadres according to the party's policies and the counterrevolutionary fallacy that "men should step down so women could assume management," peddled by Chiang Ching, can we boldly foster and select women cadres and actively and conscientiously grasp the construction of the Women's Federation organizations. Only by affirming the glorious traditions of the women's movement and the principle of building the country industriously and thriftily and managing households industriously and thriftily, by affirming the fact that showing concern for the livelihood of the masses of women is in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and by criticizing the crimes of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in sabotaging the glorious traditions and persecuting the women can we boldly grasp revolution and promote production and safeguard and solve the immediate interests of women. In a word, only by thoroughly criticizing the counterrevolutionary

revisionist line of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and truly distinguishing the correct line from the wrong line and charting the right course through theoretical, ideological and organizational confusion can we mobilize, with the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the socialist enthusiasm of women to strive for the acceleration of the four modernizations of socialism in our country.

All held that, to smash the spiritual shackles that are placed on women and to liberate their thinking, it is necessary to conduct arduous and meticulous ideological and political work. As Comrade Kang Ko-ching pointed out in the work report to this congress: The central task of the ideological and political work of the Women's Federation is to mobilize and organize women to struggle for the realization of the general task for the new period. We must restore and give prominence to the fine tradition of our party in attaching great importance all along to ideological and political work and greatly strengthen ideological and political work with women. In the past, in the Kiangsi old revolutionary base area, women cadres used to go among the women to do patient and meticulous ideological work household by household, person by person, case by case and bit by bit. In the old revolutionary base area the women were most obedient to Chairman Mao's words. Wherever Chairman Mao pointed, there the women would rush. Now brilliant leader Chairman Hua is the successor whom Chairman Mao personally appointed. We must educate women to listen to the words of Chairman Hua just as they listened to Chairman Mao, and we must resolutely accomplish the tasks which Chairman Hua hands us. We must emulate the vigor of the women of the old revolutionary base area in conscientiously studying revolutionary theories and conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We must follow the example of the women of the old revolutionary base area in actively joining in battles and actively plunge into the four modernization constructions. We must follow the example of the women of the old revolutionary base area in sending their sons and husbands to join the army and encourage and support our relatives in making contributions to the four modernizations, in fearing neither hardship nor difficulties and in making revolution wholeheartedly. We must follow the example of the women cadres of the old revolutionary base area in patiently and meticulously conducting ideological work with the masses of women and enable every woman to contribute her efforts to the four modernizations.

Raise in a Big Way the Scientific and Cultural Level of Women

The delegates held that raising in a big way the cultural, scientific and technical level of Chinese women, who constitute half of the population, is an important task in women's work today that urgently needs to be solved. It is also a great task of strategic significance and deserves a great deal of attention from all aspects. We must understand the extreme importance of raising the cultural, scientific and technical level of the masses of women from the high plane of persevering in

continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and from the urgent need for the realization of the four modernizations. Since the founding of the nation the masses of women, under the leadership of the party, have actively taken part in the practice of the three great revolutionary movements, studied politics, studied culture and studied science, and have greatly raised their political consciousness and their cultural, scientific and technical level. A group of talented women who have socialist consciousness as well as culture has appeared on the industrial, agricultural, finance and trade, cultural and educational, and health fronts. Nevertheless, the cultural, scientific and technical level of the masses of women still does not correspond to the demands for the realization of the four modernizations. In raising the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation we must pay special attention to helping the masses of women raise their cultural level and grasp scientific and technical knowledge. The strength of several billions of women with a full grasp of modern science and culture is immeasurable and will greatly accelerate the pace of realizing the four modernizations.

A great deal of work must be done to raise the cultural, scientific and technical level of women throughout the country. We must organize women to assiduously study culture and create conditions for further study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and science and technology. In Shensi, after two mass movements to eliminate illiteracy held in the early stage of the founding of the nation, many women were able to rid themselves of illiteracy. Many counties were completely freed of illiteracy. A group of activists in studying culture appeared. There were more and more young women whose cultural level was relatively high. Nevertheless, in the past several years, due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and under the influence of the fallacies they peddled, such as "studying is useless" and "we would rather have laborers who have no culture," illiteracy increased in some places. With the existence of the old concept of thinking highly of men and belittling women, under the burden of heavy household chores and children, and additionally owing to the slow development of the collective economy in some places, some women lost the opportunity to study culture. We must make big efforts to change this condition. We must attach importance to fostering and propagating advanced individuals in studying culture, fostering a large group of core workers in popularizing culture and launching in a big way the mass movement to study culture. We propose that educational departments compile textbooks that are suitable for women in the city and the countryside to study culture. We must create conditions in various respects to help women solve practical difficulties in study and strive to popularize culture among the masses of women in a comparatively short period of time. We must pay special attention to organizing women to study scientific knowledge and grasp new production techniques. With the deepening of the movements to learn from Tachai in agriculture and from Taching in industry, the scientific

and technical level of the masses of women has been raised gradually. The masses of women in the countryside have actively participated in agroscientific experiments and studied scientific farming. Many have even scored outstanding achievements. Nevertheless, the production techniques of many women still cannot match those of men. Some technical tasks in agriculture are done by male comrades exclusively, and only very few women can operate agricultural machines. There are even fewer women on the scientific and technological front, and their standards are generally below those of men. We must shatter the viewpoint of belittling women and must believe in their ability to grasp modern science and technology. What men can do, women also can do. Under the leadership of the party, we must coordinate with all aspects concerned to create all kinds of favorable conditions for women to study science and technology so as to greatly raise the scientific and technical level of the masses of women.

The demand for women to study culture, science and technology now is urgent. The atmosphere of self-study is comparatively keener. The question is how to widely mobilize and organize this enthusiasm for study. We must emphasize the characteristic of the masses of women and carry out even better the task of ideological mobilization. We must, together with the departments concerned, formulate plans and in a planned and organized manner assist the masses of women to study politics, theory, culture, science, technology, economy and management and thus swiftly change the backward state of women in culture, science and technology. We must bring forth from among the women a large group of leaders and experts who are both Red and expert and who can manage modern industrial and agricultural production--thousands and tens of thousands of women labor models, women advanced workers, women scientists, engineers, designers, writers, artists, educators, doctors and other professionals. Women on the various fronts should work doubly hard, struggle to make breakthroughs, work with the utmost effort and make their contributions to the four modernizations.

Persevere in the Party's Policy and Protect Women's Rights and Interests

The delegates said: To give full play to the great role of women, it is necessary to conscientiously implement the party's various general and specific policies, show concern for the well-being of women and protect the rights and interests of women in a down-to-earth manner. Equal pay for equal work among men and women is an important policy of our party. In 1955 Chairman Mao pointed out: "To build a great socialist society it is of extremely great significance to mobilize the masses of women to participate in production activities. In production it is necessary to realize equal pay for equal work among men and women." Experience has proved that realizing equal pay for equal work among men and women is favorable to mobilizing the socialist enthusiasm of the masses of women. However, this policy is not being carried out

thoroughly, especially in the countryside. In some production teams the situation of "inequality between men and women and two sets of workpoints" still exists; while the quantity and quality of farmwork done by men and women are the same, the workpoints recorded are quite different. It is necessary to abolish the "two separate sets for men and women" and implement equal pay for equal work among men and women on the basis of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" and in keeping with the conditions of physical strength, skill and labor attitude. Failure to implement equal pay for equal work among men and women is a violation of the party's policies and of the socialist principle of distribution. Women cadres should boldly assist commune and brigade cadres to boycott and criticize the erroneous thinking that equal pay for equal work among men and women is "putting workpoints in command" and "striving to get workpoints for women." Also, it is necessary to conscientiously implement the policy on women's labor protection. It is necessary to make proper allowance for women's menstruation, pregnancies, maternity leave and time for breast-feeding infants. Women's menstruation is often ignored; it is necessary to pay special attention to providing protection in this respect. It is necessary to take into consideration the physiological characteristics of women, show concern for women's ailments and create conditions for adopting active measures of prevention and cure of women's common and recurrent illnesses.

Our party and country have always attached great importance to defending the immediate rights and interests of women. The constitution stipulates: The state protects marriage, the family and the mother and child. However, due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," class enemies seized the opportunity to create confusion, feudalism and capitalism reemerged, the "four olds" returned and the practice of buying brides and arranging marriages reappeared. Phenomena in which women were persecuted were evident constantly. In some places, dowry is still immensely popular. Many women still cannot decide their own marriage. We must mobilize the masses in a big way to destroy the old and establish the new, change old customs and habits, smash all evil practices of feudalism and capitalism, educate young men and women with socialist ideology and enable them to treat marriage and love correctly, establish a proletarian view of marriage and a communist morality, encourage reasonably late marriage, advocate frugality in arranging wedding celebrations and promote family planning. We must propagate in a big way the idea of marriage based on the free will of both parties, assist parents in correctly treating the question of marriage of their children, oppose venal marriages or arbitrary arrangements by others, and mobilize and support young men and women in struggling against old traditions and concepts. We must commend vanguards in changing old customs and habits and erect models who dare to destroy the old and establish the new. We must carry out criticism and education in regard to thinking and acts of despising women and violating the rights and interests of women. We must deal resolute blows to criminal elements

who commit cruel acts against women. We must execute party and state laws and severely punish the criminal acts of a handful of cadres who misuse their functions and powers to persecute women, in particular educated young women who have gone to the countryside.

The delegates felt that the question of how to eliminate the extraneous worries that distract the masses of women is a big one. In the past few years, kindergartens, nurseries, creches and similar collective services were discontinued on the pretext that they represented "welfarism." We must revive these useful services, do a good job of protecting the health of women and children, strive to bring about the socialization and modernization of household chores and eliminate the extraneous worries that distract the masses of women. We hope that newspapers and journals will discuss this question and direct appeals to various aspects of the matter. Some workers, in particular women workers, spend a great deal of time and energy on household chores; they are often "worried when they are not home, uneasy when they are at work and unable to relax when they are at home." These circumstances to a certain extent affect the task of grasping revolution and promoting production, as well as the physical and mental health of women. But this problem is not difficult to solve as long as we act in accordance with the party's policies and adopt effective measures accordingly. Take Hopping Lane in the Tungcheng District of Peking Municipality, for example; beginning in 1971, under the leadership of the party committee, the Women's Federation of that neighborhood community mobilized the women there to run some neighborhood collective services which later developed into the "three stations, two agents and one institution," namely, the service station, the red medical station and the extracurricular activities station, the trading agent and the meal service agent, and the nursery. The operation of these services not only inconvenienced the livelihood of the masses, enabling some workers to gradually free themselves of extraneous worries, but also liberated a group of housewives of the neighborhood from their trivial household chores, thus enabling them to render contributions to the socialist revolution and socialist construction. We must summarize well the experiences in this respect so as to actively give play to the role of women as good supportive fighters in realizing the four modernizations.

Party Leadership Is the Basic Guarantee in Doing Women's Work Well

The delegates said: The liberation of the Chinese women could not succeed without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Only under the absolute leadership of the party can women's work have a clear orientation. The central task of the party is the central task of women's work.

Party leadership is the basic guarantee in doing women's work well. When he was first secretary of the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee and chairman of the provincial Revolutionary Committee, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng attached

great importance to women's work. The provincial party committee transmitted the outline of the forum on women's work and emphasized that party committees at all levels should attach importance to and strengthen leadership in women's work, show concern for and foster women cadres and pay attention to giving play to the role of women's organizations. After he was transferred to work in the central organs, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng still showed great concern for the women's movement in Hunan and issued instructions accordingly on many occasions. Following the example of Chairman Hua, the leading comrades of the provincial party committee and the party committees at various levels have placed women's work on the agenda of the party committee and have regarded this work as an inevitable integral part of work as a whole. By paying attention to it ideologically, including it organizationally, showing concern for it politically, supporting its work and assisting in solving its practical problems in livelihood, they have enabled the Women's Federation to truly give play to its role as a "bridge" and as the assistant to the party in conducting women's work. At every critical moment in the struggle against the "gang of four," the leading comrades of the provincial party committee transmitted in timely fashion the spirit of the instructions of the Central Committee and the provincial party committee to the women's organizations, pointed out the correct orientation, translated the spirit verbally and set themselves as examples, and succeeded in checking the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four" and their black henchmen and enabling the prestige of the women's organization to grow gradually in the struggle. In carrying out the central task of the various periods, the provincial party committee lost no time in listening to reports by the Women's Federation on the situation, soliciting opinions concerning work and approving the convening of one or two provincial women's work conferences every year. Since 1970 it has ratified some 20 investigation reports and documents concerning women's work and has truly put women's work under the leadership of the party committee. The provincial party committee has also paid attention to fostering women cadres. Some 40,000 women comrades have successively joined the leading bodies at various levels throughout the province. Among them, many comrades have assumed important leading posts; there are 3 standing committee members of the provincial party committee, 14 standing committee members of the prefectural party committees, 21 deputy secretaries of county party committees, some 570 district and commune secretaries and deputy secretaries, and some 6,500 production brigade secretaries and deputy secretaries. There are some 4,300 professional women cadres. To effectively raise the ideological level and working ability of cadres of the Women's Federation, the provincial party committee stipulates: Major leading comrades of the provincial Women's Federation should take part in meetings of prefectural and municipal secretaries to discuss the central task, should select in a planned manner cadres of the Women's Federation to attend the Central Party School and party schools at various levels, and should conscientiously arrange for cadres of the Women's Federation to take part in various major political activities. Cadres of the Women's Federation were seen

paying their last respects to Chairman Mao's remains in Peking, attending memorial exhibitions for Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, and visiting Maching, Tachai and other advanced units. The provincial party committee has attached great importance to the advanced women models who have emerged in the three great revolutionary struggles. Since 1970 it has successively fostered over 20 advanced women collectives and advanced individuals, thereby pushing forward the development of the women's movement.

Delegates who attended the congress also stressed that the Women's Federation should take the initiative to strive for leadership of the party committee. As long as we actively launch activities with the party as the center, in the light of the characteristics of women and in coordination with the relevant aspects, and as long as we are able to go among the masses to conduct investigations and study, carry out work in a down-to-earth manner and even bring forth achievements, we will obtain the support and win the encouragement of the party committee. Cadres of the Women's Federation should strengthen their party concept and strengthen discipline. For instance, in the old days the women cadres of the old revolutionary base area embraced a strong party concept and strong discipline and carried out all kinds of work under the unified leadership of the party. They carried out women's work in an organized and disciplined manner and asked for instructions and made reports concerning their work. In doing women's work now we should also closely follow the leadership of the party and carry out the work in a painstaking way. Only by so doing can we advance victoriously along Chairman Mao's line on the women's movement and give full play to the great revolutionary role of the masses of women in the struggle to realize the general task for the new period.

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CSO: 4004

ADVANCE UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S NATIONALITY POLICY--
CELEBRATING THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE NINGHSIA HUI
AUTONOMOUS REGION

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 1 Oct 78 pp 64-69

[Article by Huo Shih-lien [7202 1102 1670]]

[Text] In October 1958, under the warm concern of our great leader Chairman Mao and our revered and beloved Premier Chou, the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region was born. It was yet another great example of putting into practice the minority regional self-governing policy formulated for our party by Chairman Mao. Along both banks of the Yellow River below the Liupan Mountain the people of all minorities have flourished and progressed together, created a beautiful prospect and begun another chapter of the history of Ninghsia.

In the past 20 years, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, all the minorities of our region united and fought and, after the severe tests of the struggles between the two classes, two paths and two lines, won a tremendous victory. The Hui people, liberated from the reactionary control of Chiang Kai-shek and Ma Hung-kuei, realized the rights of self-government, greatly raised their political consciousness and underwent a profound transformation in their spiritual features. The revolutionary unity of the minorities grew ever stronger, and the proletarian dictatorship became ever more consolidated. With the vigorous support of the central government and our sister provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, all kinds of socialist enterprises flourished. In industry, from nothing to something, from small to big, the region created the initial foundation for such modern industries as coal, power, petroleum, chemical, iron and steel, machine manufacturing and textile. Obvious achievements were made in capital construction for rural water conservation, and large areas of drainage and irrigation facilities and steady and high-yield farms were built in the Yellow River irrigation area. Last year the total grain output and number of sheep were more than two times greater than at the beginning of liberation. Science, culture and education, and public health all

made a great development. Especially after smashing the "gang of four," the minorities of the entire region felt great encouragement and firmly implemented Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee's strategic policy of grasping the key link in running the country. The struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" intensified step by step, and industrial and agricultural production continued to rise. The total value of industrial output for the first half of this year showed a 27-percent increase over the same period last year, the total summer grain output rose more than 20 percent, and the prospect of a bumper fall grain harvest is excellent. Today's Ninghsia is comparable to areas "south of the Yangtze" and presents a flourishing outlook everywhere.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Policy and strategy are the life of the party." Summarizing the struggle of the past 20 years, we have deeply realized that the bright theories on the minority issue in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought and the minority policy formulated for our party by Chairman Mao are our beacon in correctly handling minority relations and rallying the minorities in revolution and construction. All our achievements have been the outcome of the wise guidance of Chairman Mao, Chairman Hua, and the party Central Committee and the bright victories of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and minority policy.

China is a united multinational country, and the minority issue has always been a part of the general issue of China's revolution. In the various historical stages of China's revolution, Chairman Mao always closely linked the liberation of the minorities with the victory of the national revolution and considered the correct handling of the minority issue an important guarantee of the success of the revolution. As early as 1935, passing through the Liupan Mountain area when leading China's Worker-Peasant Red Army, Chairman Mao personally scattered the embers of revolution among the Hui people. He instructed the Red Army, when passing through the Hui areas, to obey the concrete policies and ordered its commanders and fighters to respect the customs and habits of the Hui people. In August 1936 the Red Army, on its westward expedition, set up in the Tunghsin and Haiyuan areas the first Hui autonomous regime in our party history--the Yuhai Hui Autonomous Government. During the war of resistance against Japan, resisting the tyranny of the Kuomintang reactionaries, the Hui people of Hsichi, Haiyuan and Kuyuan staged three armed struggles. Thereafter, part of the masses went into the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and, under the intimate concern and guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao, organized the Hui anti-Japanese cavalry, taking an active part in defending the border region and in rallying the Hui people in Hsichi, Haiyuan and Kuyuan to rise up in struggle. After national liberation, Chairman Mao expounded many times the tremendous significance of implementing the party's minority policy and succeeding in minority work. In "On the Ten Great Relations," Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: "Whether toward the cadres or the masses, we must extensively and persistently conduct education on the

proletarian minority policy and constantly inspect the relationship between the Chinese and the minorities." During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, pinpointing the unfavorable consequences created by Lin Piao and the "gang of four's" trampling on the party's minority policy and destruction of minority unity, Chairman Mao in 1973 sharply pointed out that the policy issue had not been grasped for many years, especially the minority policy, and that local nationalism was no longer so widespread nor prominent, but great-Han chauvinism was more prevalent and required reeducation. Our revered and beloved Premier Chou and our wise leader Chairman Hua are the bright models in implementing the party's minority policy, and they showed great interest in the minorities of Ningsia. In 1972, due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," some problems in implementing the party's minority policy appeared in our region. When we encountered great difficulties in our work, Premier Chou personally instructed the relevant units of the State Council to organize a work team to come to our region to help with the work. Thereafter, under the direction of Chairman Hua, the Kuyuan Prefecture Work Forum was called to wage a firm struggle against the "gang of four" and their agents in our region, implement the party's minority policy and correctly handle and solve the existing problems, thus greatly promoting the successful progress of revolution and production.

China's socialist revolution and construction have now entered a new period of development. Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee have often reiterated the party's minority policy, asking us to implement it conscientiously. Chairman Hua also personally wrote an inscription for the unity of the minorities: "Unite, all nationalities of the nation, and struggle to build the fatherland into a modern socialist power." The inscription has pointed out the direction for us to perform minority work more successfully and devote ourselves to the general task of the new era.

To implement the party's minority policy we must intensively criticize the reactionary fallacy of negating the minority issue advocated by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and fully recognize the long-term nature of the issue. Out of their counterrevolutionary need to usurp the party and seize power, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" openly opposed the fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism on the minority issue, declared that "the minority issue no longer exists," ranted that "it is now socialism, and there are no longer any nationalities," and recklessly attempted to fundamentally abolish the party's minority work. They vigorously negated the achievements in minority work in the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, denied the leading position of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in such work, and attacked Chairman Mao's minority policy as "rightwing" and "capitulation," thus fully betraying their ugly anti-Marxist physiognomy.

According to Marxism, nationality is a historical category and a product of the class society, following its own process of inception, development and disappearance. In the development of history, the classes will disappear first, thereafter the states, and finally the nationalities. The fact that the minority issue exists in the entire socialist historical stage is an undeniable objective reality. In the case of our region, with the continuous intensive development of the socialist revolution and construction, the people of Hui, Mongolian, and Han nationalities have marched forward on the socialist path shoulder to shoulder. They have more things in common and fewer differences. The mutual distrust and the sense of being on guard felt by the Hui and Han nationalities in the past have been replaced by a new socialist nationality relationship of unity and mutual help. The Hui people, especially the women, have broken the shackles of feudalism and religion, walked out the front door, and plunged into the three great revolutionary movements together with the people of other minorities. They are no longer deprived of the right to take part in political and cultural activities. However, in the past the reactionary ruling class, primarily the Chinese reactionary rulers, oppressed and exploited the minorities and sowed dissension among them. The effect of the oppression still lingers on among the laboring people. The differences in national characteristics and economic and cultural development are even more apparent. In the entire socialist historical period, classes and class contradictions and struggles exist, and such contradictions and struggles will inevitably reflect themselves in the relations among the nationalities. Negating the existence of the minority issue and overlooking the special characteristics of minority areas will result in disruption of the party policies and loss to the revolution and construction.

In the minority areas a handful of class enemies, unwilling to accept their failure, often utilize the minority issue to pursue counterrevolutionary sabotage activities. This is a prominent feature of the class struggle in the minority areas. In the past 20 years the party organizations of all levels in our region have adhered to the party's basic line, persevered in the class struggle as the key link, intensively organized the masses, and continuously exposed and attacked the sabotage activities of the class enemies wearing the cloak of nationality or religion. At the same time they have waged the struggle against feudal oppression and exploitation and special religious privileges. However, as experience has proved, when handling the issue of the class struggle we must give full attention to the special characteristics of the class struggle in minority areas, conscientiously implement the party's minority policy, and strictly distinguish between the two categories of contradictions before we can isolate and attack the handful of class enemies with maximum force and rally and educate the broad masses. The "gang of four's" agents in our region and their followers actively promoted the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line. Hoisting the banner of class struggle, they fundamentally ignored the

special characteristics of the minority areas, acted subjectively and prejudicially, grasped at shadows, considered certain ideas, religious beliefs and normal religious activities of the minority masses as sabotage activities of the class enemies, and completely resorted to the method of dictatorship in handling them. Consequently, there were many wrong, false and unfair cases, and many people were lined up as enemies, resulting in serious losses to the party's cause. They actually confused the issues of national characteristics, national relations and national thinking and beliefs with the sabotage activities pursued by class enemies who misuse the issues of nationality and religion, and they distorted and negated Chairman Mao's bright ideology on the minority issue. It was a general sabotage of the party's minority policy.

In regard to the customs and habits of the minorities, the "gang of four's" agents in our region and their followers vigorously obliterated national characteristics and differences. Hoisting the banner of "learn from Tachai" and "destroy the four olds," they indiscriminately dismissed the customs and habits of the Hui as "backward" and "conservative," even forced the masses to change them, and created abnormalities in minority relations in some areas. As the facts show, the customs and habits of the various minorities have been formed over long periods of historical development and exert a deep influence on the masses. Respecting the customs and habits of the minorities is a concrete manifestation of the principle of minority equality and an important prerequisite for successfully handling minority relations and reinforcing minority unity. Even if some of the customs and habits are backward and outdated, they should be changed only gradually by the minorities themselves in accordance with their own wishes. If we fail to make concrete analyses of the issue and do not act according to the party's policy, this will hurt the feelings of the minorities, will be detrimental to minority unity, and will even furnish the class enemies with an opportunity to alienate minority relations.

The measures taken by the "gang of four" and their agents in our region appeared to be very "revolutionary," but actually they were the same as the cruel policy of minority oppression enforced by imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries, who refused to recognize the existence of the minorities. Under their poisonous influence, some of our comrades have fostered bourgeois chauvinism and refuse to treat the minorities with equality, respect their views and demands, or feel a concern for their difficulties. Some comrades have a very shallow concept of the minority policy. Though working in a minority autonomous region, they do not understand that the issue of minorities includes both common and unique features. As regards the history, current conditions, and special characteristics of such areas, they do not investigate or study. As a result, the party's minority policy is not correct or thoroughly implemented. On the other hand, those with ideas of local nationalism excessively stress the unique features which, like chauvinism, will also

block the correct implementation of the party's minority policy. We must therefore simultaneously oppose local nationalism as well as chauvinism. We must constantly educate the minority cadres and masses in the proletarian nationality philosophy, completely and accurately master Chairman Mao's lines and policies on minority work, constantly raise our consciousness in implementing the party's minority policy, and struggle against all words and deeds which violate this policy, damage the rights of the minorities, or destroy minority unity.

Implementing the party's minority policy requires clear class and mass viewpoints and trust in and reliance on the majority of the minority cadres and masses. According to Marxism, any nationality is divided into classes. The main body of a nationality is the broad masses of laboring people, constituting 95 percent or more of the populace. They are the main force of the revolution and the principal support of our party in the minority areas. The party's minority policy, built on the foundation of trust in and reliance on the minority masses, reflects the basic interests and common desires of the broad masses of laboring people and possesses a clear class essence. The realization of minority autonomy in our region embodied Chairman Mao's and the party Central Committee's concern for and trust in the broad masses of Hui people, believing that they could handle their own affairs and employ their wisdom and talent in developing the socialist cause. Starting from this basic idea, party organizations of all levels in our region in the past 20 years have given serious attention to developing the positive role of the minorities in socialist revolution and construction and have vigorously trained and employed minority cadres. In spite of the interference of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four," the number of minority cadres in the region is more than double that before the founding of the autonomous region. Currently, a group of minority cadres of all ages who have been tempered in the three great revolutionary struggles is fighting in leadership posts of all levels of government and on all fronts. Coming from the masses, they are most familiar with the history and current conditions and most conversant with the thinking and feelings of their own nationalities. They are the bridge linking the party and state organs with the masses and the indispensable backbone strength for the party to intensify the three great revolutionary movements in the minority areas. The broad masses of minority cadres are devoted to the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. Even during the time of severe interference and sabotage by the revisionist line, when they encountered rejection and discouragement in politics and suffered great difficulties in living, they remained loyal to the party Central Committee, firmly followed Chairman Mao in pursuing socialism, and made contributions to the development of the politics, economy and culture of our region.

Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were the vicious enemies of the minorities. While creating minority splits and disrupting the minority areas

by attacking and persecuting the minority cadres and masses, they recruited followers to serve their need to usurp the party and seize power. For many years the "gang of four's" agents in our region and their followers formed cliques and factions and split the cadre ranks. All those loyal to them were given important posts regardless of their qualifications, while the superior minority cadres trained and educated by the party for many years and having the courage to resist them were cruelly and ruthlessly attacked, thus seriously damaging the party's cadre policy as well as its minority policy. Lenin pointed out: "Upon the occurrence of any truly serious and momentous political issue, groups are formed according to classes, not according to nationalities." ("Critical Opinion on the Nationality Issue," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 20, p 19) The deeds of the "gang of four" and their agents in our region tell us that, without a clear class viewpoint, it will be impossible to profoundly understand and master the class essence of the party's minority policy. Ideologically, we must truly regard the laboring people of the minorities as our own class brothers before we can correctly answer the question of whom to trust and on whom to rely.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "In regard to our policies, not just the leaders, not just the cadres, but the broad masses must know them." This applies to the party's minority policy. The policy must be handed to the masses in great detail. During the "gang of four's" rampage, the party's mass line and democratic style encountered violent trampling, and some cadres, especially minority cadres, were worried, afraid to make mistakes, to mention the minority issue, to propagandize the minority policy among the masses, or to report truthfully the views and desires of the masses. Even now some comrades still feel uneasy. Since last year the party committee of the autonomous region has given serious attention to this issue. It organized investigation teams to conscientiously inspect the implementation of the minority policy, solicited the opinions of all sides, and, in connection with the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the autonomous region, conducted a reeducation of the broad masses on the minority policy, reiterated the concrete provisions connected with it, and effectively promoted its enforcement. In minority areas many categories of work have a very strong policy essence. What appear to be general production and living problems, once one digs deeper, actually involve factors of the minority policy. Especially under the new historical conditions, the new changes, new situations and new problems in the minority areas require our conscientious study and correct solution. Therefore, in the process of implementing the party's minority policy we must conscientiously investigate and study, fully develop democracy, consult the masses on all things and pay attention to the opinions of all sides. Only by so doing will we avoid contravening the will of the majority of the cadres and masses and committing "leftwing" or rightwing errors.

To implement the party's minority policy we must also clearly establish the guiding thought of vigorously performing economic work. Chairman Mao

taught us: Helping the minorities, enabling them to develop and improve, is in the interest of the entire state. Chairman Hua pointed out: "Sincerely and actively helping the minorities develop economic and cultural construction is an important task of the state in minority work and in reinforcing frontier building and consolidating national defense." Basically speaking, economic equality, as well as political equality, of the minorities is required to thoroughly solve the minority issue. Successfully performing economic work in minority areas and hastening the development of the economic and cultural construction of such areas constitute a basic content of the party's minority policy. Only by performing successfully all items of construction in minority areas under the party's correct leadership and truly attaining the goal proposed by Chairman Mao, i.e., "developing agriculture, livestock and industry year after year, prospering the economy year after year, and improving the people's living year after year," will we continuously reinforce the harmony of the minorities, consolidate the unity of the fatherland and strengthen the proletarian dictatorship.

Ningsia is the outpost of antirevisionism, and its strategic position is extremely important. Before liberation its economy was barren, its culture backward, its communications inconvenient and, basically, it had no modern industry. Since the birth of the new China, under party leadership, the people of the minorities, after undergoing the democratic reform and socialist revolution, have adhered to the socialist direction and implemented the general line of "going all out, aiming high and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results." As a result, tremendous changes have occurred in politics, the economy and culture. However, the gap between such changes and the demands of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee and the expectations of the minorities is still very great. In recent years, especially, due to the severe interference and sabotage of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," agricultural development has been slow, production in the mountain and livestock areas has become the weak link, and the masses still have many difficulties in their living. Though there has been some improvement in the past 2 years, it is in the nature of recovery, and there are still many problems. Conscientiously implementing the party's minority policy, fully activating all positive elements, and hastening the progress of the four modernizations constitute an extremely sharp political issue as well as an urgent economic issue. We must handle successfully the economic and cultural construction of the minority areas, raising them to the strategic height of resisting and preventing revisionism and grasping them concretely and tightly.

Since the founding of the autonomous region, in developing industrial and agricultural production, education, culture, public health and science and technology, we have always received the vigorous support and enthusiastic aid of the state and our sister provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, which has had an extremely important effect in

promoting the development of revolution and construction in our region. From their personal experience the minority cadres and masses deeply feel the warmth of the big socialist family and understand the superiority of the socialist system. Meanwhile, we also realize that, if we wish to accelerate economic and cultural construction and thoroughly transform the backwardness of our region, the most important thing is to adhere to and develop the spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle. We must seek the truth through facts, start from the practical and, under the premise of overall planning, grasp the crucial points and channel the funds, equipment, materials and technical strength furnished by the state to where they are most needed. The development of agriculture in some communes and brigades inhabited by the Hui people is proceeding very rapidly. Their basic experience was that, with the vigorous support of the state, they intensively deployed the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, conscientiously implemented the party's minority and rural economic policies, vigorously launched rural capital construction adjusted to the locale, and vigorously promoted scientific farming. To solve the serious water shortage in dry areas plagued by wind and sand, such as Tunghsin and Yenchih, this year we successfully completed the Tunghsin, Chungwei, Nanshan and Taitzu water lifting stations, and similar projects are underway in Kuhai and Yenhuan. Such large and medium water conservation facilities have solved the principal contradiction in the productive construction of the area, laid a foundation for changing the production conditions and solving the urgent living problems of the people, and effectively developed the role of state support. With the aid of the units concerned in the central government, Kuyuan Prefecture implemented the policy of general development with grain as the key link, vigorously supported the masses in such subsidiary production as beekeeping and rabbit raising according to local conditions, and produced apparent results. On the other hand, when using the funds and resources furnished by the state, some areas, instead of looking at the long-range goal of production conditions, satisfied themselves with solving current difficulties. Others ignored the objective conditions, issued orders blindly and followed formalism. As a result, not only were they unable to fully develop the positive effect, but they even created a negative one. We must keep in mind such lessons of experience.

Implementing the party's minority policy and successfully performing the minority work of the new era are the concern of the entire party and an important long-term task of the continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship. Thus, party committees of all levels must further strengthen their leadership over minority work and include the minority policy on their daily agenda, constantly examining results, summarizing experiences, publicizing achievements, correcting defects and errors and eliminating interferences. To further strengthen party building and cultivate minority cadres, we must train not only party and government cadres but also special talents for modern agriculture, industry, science and technology and national defense. Here one crucial issue is to grasp

tightly the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" as the key link and rectify the leadership teams at all levels in the minority areas. In the past 2 years we have followed the instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, promptly readjusted and reinforced the leadership teams at all levels in the region, prefectures and counties, grasped the implementation of the party's cadre policy, reappointed a group of minority cadres attacked and persecuted by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," and promoted some relatively superior minority adult and young cadres to leadership posts at all levels. As minority work covers a wide area, the strengths of all sides must be activated before it can be successful. We therefore pay attention to integrating the study, propaganda and implementation of the party policy and intensively and persistently reeducate the cadres and masses in the minority policy. Whether in formulating plans, enforcing measures or inspecting work, we always stress that all fronts and all departments must strengthen their concept of the minority policy; we ask that the leading cadres at all levels study, understand, take the lead in propagandizing, and produce an exemplary effect in implementing that policy. If they encounter important problems in the course of implementation, they must take a cautious attitude and promptly seek instructions from the higher level; they must not handle them perfunctorily. Meanwhile, they must also implement the party's united front and religion policies and rally all those who can be rallied.

Chairman Hua said: "China has many minorities, and most of them live on the frontier. Minority work is most important. We must perform successfully all items of work in the minority areas." Currently, the situation throughout the nation is excellent, and all enterprises and all fronts are developing at a higher speed. When we celebrate the 20th anniversary of the autonomous region, recalling the past, we feel even more strongly the incomparable correctness of the party's minority policy; looking ahead, we are filled with confidence in the future victory. We are determined to raise high Chairman Mao's great banner, rally even closer around the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, grasp the key link in running Ninghsia and work vigorously under the guidance of the line of the 11th party congress, strive to achieve great development in the revolution and construction of our region within a relatively short time, and make our proper contributions to realizing the socialist four modernizations of our country.

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VIGOROUSLY STRENGTHEN MILITIA BUILDING UNDER THE NEW HISTORICAL CONDITIONS

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[Article by the mobilization department of the Nanking PLA units' headquarters and the mass work department of the units' political department]

[Text] The date 29 September this year marked the 20th anniversary of the instruction issued by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, "Organize contingents of the people's militia on a large scale." To commemorate this very significant date we must restudy Chairman Mao's instructions concerning militia work and earnestly learn the inscriptions written for the National Militia Work Conference by Chairman Hua, Vice Chairman Yeh and Vice Chairman Hsu Hsiang-chien of the Military Commission. We must also learn from the important speech by Vice Chairman Nieh Jung-chen of the Military Commission and thoroughly implement the spirit of the National Militia Work Conference. Under the new historical conditions, our task is to better revive and promote the excellent traditions of militia work, adhere to "the system of combining the field armies, local armies and the militia in the armed forces and greatly strengthen militia building," and prepare to counter an aggressive war and liberate Taiwan in order to contribute to the realization of the general task for the new period.

I

The major point in strengthening militia building is to properly recognize the position and function of the people's militia.

Chairman Mao paid great attention to militia building and treated it as a question of strategy. Under the new historical conditions, it is very important to thoroughly understand Chairman Mao's strategic thought. Due to our more than 20 years of peace, some comrades' concept of armament has gradually waned. Since there has been no fighting for a long time, some comrades lack a sense of urgency in militia management. They think that militia work is "a soft task" and that whether or not they grasp it "doesn't affect the overall situation." Moreover, with the development

of modern science, technology and armaments, some comrades think that modern warfare is too complicated and that a people's militia isn't very useful. It is clear that to further improve the militia we must increase our understanding of it.

The militia is an important component of our country's three-in-one combination of the armed forces. Field armies, local armies and people's militia are linked with each other as flesh is with blood. They are mutually related and interdependent. Chairman Mao always "divided our army into two parts: the main forces and the regional armed forces." He said: "Not only must we have a strong regular army, but we must also organize the contingents of the people's militia on a large scale." The growth and strengthening of the militia directly affect the development and consolidation of the three-in-one combination of the armed forces. "The army and the people are the foundations of victory." And it is precisely the combination of the militia and the army that gives strength to our army and brings into full play the people's enormous fighting power. In the war years our army grew from small to large and from weak to strong, defeating fierce enemies both at home and abroad, thanks to the inexhaustible strength of the militia and the active support and cooperation of the militia and the masses. In the well-known battle of Huaihai, for example, more than 600,000 of the fighters were army men, but more than 2,200,000 were civilian workers and militia. On the battlefield, wheels turned and soldiers marched forward, just as Comrade Chen I described it in one of his poems: "Big horses and carts bring the provisions, heading westward and eastward with the troops." Due to the support and cooperation of the militia and the masses, we won great victory and destroyed more than 550,000 enemy soldiers in the battle of Huaihai. After the founding of new China, the militia along the coast of Chekiang and Kiangsu provinces vigorously joined the troops to liberate the offshore islands and struggled against our enemies at sea. They destroyed nine groups of armed bandits and spies, captured alive the pilots of the U.S.-Chiang high-altitude reconnaissance planes and safeguarded the eastern gate of our motherland. In the last 30 years our nation's huge militia force has fought alongside and in close coordination with our army to smash the aggressive, subversive activities of social imperialism, imperialism and foreign reactionaries and to complete the task of safeguarding the land, air and sea of our motherland. In these few decades the history of our militia, particularly the heroic epic of the people's wars, indisputably proves that the militia has played an enormous role and showed its inexhaustible strength in our revolutionary wars and in the defense of our socialist motherland. The three-in-one combination of our armed forces, like an iron Great Wall, is unbeatable and undefeatable no matter how strong our enemies are.

Chairman Mao pointed out: Under the existing conditions of imperialism, our militia should be strengthened, not weakened. The militia is the firm foundation for people's wars under modern conditions. Large-scale,

highly destructive and consumptive modern wars make no clear distinctions between front and rear. The militia must participate in war as a whole and in all its links. Once war breaks out, in expanding the organization and building of the army and in replacing soldiers we need the militia; in restraining the movement of our enemies we need the militia; in fighting shoulder to shoulder with our army we need the militia; in resisting and attacking the enemies on land or launching a converging assault on the enemy from the air we need the militia; in resisting enemy air attacks and safeguarding and holding the cities we need the militia; in waging guerrilla war behind enemy lines we need the militia; in transport and in safeguarding important targets we need the militia; and in damaging enemy military installations, maintaining social order and consolidating the rear we also need the militia. Therefore, the more modern the war, the more we depend upon the united power of the three-in-one combination of the armed forces and the more we must stress the militia. Its importance has increased rather than decreased. If we organize, educate and train every member of the militia to shoot and fight, and if the three-in-one combination of the field armies, local armies and militia is implemented, we will definitely gain victory in future wars to counter aggression.

A well-organized militia not only directly strengthens national defense but is also closely related to the development of the national economy and implementation of the general task for the new period. Militia members are young or middle-aged and are the backbones of production. They are organized, disciplined and militant. We should give full play to their function as a shock brigade and let them shoulder heavy burdens and attack difficult problems in industrial and agricultural production so as to quicken the pace of realizing the general task for the new period. Many localities, municipalities and counties in our area insist on combining the large-scale organization of people's militia with all-out efforts to build up socialism--grasping economic construction on the one hand and militia construction on the other--so that industrial and agricultural production rise quickly and militia work becomes well organized. For example, the people's armed forces department of Chiangshan County, Chekiang Province, under the leadership of its county party committee, mobilized the militia to develop agriculture. It insisted on firmly organizing contingents to fulfill "two functions" and "carry two burdens on one shoulder." Last winter it organized 385 militia companies and systematically carried out farmland capital construction, leveling 132 hills and reclaiming 5,000 mou of fields. It gave impetus not only to the movement to "learn from Tachai in agriculture" but also to militia building. The masses rejoiced by calling the militiamen "brave generals in the production struggle" and "trailblazers in hard work and quick improvement." With a well-organized militia we can reduce the regular forces without weakening our national defense and can practice the policy of maintaining a small army in times of peace and mobilizing large numbers of troops in times of war. Army expenses thus saved can be used in socialist economic construction and in the

modernization of armaments. When a strong militia actively cooperates with the army and public security organs to stand guard, do sentry duty and deal blows to the destructive activities of class enemies at home and abroad, we can better safeguard production, carry out socialist construction and realize the general task for the new period.

II

The key to running militia work well at present and for some time to come lies in firmly exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," seriously eradicating their pernicious influence, and continuing to eliminate chaos, restore order and clarify the situation.

Our party had an acute, violent struggle with the "gang of four" over militia building. To usurp party and state power the "gang of four" concocted a "second armed forces" with unsparing efforts. They forged the instruction on "reorganizing the people's militia," totally renounced Chairman Mao's theory, line, principles and policies on militia building and denied the great achievements scored in militia building. They eagerly tried to sell what they called "new experience," put forth the fallacy of "new changes in class relationships in the socialist period," changed the nature and tasks of the militia, and advocated the grasping of "capitalist roaders" as the militia's main target of attack. In addition, they grouped the refuse of society into armed gangsters and established their own organs of command, trying in vain to split the three-in-one combination of the armed forces. Militia building in our area was a "seriously afflicted area" that suffered from the sabotage of the "gang of four." The principles of militia work were gravely interfered with, the three-in-one combination was weakened, the incentive of the broad masses of the people's armed forces departments was thwarted and the work of preparedness against war was not well implemented. Over the past 2 years the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has scored decisive victories, but it has still fallen far short of "complete victory." Some comrades are still timid in grasping militia work and dare not insist on what is obviously correct. This shows that the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" still lives in the minds of some comrades and that we still must make great efforts to eradicate it.

The National Militia Work Conference stressed the following principles: We must adhere to Chairman Mao's idea of people's war; to the traditional system of the three-in-one combination of the field armies, local armies and the militia in the armed forces; to the system of dual leadership of local party committees and the military--headed, in turn, by the party Central Committee and its Military Commission--over militia work; to the party's class line; to the principle of integrating labor power and armed strength; and to the use of the militia as a tool of proletarian dictatorship. These "six principles" summarize the party's historic experience in struggling against the "gang of four" over militia work. They entirely

and correctly manifest Chairman Mao's theory, line, principles and policies on militia building. They are effective weapons in exposing and criticizing the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four" and their crime of damaging militia building. Systematic education of the militiamen, with the focus on these problems, is not only an important part of the third campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four" but also an indispensable part of the education of militiamen in line and traditions. Judging by the experience of some units, to carry out this education well we must stress leadership, grasp this education as an important part of militia work at present and for some time to come, and effectively reinforce guidance. We must grasp typical examples, train backbone elements and edit educational materials. We must carry out education according to production conditions and make overall arrangements to implement it in a planned way. We must grasp the problems left behind by the "gang of four" which are affecting and afflicting our units the most and spend more time in solving them. Practice proves that when the "six principles" are implemented the concrete line, principles, policies and methods of the militia also become clear. In this way both "internal injuries" and "external injuries" will be cured.

Exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" are related to exposure and criticism of Lin Piao's line. From early on, the "gang of four" joined in a conspiracy with Lin Piao to violate Chairman Mao's thought on people's war and to damage militia building. They were imbued with the same spirit as Lin Piao. Lin Piao put forth the fallacy that "militia work should be reclarified, replanned and reimplemented," while the "gang of four" put forth the black guideline of "reforming" and "reorganizing" the people's militia. Together they tried in vain to fundamentally negate Chairman Mao's theory and line on militia work. Lin Piao twisted Chairman Mao's instruction on the "three fulfillments" in militia work by splitting relationships among the "three fulfillments." He used sinister stuff such as the "four goods" and "five goods" to replace the "three fulfillments." As for the "gang of four," they opposed Chairman Mao's instruction, changed the content of the "three fulfillments" and tried to replace it with the so-called "new experience." All of them tried in vain to change the principles of militia work. Lin Piao opposed the idea of party leadership over the army and militia. He vainly tried to command and mobilize every group by himself and to turn the militia into a tool for the "outline of 'Project 571,'" a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat. The "gang of four" tried to represent the party, advocated their own "leadership" and "direct control" and tried in vain to use the people's militia as the "second armed forces" in their counterrevolutionary armed revolt. All of them tried in vain to use the militia to usurp party and state power. Therefore, in exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" we must also expose and criticize Lin Piao so that we can better distinguish between lines and clean out their pernicious influence.

In the struggle to expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four" we must both destroy and build. In short, we must destroy all the revisionist sinister stuff left behind by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and thoroughly recover the excellent traditions of militia work. Under the new historical conditions, all work tasks must firmly adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and quickly develop according to the instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee. If our tasks are not performed enthusiastically and are not grasped firmly, problems will remain unsettled and we will not be able to say that we have penetratingly exposed and criticized Lin Piao and the "gang of four." We must adhere to the principles of the National Militia Work Conference and implement its fighting tasks one by one. With regard to militia organizations at grassroots levels, we must carry out activities to create advanced units which implement the "three fulfillments." We must truly follow the specific tasks of the "three fulfillments," adopt measures for investigating militia work and strengthen militia building organizationally, politically and militarily. As a result, the militia will increase its fighting power and "will come when it is summoned, fight when it has come, and win victory when it fights."

III

The reliable guarantee of organizing militia work well is to strengthen the system of dual leadership of local party committees and the military, which are, in turn, headed by the party Central Committee and its Military Commission.

That the whole party should grasp military affairs is in accordance with Chairman Mao's consistent thinking. That the party should be in charge of the armed forces is our glorious tradition. Militia work is therefore an important task for local party committees. The militia is an armed mass organization that cannot be separated from production. Only under the unified leadership of local party committees can it be well organized. Local party committees should strengthen leadership over militia work, conscientiously fulfill demands by senior party committees and the military concerning militia work, and thoroughly grasp it. Provincial PLA commands, military subregions and the people's armed forces departments are responsible for implementing the "dual leadership" system. They should constantly foster party concepts and adhere to the following: In ideology, affirm their position as the military branch of local party committees--maintaining vertical military leadership and corresponding subordinate relationships on the one hand, and accepting unified leadership with local party committees at the same level on the other; in organization, maintain a good relationship between obeying local party committee leadership and obeying the military and try enthusiastically to be "good councilors"; and in work, adhere closely to the party center, carry out militia work, grasp the party center in leading the militia and grasp the militia to promote the party center.

Chairman Mao, the party Central Committee and its Military Commission long ago stated that the main task for provincial PLA commands and military subregions was to lead and command the militia. Provincial PLA commands, political departments and headquarters of military subregions are the headquarters and political departments for the militia. We must work in accordance with this demand and shoulder the main tasks. We should give first priority to militia work. If provincial PLA commands, military subregions and departments of people's armed forces do not grasp this primary task, then they have not completely discharged their duties even though they may have done very well in work of secondary or tertiary importance. Whether or not a unit emphasizes militia work depends on party committees, and party committees hold positions of chief responsibility. The Liuan military subregion in our area does very well in militia work because it "emphasizes" the militia and the militiamen tackle specific tasks. It is important for party committees to pay attention to this work and for the commander and commissar to personally participate in it. Practice proves that when juniors follow seniors and organizations follow the leadership, and when party committees understand ideology and assign priorities correctly, then militia work will be carried out effectively.

To achieve good, thorough militia work a fine workstyle is very important. Leaders at all levels in particular must have a fine workstyle. An important key to changing workstyle lies in penetrating the grassroots levels and investigating. This will also strengthen leadership over militia work. To improve militia work, cadres of departments of the people's armed forces must go deep into the grassroots. At present many new problems exist in militia work. For example: How can militia divisions adjust to becoming production divisions? How can the principle of integrating labor power with armed strength be implemented in the new situation of hard work and quick improvement? How can the PLA's political work experience be applied to militia work? How can education in the "six principles" be carried out in light of practice? How can traditional militia tactics be applied and developed in modern warfare? We must go into the grassroots and actual struggles to study and solve all these problems. In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," many leading cadres of our troops, led by principal responsible comrades, have carried forward our excellent traditions and gone into the grassroots to investigate and solve new problems. To better implement the principle of integrating the labor force with armed strength, the comrades of the department of the people's armed forces of Hai'an County, Kiangsu Province, went to the "Red Flag Militia Regiment" of Chiaohsieh Commune. They practiced and searched with the militiamen there and gained some experience. This militia regiment insists that there are several ways to integrate the labor force with armed strength. The first is to systematically organize shock brigades consisting entirely of militiamen or mainly of militiamen, complete difficult tasks and include education and training of the militia in the plan. The second is to

arrange militia activities in the spare time between work tasks so that when farm work is light, militia activities increase, and when it is heavy, the activities decrease. The third way is to conduct activities in the spare time before and after the day's work. The fourth method is to combine production tasks with relevant training and adhere to production and militia training simultaneously. Under the leadership of the county committee, the comrades conscientiously spread the experience of the "Red Flag Militia Regiment." In handling the relationship between labor and military training, the county has become better unified, agricultural production and militia work have enriched each other and both have had good results. Practice eloquently proves that methods of solving new problems in militia work come from the masses and investigation. If we adhere to Chairman Mao's line on militia work, promote the excellent traditions and fine workstyle of our party and army and work in a down-to-earth manner, there will be great hope for militia building.

ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO AND CONSCIENTIOUSLY CARRY OUT THE WORK OF
HANDLING LETTERS AND VISITS FROM THE PEOPLE

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 1 Oct 78 pp 74-75

[Short commentary]

[Text] With the development of the penetrating criticism of the "gang of four," letters and visits from the people have greatly increased. This has attracted the attention of leading organizations at all levels.

The increase in letters and visits from the people is gratifying. It reflects the excellent situation and the people's deep confidence in the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. Freed from spiritual fetters, the people dare to speak, reflect conditions and voice criticism and suggestions regarding our work and the workstyle of cadres. This shows their concern for revolutionary work and state affairs. However, the increase in letters and visits also reveals the damage caused by the "gang of four." Since the "gang of four" and their cohorts ruthlessly trampled on party discipline and state laws and concocted a great number of unjust, false or wrong charges, it is natural that the people wish to eliminate chaos, restore order and implement party policy. In many localities and units the leading comrades personally participate in taking strong measures, firmly grasp the work of handling letters and visits and stress the issue of solving the people's complaints and protests. But in some localities and units the leaders lag behind the current situation ideologically. They do not pay attention to or ask about the people's letters and visits and even avoid the conflict. They either delay solving problems raised by the people or simply push them aside. As a result, unsolved problems pile up. This should be quickly changed.

We should understand and pay attention to letters and visits work with the same efficiency as in implementing the line set down by the 11th party congress and in fulfilling the general task for the new period. Some comrades think that letters and visits work is "insignificant and has nothing to do with the general situation." This is wrong. We have to rely on the people to carry out the general task for the new period

and realize the socialist four modernizations. We must unite all forces that can be united, mobilize all positive factors and try our best to turn negative factors into positive ones. Obviously, we should correctly and appropriately solve the problems reported by the people, satisfy their just demands, accept their criticisms and suggestions and properly handle their complaints and protests. Only then will there be deeper trust in the party and the government and a closer relationship between the party and the people. The masses' activism will also be further mobilized to better serve socialist revolution and construction. We must regard letters and visits work as a major task, grasp it and do it well.

Letters and visits work is very policy oriented. When handling problems we must adhere to principles and follow the Constitution and party policy. Some comrades fear that they cannot grasp the policy and will make mistakes in handling problems. They are therefore worried and afraid of responsibility and do not solve the problems in a daring way. True, the problems posed by the people are relatively complicated, especially the unjust, false and wrong charges left behind from the past, which require serious investigation. In coping with these accumulated charges we must follow Chairman Mao's teaching and be realistic. What is totally wrong should be totally corrected, what is partially wrong should be partially corrected and what is not wrong should not be corrected. Doing this task well is related to the issue of eliminating the pernicious influence of the "gang of four," distinguishing between right and wrong in line and strengthening stability and unity. We are wrong if we are timid and do not solve problems in a daring way. We must ask ourselves: Why are we not afraid that party undertakings will be damaged if party policy is not implemented, if the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" is not eliminated, if the good are not protected and if the bad are not punished? We should see that our party's line, orientation and policy are clear. If we adhere to our principles and realistically work in accordance with policy, we will not make any mistakes at all. If we do otherwise, we will make mistakes.

We should foster the spirit of being extremely responsible to the people and seriously help them solve the problems one by one. Some comrades incorrectly think that "when one problem is solved, many more will arise; the chain reaction will lead to a bad end." They simply push the people's problems aside. This is very wrong. Chairman Mao teaches us that a problem is the conflict of matter and a reflection of objective matters; where there is an unsolved problem there is conflict, and it must be reflected. When many problems that should be solved are not solved, the people will write letters to and visit us. The conflict will absolutely not disappear if you deny its existence. Examples from many localities prove that, when leading organizations and letters and visits departments have paid attention to letters and visits work and have properly solved the solvable problems, the people will not "write letters and come to

pay a visit from a thousand miles away." The phenomenon of "when one problem is solved, many more will arise" will disappear, and there will be fewer and fewer people visiting us. On the other hand, if we are irresponsible in regard to the people's demands and want to push them all aside, "the chain reaction" will lead to more problems; the dissatisfied masses will appeal to the upper levels, and this will "lead to a bad end." Such localities and departments should quickly change their irresponsible attitude toward the party and the people.

Letters and visits work is mass work that has been placed upon us. We have no reason not to do it well. Chairman Mao always said that we should serve the people wholeheartedly and be concerned about their difficulties. To mobilize the activism of the masses "we must be concerned about the people's worries and sincerely work for the well-being of the people" and help them solve "questions concerning the necessities of life such as firewood, rice, oil and salt."

At present, letters and visits to a great extent reflect the line, orientation and policy adopted in each locality. Some people ask us to overcome our shortcomings and correct our mistakes in work; some expose new bourgeois elements, landlords and rich peasants who seek class revenge, active counterrevolutionary elements, leading beaters, smashers and looters and bad elements who seriously destroy social order; some report cadre behavior which is contrary to regulations; some demand implementation of the policy; and some plead for help in their livelihood. The solution of these problems is related to the thorough implementation of the policy to protect the good and punish the bad. Party organization and government departments at all levels should zealously listen to the people and take effective measures to solve their problems. Cadres at all levels should shoulder the responsibility of solving problems on the spot instead of pushing them to higher or lower levels. The bad style of being deaf to the opinions of the masses, indifferent to the difficulties of the masses or even disgusted with letters from the people is a manifestation of the pernicious influence of the "gang of four." It must be corrected. The relationship between our Communist Party members and the masses is like that between fish and water. We cannot leave the masses for a single moment. If the masses do not look for us, we should go to them frequently and help them solve all kinds of problems. If we do not even want to deal with mass work that has been placed upon us, how can we talk about serving the people?

To do letters and visits work well the whole party should pay attention to letters and visits work and handle it. Paying attention to letters and visits from the people is the party's fine workstyle and tradition. Our great leader Chairman Mao, beloved Premier Chou and wise leader Chairman Hua have shown much concern for letters and visits work. They have read and made comments on many letters from the people and are our glorious models. Recently the party Central Committee stressed that

each province, municipality, autonomous region and central department must appoint one comrade to take charge of letters and visits work. The key to doing letters and visits work well lies in the leading comrades' paying attention to and personally taking care of some of the letters, receiving some of the visitors from among the people and handling some of the important cases so as to set a good example.

To do letters and visits work well we must also reorganize and strengthen letters and visits departments. We must select cadres who have a high party spirit and a fine workstyle and who have attained a certain level regarding policy and efficiency. Letters and visits personnel are on the frontline. They receive many people every day. Their work is very tiring. We should be concerned about them, especially from the standpoint of ideology and politics, and constantly raise their policy level and work ability.

To do letters and visits work well we should pay attention to defending the proper rights of the visitor and protect the person concerned. It is a democratic right stipulated in the party Constitution that Communist Party members, revolutionary cadres and the masses can voice complaints and protests to the party and government organizations, and this right must not be infringed upon in any way. As Chairman Hua instructs: "Treat the people's letters and visits seriously. It is absolutely forbidden to suppress the opinions of the masses or to attack or take revenge upon those who criticize." We must resolutely follow Chairman Hua's instruction and struggle against illegal actions that aim at taking revenge upon the people for their letters and visits.

Doing letters and visits work well is a long-term political task and an important channel connecting the party with the masses. We must follow the instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, pay great attention to this work and do it well.

THE CUBAN MERCENARY TROOPS ARE A PRODUCT OF THE POLICY OF SOVIET SOCIAL
IMPERIALISM

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 1 Oct 78 pp 76-80

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] Recently, an outstanding feature in the international arena has been the growing contention between the superpowers. Soviet social imperialism is intensifying its expansionist offensive and the strategic arrangements of its stepped-up preparations for a new world war. It has provoked unrest and disorder which has led to the outbreak of local wars in many areas of the world. It cannot survive even for a day without violence and plunder, without bloodshed and shooting. In these aggressive activities of the Soviet Union the Cuban authorities play a unique role.

In this series of local wars engineered by the Soviet Union, the Cuban authorities play the part of evil hatchetmen.

In 1975 the people of Angola won their independence from Portuguese colonial rule. Under Soviet instigation, the Cuban authorities poured large numbers of expeditionary troops into Angola. Soviet tanks and MIG fighter planes went everywhere to bomb and strafe and served to carry out military intervention in this newly founded, independent country. Even now, more than 20,000 Cuban mercenaries are still forcibly entrenched there. This has again plunged the people of Angola into untold suffering.

Using Angola as a base, the Soviet Union and Cuba have trained and armed mercenaries which they used to invade the Shaba State of Zaire on two occasions--last March and August. Wherever the mercenaries went, they burned and plundered and caused widespread damage, resulting in tremendous losses to the life and property of the local people. These two invasions were smashed by Zaire with African and international support. However, the Soviet Union has not given up and is preparing and waiting for an opportunity to make trouble again.

After provoking armed conflict between countries in the Horn of Africa last year, the Soviet Union again took the opportunity to send out Cuban expeditionary forces and to throw artillery troops, armored troops and air forces, armed with Soviet military weapons, onto the battlefield. More than 10,000 Cuban mercenary troops have been hanging on there, refusing to pull out. This disorderly situation is still developing.

The Cuban authorities are the task force of the Soviet Union in its sinister activities to carry out subversion and assassination. This past June, bloody incidents took place in close succession in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula. When the inside stories of these incidents were eventually disclosed, it became known that the sinister hands of the Soviet Union were giving the orders, and Soviet and Cuban troops were directly involved in the actions.

According to statistics, Cuba at present has already sent troops to more than 10 countries in Africa and the Middle East. They follow the same pursuits as the Soviet Union, fervently infiltrate and control the army, police and public security organs of these countries and are always ready to carry out new subversive activities on Moscow's order.

The Cuban authorities are the Trojan horse in the sinister maneuvers of the Soviet Union to divide and undermine the Third World. In the non-aligned movement, Cuba has implicitly followed Moscow's instructions and wants to make the nonaligned movement form an alliance with this so-called "natural ally"--the Soviet Union--in an attempt to basically change the anti-imperialist, anticolonialist and antihegemonist character and orientation of the nonaligned movement and place it in the orbit of the Soviet strategy for world domination. The word of Moscow is Cuba's command for drawing lines of distinction between what is "progressive" and what is "reactionary" and what must be won over or attacked among countries of the Third World, and for deciding which countries of the Third World will be set up as opponents with which to clash.

In the final analysis the explanation for this series of performances by Cuban authorities in the international arena is Cuba's subordination to the Soviet Union and the foreign policy of Soviet social imperialism.

The Cuban people have a glorious revolutionary tradition. Historically, the Cuban people, after a long period of struggle, overthrew the domination of Spanish colonialists. Almost two decades ago the Cuban people overthrew Batista's dictatorial government and drove away the aggressive force of U.S. imperialism. However, the Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique gained economic, military and political control over this country, thus causing it to once more lose its independence and to degenerate into a Soviet satellite.

Economically, using the "international division of labor" set up by the Soviet Union as its base, Cuba has continued to develop the same

single-product economy as before--the production and export of sugar. In 1976 the value of sugar exports was 86 percent of the foreign exchange income of this country. As in the past, when half of the sugar exports were sold to the United States, today more than half must be sold to the Soviet Union. More than half of the exports of nickel, a strategic material, are also shipped to the Soviet Union. Imports that it must rely on such as grain, petroleum and cotton are mostly or totally supplied by the Soviet Union. Under Soviet control, the Cuban national economy has developed abnormally, difficulties have abounded, an adverse balance of trade and foreign debts have kept increasing and Cuba has had to rely on Soviet subsidies to survive. Its foreign debts have reached an enormous figure of \$9 billion, and on a per capita basis Cuba has become one of the most indebted countries in the world. In a speech not long ago Castro called on the Cuban people to tighten their belts for the next two decades.

Militarily, the Soviet Union has already supplied \$3 billion in arms to the Cuban Army, and tens of thousands of military personnel, "experts" and "advisers" are stationed there. The Cuban leaders have admitted that the Soviet "military experts" are already playing a "decisive role" in the Cuban Army. The territory of Cuba has become a Soviet military base.

Because the Cuban leaders have put themselves under the wing of Soviet revisionism and bartered away their sovereignty, Cuba has become more and more dependent on the Soviet Union, economically and militarily, and must inevitably follow Soviet revisionism more and more closely politically. The Cuban leaders have repeatedly reorganized their government organs to attack and remove those who oppose them. They have also strengthened their suppression of the people with a variety of means.

Throughout history, imperialism has created all kinds of satellite states. Lenin pointed out: "They are politically independent but, in fact, are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence." ("Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol II, p 805) Cuba is a typical example of a new satellite state created by the Soviet Union. In the imperialist era, financial capital is a force which plays an enormous role in international relations and which can cause a country to become completely dependent on it in politics, military affairs and foreign affairs. According to estimates, Soviet "aid" to Cuba under various forms has reached more than \$10 billion. The average \$2 to \$3 million in Soviet "aid" supplied to Cuba each day several years ago has jumped this year to an average of \$6 million per day. This indeed shows that no expense is spared. What the Soviet Union has obtained in return is not only the land and resources of Cuba but also the blood and lives of the Cuban people. Cuba has already sent 50,000 mercenaries to Africa; this is about one-fourth of its regular army or about one two-hundredths of its entire population. Last March the Cuban leaders said that there are still several hundreds of thousands of people in the country ready

to go into action. As a cover up, Brezhnev used to say: To the Soviet Union "Cuba is neither a target of exploitation nor an investment." Can there be anything more brutal than the extortion of human lives?! Can there be an interest more sanguinary than this kind of ruble investment?! Just as a newspaper in Bolivia pointed out, the degree of Cuba's dependence on the Soviet Union today is "far more serious than that between Cuba and the United States at any time in the past."

In the face of opposition from the peoples of Africa and the world, the Cuban leaders are putting up all kinds of arguments in a vain attempt to cover up their features as accomplices of Soviet social imperialism. This is just a waste of effort.

You have said that the slaves who were captured and taken to America "are returning to Africa" to "support the liberation movement." Facts prove precisely the opposite. It is not a case of emancipated slaves supporting the struggle to emancipate slaves and attack colonial rulers, but of slave overseers carrying out the orders of their master in an attempt to compel the African people, who have risen up, to become slaves of the new tsars. How do you "support the liberation movement"? After the people of Angola drove out the old colonialists, you appeared with modern weapons supplied by the Soviet Union to carry out a large-scale massacre of the people. This is not only so in Angola. From Zaire to the Horn of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula, the places where Cuban mercenaries are fighting and where Cuban "advisers" are embarking on subversion and assassination today, the original colonial rulers were driven out and all these countries are now governed by Africans or Arabs. The bayonets of the Cuban mercenaries are not directed against the colonial rulers but against local Africans and Arabs. In regions that are carrying out struggles for national liberation, Cuba has also sowed dissension among national liberation organizations and has divided and weakened the forces of the national liberation movement in an attempt to steer them into the new tsars' sphere of influence. Facts have shown that, as slave overseers of Soviet social imperialism, you definitely are not "fighters" supporting liberation struggles but mortal enemies of the national liberation movements.

You said that Cuba "has been invited there" and "we have no intention of interfering in the domestic affairs of any African country." Things must be judged by the essence, not the form. When Soviet social imperialism and its agents intervene in the domestic affairs of other countries, they are able to use a variety of methods with their military strength and rubles and with their tricks that employ pressure and deception. In 1968, didn't the Soviet Union move tanks into Prague, kidnap the Czech leaders at that time to Moscow and force them to sign papers "agreeing" to "legal" Soviet military occupation? Under Soviet direction, Cuban mercenaries have moved into countries of Africa and the Middle East to carry out military intervention, enforce military occupation and embark

on large-scale subversion and control. This naked intervention from outside is the essence of the matter.

You have said: "We are not gendarmes" and Cuba is not "carrying out intervention in various parts of the world at Soviet request," though "at times the Cuban and the Soviet people may meet in the same part of the world to help a friend." What an "accidental meeting"! Cuban mercenary troops have just coincidentally happened to be in those places where the contentions of Soviet social imperialism are most bitter. What is a debt-ridden country in great financial difficulty, a country with an army the size of which "greatly exceeds" "conditions permitted by its economy and population" and a country far away from the countries of Africa and the Middle East doing with tens of thousands of troops there? You yourself have also admitted that Cuba and the Horn of Africa "are 15,000 kilometers apart, and if it had not been for Soviet weapons and transportation, the Cuban people could never have accomplished this mission." Facts are abundantly clear. Cuba is supplying the men and Russia the money, guns and transportation; they are participating in these sanguinary transactions on a master-slave basis. Only superpowers are qualified to act as gendarmes of the world, and the Cuban mercenary troops are only a stick brandished by the Soviet Union, this gendarme of the world.

You have said: "Cuba is a nonaligned country because it does not belong to any military group." Actually, Cuba long ago entered into a close alliance with Soviet social imperialism and has served as a military tool of the Soviet Union. "Nonaligned" is only a signboard. Not only this, but you have extolled the Soviet Union as a "natural ally" of the Third World and openly urged African countries to "form an alliance" with the Soviet Union. You also want the nonaligned movement to enter into an alliance with the Soviet Union. You are entertaining the vain hope of remolding Africa, the Third World and the nonaligned movement in accordance with the master-slave relationship you have with the Soviet Union.

You have said: "Cuba fulfills its international commitments." Your "internationalism" is nothing but the same kind of "internationalism" sold from Brezhnev's store. Soviet social imperialism is the greatest oppressor of people in the world. Stepping into the shoes of the old tsars, it not only is notorious for its ruthless suppression of minority nationalities at home, but also displays the signboard of "internationalism" everywhere abroad to promote superpower hegemonism. What people see in them is the big bullying the small, the strong dominating the weak, the big despot oppressing the petty despot and the petty despot oppressing other people. Isn't the treatment of the Cuban authorities by Soviet social imperialism and the treatment of the occupied countries by the Cuban mercenaries this kind of relationship?

The Cuban leaders have said: Sending Cubans into Africa "is aimed at opening up a new field of export for the nation," the "pay is high," and

the "price is positively better than sugar." This actually explains the problem much better than their many beautiful phrases. The old slave trade exported large numbers of captured blacks from Africa to various parts of America including Cuba. Now the export industry developed by the Cuban authorities is the export, by pressure or guile, of black soldiers from Cuba to Africa so they can become the tools of the aggression of Soviet social imperialism. As a matter of fact, sending the Cuban Army with its large number of blacks to serve as cannonfodder in Africa is far better than letting the white-skinned Russians endanger their own lives; this is an easier way to fool the people. Because of this, the Cuban leaders can completely rely on a higher reward from their Soviet masters. However, the Cuban people are increasingly aware that this is a national calamity as well as a tragedy.

Cuban mercenary troops are a product of the policy adopted by Soviet social imperialism that fulfills the needs for carrying through its global strategy. The strategic focus of the contention between the Soviet Union and the United States for world hegemony is on Europe. For the sake of preparing for the new world war, the Soviet Union is presently scrambling around for peripheral areas. It uses every means to scramble for strategic bases, passages and materials in the areas of the Middle East, Africa and even in Asia in an attempt to gain strategic superiority and thus encircle and harass the West. Apart from employing its Cuban agents to directly menace the United States in Latin America, especially in the Caribbean Sea, the Soviet Union has also made it a point to employ them in such strategic places as Africa and the Middle East. In Asia, the Soviet Union is also bringing up new agents patterned after Cuba. After personally directing the Cuban mercenary troops to occupy Angola and the Horn of Africa, the Soviet Union has further expanded toward northeast Africa and the Arabian Peninsula and intends to cut off central Africa and move down to southern Africa. The Cuban authorities are working very hard in these areas as foot soldiers in the service of the overall Soviet global plan.

In recent years the Third World's united torrent against hegemonism has increasingly been directed against Soviet social imperialism, thus causing the Soviets to experience a number of defeats in such areas as the Middle East and Africa. The Soviet Union has always used military and economic "aid" to pave the way for "advisers" and "experts" who would gradually infiltrate and control countries of the Third World and bind them with the fetters of bilateral military alliances. However, the experiences of Egypt, Sudan and Somalia have proved that, after having had enough of Soviet bullying, these countries that had the courage to struggle and rise up in resistance were able to drive out the Soviet hegemonic force with a single blow. At present, while still sticking to its original methods, the Soviet Union is simultaneously using the new method of dispatching large numbers of mercenary troops to carry out direct military occupation. Wherever Cuban mercenary troops go, they

hang on, consolidate their domination and turn countries into bases for further expansion. Apart from military and economic means, the Soviet Union has also adopted political subversion and even assassination to back pro-Soviet forces and to politically and physically wipe out leaders who have tendencies toward national independence. For the sake of carrying out its plan for expansion, the Soviet Union is doing everything possible to undermine the unity of the Third World, sow discord and create splits among national liberation organizations in Third World countries and incite increases in hostility. The Soviet Union is also doing everything possible to undermine unity within the countries of the Third World and is taking advantage of and aggravating the difficulties in these countries so that it may conveniently infiltrate and control them. In these activities, Cuba is the Soviet Trojan horse. Its motive is to beguile the world's people and cover up the true picture so that people will reduce their vigilance against the Soviet Union.

In light of these conspiracies on the part of Soviet social imperialism, each country of the Third World must strengthen its national unity and do a good job of domestic work. In the struggle for independence, national liberation organizations must also strengthen unity before victory can be won. After gaining political independence, many countries of the Third World are still faced with the tasks of safeguarding and consolidating their national independence, guarding against hegemonic and imperialist subversion and aggression, developing their own countries, and gaining economic independence. They must do a good job of achieving unity within the country before they can continue to progress in the struggle to fulfill these tasks; they must not leave any exploitable opening for hegemonism and imperialism to create splits and sabotage. In order to overcome the difficulties created by hegemonism and imperialism and transform the vestiges of poverty and backwardness left over from the long period of colonial rule, they must try to secure foreign aid that will benefit the independent development of their own countries and mainly rely on their own efforts. The practice of many countries has proven that, by relying on the strength and wisdom of the masses in their own countries and by taking full advantage of the resources of their own countries, the potentials in various sectors and favorable international conditions, they will be able to gradually build a prosperous, vigorous national economy.

The unity of the Third World countries is a powerful weapon for triumphing over the superpowers' aggression and intervention. The superpowers are very much afraid of this, and they will work hard to sabotage it. Soviet social imperialism is everywhere making use of border disputes and other strifes left behind by history to incite Third World countries to fight each other so it can pull the chestnuts out of the fire. The best method for resolving such strifes is for Third World countries to sit down peacefully in consultations. If a solution cannot be reached right now, they can seek common ground on essential points and leave minor differences in

abeyance to be worked out later. Affairs of the Third World should be managed by the countries and peoples of the Third World themselves; problems existing in the Third World should be solved by the countries and peoples of the Third World themselves, free from the meddling of the superpowers, so that these countries will not become battlefields of their contention. More and more countries of the Third World have realized that drawing lines of distinction between "progressive" and "reactionary" countries in the Third World by the Soviet Union is a sinister plot aimed at undermining the unity between countries of the Third World, provoking antagonism and conflict among these countries, and splitting the organization of Third World countries and the nonaligned movement. The criterion for the Soviet demarcation is: those who follow their baton are given the title of "progressives"; those who do not follow are branded as "reactionaries." This is different from the road of development of the Third World countries, and they're basically two different things. The road of development of various countries of the Third World must be decided by the people in the various countries themselves. Under the logical premise of opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, the countries of the Third World must unite against their common enemies.

Because Soviet social imperialism and its agents are wearing the signboard of "socialism" and "internationalism" to deceive people, they have created the illusion in some Third World countries that these countries can introduce the forces of the Soviet Union and its agents to deal with other external forces of intervention but still maintain and safeguard their own independence before taking steps to restrict and eliminate the newly introduced forces. Egypt, Sudan and Somalia have already used their own personal experiences to inform people about how nefarious the Soviet Union has been in carrying out infiltration, subversion and control of independent nations. The recent bloody lessons in South Yemen and the Arab Peninsula have again warned the people how dangerous such illusions are! Once the Soviet forces enter, they will infiltrate deeper and deeper and will not rest until they have gained complete control. The introduction of Cuban agents also means the introduction of Soviet forces. If you continue to show the slightest tendency toward national independence or the slightest sign of disagreement, they will not be adverse to using the most despicable methods to get rid of you even though you may be an "old friend." Even if you follow and serve them closely, if they feel the going is rough, they will kick you aside. There is no lack of such examples in the foreign affairs history of Soviet social imperialism. The perniciousness and brutality of the latest type of social colonialists is far worse than that of the old type of colonialists. Peoples of various Third World countries must be extremely vigilant and must never be taken in by them.

The intensification of the Soviet expansionist offensive has accelerated the danger of a new world war. The urgent task for people of various

countries is to unite with all forces against hegemonism, foil the Soviet offensive, sabotage the Soviet strategic arrangements and strive to postpone the outbreak of a world war. Although Soviet social imperialism is enjoying some temporary achievements in certain places--from Angola to the Horn of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula--this has quickly raised the awareness and vigilance of the peoples of the world toward it and its agents. Today, wherever the new target of Soviet expansion appears, the new agents in the manner of Cuba will also appear, and aggressive war and intervention by these agents will begin to brew. People everywhere in the world are closely watching and have agreed to be on guard. In spite of interference and sabotage by the Soviet Union, the tide of the united struggle against hegemonism in the Third World is surging forward. The tendency of the Second World to unite against hegemonism is getting stronger. The antiappeasement forces of the West are growing. The international united front against hegemonism with the Third World as its main force is consolidating and expanding. The one who is plotting encirclement is now being encircled by the people of the world. Brezhnev used to boast that Cuba is "an inestimable capital." However, the more he dips into this "capital," the greater will be his blood debt. In the end he will have to settle accounts with the people of various countries of the world, including the Cuban people. This is the dialectics of historical development.

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