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TRANSLATIONS FROM RED FLAG

No. 12, 2 DECEMBER 1978

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

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VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING'S TALKS AT RECEPTIONS WITH FOREIGN FRIENDS

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 2 Dec 78 p 2

[Text] Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the guiding ideology of China in its drive for the four modernizations, stressed Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping in connection with China's process of four modernizations at a meeting with American columnist Robert David Novak here this morning.

The vice premier stated that Chairman Mao's great contributions in Chinese history were beyond the description of words. "Every Chinese knows that 'without Chairman Mao there would have been no new China.'" "In the process of achieving the four modernizations we must be good at comprehensively and accurately grasping and applying Mao Tsetung Thought." "There should be liveliness and ease of mind in the political life in our country," he said.

Vice Premier Teng also answered questions about the current international situation and Sino-U.S. relations.

Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping made statements on the morning of 26 November in answer to questions about the domestic situation in China raised by Sasaki Ryosaku, chairman of the Democratic Socialist Party of Japan.

Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping pointed out: China's domestic situation today is a matter of concern to the whole world. He said: At present, China is stable and united and, from the central to the local levels, is working with one heart and one mind for the four modernizations. The party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng is united as one and filled with confidence in achieving the four modernizations.

In answer to a question about the Tienanmen incident, Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping said: The past decision on the nature of the Tienanmen incident was wrong. The Peking Municipal CCP Committee recently made a decision on the Tienanmen incident, affirming that the action of the broad masses in mourning Premier Chou and opposing the "gang of four" was revolutionary. This decision has been approved by the party Central Committee. It can also be said that this is the common wish of the whole party, the

whole army and the people of the whole country, and a decision made unanimously by them all.

He said: Chairman Mao always advocated that "mistakes must be corrected whenever discovered." The Tienanmen incident was a wrongly handled case. Of course it must be corrected. Not only the Tienanmen incident but also other questions, if incorrectly handled, must be corrected by seeking truth from facts. Correcting mistakes whenever they are discovered precisely shows our confidence. Only in this way can the people of the whole country have ease of mind and all look forward to and wholeheartedly strive for the four modernizations.

On the question of big-character posters put up by the masses, Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping pointed out: This is a normal phenomenon, a manifestation of the stable situation in our country. He said: The writing of big-character posters is permitted by our constitution. We have no right to negate or criticize the masses for promoting democracy and putting up big-character posters. The masses should be allowed to vent their grievances. Not all of the opinions of the masses are well considered, and it is impossible that all their demands are completely correct, but this is not to be feared. Tempered through the Great Cultural Revolution, the overwhelming majority of our people are exceptionally great in their ability to distinguish between right and wrong and in their concern for the destiny of the country. The broad masses demand stability and unity and take the whole situation into consideration. The masses have doubts on some questions, and there are words that are not conducive to stability and unity and the achievement of the four modernizations. We must make things clear to the masses and be good in leading them.

THE PRACTICE OF STRUGGLE IN THE CHINGKANG MOUNTAINS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT--COMMEMORATING GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER CHAIRMAN MAO'S 85TH BIRTHDAY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 2 Dec 78 pp 2-10

[Article by Tan Chen-lin [6223 7201 2651]]

[Text] Should one regard practice as the criterion for verifying truth, or should one regard something spiritual, like thoughts or ideology, as the criterion for verifying truth? This is a fundamental demarcation line between Marxism and dialectical materialism on the one side and all kinds of idealist and metaphysical ideas on the other. This is also the basic criterion for determining whether or not one truly holds high the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought. In his article "On Practice," Chairman Mao pointed out: "Only social practice can be the criterion for truth." Chairman Mao integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese and world revolutions, creatively inherited and developed Marxism-Leninism, and greatly enriched the Marxist-Leninist treasurehouse of theory. As we solemnly commemorate the 85th anniversary of the birth of great leader and teacher Comrade Mao Tsetung today, recalling Chairman Mao's struggles in the Ching kang Mountains will help us to clearly see the close relationship between the formation of great Mao Tsetung Thought and revolutionary practice.

The period of the struggle in the Ching kang Mountains was an extremely important, historical period for the formation and development of Mao Tsetung Thought. Following the Autumn Harvest Uprising in September 1927, Comrade Mao Tsetung personally led the worker-peasant revolutionary army in setting up the Hunan-Kiangsi border base area with the Ching kang Mountains as the center. Until January 1929, when the 4th Red Army left the Ching kang Mountain area to make a deep thrust into southern Kiangsi and western Fukien, Chairman Mao underwent arduous, complicated struggles for victory--for a total of 1 year and 3 months. It was precisely during these struggles in the Ching kang Mountains that Comrade Mao Tsetung pioneered the road of using the countryside to encircle the cities, relying on the rural areas to gather and develop the revolutionary forces and finally seizing the cities. He closely combined armed struggle, the

agrarian revolution and the construction of the base area and formulated the principles for building a people's army and the initial stages of the strategy and tactics for a people's war. He worked out a program for the agrarian revolution and various policies for developing the base area. Comrade Mao Tsetung's correct thinking, formed during the period in the Ching Kang Mountains, laid the foundation for our party's correct political and military line and contributed significantly to proletarian theses with regard to building the party, army and government. During the struggles in the Ching Kang Mountains, one striking characteristic of Mao Tsetung Thought deeply impressed me--the characteristic of emphasizing the dependence of theory on practice and asserting that theory derives from practice, guides practice and is constantly enriched and developed by verification through practice.

I

Throughout the history of the proletarian revolution, political power had invariably been seized by armed uprisings in the cities--from the period of the Paris Commune to the October Revolution. But the road indicated by Comrade Mao Tsetung, namely, the road of building rural revolutionary base areas by armed independent regimes of workers and peasants and encircling the cities from these rural areas, was not to be found in the works of the revolutionary teachers Marx, Engels and Lenin. This was an undertaking unprecedented in the annals of the proletarian revolutionary movement and was a major contribution to the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. During the childhood of our party, its many leaders were unable to put forward such a theory. Even when Comrade Mao Tsetung's new theoretical viewpoint was proved by actual struggles, quite a number of people in the party still opposed the theory and dismissed it as "peasant mentality," "conservatism," and so forth. They still adhered to the theory of "key cities," were obsessed with the idea of urban uprisings and attacks on big cities and continued to dream that this would soon lead to nationwide victory.

Why were they like that?

The basic difference was that they only proceeded from "books" and were divorced from concrete revolutionary practice, while Comrade Mao Tsetung never regarded revolutionary theories as dogmas. He always paid attention to investigation, studied the actual situation and was good at using the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoints and methods to observe the objective laws of reality. He also constantly summed up experiences gained in revolutionary practice and profoundly and comprehensively grasped objective laws by testing them through practice. The road of using the countryside to encircle the cities was correct precisely because it profoundly reflected the particular laws governing revolution in the semi-feudal, semicolonial society of China. It was a brilliant example set by Comrade Mao Tsetung in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. It was a historical summing up of the Chinese people's rich revolutionary experience.

From his youth, Comrade Mao Tsetung insisted on proceeding from actual conditions and paid attention to the role of practice in recognizing revolutionary truth. In the old China after the 1911 revolution, political power fell into the hands of feudal warlords with foreign imperialist powers as their masters. The tasks of the bourgeois revolution were unaccomplished. In order to divide China up, the imperialist powers aided the feudal warlords' disunified, tangled warfare. "Those who had power proclaimed themselves kings, and those who had guns became local rulers." Such was the actual political situation at that time. Where was China headed? This question could not but occupy the thoughts of the masses of patriotic young people day and night. To seek truth for the purpose of national salvation, Comrade Mao Tsetung initiated the establishment of the new people's society when he was studying at the Changsha First Teachers School. During his vacation in 1917, he walked 1,000 li to conduct a social investigation in Changsha, Ninghsiang, Anhua, Iyang and Yuanchiang counties so as to understand the political and economic conditions of different classes in cities and in the countryside. In the autumn of 1918 he went to Peking and, en route, made an investigation in the rural areas of Yencheng, Honan. During the May 4th Movement he became a Marxist. He organized many members of the new people's society to go to France under work-study programs, but he himself remained in China, determined to study and understand more about China's social realities. After the founding of the party, during his revolutionary practice he led not only the workers movement but also the peasants movement and successively ran the Canton and Wuhan peasant movement institutes. Early in 1927 he returned to Hunan, made a firsthand investigation of the peasant movement in the five counties of Hsiangtan, Hsianghsiang, Hengshan, Liling and Changsha, and wrote his famous "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan." He had lived in this countryside in his childhood. Later on he conducted extensive investigations and studies of rural areas and read a large number of historical works on Chinese society. He deeply understood the problems of the Chinese peasantry and the historic characteristics of Chinese society, and he was very familiar with the revolutionary wars waged by peasants throughout Chinese history. Therefore, once he accepted Marxism, he quickly gained a profound, correct view of the basic questions about the Chinese revolution.

After the "12 April" incident in 1927, Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei one after the other betrayed the revolution and bloodily slaughtered communists and the masses of workers and peasants. Chen Tu-hsiu, who then held the leading position in the party, also pushed a right capitulationist line and caused the failure of the great revolution. This was a painful lesson for the Chinese communists. At a meeting held in Wuhan after the 21 May incident, Comrade Mao Tsetung made the appeal: Go to the nearby mountains and lakes, pick up guns to defend the revolution. At a 7 August meeting, Comrade Mao Tsetung criticized Chen Tu-hsiu's erroneous line and called for the party to independently lead the Chinese revolution, push forward the agrarian revolution by armed struggle and seize political power. He pointed out: Mass movements cannot succeed without

guns. It should be known that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. At that time, Chu Chiu-pai asked him to work in the party's central organ in Shanghai. He answered: I do not want to live with you in big tall buildings. I want to go to the mountains and make friends with the heroes of the greenwood. This idea of Comrade Mao Tsetung was a most profound historical conclusion which showed that, after the repeated failures of uprising led by our party in cities where the enemies were most powerful, he came to understand through practice that the hopes of the revolution should be shifted from the cities to the vast countryside: He also came to realize the great significance of the peasantry and its armed force in the Chinese revolution. After the Autumn Harvest Uprising he assembled the frustrated troops in Wenchiachih, firmly prevented another attack on Changsha, and led the troops to the Ching kang Mountains. This was by no means accidental. The armed peasants led by Wang Tso and Yuan Wen-tsai then in the Ching kang Mountains were our "friends of the greenwood." Chairman Mao summed up the lessons from unsuccessful peasant uprising throughout history and told us: Why did Li Tzu-cheng fail? A very important reason was that he did not have a consolidated base area. Chairman Mao also told us to discuss: If Wang Tso's armed force is able to exist for a long time in the Ching kang Mountains, why can't we, with our party, revolutionary armed forces and correct policies and tactics, survive? The warlords can set up independent regimes. Why can't we? While the worker-peasant revolutionary force marched toward the Ching kang Mountains, the famous Kucheng meeting was held in Ning kang, and it was decided to establish the Ching kang Mountain revolutionary base. At the meeting, Chairman Mao pointed out: We must make a strategic change. The millions of people are our foundation. We should set up a base in the midsection of the Lohsiao Mountain range, establish a rear area and fight without mental burdens. We should also build up local armed forces and capture the enemy's weapons to arm ourselves. With the masses and the local armed forces, our army will not be isolated. Chairman Mao also said: The midsection of the Lohsiao Mountain range includes six counties--Lienhua, Yunghsin, Ning kang and Suichuan in Kiangsi, Ling and Chaling in Hunan. In this section, with the Ching kang Mountains' naturally strong defensive terrain and the important shield of the Chiulung Mountains, conditions will be favorable for setting up an armed independent regime and developing guerrilla warfare. The six border counties produce abundant rice, edible oil, tea and timber: We will have a good mass foundation in these counties. We can seal off the east and fight in the west or seal off the south and fight in the north. The enemy will be unable to do anything to us. The situation in China will greatly change. The vast countryside is like an ocean and we are like fish: The countryside is where we can rest and grow. The significance of establishing an armed independent regime on the Hunan-Kiangsi border with Ning kang as its center is definitely not limited to six counties, but is of great significance for seizing political power in the three provinces of Hunan, Hupeh and Kiangsi.

It is obvious that the formation of Comrade Mao Tsetung's idea of using the countryside to encircle the cities and establishing rural revolutionary base areas is completely inseparable from his constantly increasing understanding, through practice, of the social and historical characteristics of the Chinese revolution. He summed up the painful revolutionary lessons accumulated since the 1911 revolution, especially since the great 1926 revolution, and came to understand that the Chinese revolution was essentially a peasant revolution; that revolutionary armed struggle was mainly the armed struggle of the peasants; that, in the actual conditions of China at that time, the enemy forces were powerful in the cities but weak in the vast countryside; and that, in the situation of uneven economic development and political disunity with the warlords setting up independent regimes all over the country, the enemy forces were particularly weak in the mountainous rural border areas. This inevitably led to a completely new conclusion which could not be found in any book and which pointed out the way for the Chinese revolution's advance toward victory. The single spark in the Chinggang Mountains eventually started a prairie fire. This shows that if Comrade Mao Tsetung had adhered to the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and had failed to integrate them with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, the Chinese revolution could not have been victorious, and we could not have been what we are today.

II

It is necessary to form our thinking and develop Marxist theory by summing up practical experience; it is necessary to enrich certain old theories with new practical experiences in order to improve them; and it is necessary to use new theory to replace certain old theories which, tested by practice, are no longer applicable. This is precisely the great vitality of Mao Tsetung Thought. During the struggle in the Chinggang Mountains, Comrade Mao Tsetung's thinking on fully relying on the masses, closely combining armed struggle, agrarian revolution and construction of the base area under the party's leadership, and promoting the establishment of Red political power and the development of a proletarian base, as well as his land reform program, his policy for building up the base area, his principle on building the people's army and his strategy and tactics for people's war--all were products of the combination of Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary practice. These ideas were gradually formed, improved and developed through struggles.

After leading the Autumn Harvest Uprising forces to the Chinggang Mountains, Comrade Mao Tsetung constantly enhanced his understanding of the question of closely combining armed struggle, agrarian revolution and the construction of a base area.

In November 1927 the worker-peasant revolutionary army occupied Chaling. At the beginning the revolutionary army assigned Comrade Tan Tzu-sheng as county magistrate. Old practices still in use by other administrative

personnel included interrogation and collecting taxes and donations through the chamber of commerce. The masses were quite unhappy. Learning this, Comrade Mao Tsetung immediately gave instructions to change such practices. He asked the revolutionary army to mobilize and organize the masses, set up workers and peasants associations and establish a democratic government of workers, peasants and soldiers. Thus the people became true masters. When a worker-peasant-soldier democratic government was later established in Chaling County, I was elected chairman of the county government. In accordance with Comrade Mao Tsetung's instructions, I dispatched people to rural areas to mobilize the masses to attack the local overlords and to organize Red Guard detachments. However, distribution of land to the people had not yet been done. Shortly afterward the enemy forces pressed forward, and our army had to withdraw. Chaling County was reoccupied by enemy forces, and the more than 200 members of the county's Red Guard detachments had to go to the Ching kang Mountains. In Chaling we obtained some experience in smashing the old government and building a new political power. However, the Chaling experience also taught us that without a regular army and the assistance of massive local armed forces, we would not be able to defeat the enemy, unfold the agrarian revolution and mobilize the peasants to support our revolution. If we could not hold onto our occupied land, we would have to leave even though we had established proletarian political power. On the other hand, if we could not consolidate our base area, our armed struggle would lose reliable support from the rear. Therefore, when we later occupied Suichuan, Ning kang and Yunghsin counties and established worker-peasant-soldier democratic governments there, we immediately grasped agrarian revolution as a means to satisfy the peasants' demand for land, established armed forces at county, district and village levels, paid attention to building and strengthening party organizations and political power at various levels, grasped production, opened schools (primary schools) and helped the masses to overcome the Kuomintang economic blockade and solve problems in living conditions. When the worker-peasant-soldier democratic government was established in Suichuan County in January 1928, Chairman Mao initiated and drafted a 30-point program for administration. It quite clearly explained the party's policies and tasks during the period of democratic revolution and reflected the broad masses' demands and wishes. It became the first blueprint in building the Ching kang Mountain, and later the south Kiangsi and west Fukien, base areas. However, agrarian revolution was not thoroughly carried out in the border areas before April 1928, while the Hunan Provincial Committee had had to dispatch regular forces from the area to south Hunan in March of that year. As a result, the border area was again occupied by enemy forces for more than a month. This once again proved that successful armed struggle and thorough implementation of agrarian revolution were paramount in consolidating proletarian base areas. Comrade Mao Tsetung and Comrade Chu Te joined forces in Lungshih at the end of April 1928 and formed the Fourth Army of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army. After summing up past experiences and lessons, Chairman Mao closely combined armed struggle, agrarian revolution and base area construction and

formulated this set of correct policies: "Struggle resolutely against the enemy, set up political power in the middle of the Lohsiao Mountain range and oppose flightism; deepen the agrarian revolution in areas under the independent regime; promote the development of the local party organization with the help of the army party organization and promote the development of the local armed forces with the help of the regular army; be on the defensive against Hunan with its comparatively strong ruling power, and take the offensive against Kiangsi with its comparatively weak ruling power; devote great efforts to the development of Yunghsin, set up an independent people's regime there and prepare for a prolonged struggle...." ("Struggle in the Ching Kang Mountains") These policies quickly promoted prosperous development in the border area. Chairman Mao personally led the 28th, 29th and 31st regiments of the Red Army and had cadres of various counties concentrate their efforts on building Yunghsin. Within a month's time, he dispatched soldiers to mobilize the masses, consolidated the party organization, expanded army units, established a proletarian political power, overthrew the local overlords and distributed land to the people. As a result, a relatively consolidated base area was built within a short period. Later, when the main force of the Red Army went to south Hunan, the enemy launched 11 regiments to attack Yunghsin. With only the 31st Regiment, Chairman Mao fully relied on the local Red Guard detachments, insurrectionary detachments and the broad masses, applied the tactics of strengthening our defense works, of clearing the fields and of guerrilla warfare, and trapped 11 enemy regiments about 30 li from the Yunghsin County site for 25 days. At the central base area in 1934, Comrade Mao Tsetung summed up the victories in the four anti-encirclement campaigns and said: "What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution." ("Be Concerned With Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work") Under the party's leadership we closely combined armed struggle, agrarian revolution and the construction of the base area in order to build an impregnable bastion of iron, wage the people's war to defeat the enemy, protect ourselves and consolidate and develop proletarian political power.

During the initial period in the Ching Kang Mountains, we not only lacked experience in establishing a proletarian political power in the base area but also lacked experience in armed struggle and agrarian revolution. However, because Comrade Mao Tsetung was good at integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete revolutionary practice, at constantly summing up experience from the practice of struggles and at formulating correct theories, we always marched in all our work from victory to victory under his leadership.

Many Communist Party members took part in leading the Northern Expeditionary Army during the revolutionary period of the northern expeditionary war. However, due to the rightwing capitulationist policy of Chen Tu-hsiung and the fact that party branches were not established in companies and that the party could not completely control the army, Communist Party

members quickly lost most of the leading posts under enemy pressure. In view of this profound historical lesson, Comrade Mao Tsetung led the Autumn Uprising forces to the Ching kang Mountains, conducted the famous sanwan reorganization, generally established the system of party representatives, set up party branches as strong combat bastions in companies and thus insured the party's absolute leadership over the army. He established the principle of the "party directs the gun" and greatly strengthened the political work of army units. The sanwan reorganization also led to establishing soldiers committees, strengthening marching discipline, emphasizing the performance of mass work by troops, and the founding of political, military and economic democracy and the tradition of equality between officers and men and unity between soldiers and civilians in our army. This powerfully repudiated warlordism and the purely military point of view, which were serious problems among the troops in those days, and transformed the troops with proletarian ideology. In October 1927, Comrade Mao Tsetung promulgated on Chingchu Mountain the three main rules of discipline of our army for the first time. In December of the same year, when our troops returned to Lungshih from Chaling, Chairman Mao again summed up the experiences and lessons learned by our army and formally put forward and promulgated the three main tasks for our revolutionary army: eliminate the enemy in battles; attack local tyrants to raise funds; do propaganda work among the masses, organize and arm the masses and help them establish a revolutionary government. Later, in Shatien in eastern Kwangsi, Chairman Mao, in view of the practical situation, again promulgated the three main rules of discipline and added the six points of attention (later developed to eight points, in western Fukien in 1929). Moreover, the struggle in the Ching kang Mountains also initiated our army system, a three-in-one combination of the regular Red Army, local Red Guardsmen and insurgent troops. All this led to the creation of the army-building principles of our people's army politically, ideologically and organizationally. Later, with new practical experiences, these principles were more fully and systematically manifested in the resolution of the Ninth Congress of the 4th Red Army of the CCP adopted at the Kutien conference held in western Fukien in December 1929. This historical resolution has become a document of classical significance for building our party and army.

The army-building principles formulated personally by Comrade Mao Tsetung also cannot be found in Marxist-Leninist works. But, precisely because Comrade Mao Tsetung did not stick to any dogma and because he persisted in proceeding from realities and from his experience in doing revolutionary work, he creatively developed and enriched the army-building doctrines of the proletariat. Implementation of these principles made our army a genuine people's army, an armed collective which was led by the party, which carried out revolutionary political work, and which was a fighting and working team. Ever since the Ching kang Mountains period, our army, in addition to eliminating the enemy, also engaged in raising funds, in production, in helping local areas build the party, in developing the local armed force, in doing propaganda work among the masses and

mobilizing and organizing the masses, and in building local revolutionary governments, thus making itself the most important mainstay for carrying out revolutionary tasks stipulated by the party and insuring the penetrating development of the agrarian revolution and the development and strengthening of the revolutionary base.

The Ching kang Mountain areas were big, and the terrain was rugged and strategically important. These factors, coupled with the agreeable conditions of the masses, were highly favorable for launching people's guerrilla warfare. Chairman Mao's strategy and tactics for guerrilla warfare thus developed in accordance with the particular circumstances in the struggle in the Ching kang Mountains. The famous 16-character formula for guerrilla warfare, "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue," and such policies as "dividing troops to mobilize the masses, concentrating troops to deal with the enemy," and "securing an occupied region, pushing forward like waves, forcing the enemy to pursue and following the policy of circling around" were all summed up and enriched through our successes and failures in the many battles to smash the enemy's three encirclements. When our troops who had engaged in the Autumn Harvest Uprising were on their way to the Ching kang Mountains, we suddenly encountered a strong enemy force and, because we had too little time to retreat, we suffered a great loss, and Comrade Lu Te-ming, the chief commander, died. Later, when we arrived in Lungshih and Maoping, the enemy in Hunan, because of clashes between the Hunan and Kwangsi warlords, pulled back most of its reactionary troops from counties along the border, so we used the opportunity to take over Chaling. Later, when strong enemy forces in Hunan pushed forward along the border, we retreated to the Ching kang Mountains, attacked Suichuan in Kiangsi, where the enemy forces were weak, and took over Suichuan after eliminating the reactionary landlords' armed force there. But when we divided our main force in Suichuan to mobilize the masses there, an enemy battalion unit under the command of Chu Pei-te in Kiangsi, with the cooperation of the reactionary landlords' armed force, took over the new town of Ning kang. Chairman Mao, while ordering our insurrectionist troops and Red Guardsmen in Ning kang and Yunghsin to harass the enemy forces day and night, frighten them several times a day and exhaust them, assembled the main force in Maoping for rest and reorganization and then launched a sudden attack against Hsincheng. The next day the enemy garrison was totally annihilated. These battles were the first examples of our successfully applying the 16-character formula and the rule of "dividing troops to mobilize the masses, concentrating troops to deal with the enemy." At that time Comrade Mao Tsetung used to tell the troops about the story of a "mountain king" known as "Chu the Deaf." It was attributed to Chu the Deaf that in the Ching kang Mountains one did not need to know how to fight; all one needed to know was how to hunt. Comrade Mao Tsetung said: For us, we need to be able to both fight and hunt. He also added that, as for the enemy, since "he who comes does not mean well, he who means well does not come," the way we deal with him should therefore be "going back into our

retreat." Because once you have retreated, the enemy does not know where to find you and has to carry out investigation again. What we should do is to lead him around and around for a while and wait until he exposes his weak links. Once we see his weak links, we should grasp them accurately and give him a telling blow. We should see to it that the fight is a clean sweep with gains by our side. This is like doing business. You stay in business when you make money and you quit when you lose money. In brief, we fight when we can win and we retreat when we cannot. When you come to fight us, we make sure that your punch does not land on us. When we come to fight you, we make certain that you will be wiped out. During the famous Lungyuankou campaign that was fought later, our troops first feigned an attack westward in the direction of Ling County to lure the unknowing troops of our enemies Yang Chih-shen and Yang Ju-hsuan in Kiangsi deep into our trap. Then we made a complete turn with a sudden thrust against the city of Ningkang in the east. We occupied the new and old Chichiling Mountains where the topography was favorable to us. In a battle that raged for a day, we wiped out a complete enemy regiment and smashed another two regiments. After our victory we pursued the enemy for 40 li, occupying the seat of Yunghsin County for the third time. There were also other battles, including the siege of the enemy in Yunghsin in August 1928. These battles all attest to the correctness of the strategy and tactics set forth by Chairman Mao. It was later pointed out by Comrade Mao Tsetung: "By May 1928, however, basic principles of guerrilla warfare, simple in nature and suited to the conditions of the time, had already been evolved,...the 16-character formula covered the basic principles for combating 'encirclement and suppression'; it covered the two stages of the strategic defensive and the strategic offensive, and within the defensive it covered the two stages of the strategic retreat and the strategic counteroffensive. What came later was only a development of this formula." ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War")

Speaking about agrarian revolution, the distribution of cultivated land during the early period of the struggle in the Ching Kang Mountains called for the confiscation of all land to distribute it village by village in proportion to the labor force in each village in accordance with an instruction of the central authorities. But this entails the following: 1) By confiscating not just the land of the landlords but all land, the interests of the middle peasants would be infringed upon, and this was not conducive to uniting with the middle peasant stratum. 2) To divide the land village by village, there inevitably would be large differences in the fertile and arid fields and in the size of the land distributed between the rich and poor villages. 3) To distribute on the basis of labor force, the households with more mouths to feed and a smaller labor force would find it hard to survive. Thus, Comrade Mao Tsetung, by proceeding from reality in conducting investigation and study, changed the land distribution method. The new method called for the confiscation of public land and the land of the landlords and the distribution of it in accordance with both the population and the labor force with each township

as a unit. This method won the support of the masses. In the course of doing this, Comrade Mao Tsetung thus had a line set for the agrarian revolution which called for relying on the poor and tenant peasants, uniting with the middle peasants, limiting the rich peasants, and protecting the middle and small industrialists and merchants, and for wiping out only the landlord class. The agrarian law that was later promulgated in Hsingkuo, for instance, proved to be more perfect and practical than the first agrarian law of the period of the struggle in the Ching kang Mountains. The principle "Supplement those who have less land and arid land with that of those who have larger and more fertile land" was later also put forth by Comrade Mao Tsetung in view of the experience gained through practice. As a result, the agrarian revolution carried out in western Fukien and southern Kiangsi was carried out successfully.

III

During the struggle in the Ching kang Mountains, Comrade Mao Tsetung attached much importance to the development of democracy and to the opinions of the masses and the lower-level cadres who did the actual work. He was a model both in persisting in seeking truth from facts and in adhering to the mass line. The first thing he invariably did before holding a meeting or making a decision was to let everyone fully express his ideas in order to bring about unobstructed interflow of ideas between the upper and the lower levels and pool the wisdom of the masses before a conclusion was reached. He was very unhappy if comrades in a meeting said nothing. In such cases, he often would adjourn the meeting to let everyone leave to carry out further investigation and study the issues to be discussed. In normal times, besides making it a rule that the troops conduct investigations into the social, political and economic situation in a locality as soon as they arrived there and make written reports on the survey, he would frequently conduct investigations himself. In the Ching kang Mountains he carried out investigations of Ning kang and Yunghsin. After arriving in southern Kiangsi and western Fukien, he also conducted investigations in Hsunwu, Chang kang township in Hsingkuo and Tsaichi township in Shanghang. Comrade Mao Tsetung, in his effort to understand the actual situation, displayed the spirit of being a willing student. He assembled middle and lower-level cadres--the ones doing the actual work--and workers, peasants and other people of various backgrounds to attend meetings at which he solicited their opinions. In his article "Oppose Book Worship," Comrade Mao sternly criticized those comrades who had made mistakes involving book worship, pointing out: "Without investigating the actual situation, there is bound to be an idealist appraisal of class forces and an idealist guidance in work, resulting either in opportunism or in putschism." "We need books, but we must overcome book worship, which is divorced from the actual situation."

Comrade Mao Tsetung always attached importance to practice and the style of investigation and study, which was precisely a vivid expression of his adherence to the Marxist world outlook of dialectic materialism and

historical materialism. Opportunism is characterized by the separation of the subjective from the objective and the divorce of knowledge from practice. By investigating and studying the actual situation, Comrade Mao Tsetung was able to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution. This is why he dared to go against the tide, was good at doing so and dared to wage an irreconcilable struggle against opportunism and was good at doing so.

In the Chinggang Mountains period there were people like Lin Piao who harbored right-deviationist pessimism and wondered "how long the red flag can fly." In addition, there was also interference from "left"-deviationist putschism and from such ideas as the purely military viewpoint and roving-rebel ideology. At that time the interference from the "left"-deviationist putschist line pursued by the Hunan provincial party committee was all the more serious. In March 1928 the Hunan provincial party committee dissolved the former provincial party committee, dismissed Comrade Mao Tsetung from his position as secretary of the former provincial party committee and ordered him to go to southern Hunan with an advancing army to act in coordination with an insurrection there. As a result, most of the border bases were seized or destroyed by the enemy. In late June of the same year, when the 4th Red Army was winning one battle after another and the expansion of the Red border area reached its peak, the Hunan provincial party committee sent Tu Hsiu-ching to the Chinggang Mountains to order the Red Army to advance toward eastern and southern Hunan. This resulted in the August defeat in Hunan. Before these operations began, Comrade Mao Tsetung put forward his correct opinions about them. Proceeding from the actual situation, he pointed out that we must not take any reckless action in Hunan because the enemy forces there were very strong and that, since the enemy forces in Kiangsi were comparatively weak, the Red Army should try to expand its areas there. At the joint meeting held in Yunghsin on 30 June and attended by members of the front party committee and the Military Commission and by responsible persons of various counties, the participants, under Chairman Mao's leadership, decided to resist the Hunan provincial party committee's erroneous instructions. Chairman Mao personally wrote a letter to the Hunan provincial party committee and expressed his correct opinions. In the letter he advocated that the Red Army remain in the Hunan-Kiangsi border area, persist in establishing independent regimes of the workers and peasants by armed force and make continuous efforts to consolidate and expand the revolutionary base area in the Chinggang Mountains with Ninggang as its center. However, when the main force of the Red Army reached Ling County in Hunan and Chairman Mao was in Yunghsin, Tu Hsiu-ching, acting in disregard of other people's opinions, spread the erroneous view that the 29th Regiment of the Red Army was getting restless remaining in the border base area and wanted to return to its native place. He then compelled the Military Commission to lead the army in advancing south and attacking Chenchou. As a result, the 19th Regiment of the Red Army suffered a disastrous defeat, and Comrade Wang Erh-cho, commander of the 28th Regiment of the Red Army, was killed. As early as in the period of insurrection in southern Hunan, the

"left"-deviationist putschists put forward the slogan: "Kill, Kill, Kill and Kill All Reactionaries; Burn, Burn, Burn and Burn All the Houses of the Reactionaries!" They advocated, "Turn petty-bourgeois elements into proletarians and compel them to make revolution." During the insurrections in Hunan, people were killed and houses burned at random. These acts were committed by persons under the influence of this line pushed by the special committee in southern Hunan. Thus, the masses were alienated from the party. While in the Ching kang Mountains, Comrade Mao Tsetung firmly resisted the above putschist views and never killed people or burned houses at random. When Tu Hsiu-ching came to Lung City, he criticized us for not burning down the city. Comrade Mao Tsetung said: Why should we burn houses in which people can live? Thus, we never burned any houses. In order to smash the blockade imposed by the enemy and to promote the development of the economy in the base area, Comrade Mao Tsetung also announced a policy to protect medium and small industrial and commercial enterprises. The marketplaces at Tsaolinyu and Yuchang played an important role in the interflow of commodities and the promotion of economic development. This was conducive to winning over people of the middle stratum. In the party Comrade Mao Tsetung often said that if the majority of people did not agree with his opinions, no matter whether they were right or wrong, we should act according to the opinions of the majority. In the struggle against the opportunist line within the party during the Ching kang Mountain period, Comrade Mao Tsetung was exemplary not only in upholding correct opinions and never blindly obeying the wrong leadership but also in observing party discipline and the principle that the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level to the higher level and the entire membership to the Central Committee.

IV

The struggle in the Ching kang Mountains opened a new chapter in the history of the Chinese revolution. The Ching kang Mountain road opened up under Chairman Mao's leadership was not only the road to victory in China's new democratic revolution but also the road to victory in the revolutionary struggles of the people of semifeudal and semicolonial countries throughout the world. In the struggle in the Ching kang Mountains we clearly saw the dialectical relationship between the formation and development of Mao Tsetung Thought on the one hand and the great revolutionary practice of the Chinese people on the other. Precisely because it relies on practice, Mao Tsetung Thought plays the role of a complete scientific system and reflects the truth of objective laws. This has been proved through the revolutionary practice of tens of millions of people. With changing historical conditions and increasing practical experience, Mao Tsetung Thought has been continuously enriched and developed. The correct ideas formulated by Chairman Mao during the Ching kang Mountain period were later developed during the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation.

Comrade Mao Tsetung said: "The standpoint of practice is the primary and basic standpoint in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge." He also pointed out: "The movement of change in the world of objective reality is never-ending and so is man's cognition of truth through practice. Marxism-Leninism has in no way exhausted truth but ceaselessly opens up roads to the knowledge of truth in the course of practice." These statements by Chairman Mao are themselves an elucidation of the shaping and development of Mao Tsetung Thought during the Ching Kang Mountain period and the shaping and development of Mao Tsetung Thought as a whole.

In celebrating the anniversary of Chairman Mao's birth today and cherishing the memory of his great achievements and contributions, to carry out Chairman Mao's behests and hold aloft his great banner we should by all means uphold the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts and attach the highest importance to practice, which Chairman Mao consistently advocated, and take a correct attitude toward Mao Tsetung Thought. This is the key for the Chinese revolution to win victories continuously. Just like Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought is not dogma but revolutionary theory summed up from practice and in return used to guide practice. We should never follow the example of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in mutilating and distorting Mao Tsetung Thought, quoting isolated words and phrases out of context, deifying it, turning it into sermon texts and using it as formulas regardless of time, place or situation. Ostensibly supporting Chairman Mao and clamoring that "every sentence is truth," Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in practice went against what was most fundamental in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

We are facing a new historical period, striving to realize the four modernizations. Countless new things and problems are laid before us, waiting for us to study and solve them by proceeding from reality and by using the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In view of our new historical conditions, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has put forth the general task to persist in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, launch the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment and build China into a great and powerful socialist state with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and modern science and technology. A series of pertinent principles and policies has also been formulated and adopted. This is precisely in keeping with the principle of seeking truth from facts and integrating theory with practice. Thus, this amounts exactly to holding aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao. Under the guidance of the 11th National CCP Congress, we should emancipate our minds and overcome our apprehensions, uphold what practice has proved correct and dare to rectify what practice has proved wrong, so we can quicken the tempo of realizing the four modernizations. We are convinced that under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the Chinese people will certainly accomplish their great new historical mission, triumphantly carry out Chairman Mao's behests and usher in an unprecedentedly brilliant and prosperous era on our vast Oriental expanse of 9.6 million square kilometers in order to make worthy contributions to mankind and the world revolution.

RESTORE AND CARRY FORWARD THE THREE GREAT WORK STYLES INITIATED BY CHAIRMAN MAO--COMMEMORATING THE 85TH ANNIVERSARY OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S BIRTH

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[Article by Chang Ping-hua [1728 1627 5478]]

[Text] On the occasion of the 85th anniversary of the birth of great leader and teacher Chairman Mao on 26 December this year, we deeply remember his great contribution to the history of the development of Marxism and the outstanding achievements he made for the people of China and the whole world.

For more than half a century Chairman Mao led our party, army and people of all nationalities throughout the land in conducting the new democratic revolution that removed the three big mountains, in carrying out the socialist revolution on the ideological and political front with regard to ownership of the means of production and in launching the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The great victories won through arduous struggle in the Chinese revolution and in construction basically marked the triumph of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao was wise and great not only because he was versed in Marxism-Leninism and inherited and defended it but also because he developed the Marxist pioneering spirit. In his revolutionary practice he continually enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism. The precious spiritual wealth he left behind will always serve as a compass to guide us to conduct revolution and construction. In commemorating Chairman Mao we must hold high his great banner, assiduously study his works, comprehensively and accurately grasp Mao Tsetung Thought as a system and inherit and carry forward the party's fine work style and the methods of work he initiated. In this article I wish to discuss my personal views on reviving Chairman Mao's three great work styles.

Chairman Mao put forward the three great work styles in his political report to the Seventh CCP Congress on the basis of summarizing the experience gained since the founding of the party and with the purpose of introducing new work styles to insure implementation of the party line and its tasks. Chairman Mao said: "Armed with Marxist-Leninist theories

and concepts, the CCP has introduced new work styles among the people of China. This chiefly embraces the work style that integrates theory with practice and the work styles of keeping in close touch with the masses and conducting self-criticism." In the protracted revolutionary practice, because our party adhered to the work style of integrating theory with practice and firmly opposing revisionism, dogmatism and empiricism, it was able to correctly formulate and implement the line, principles and policies for different revolutionary stages under the guidance of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and by adapting to the Chinese revolution's specific conditions. Since our party adhered to the work style of fostering close ties with the masses and sharing weal and woe with them, it was able to draw inexhaustible strength, organize an astounding revolutionary contingent and successfully carry out various revolutionary and constructive undertakings. Since our party used self-criticism as a weapon for examining its work on a regular basis and conducted criticism and self-criticism, it was able to correct shortcomings and mistakes in a timely way, consolidate the revolutionary ranks and fire them with the vigorous revolutionary spirit. The three great work styles thus distinguish a Marxist political party and embody our party's fine tradition. Since these work styles are interrelated and promote each other, we must appreciate them fully and carry them forward. Marxists maintain that the only criterion for testing truth is social practice, and only the revolutionary practice of hundreds of millions of people provides the yardstick for measuring truth. Seeking truth from facts, proceeding from actual conditions in doing everything and integrating theory with practice constitute the fundamental principles of Marxism. In adhering to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought we must uphold the integration of theory and practice, affirm that practice is the sole criterion for verifying truth and seek truth from facts. To carry forward the party's three great work styles we must first promote the revolutionary work style of seeking truth from facts and integrating theory with practice. Without seeking truth from facts it will be impossible to have a truly mass line, and conducting criticism will be devoid of an objective basis and objective criteria. Conversely, if we go against the mass line or are afraid of being criticized, it will be impossible for us to seek truth from facts. The three great work styles form an integral whole, with the dialectical and historical materialist world outlook as their core.

Chairman Mao not only evolved the three great work styles for our party but also set a shining example in implementing them. This has been attested to by our party's entire history. Only those historical episodes I still remember are given below for reference.

During the period of the first revolutionary civil war our party's cooperation with the Kuomintang became its overriding concern, despite the fact that the peasants were following Chen Tu-hsiu's right opportunism. Its concern with the workers movement also made it oblivious of the peasants' obsession with Chang Kuo-tao's "left" opportunism. Chairman Mao made a comprehensive analysis of China's class relations from the Marxist

standpoint, viewpoint and method. He regarded the peasants as the proletariat's most reliable and faithful ally and their strength as the main force of the Chinese revolution. The success or failure of the Chinese revolution, in his view, depended largely on whether the proletariat was able to lead the peasants. He therefore went to the countryside to conduct investigation, devoting himself to leading the peasant movement. Before the start of the Northern Expedition and subsequent hostilities, Chairman Mao gave lectures on the peasant movement in Canton to train cadres to lead peasant struggles. During the war of the Northern Expedition he was in Hunan, Hupeh and Kiangsi to set the masses in motion with a free hand and to vigorously promote the peasants' revolutionary struggle. Upon arriving in Wuhan he lost no time in giving lectures on the peasant movement in Wuchang to combat the reactionary trend of thought fostered by Chiang Kai-shek and Chen Tu-hsiu against the peasant movement. Chairman Mao investigated the peasant movement in Hunan from 4 January to 5 February 1927 and wrote "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan." On the basis of this investigative report he gave lectures on the peasant movement in Wuchang and to the training class for political workers at the political department of the headquarters of the forward command of the national revolutionary forces. I heard his speech at the training class for political workers. People at that time affectionately called Chairman Mao Commissar Mao. He used a massive amount of material he had personally collected to refute those opportunists and Kuomintang reactionaries within the party who criticized and slandered the peasants' revolutionary struggle. I still remember Commissar Mao's ringing voice. When I was in Chengchow 3 months later I again heard Tan Yen-kai viciously attacking the peasant movement in Hunan. By contrast, people appreciated more deeply Commissar Mao's concise and correct views and more clearly recognized the hideous features of the reactionaries.

After the failure of the first revolutionary civil war in 1927, Chairman Mao did not mechanically apply the Russian experience of inciting uprisings in the cities. Instead, he proceeded from the country's actual conditions by initiating and leading the Autumn Harvest Uprising, and only later did he build up revolutionary armed forces and establish rural revolutionary base areas. This conformed to the strategy of using rural villages to surround the cities before finally seizing them. During the Chinggang Mountain period I was working in the county party committee and the county Red regiment in Hunan. Since it was our task to develop local ties and coordinate local forces with the main Red Army fighting in the area, we often saw Commissar Mao. On one occasion we heard him talking to Wang Tso, who was in charge of the rear base committee. He said: Our policy is to advance in wavelike movements along the mountainous region and then turn the surrounding counties into base areas. This will consolidate our rear. We did exactly that by taking advantage of the mountainous topography to nibble at areas occupied by the White regime. Commissar Mao trekked all the way to the Lohsiao Mountain range and selected the Chinggang Mountains, bordering on four counties in the middle section of the mountain range, as the first base area and the Chiulung

Mountains, which were adjacent to four other counties, as the second base area. He then directed the armed forces to advance toward the Hunan-Kiangsi border after crossing the mountains and hills. When fighting among the warlords broke out, the men advanced in big strides. When the ruling class stopped fighting and called for unity, the advancing battalions were recalled to consolidate the base areas. This strategic concept embodying a wavelike advance in the rural base areas was based on the Chinese adaptation of the protracted warfare principle.

When I came to this passage I could not help recalling in a disturbed frame of mind the great revolution's failure. I had just turned 20 at that time. I saw tens of thousands of workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary youths arrested, jailed and slaughtered by the Kuomintang reactionaries. I saw groups of wavering elements turning against the revolution. I discovered that people like Wang Ching-wei, Tan Yen-kai and Sun Ko, who professed to be Kuomintang "leftists," were of the same breed as Chiang Kai-shek. At that time we faced these issues: Where was China heading? Where was the broad path for the Chinese revolution? At this crucial moment in history China would have been doomed if Comrade Mao Tsetung, a great leader, had not taken us to the ChingKang Mountains, where he effectively led worker-peasant armed forces in setting up rural revolutionary base areas, in founding the Red Army and establishing Red political power, and in applying the strategy of using rural villages to surround the cities and of finally seizing them. When I recalled the appearance of the "left" opportunist line on three separate occasions within the party, I discovered that each instance was wilder than the one before. Wang Ming's "left" opportunist line, in particular, dominated our party for as long as 4 years, causing us to lose 90 percent of the soviet area and the Red Army and virtually 100 percent of the party cells in the White areas. But for the successful holding of the Tsuni meeting and the wise leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and its Military Commission, the Chinese Red Army would have been close to being completely wiped out, and the victory of the Chinese revolution would have been delayed many years. Fortunately, after the close of the Tsuni meeting Chairman Mao's revolutionary line predominated in our party. This was responsible for the total victory of the new democratic revolution and for the great victories in socialist revolution and construction when revolution had smoothly entered the socialist period.

During the socialist revolution period we had additional opportunities to listen to Chairman Mao's teachings. He attached great importance to problems concerning peasants and repeatedly stressed that the condition of the peasants in a big agricultural country like China was vital to the development of the Chinese economy and the consolidation of state power. He viewed the collectivization of hundreds of millions of peasants in China's countryside as an arduous task. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, China completed land reform. This was followed by the launching of the mutual aid and cooperation movement, the formation of mutual aid teams and preliminary and higher producer

cooperatives, the introduction of the people's communes and a socialist upsurge in the countryside. As a result, farm output increased steadily. However, due to the disruption of the Soviet revisionists, natural disasters and the shortcomings and mistakes in our work, our country suffered temporary economic difficulties from 1959 to 1961. Many pressing problems besetting rural people's communes had to be solved. In 1961 Chairman Mao conducted extensive investigations and study in rural work. He assigned three investigation groups to Chekiang, Hunan and Kwangtung, respectively. A central work conference was later held in Canton and was attended by leading comrades of provincial, municipal and regional party committees throughout the country. At this meeting Chairman Mao drafted the "60 articles" for rural people's communes. The conference was conducted in an animated manner, and the participants spoke freely and without reserve. There was serious discussion of the problems that had arisen since the introduction of the rural people's communes. The "60 articles" draft program for the rural people's communes was based on giving the reins to democracy and the masses' experience and collective wisdom. When the draft program was tentatively applied, Chairman Mao continued to conduct investigation and study and personally revised the "60 articles" before the program was adopted by the 10th Plenum of the Eighth CCP Congress for promulgation. This important historical document contributed significantly to consolidating and developing the rural people's communes and promoting an upturn in the rural economy and political conditions in the countryside.

I was transferred from Hupeh to Hunan after the close of the 1959 Lushan conference. As a newcomer in Hunan I was somewhat behind in investigation and study. Not much originated with the masses, while many directives were transmitted from higher to lower levels. As a result, problems arose. Chairman Mao reminded us at the right time that we should go to the grassroots units to conduct investigations. From 1961 on we made a serious effort to conduct investigations and study, with the comrades of the provincial party committee and me participating. I wrote to Chairman Mao on 13 May 1961 about our investigative work in a production brigade in Liuyang County to publicize implementation of the "Draft Regulations Governing Work in Rural People's Communes." Chairman Mao received my letter on the following day. He immediately made some comments on it and then had my letter transmitted to party committees from the central to regional levels. He made this comment: "Your letter may be circulated among party committees throughout Hunan Province for study and action. The important thing is to take the mass line and consult the masses on all problems that have arisen before making decisions and incorporating them in policy measures for implementation. It is impermissible for party committees at all levels not to conduct investigations and study and for a few party committeemen to formulate so-called 'behind closed doors' policies that cause great harm to the people and are subjective in approach." Chairman Mao's teachings were so appropriate and so important! Complying with his instructions, we displayed vigor in conducting investigation and study. With our better understanding of

conditions at the grassroots level, the measures we had proposed were acceptable to the masses. The situation in Hunan has improved steadily since 1961, becoming better year after year. Despite a serious drought in 1963, there was a bumper harvest that year. The prospects for 1964 and 1965 and throughout 1966 were even better.

Chairman Mao often made inspection trips to other provinces and insisted on making firsthand investigations. When I was assigned to the Hunan provincial party committee, he made a practice of visiting the province once or twice a year. Whenever he was in Hunan he never missed the opportunity to talk to the comrades of the provincial party committee. He also discussed problems with the comrades of prefectural and county party committees and cadres working in grassroots units and did not exclude the workers, peasants, intellectuals and democratic personages. Whenever he met us he would ask: Any good news, new developments, new problems? He was obliging and solicitous to a fault. Before him we were free to bring up our problems and express our views. He often said: Without conducting investigations, one has no right to speak. He always urged leading comrades to go down to grassroots units to conduct investigations and study at least 3 or 4 months a year. Once he said humorously: I ask those comrades who are reluctant to make investigations why they do not want to do so, since they are neither old and feeble, nor sick and disabled, nor rightists. Whenever he learned that you had gone to make investigations, he would encourage you to keep it up, saying: This is the right thing to do. I was with a production brigade in Changsha County in 1963 in connection with the socialist education movement. That brigade was the first one in Hunan to undertake such a program, which was completed in 6 months, before it was shifted to other brigades. Other leading comrades of the provincial party committee also went there. When Chairman Mao was informed of this development, he said happily: Leading cadres should go and stay at selected spots to gain experience so that it can be introduced to larger areas. Not only did he urge leading cadres to go, but he also encouraged government functionaries to do the same. The first thing he would ask when meeting these comrades was: Haven't you gone down? When we meet again I would like to know what you have done there.

Chairman Mao also set an example for us with regard to conducting criticism and self-criticism. During the Yen-an rectification movement he said: Wang Ming declared that he was a hundred percent Bolshevik. But we are not hundred percent Bolsheviks. We are Bolsheviks with shortcomings. He frequently reminded us after liberation that not many people were infallible and that we should use "one divides into two" in dealing with people and with ourselves as well. He urged us to be lenient in criticizing others but unsparing in criticizing ourselves. In dealing with those who had made mistakes, including comrades who had committed serious errors, he always applied the "unity-criticism-unity" formula and the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient." He called for patience in offering help to cadres through persuasive education and encouraged errant cadres to mend their ways.

For over half a century Chairman Mao led the Chinese revolution, and throughout that period he never lost sight of conducting investigations and study. He adhered to the basic principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese and world revolutions. He believed in practice and in the view that integrated theory with practice. He upheld the three great work styles of seeking truth from facts, taking the mass line and conducting self-criticism. He was thorough in studying actual conditions and always kept in close touch with the masses. In conducting investigation and study he was particular about details and careful in making concrete analysis, always proceeding from facts and on the basis of actual conditions in solving problems with regard to revolutionary struggle.

Since the three great work styles were considered to be our party's glorious tradition in the past, why should they be revived and carried forward now? Largely due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," our party's glorious tradition was seriously trampled upon. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" are the sworn enemies of our party and army, the Chinese proletariat and people of all nationalities, as well as of the party's three great work styles. They preached the "theory of innate genius" based on the theory of transcendentalism, and as a result idealism and metaphysics spread unchecked. To usurp party and state power they employed counterrevolutionary doubledealing tactics to wildly alter and distort Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, flaunting Chairman Mao's banner to oppose his revolutionary line. To counter their reactionary utterances and actions Chairman Mao stressed many times: "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't conspire and intrigue."

However, they paid no heed to Chairman Mao's warnings and instead were inconsistent in words and deeds. Outwardly submissive but secretly disobeying orders, they resisted stubbornly to the very end. "Carrying the book of quotations all the time, they never opened their mouths without saying 'Long live.' They said nice words to your face but stabbed you in the back." This is a fitting description of their counterrevolutionary, doubledealing features. Calling black white, they confused issues of right and wrong. They slandered Chairman Mao's close comrades-in-arms-- Premier Chou and NPC Chairman Chu Te. They framed those proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation who had devoted their lives to upholding Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, branding a large number of leading cadres in central organs and in the localities who had adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as "capitalist roaders" or "renegades" and "secret agents." They promoted a number of truly unrepentant capitalist roaders, renegades, secret agents and counterrevolutionaries and conferred on them the title "revolutionaries." Since they aimed at practicing revisionism, usurping party and state power and restoring capitalism in China, they had to reject the work styles of seeking truth from facts, taking the mass line and conducting self-criticism. The mass movements to expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in the past 2 years

have scored great victories, while the party's fine work styles are being gradually restored and carried forward. However, to eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and unshackle our minds, we must continue to exert ourselves for a long time to come.

After the party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua smashed the "gang of four" with one blow, it proclaimed the successful conclusion of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the beginning of a new period of development for socialist revolution and construction. At the 11th CCP Congress and the Fifth NPC the general line and general task for the new period were set, and the grand plan for achieving the four modernizations was proposed. More recently, Chairman Hua urged us to liberate our thinking, be bolder, devise more measures and quicken our pace. Under these new circumstances it is particularly important for us to further revive and carry forward the party's three great work styles. We must seek truth from facts, take the mass line and conduct self-criticism in summarizing experience, affirming achievements and correcting shortcomings and mistakes. Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. We must adhere to those things that conform to objective laws and are in accord with the interests of the vast majority of people. We must firmly correct those things that have been proven wrong by protracted practice. Chairman Mao often taught us to pay attention to summarizing both the positive and negative aspects of experience and frequently stressed the importance of negative experience. While it is necessary to sufficiently assess the achievements in our work so as to increase our confidence, we must avoid concealing the shortcomings and mistakes in our work. The scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts calls for determination to adhere to truth and to be ready at any time to correct mistakes. Only in this way can our cause flourish and conform to the interests of the vast majority of people. We must therefore use the method of seeking truth from facts, taking the mass line and conducting self-criticism to promote a new study movement. We must study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and comprehensively and accurately grasp and apply revolutionary theory. We must avidly study modern science, technology, culture and management knowhow. We must soberly recognize the fact that in these areas we have fallen far behind advanced world levels. We must do everything possible to advance. At the crucial moment of the developing situation, Chairman Mao always encouraged us to liberate our thinking. He said: "Man's thinking must conform to changing conditions." To quicken the pace of achieving the four modernizations we must develop the pioneering and innovative spirit and be good at thinking independently. We must have the daring to think, speak and act. We must topple idols, liberate the mind, respect science and undertake work on the basis of actual conditions. We must learn from people both inside and outside the party and from those inside and outside China. We must learn from the masses and from qualified people and those who have learning and experience. We must learn from all advanced things, firmly eliminating arrogance, complacency and conservative ideas, such as failing to make any progress and being boastful and ignorant. We must display the dauntless

revolutionary spirit and confidently strive to surpass advanced world levels. Let us hold high and defend Chairman Mao's great banner and restore and carry forward his fine work styles. Under the wise leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, let the whole party and the whole country act in concert to rapidly achieve socialist modernization.

CARRY FORWARD THE STYLE OF INTEGRATING THEORY WITH REALITY IN STUDY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 2 Dec 78 pp 16-21

[Article by Peng Chung [1756 0394]]

[Text] The party school traditionally has been an important front where we use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in cultivating and educating cadres. Since the "gang of four" were smashed, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has attached great importance to party school work and issued a specific decision on the proper operation of party schools at various levels. Chairman Hua and Vice Chairman Yeh personally gave important speeches at a ceremony marking the start of a new school term held by the Central Party School. They made clear the direction to be followed in running party schools well in the new historical period. Acting in accordance with the party Central Committee's decision, the Shanghai municipal party committee reopened the municipal party committee's party school which the "gang of four" had forcibly closed for as long as 10 years. Since it resumed its work this party school has run a cadres' reading class for one term and achieved relatively satisfactory results. In the future it will run such classes for successive terms and strive for better management.

In the 2 years since the smashing of the "gang of four" our country has achieved gratifying results on the political, economic, military, cultural, diplomatic and other fronts. At present the whole party, the entire army and the people throughout the country are undertaking a new Long March. The developing situation is very inspiring. The problem now is not whether we should achieve socialist modernization by the end of this century or not. The problem is that we must accomplish this goal at a quicker pace than originally projected and achieve a higher degree of modernization in the four fields by the end of this century.

To step up the pace of modernization, in a welcoming speech at a reception marking the 29th anniversary of National Day, Chairman Hua appealed to the people throughout the country: "We must be a bit more liberal in thinking, a bit more courageous, a bit more resourceful and move ahead at a quicker pace." In a speech to the ninth national congress of the

All-China Federation of Trade Unions, Vice Chairman Teng suggested that to increase the pace of economic development "various economic fronts must not only make major reforms technically but also effect important institutional and organizational reforms." He also stressed that "to achieve the four modernizations all our enterprises must, without exception, follow the principle of democratic management so that centralized leadership and democratic management can be combined. In the future, workshop managers, section chiefs and shift heads of all enterprises must be elected by the workers of the workshops, work sections and shifts concerned. An enterprise's major problems must be discussed at a workers congress or a workers general meeting. Its leading cadres must listen to workers' opinions at the general meeting and accept workers' criticism and supervision. Concerning certain leadership personnel and management personnel who have shown a serious neglect of duty or a bad style, the general meeting has the right to suggest to the higher authorities that they be punished or transferred." Summing up 28 years of positive and negative experience in economic construction, Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee put forward many major policies and measures for accelerating the development of the national economy, and they pointed out the necessary reforms that must be effected in many aspects of the relations of production and the superstructure in order to meet the needs of the development of productive forces.

Achieving the four modernizations is a great revolution in basically changing the backward economic and technical features of our country and further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This revolution involves large-scale, sweeping, radical and profound changes and a heavy and pressing task and is of far-reaching significance. It equals any revolution led by our party in the past and even surpasses any such revolution in some respects.

Currently the international situation and the situation at home are unusually favorable to an accelerated pace in achieving the four modernizations. Not only is it necessary for us to accelerate the pace of modernization, but it is entirely possible for us to do so. As far as the domestic situation is concerned, with the "gang of four" toppled and the greatest obstacle to the realization of the four modernizations removed, the socialist activism of the masses of cadres and people has been aroused, the pace of development in various fields of endeavor has quickened, and a thriving and flourishing scene has appeared all over the country. The situation in Shanghai is also very favorable. The struggle to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is deepening, and an excellent situation marked by stability and unity and quick progress through hard work is being consolidated and is developing. From the first to the third quarter this year, the total value of industrial output of the entire municipality surpassed, from month to month, the highest level in the corresponding period in history. This meant an increase of 18 percent for the whole period compared with the corresponding period last year. It is expected that we can reach the goal of an increase of

12 percent for the whole year. Following bumper crops of wheat, oats, barley, rape and early rice and corn, late rice output also surpassed the highest level in history. For each mou planted to cotton, an average of over 150 catties of ginned cotton has been sold to the state. For the whole year we have achieved bumper harvests from crop to crop and an increase in output from quarter to quarter. Production of nonstable food-stuffs has followed a normal pattern, and their supplies are evenly distributed. The total volume of commodities procured and total retail sales have shown marked increases. Foreign trade and export businesses continue to boom. Financial income has grown at a rate far exceeding the rate of growth of production. The scientific, educational and cultural fronts are lively and flourishing.

As far as the international situation is concerned, in the past certain countries imposed economic blockades against us and basically prohibited the supply of advanced technology and equipment to our country. Now the features of Soviet revisionist social imperialism have become more exposed. The Third World is increasingly awakening. The international antihegemony united front is further developing. The overwhelming majority of countries in the world hope that our country will become powerful and prosperous. Europe, the United States, Japan and other capitalist countries suffer from economic stagnation and want to find an outlet. They are vying with each other to do business with our country. For us this is an unprecedentedly favorable international situation. We should have the drive and the ability to exploit their technology, equipment, funds and organizational experience to speed up our construction. In no way can we let this hard-to-get, favorable opportunity slip by us. Shanghai is our country's important industrial and scientific and technical base. Relatively speaking, it had a good foundation from which to start. We should tap favorable conditions to the fullest and make proper contributions to the great cause of accelerating the realization of the four modernizations.

We must accelerate the pace of realizing the four modernizations and catch up with and surpass the world's advanced economic and technical levels without losing time. A very important thing to do is to study. Since the "gang of four" were smashed, Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee have continuously called on us to strengthen study efforts. In the middle of April this year, at the National Science Conference, Chairman Hua issued the call: "Study and study again; unite and unite again." He demanded that we "cultivate and carry forward the style of studying hard" and "take studying hard as a glory and not as a shame." In mid-July, at a national finance and trade conference to learn from Taching, Chairman Hua further pointed out: "Building our country into a great, modern and powerful socialist state is a very arduous task. We must study hard. We must learn from works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao, from the masses of people, from our country's 28 years of practical experience in socialist revolution and construction and from all advanced things abroad. We must study theory, politics, economics, management,

science, technology and culture and must launch a sustained study movement among the whole party and the people throughout the country." Chairman Hua also called on our cadres at various levels to "show a compelling revolutionary sense of responsibility and display ebullient enthusiasm and dogged perseverance in seriously studying the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao on socialist economic construction and in assiduously acquiring all kinds of new knowledge on the road to economic construction." That Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee have repeatedly called on us to study hard is dictated by the need to turn chaos into order and expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in a penetrating manner and by the need to carry forward the past, pave the way for its acceptance by all future generations to come and realize the general task of the new period.

The main business of our comrades studying in the party school is to learn the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is a treasure trove of theory, a complete scientific system and a theoretical foundation guiding our thinking. It is forever packed with infinite vitality. Its guiding role in revolutionary practice is great, whether in the past, at present or in the future. To accelerate the pace of realizing the four modernizations we must get a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a weapon, so that the universal truth of Mao Tsetung Thought can be integrated with new concrete practice in understanding and solving ever-changing new issues and new problems.

This year we solemnly commemorate the 85th anniversary of Chairman Mao's birth. In commemoration of his birth we must, as Premier Chou urged us, learn from Mao Tsetung and study invincible Mao Tsetung Thought. We must carry forward the revolutionary style in study personally advocated by Chairman Mao, master systematic Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in a thorough and accurate manner, and apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method in studying and solving new problems in the new period. We must penetratingly expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four," distinguish between right and wrong in ideology, theory and the political line and eliminate the remnant poison of the "gang of four." We must vigorously restore and carry forward the three great work styles that Chairman Mao personally cultivated for our party, call all positive factors into play and better fulfill the general task of the new period.

Integrating theory with practice is a Marxist style in study as well as an educational guideline advocated by our party. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is a guide to revolutionary action, because it has originated from practice and is a scientific summing-up of practice. It continuously guides practice and is continuously tested in practice. It is continually enriched and developed in practice. Integrating theory with practice is a most fundamental Marxist principle. The style of integrating theory with practice advocated by Chairman Mao and his educational guideline are a shining embodiment of this most fundamental

Marxist principle. To study and master the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and grasp systematic Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in a thorough and accurate manner, we must thoroughly carry out the educational guideline of integrating theory with practice and carry forward the style of integrating theory with practice in study.

Prompted by their counterrevolutionary aims, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and their remnants in Shanghai basically reversed the relations between theory and practice and left people greatly confused.

They negated practice as a source of knowledge and as a theoretical foundation and negated such a law of cognition as "practice and knowledge, more practice and more knowledge." Lin Piao preached the "theory of genius" about "innate knowledge" and advocated the "reversal" philosophy of reversing the relations between matter and consciousness. Chang Chun-chiao dished up the formula "theory-practice-theory." A remnant follower of the "gang of four" in Shanghai chimed in, "The relation between theory and practice amounts to nothing more than walking on two legs. Sometimes theory leads the way, and at other times practice leads the way. The two alternate between running ahead and falling behind. That's all." They stealthily put consciousness first and distorted the idea of practice first as "empiricism," thus turning it into a stick with which to beat people. Anyone who persisted in putting practice first was accused of being "an empiricist" and "the current main danger" to be removed.

They negated the masses of people as the mainstay of practice and of knowledge and rabidly opposed our party's mass line and down-to-earth style that had been cultivated under the principle of unity between theory and practice. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were the sworn enemy of the masses of people. They had "a bad headache at the sight of workers" and slanderously said that "the workers are by nature filthy" and that the poor and lower-middle peasants "lag behind ideologically." They opposed "letting all schools of thought contend" and advocated "letting one school of thought lead the way." Everything they said was to be taken as the last word. Lin Piao's motto was: "Nothing great can be accomplished without telling a lie." The "gang of four" and their followers openly clamored that "facts must be made to serve politics" and that we might be "70 percent sincere and 30 percent insincere" and "combine truths with falsehoods." They created the gang style of false talk, tall talk and empty talk in a vain attempt to dupe and deceive the masses. They wanted to set any trend that they liked.

They negated the generation and development of social practice as an endless process and the generation and development of human cognition as an endless process, and they negated the development of Marxism with the development of practice. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" advocated the "theory of reaching the peak," the "theory of absolute authority" and the "theory of understanding things at once" and promoted "every line being truth," "following everything to the letter," and so forth. They imposed

shackles on people's minds in a vain attempt to distort lively Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought into hard-and-fast dogma and to choke Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to death.

They negated practice as the only yardstick of truth, advocated the pragmatist theory of truth and rabidly opposed a scientific attitude in doing things. Chang Chun-chiao openly said: "Being right or wrong ideologically is determined by theory. Theory refers mainly to ideological problems." This is to say that the yardstick of the true nature of ideology is not practice but theory. It is not a case of theory being tested in practice but a case of practice being tailored to theory. To put it bluntly, anything that helped their usurping party and state leadership was taken as "truth." People were called upon to follow it to the letter. Anyone who really took Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a guide in doing things and persisted in taking practice as the only yardstick of truth, seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality was found guilty of a towering crime and given a full taste of what their false accusations and their stick could do.

But practice is a devil-fighting mirror exposing monsters and freaks of all descriptions. It is a sharp weapon for repudiating all absurd arguments. Though the banner raised by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" was so "left" and the slogan they shouted was so "revolutionary," everything they did served entirely to show that they were pests who brought disaster to the state and harm to the people. They not only brought our national economy to the brink of collapse but also brought about great political, ideological and moral retrogression in certain sectors. Though Lin Piao and the "gang of four" ran wild for a time in a vain attempt to topple everything and negate everything, they ended up negating themselves.

The "gang of four's" radical reversal of the relations between theory and practice was dictated by their reactionary nature. Lenin concisely pointed out long ago that, apart from its roots in the theory of knowledge, idealism had class origins. The "gang of four" were representatives of the landlord and bourgeois classes within the party and agents of the darkest and most decadent social forces. They went against the current in a vain attempt to turn back the wheel of history. This ran entirely counter to objective laws, the direction of history and the interests of the people. They had no truth on their side and did not dare look squarely at the facts. They were afraid of the test of practice. They could only fall back upon idealism. To usurp leadership, Lin Piao styled himself as "a genius" and "a super genius" and stopped at nothing to advocate idealist transcendentalism. To subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and establish their feudal-capitalist-revisionist hodgepodge of "a new dynasty," the "gang of four" transformed themselves from "authorities on theory" into "authorities on organization." The shopworn weapon they wielded was still subjective idealism. This reactionary idealist ideological line was the theoretical foundation of their whole

set of counterrevolutionary revisionist lines and counterrevolutionary political programs.

Lin Piao and the "gang of four" reversed the relations between theory and practice. The greatest harm they did was to wreck our party's fine tradition and style of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice. As a result, idealism and metaphysics reigned supreme. This seriously restrained and dampened the activism, initiative and creativity of the masses of cadres. People were left so confused that they could not think beyond fixed limits. In actual work, certain comrades just went through the motions of borrowing, copying and transmitting instructions from the higher authorities and did not dare proceed from the actual realities of their own unit, use their heads, raise questions or solve problems. When confronted with problems they always trembled with fear and looked around indecisively. They wanted to speak out, but the words died in their throats. They wanted to act, but something held them back. They did not dare practice what was previously criticized. Nor did they have the courage to practice what had not been mentioned previously in the "books." With such a mental attitude, how could they spread their wings and advance with big strides? How could we talk about accelerating the pace of modernization?

At present there prevails in Shanghai the following situation: Certain comrades talk all day about accelerating the pace of achieving the four modernizations, but they do not dare act according to economic laws, do not dare talk about distribution according to one's work, do not dare discuss management problems and technical problems and do not dare talk about learning from foreign countries. Also, used cement bags in the past were thrown away. Now 2 or 3 cents are paid for returned bags, and over 90 percent of such used bags have been recovered. But certain leaders do not dare give the nod to this practice. With "five stipulations and award giving" introduced in pig farms, piglets have multiplied rapidly. With fishing boats following a system that allows fish output over and above a given quota to be distributed on a percentage basis, the fish catch has risen rapidly. Many enterprises have given awards for overfulfillment of quotas and economies achieved. As a result, output has risen rapidly, quality has improved quickly and the consumption of coal, electricity and raw and other materials has dropped rapidly. But certain leaders do not dare promote such systems. Why do they lack the courage to practice what practice has repeatedly proved to be correct? The reason is that the remnant poison of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" has not been eliminated. They do not dare seek truth from facts and proceed from reality. They are afraid of being criticized for "putting cash awards in command" by introducing the system of combining spiritual encouragement with material incentives. They are afraid of being criticized for "following the same old capitalist road" by carrying out the socialist principle of distribution according to one's work. If we refrain from practicing what cannot be found in the "books" and what is not within the narrow confines of "conventions" on the new Long March,

then we will be hesitant and indecisive and find every step ahead a laborious effort. Therefore, without thoroughly criticizing Lin Piao and the "gang of four" for having basically reversed the relations between theory and practice, and without insisting on practice as the only yardstick of truth, we cannot do much about emancipating our minds, we cannot show great courage, we cannot find many ways out and we cannot move ahead at a very quick pace. Only by being thorough in exposure and penetrating in criticism can we be thorough in destroying what should be destroyed and correct in promoting what should be promoted. And only thus can we remove ideological obstacles and accelerate the pace of achieving the four modernizations.

The current discussions being initiated about practice being the only yardstick of truth are of great significance in raising high the great banner of Chairman Mao and thoroughly and accurately mastering systematic Mao Tsetung Thought, turning chaos into order and eliminating the remnant poison and influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," and thoroughly carrying out the line of the 11th national party congress and realizing the general task of the new period. We must remember that as early as 40 years ago Chairman Mao led the whole party to systematically repudiate Wang Ming's opportunist line politically and to thoroughly criticize theoretically Wang Ming's version of subjective idealism, which treated practice lightly and departed from practice. Chairman Mao personally summed up experiences and lessons from this struggle and wrote a series of immortal works, such as "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "On Practice," "On Contradiction," and so forth, thus laying an ideological and theoretical foundation for achieving victory in the Chinese revolution. Currently Chairman Hua is leading us on a new Long March. Under the leadership of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, we must carry forward the style of linking theory with practice in study, assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, thoroughly repudiate the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" politically, ideologically and theoretically and take fundamental measures to turn chaos into order. Thus, under new historical conditions we can apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method and use our heads in summing up past experiences, analyzing new historical conditions and studying actual problems, and we can take especially firm and effective measures to speed up economic development.

The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua is a typical example of combining theory with practice. Since we entered a new historical period of development after the smashing of the "gang of four," Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee have raised high the great banner of Chairman Mao, carried out the behests of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and integrated Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with new historical conditions. They have formulated the line of the 11th national party congress, defined the general task of the new period, formulated a series of guidelines and policies geared to new conditions, achieved a remarkable victory in grasping the key link and running the country well and enabled

the effort to achieve the four modernizations to get off to a good start. We must resolutely respond to Chairman Hua's call, further emancipate our minds, stir up our revolutionary spirit, dare to think, to speak and to act, make the most of the current very favorable opportunity, and assiduously study and doggedly fight in an effort to build Shanghai into an industrially advanced and scientific and technical base!

This semester the party school of the Shanghai municipal party committee has run two classes: one is a reading class for cadres involving a study period of half a year. Those comrades who have participated are basic-level leadership cadres from the forefront of struggle. They are mostly 30 to 50 years old and are in the prime of life and capable of doing more for the party and the people. Another is a training class for theory publicity cadres involving a study period of 1 year. The participating comrades are cadres devoted to theory publicity work. At a time when we are feverishly fighting for an accelerated pace in achieving the four modernizations, the transfer of comrades to study at the party school has meant quite a big decision on the part of the municipal party committee. It is hoped that everyone will make the most of this opportunity and determine to strive to accomplish the study assignments by following the study plans formulated by the party school. Apart from carrying out the educational guideline of integrating theory with practice and carrying forward the style of integrating theory with practice in study, as mentioned above, we must pay attention to the following few points in study:

1. We must insist on paying primary attention to self-study and to the study of written works. This is laying a foundation for the proper study of theory. The party school must provide some guidance, but primarily one should devote oneself to reading, occupy oneself with pondering problems and strive to grasp a subject on one's own. Only by studying hard can one really grasp the spiritual essence of a given work, master systematic Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and its fundamental principles and raise one's ability to distinguish between genuine and false Marxism.
2. We must persist in exposing and criticizing Lin Piao and the "gang of four." By applying the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought we must penetratingly expose and criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and reactionary thinking of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," expose their reactionary nature as pseudoleftists but real rightists, make things clearer about right and wrong in thinking, theory and the line reversed by them, solve various actual problems encountered in the process of realizing the general task of the new period, sum up individual experiences and lessons in line struggle and promote the transformation of the world outlook.
3. We must give full play to democracy and carry out the guideline of letting all schools of thought contend. In studying theory we should create a lively atmosphere of speaking one's mind and discussing things

democratically. In the past, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" willfully trampled upon democracy in the party and democracy among the people and set up everywhere "iron and steel works" and "labels factories," finding every excuse to interpret a difference of opinion in a theoretical discussion as a struggle between two classes and two lines and attaching "antiparty, antisocialist and anti-Mao Tsetung Thought" labels to people. As a result, many comrades did not dare speak their minds and discuss problems. This seriously interfered with an exchange of views. We must resolutely do away with such evil practices as finding fault, attaching labels and wielding the club promoted by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." In life within the party and in the whole society we must energetically promote and carry forward the democratic spirit, so that the idea of socialist democracy can be universally and firmly fostered in people's minds. We must strive to create a lively political situation that combines centralism with democracy, discipline with freedom and unified will with personal ease of mind, and we must arouse the enthusiasm of the masses of cadres and people to the fullest. We must resolutely practice "three don'ts" and refrain from finding fault, attaching labels and wielding the club. If we do not have the same view in study, we can speak our minds, say what we think, put forward viewpoints, discuss things democratically and seek a gradual unification of awareness through study and discussion. If we still think differently, we can continue to argue it out. In no way should we attach labels to each other. One should be allowed to disagree, and any point of disagreement may be ironed out through a continuous process of study.

4. We must strengthen party spirit and improve the style of work. In a decision on the proper operation of party schools at various levels, the party Central Committee said: "We must enable the students of every semester to show marked progress and a marked improvement in party spirit and style of work after their graduation and return to work." This is an important indication of whether a party school is run well or not. We must uphold it well. Our party has been able to achieve victory because, aside from a correct line based on the principle of unifying Marxist theory and concrete revolutionary practice, we have a whole set of Marxist ideological styles and work styles to insure the thorough implementation of the correct line. In recent years, due to serious interference and sabotage by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," bad styles marked by subjectivism, sectarianism, bureaucratism, deception, arrogance and self-conceit, coercion and the seeking of special privileges have grown seriously. This is a great obstacle to an accelerated pace in achieving the four modernizations. In study we must seriously uphold the spirit of rectification, carry forward the party's fine traditions and style, consciously rectify various bad styles, strengthen organization and discipline, really achieve marked progress and a marked improvement in party spirit and the style of work, and show a new mental outlook in ushering in the new militant task of accelerating the pace of modernization.

[RED FLAG footnote: Speech at a conference on 3 November 1978 marking the opening of the second term of the party school of the Shanghai municipal party committee.]

UPHOLD WHAT IS RIGHT: CORRECT WHAT IS WRONG

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 2 Dec 78 pp 22-23

[Article by An Ping-sheng [1344 1627 3932]]

[Text] This October I went to the Wenshan Chuang and Miao Nationalities Autonomous Chou on a study tour and heard work reports from the CCP committee of the chou, the Chiupei County CCP Committee and some commune CCP committees. Judging from the conditions I found, I deeply realized that we should always proceed from actual conditions in all our work and seek truth from facts. We must courageously hold fast to things which practice proves to be correct and boldly correct things which practice proves to be wrong. Seeking truth from facts, standing up for the truth and correcting mistakes are the basic guarantees for all our successes.

Since the toppling of the "gang of four," both the political situation and the economic situation in Wenshan Chou have been excellent. Bumper harvests have been scored by all eight counties in the chou this year. Total grain output has shown an increase of 20 percent over last year and more than 10 percent over the past peak annual output. Full of joy over the bumper harvest, the cadres and people of various nationalities are carefully planting subsidiary spring crops, going in for capital construction on farms and communes and production team-run enterprises in a big way, and battling for a still better harvest next year. Practice is the only criterion of truth. The two kinds of practice in Wenshan Chou before and after the toppling of the "gang of four" are vividly different. When the "gang of four" and their remnant followers ran wild, they pushed the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and turned all the counties in the chou into an utter mess. Industrial and agricultural production slipped backward, grain production fell and the people's livelihood was in dire straits. After the toppling of the "gang of four," party committees at various levels and the people of various nationalities in Wenshan Chou resolutely implemented the line of the 11th CCP Congress and the series of guidelines and principles of the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. They resolutely smashed the bourgeois factional setup, strengthened leading bodies at various levels, integrated criticism of the "gang of four" with exposure and

criticism of Lin Piao and corrected the enormous number of unjust, false and wrong cases trumped up by them. They conscientiously implemented the party's various economic policies for the countryside, especially the policy of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." In production techniques, proceeding from actual local conditions and adopting more realistic measures, they were able to mobilize the socialist enthusiasm of the masses and scored a bumper harvest this year. Through their personal experience the people of various nationalities have deeply realized that the counterrevolutionary revisionist line pushed by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" was a reactionary line restricting and destroying the development of productivity and a line that would lead to the destruction of the nation and the party. Only the line of the 11th CCP Congress and the series of guidelines and policies of the party are a line for emancipating and promoting the great development of productivity and the correct line that will lead us from success to still greater success.

We must always adhere to this basic Marxist principle that practice is the only criterion of truth in all our work. Our policies, guiding principles, plans, measures and methods, including instructions, talks and articles, all come from social practice. We must strive to correctly reflect the law in objective things. This is the first leap in cognition. However, whether or not these policies, guiding principles, instructions and talks are correct must still be returned to practice and be tested by the masses in their millions. There will be another leap after the test in practice, and this will be the second leap in cognition. Moreover, this second leap is of greater significance. Chairman Mao during his lifetime on many occasions scientifically discussed these two leaps in cognition, and this was the important development of Marxist philosophy made by Chairman Mao.

Why must we energetically advocate such things as making investigations and study, learning from the masses, giving play to democracy and letting the masses have their say? They are for the sake of centralizing the correct views of the masses, shaping them by means of polishing and arranging them into policies, guiding the party's principles and measures and again translating these policies, guiding principles and measures into practical actions by the masses. This is the scientific method of leadership from the masses to the masses. Why are our party committees at various levels busy all the time? Primarily it is to work toward this end. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought not only will enable us to understand the past and the present but also will enable us to foresee the future. Without scientific foresight there can be no correct leadership. All knowledge and subjective things must go through the test of objective practice. Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao always advocated upholding this reflective principle of Marxist materialism that practice comes first. To really succeed in enabling our knowledge to correspond with objective reality so that we can achieve anticipated success in our undertakings is extremely arduous and complicated work, and the greatest effort and diligent labor are required. Even if we succeed in doing so, we frequently

cannot avoid making mistakes. Therefore, we must always be prepared to uphold the truth and correct mistakes for the benefit of the people. A thoroughgoing materialist is fearless, because he is convinced not only of the justice and correctness of his cause but also of the support of the masses. We must courageously hold fast to things proved by practice to be correct and boldly correct things proved by practice to be wrong. Not everyone can engage in criticism and self-criticism as do we communists. Only advanced elements with proletarian thought free from selfish ideas can really succeed. Some people are afraid to correct mistakes and claim that this will affect the party's prestige. This is incorrect and not the attitude of a communist. Things that are wrong exist objectively. They are still there even if one does not admit them. If one does not correct them, they will continue to harm the revolutionary cause of the people. The reason our party enjoys high prestige among the people is that all its activities are in the interest of the people, and the only criterion for determining whether the things it has done for the people are good or bad is the practice of the masses in their millions. Boldness in correcting mistakes will not reduce but, on the contrary, will greatly enhance the party's prestige. The practice of Wenshan Chou after the toppling of the "gang of four" is proof of this. Lin Piao, the "gang of four" and their remnant followers engineered a great number of unjust, false and wrong cases involving many cadres and people. The party committees at various levels in Wenshan Chou are determined to correct these cases and rehabilitate the persons involved one by one. Consequently, the enthusiasm of the cadres and masses has been brought into play, unity among various nationalities has been strengthened, and the prestige of the party among the people has been greatly enhanced. The resolute implementation by party committees at various levels in Wenshan Chou of the two documents on the Hsiang Hsiang experience and the Hsun-i report transmitted by Chairman Hua and the CCP Central Committee has played a similar vital role in correcting "local policies" detrimental to the people's interests and actions which violate law and discipline. From this it can be seen that we communists should resolutely and unequivocally correct mistakes. The sooner mistakes are corrected, the more vivid the banner of truth will become and the higher the party's prestige will rise.

At present a debate on practice as the only criterion of truth has been launched in the press. This is not only of great theoretical significance but also of great practical significance. It involves such major issues as whether or not we can really raise high the great banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," resolutely implement the line of the 11th CCP Congress and speed up the pace of the "four modernizations." Chairman Hua has called on us to "further emancipate our minds, be bolder, devise more measures and quicken our steps." Emancipating our minds is the key link. We must have the courage to think and act. Only by emancipating our minds can we be bolder, devise more measures and quicken our steps. At present our party is faced with many new problems. We must analyze the new conditions, sum up new experiences, put forward new tasks and solve

new problems. This is required to speed up the realization of the four modernizations, and it is also the strong aspiration of people throughout the country. So long as we proceed from reality in all our work, seek truth from facts and uphold practice as the only criterion of truth, the behests of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou regarding China's four modernizations will certainly be realized. The new Long March on which people throughout the country have embarked under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua is bound to successfully achieve its anticipated goal.

EMANCIPATING THE MIND IS A MIGHTY CURRENT OF THE TIMES

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[Article by Jen Chung-i [0117 0112 1138]]

[Text] In the new Long March to accomplish the general task for the new period, wise leader Chairman Hua issued this call: "We must emancipate our minds, be bolder, devise more measures and quicken our steps." During his recent inspection tour in Liaoning, Vice Chairman Teng also repeatedly instructed us to emancipate our minds, use our brains, seek truth from facts and think independently. In the course of work we have deeply come to realize the immense practical meaning and far-reaching significance of these important directives issued by Chairman Hua and Vice Chairman Teng. From what we can see in Liaoning, the consequences brought about by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their sworn followers, who poisoned and fettered people's minds in these past years, are extremely serious. The situation is so grave that the problem of eliminating lingering fear is encountered in every sphere, every item of work and every step forward. The need to emancipate the mind is badly felt everywhere. Practice in the 2 years and more since the smashing of the "gang of four" shows that every time we emancipated our minds we were able to push our work a step further. The quicker we emancipated our minds, the bigger was our stride forward. People have come to understand more and more clearly that without the emancipation of the mind it is impossible to keep abreast of the new situation in the new period of socialist revolution and construction and to realize the four modernizations. Under the call and inspiration of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, emancipation of the mind has become an irresistible historical trend. Many of the things we dared not even think about last year were not only thought about but actually carried out this year. Even things we dared not think about yesterday are contemplated today. Now Chairman Hua calls on us to "further emancipate our minds." This really represents the aspirations of the masses, reflects the needs of the times and points out the historical trend.

Engels pointed out in his discussion on the French and German revolutions in the 18th and 19th centuries that the philosophic revolution always heralded the political revolution. Lenin also said: "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." ("What Is To Be Done?," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 241) Philosophy and theory which represent the interests of the progressive class can give rise to revolution, because they can smash the old ideological shackles, emancipate people's minds, awaken the masses and arm the masses.

As can be seen in history, every major leap forward in social development was heralded by a great emancipation of the mind. The well-known Renaissance was a salient case in point. After the dark Middle Ages, the emergence and development of capitalism was indeed a forward leap in history. "The bourgeoisie, during its rule of a scant 100 years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together." (Marx and Engels: "Manifesto of the Communist Party," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 256) This forward leap in history was heralded by the great Renaissance. Engels described the Renaissance in the 15th century as "the greatest progressive revolution that mankind had so far experienced." ("Dialectics of Nature," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 445) In a sense the Renaissance was an ideological emancipation movement, because it broke down ecclesiastical authority and all kinds of feudal fetishes which had fettered people's minds for a long time; it emancipated people from the ideological confines of theology and paved the way for the development of modern science and culture and the capitalist system.

The epoch-making October Revolution in Russia and the birth of the first socialist state were heralded by the emergence and spread of Marxism. Marxism brought the most thorough ideological emancipation to the proletariat and the laboring people and enabled them to think freely. As Lenin pointed out: "Marx' historical materialism was the greatest achievement of scientific thought. The chaos and arbitrariness that had previously reigned in the views on history and politics gave way to a strikingly integral and harmonious scientific theory." ("The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 443) Without this scientific world outlook, which never compromises with blind faith, there can be no proletarian revolution.

The "May 4th" Movement of 1919 in modern Chinese history was also a great ideological emancipation movement and a cultural revolutionary movement. Chairman Mao said: "The cultural revolution ushered in by the 'May 4th' Movement was uncompromising in its opposition to feudal culture; there had never been such a great and thoroughgoing cultural revolution since the dawn of Chinese history." ("On New Democracy") The "May 4th" Movement opposed feudal culture, feudal propriety and feudal superstitions which fettered people's minds. It promoted science and democracy, expedited the

spread of Marxism-Leninism in China, paved the way for the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 both in ideology and in the matter of cadres, and fundamentally changed the outlook of the Chinese democratic revolution.

In the history of our party, the opportunism and dogmatism represented by Wang Ming had fettered people's minds for a long time. Wang Ming and his ilk advocated the mechanical application of readymade Marxist-Leninist phrases and formulas and Soviet experiences but opposed the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practices of the Chinese revolution. This inflicted serious losses on the revolution. After Comrade Mao Tsetung established leadership over the entire party, the Chinese revolution made a fundamental turn. Particularly after the Yen-an rectification movement, Comrade Mao Tsetung further armed the whole party with his teachings on combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practices of the Chinese revolution, seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality in everything, thus emancipating people's minds from the shackles of opportunism, dogmatism and book worship. Thenceforth the Chinese revolution developed swiftly and vigorously, culminating in the complete overthrow of the three great mountains which weighed on the backs of the Chinese people--imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism--and the founding of a socialist new China.

During the Ching Ming Festival in 1976, the Tienanmen incident of great historic significance broke out when the masses honored in deep grief the memory of our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and angrily denounced the evil "gang of four." In this heroic and moving struggle the masses broke the ideological fetters imposed by the "gang of four," defied fascist terror, boldly spoke the truth, held high the militant torch of opposition to the "gang of four" and wrote an immortal chapter in history. As far as emancipation of the mind is concerned, the Tienanmen incident was also the starting point of a great ideological emancipation process which continues to this day, with the smashing of the spiritual shackles imposed by the "gang of four" as the main task. Six months after the outbreak of the Tienanmen incident, wise leader Chairman Hua carried out Chairman Mao's behest and led the whole party to smash the nation's scourge, the "gang of four," with a single blow. This was a great revolutionary turning point in Chinese history and marked the beginning of a new historic period in our socialist revolution and construction.

Ideological emancipation can produce a great force, because every great emancipation of the mind in history had solid class, material and mass bases and reflected an inexorable historical trend. The outbreak of an ideological movement is the product of the development of social productive forces at a given stage and can always be explained by the social practices at that time. Without a certain degree of development in the capitalist mode of production there could not have been a Renaissance. The "May 4th" Movement of 1919 could never have taken place in China 200 years ago. The Tienanmen incident, too, could only break out under the

specific historical conditions of 1976. As Marx pointed out: "Mankind inevitably sets itself only such tasks as it can solve, since closer examination will always show that the task itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution are already present or at least in the process of formation." ("Preface to 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,'" "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 83) Viewed historically, it was the rising and progressive classes and forces that promoted and led the emancipation of the mind, and it was the decadent and reactionary classes and forces that opposed and obstructed the emancipation of the mind. The proletariat is the only class that presses for the emancipation of all mankind and is therefore the only class that advocates the complete emancipation of the mind. "The more science proceeds in a ruthless and unbiased way, the more it finds itself in harmony with the interests and aspirations of the workers." ("Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 254) The fact that Lin Piao and the "gang of four" vigorously imposed prohibitions and pursued the policy of making people ignorant shows that what they represented were the most reactionary of all feudal and fascist dregs. Having smashed the "gang of four," people have greatly emancipated their minds. This is a great historic victory for the Chinese proletariat. From this victory we can see the dawn of socialist modernization.

II

We advocate emancipation of the mind. To this end we must first ascertain what emancipation of the mind is all about.

As early as in 1958 Chairman Mao pointed out the need to do away with fetishes and superstitions and emancipate the mind. Greatly inspired by this teaching of Chairman Mao's, the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country have redoubled their confidence in victory and have heroically and determinedly won victory after victory in international and domestic class struggles and in socialist revolution and construction. Chairman Mao spoke of emancipating the mind and doing away with fetishes and superstitions in the same breath. Thus, emancipation of the mind cannot be divorced from the scientific approach of seeking truth from facts. However, practice over the years tells us that people have vastly different ideas about emancipation of the mind.

Some people thought that emancipation of the mind meant boldness in thinking. They even advocated groundless fancy in defiance of objective reality and science. We have seen and experienced numerous cases like this over the years. Things were particularly confusing when Lin Piao and the "gang of four" practiced pseudoleftism.

Some people openly opposed science. That sworn follower of the "gang of four" in Liaoning once tried to make a "perpetual motion machine." Anyone with an elementary knowledge of science knows that science proved long ago

that the concept of a "perpetual motion machine" is incompatible with the law of conservation of energy and is impossible. However, that sworn follower of the "gang of four" claimed that he had done away with fetishes and superstitions and emancipated his mind, and he accused those who disagreed with him of following the beaten track.

Some people despised knowledge and slighted the experts. This was an aftermath of the "gang of four's" criticism of "the line of relying solely on experts" and "the stinking ninth category." In these past years a strange opinion took hold among the people. It seemed that it was sinful to acquire knowledge and glorious to remain an illiterate. Some responsible cadres even boasted to others: "I'm a rustic and I can't read." They were full of arrogance every time they said this. Some even ranted: "I don't trust blindly in those stinking intellectuals. The Chinese abacus can do all calculations, so why do we have to bother about x plus y? I think it's useless." This sounds ridiculous, but it is truly the case. Some believed that so long as they are bold in thinking and action they can create any miracle even "without technology and charts." To them, laymen were men of consequence and experts were conservative "good-for-nothings."

Some people were blinded by their presumptuous conceit and indiscriminately rejected foreign things. We believe that to emancipate our minds we must remove all lingering fears and boldly adopt advanced foreign techniques. However, some people argued that to do this we must look down on foreign things and simply ignore the science and technology of foreigners. They abused everything foreign to show that they had done away with "blind faith." They adopted an attitude of nonrecognition toward the advanced science and technology of other countries and accused those who recognized and learned from advanced foreign technology of "worshipping foreign things and fawning on foreigners." They knew nothing about how things stood in the world but groundlessly bragged that they had surpassed advanced world levels in this respect and "outstripped the foreigners" in that respect.

Some people disregarded the actual conditions and thought that they could achieve anything as long as they thought and acted boldly. They believed that, "provided there is soaring enthusiasm, output can be doubled month after month," "output of the land is determined by man's boldness in action," and so on and so forth.

Practice shows that these ways of "emancipating the mind" run counter to the objective law and are bound to result in the formation of such bad habits as exaggeration, boasting, lying and blind direction. Should we not always bear this historical lesson in mind?

The kind of bold thinking we need to achieve modernization is decidedly not wild fancies and rash actions as described above. To truly emancipate our minds we must greatly carry forward the revolutionary and truth-seeking

spirit of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, boldly break the ideological shackles and prohibitions imposed by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," boldly smash the fetters of outdated rules and conventions, boldly seek truth from facts and boldly ascertain the true color and objective law of things. What we must do is not to "emancipate" our minds from science but adapt our minds to science.

III

Emancipation of the mind is not an easy job. It involves risks. In the past, Copernicus, Bruno, Galileo and others were ruthlessly persecuted by the reactionary ecclesiastical forces for upholding the truth and defending science. Some were even burned to death by religious order. Loudly chanting "The Internationale," the revolutionary predecessors of the proletariat carried out extremely hard and bitter struggles to "break the ideological shackles" and "fight for truth." Many of them laid down their lives. When Lin Piao and the "gang of four" ran amuck, many heroic and dauntless revolutionary fighters were ruthlessly suppressed and even persecuted to death for stating the truth. Now that Lin Piao and the "gang of four" as well as the ideological shackles imposed by them have all been smashed, we can completely emancipate our minds under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. However, some comrades still have lingering fears. This ought not to be. It does not mean that from now on there will no longer be people who use the big stick and there will not be risks in any localities or units. What we mean is that under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua the use of the big stick will not become the main trend. What is more, a communist fighter should not be afraid of risks. Our party and state need a large number of fighters who will defy all risks to heroically and dauntlessly fight for the truth. It is only with people like these that our party, state and nation can have a bright future.

From what we have encountered in actual work we can see that we are prevented from emancipating our minds not only because of lingering fears but also because of muddled ideas, backward habits and other shortcomings.

First, people tend to copy from "books" and dare not break into the forbidden areas. This is an evil consequence of the deification of our leader and the doctrinization of Mao Tsetung Thought by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," who made a show of "holding high" out of counterrevolutionary motives. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were actually ferocious enemies of Mao Tsetung Thought. However, feigning a "most loyal" posture, they preached a disguised form of religious fetishism with an ulterior purpose and vigorously publicized "genius," "talent," "summit" and "every sentence is truth." They wanted people to show "boundless faith and boundless esteem" and "do as they are told whether or not they understand." These, they said, must be imprinted in our minds and "fused into our blood" and must dominate not only our actions but also "every nerve fiber." Many people are deeply poisoned by what Lin Piao and the "gang

of four" taught in these past years. To this day some people still do not know what "holding high" truly means. They refuse to recognize practice as the only criterion for testing truth and still engage in book worship, insisting that what the book says cannot be altered and what the book does not say should not be said. They believe that we can only repeat what has been said in the past, although the time, the place and the conditions have all changed. For example, some work methods are found impractical and need to be reformed. However, some people argue that these methods have been affirmed in the past, are the general orientation and involve the question of holding high the banner. To bring about great order across the land and achieve rapid progress, we also need to formulate new policies and restore certain old ones which are proved effective. However, some people object to this on the ground that this is inconsistent with a certain sentence or has been criticized in the past. They believe that "we should not pick up things which have been criticized during the Cultural Revolution." These erroneous ideas and muddled viewpoints are the most prominent problems hindering the emancipation of our minds at present.

Second, people are tied by outdated rules and regulations. Some of these outdated rules and regulations stem from backward small production, and some stem from the pernicious influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Of course, the fallacies of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were related to the feudal and backward mode of production. After more than 10 years of propaganda and implementation, the fake left but real right fallacies of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" have unknowingly become the method of thinking and accepted standard for some people. When they talked, they used either the Lin-style language or the "gang of four's" tone; when they conducted meetings or wrote articles, they followed the stereotyped format of Lin Piao and the "gang of four." This had become their habit. Although Lin Piao and the "gang of four" have now been discredited, some people cannot free themselves from conventions formed in the past decade and cannot jump out of their original circles. On the matter of grasping policies, they cannot change their practice because they were used to being "left." They think it is safer to be "left" and dare not take a step forward to implement the party's correct policies of "to each according to his work," giving material rewards and giving the green light to legitimate domestic sideline production and rural fairs. On the matter of arranging the masses' livelihood, they cannot tolerate affluence because they were used to being poor. Some comrades "panic" when the workers and peasants earn more and want to impose restrictions for fear that this will "engender capitalism." On the matter of work method, they cannot do things in a simple way because they were used to trivialities. A simple matter becomes a long-drawn-out war, and efficiency is low because everything has to go through proper channels and has to be approved and signed by numerous "officials." They think this means "acting in accordance with instructions" and is an inviolable principle. On the matter of organizational structure, they cannot tolerate streamlining because they were used to overstuffed organizations. For example, in planning the organizational

structure of a factory they want to include departments, offices and sections. They cannot jump out of this framework. We have numerous overstaffed organizations, but we have never heard of any unit voluntarily requesting permission for a reduction in force. All these are deep-rooted old habits formed through the years. To some comrades it is inconceivable not to have these practices. They would not know what to do without the old rules. Lenin once pointed out: Some people are "very much afraid of violating the commonly practiced but outdated Soviet rules and regulations." ("A Summing-up of the Moscow Party Week and Our Task," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 30, p 55) This fear of violating outdated rules and regulations also poses a major obstacle to the emancipation of our minds and the speeding up of modernization.

Third, people tend to be poorly informed and ignorant. Some of our comrades are poor in studying and have not seen or heard much. Because of their blind obstinacy there are many things they do not know and therefore cannot understand. For example, some people think that many of the research endeavors in natural science, particularly the study of basic theory, are meaningless. Even manmade satellites were considered meaningless when they were first made. People with meager and limited knowledge also get overexcited easily. For example, some people denounce the national costumes of other countries as "outlandish" because they are different from ours. Cadres of some units regard "The Dream of the Red Chamber," "The West Chamber" and works by Shakespeare as evil and put a ban on them. Some comrades with rigid and conservative viewpoints regard the acknowledged fine works of art of other nationalities as "vulgar" and fear them mortally. They particularly do not want to let the masses come into contact with these things. People with limited knowledge get overexcited easily, and this overexcitement prevents them from broadening their field of vision. This is a malignant cycle that fetters people's minds.

We should not allow this to continue. Ignorance spells backwardness, and rigid thinking inevitably hinders the emancipation of the productive forces. We can never achieve socialist modernization if we follow the practices of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and proceed from feudal and handicraft-type viewpoints in thinking. To achieve modernization we must have modern thinking. Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee called on us to seek truth from facts and emancipate our minds. This, I understand, means that we should emancipate ourselves from the spiritual shackles imposed by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and from backward and outdated rules and regulations. Our minds must be adapted to the needs of socialist modernization and must keep up with the pace of the times. To this end we must get at the root of problems, eliminate chaos, restore order and give people the necessary enlightenment in theory and in thinking.

First, and most important of all, we must study and have a comprehensive and accurate grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a system

and thoroughly assimilate the revolutionary and truth-seeking spirit of Marxism. Marxism is for the emancipation of the mind, but Lin Piao and the "gang of four" vainly tried to distort it as something fettering people's thinking. Marxism is revolutionary and critical and does not compromise with biased and superstitious ideas, but Lin Piao and the "gang of four" turned it into a rigid dogma and a disguised form of religious fetishism. Marxism does not extend recognition to idols, but Lin Piao and the "gang of four" idolized the teacher who created and developed this teaching. Marxism does not recognize the existence of ultimate truth but "maintains that human knowledge, which provides us with a reflection of eternally developing matter, is relative." ("The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 442) However, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" described Mao Tsetung Thought as ultimate truth, the "summit" and "one sentence equals ten thousand"--in short, something which absolutely cannot be developed. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought maintains that the truth of human knowledge can only be tested by means of practice; "there is no other way of testing truth." (Mao Tsetung, "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?") It stresses the need to seek truth from facts, proceed from reality in everything and combine theory with practice. However, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" described a few isolated conclusions and phrases as "established principles" which do not have to be tested by practice or combined with concrete practices and which can only be applied mechanically. Thus, if we thoroughly criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four" for their distortion of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, restore Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to its true color and have a comprehensive and accurate grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a system, we definitely can crush all spiritual shackles and restrictions imposed by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." This is no doubt the most radical emancipation of the mind.

To emancipate our minds and refrain from rigid thinking we also must gear ourselves to the needs of practice and identify ourselves with the masses at all times. Marx said: "Social life is essentially practical. All mysteries which lead theory astray into mysticism find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice." ("Theses on Feuerbach," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 18) In the final analysis, the three great revolutionary practices, which are deepening with each passing day, are the fundamental ways for man to know the world and overcome ignorance and superstition. Superstitions are estranged from this mundane world; science can only originate from practice. Practice is higher than theory and is richer and more variegated than theory. Lenin quoted Goethe as saying: "Theory, my friend, is gray, but green is the eternal tree of life." ("How To Organize Competition?," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 398) Those who live in isolation from life have an impoverished mind and love to stick to outdated ideas. Only those who actively plunge themselves into the three great revolutionary practices can master the correct ideas and theories which guide our revolutionary practice and refrain from rigid thinking.

What we mean by practice is the social practice of the millions and millions of revolutionary masses. Thus, respecting practice means respecting the masses. Only those who maintain close contact with the masses, know the pulses of the masses and understand the will of the people are broadminded, bold in thinking and less susceptible to prejudice. If our leading cadres stay in the office all year long and estrange themselves from the masses, they will easily become narrowminded and rigid in thinking. We often hear of lingering fear these days. Actually, this kind of lingering fear exists mainly among the cadres. The masses do not have lingering fear. The masses began to cherish an implacable hatred for the "gang of four's" perverted fallacies long ago. They always wholeheartedly support and warmly welcome the wise decisions made by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. Practice over the past 2 years shows that it is often after repeated pushes or even shoves by the masses that comrades with lingering fear gradually emancipate their minds.

To emancipate our minds we must also broaden our field of vision and strive to see more, hear more, study more, know more and stop being ignorant. If we have seen little, we are bound to find many things strange. Some of our comrades cannot think boldly because their knowledge is too limited. They know nothing about the past or how things stand in the contemporary world. Some who are a little better know something about the history of the Tang, Sung, Yuan, Ming and Ching dynasties. However, they know very little or nothing about today's science and culture and other modern things. If we do not change this situation, how can we think boldly? If we insist on "emancipating our minds" on the basis of ignorance, we can only come up with unscientific wild fancies. Chairman Mao taught us: "Conditions are changing all the time, and to adapt one's thinking to the new conditions one must study. Even those who have a better grasp of Marxism and are comparatively firm in their proletarian stand have to go on studying, have to absorb what is new and study new problems." ("Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work") Chairman Mao's teaching has deep meaning. Indeed, even a learned man with outstanding thoughts will become backward if he shuts his eyes and stops his ears for a long time. Engels pointed out in his comment on the great German materialist philosopher Feuerbach that the latter was unable to overcome common philosophical prejudices because his materialism stopped abruptly before the social and historical domains. Why? According to Engels, this was chiefly because Feuerbach, who lived in rural solitude, could not have the social intercourse he needed and could not produce thoughts in friendly and hostile encounters with men of his caliber. It can thus be seen that a necessary requirement for bold thinking and progress is to see and hear more and have wider contacts. Chairman Hua repeatedly instructed that leading comrades should go out and see the world whenever they have the chance. This is a wise policy. Facts have proved that those who have gone outside to see the world can think more boldly than before. If our cadres and masses know nothing or very little about the world, how can we achieve the four modernizations, enter the international markets and have more intercourse with foreign countries?

However, since very few people have the chance to visit other countries, the majority can only try to understand the situation and increase their knowledge through books, movies, television and other indirect means. As Chairman Mao pointed out: "Most of our knowledge comes from indirect experience." ("On Practice") Some comrades worry that the masses will be poisoned if they are allowed to come into contact with foreign things and see foreign movies. This worry itself shows that they have not emancipated their minds. First, not all foreign things are poisonous. In fact, many of them are useful and are worth learning from. Second, even if they are poisonous, we should not be afraid of letting the masses come into contact with them. Chairman Mao always opposed the policy of prohibiting people from coming into contact with negative things, for "it is a dangerous policy" and "it will lead to mental deterioration, one-track minds and unpreparedness to face the world and meet challenges." ("Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees") Chairman Hua also incisively explained this view in his government work report to the Fifth NPC. However, some comrades believe otherwise. They think that it is dangerous to let the masses come into contact with negative things, even things with shortcomings. It seems that the only safe thing to do is to shut the masses in and give them nothing but "the purest" things that have been selected for them. Obviously this viewpoint is inconsistent with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and material dialectics. To further emancipate the minds of the cadres and masses and adapt their thinking to the needs of modernization, it is necessary to further eliminate the pernicious influence of the cultural prohibitions and the policy of making people ignorant pursued by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and greatly raise the scientific and cultural levels of the entire nation in accordance with Chairman Hua's instruction.

To emancipate people's minds it is also necessary to safeguard democracy and the legal system. We must insure full democracy inside and outside the party, adhere to the policy of "don't practice revisionism, don't split and don't intrigue and conspire" and create "a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness." ("The Situation in the Summer of 1957") This is the prerequisite for doing away with fetishes and superstitions and emancipating the mind. We should draw, by means of law, a definite and unequivocal demarcation between the enemy and ourselves, so that no one can brand others as counterrevolutionaries at will. In the past, Lin Piao, the "gang of four" and their sworn follower in Liaoning were capricious and indefinite about this demarcation. People who opposed Lin Piao, the "gang of four" and their sworn follower in Liaoning, even those who boldly expressed their disagreement with the views of a particular henchman or the "Liang Hsiao" writing group, were branded as counterrevolutionaries. Under this kind of fascist reign, many people not only dared not mention but dared not even think about things prohibited by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Their minds were fettered. This painful historical lesson tells us that

socialism cannot live without democracy and legality. Emancipation of the mind and modernization are impossible without democracy and legality. In fact, neither can be dispensed with. Legality without democracy is the synonym of despotic dictatorship. Likewise, "democracy" without legality can become fascism. For example, the kind of "democracy" of beating, smashing and looting, fabricating political charges and willfully doing bodily harm to others promoted by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in fact amounted to fascist terror, the trampling of people's democratic rights and the complete negation of socialist democracy. Historical experience shows that only when there is a sound socialist legal system and socialist democracy can we better consolidate the socialist system and protect people's rights, including the right to emancipate their minds.

As our great socialist country rapidly advances toward the four modernizations and as the scientific and cultural levels of the whole nation keep rising day by day, ignorance, backwardness and superstitions are bound to lose their grounds for existence. The further emancipation of minds is an inexorable and irresistible historical trend. Leading comrades of our party at all levels should consciously promote and lead this process of ideological emancipation instead of holding it back. Let us warmly respond to and actively put into practice this call made by wise leader Chairman Hua: We must further emancipate our minds, be bolder, devise more measures and quicken our steps.

GREATNESS RESIDES IN BEING ORDINARY--COMMEMORATING THE 92D ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF CHU TE, THE GREAT PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 2 Dec 78 pp 31-35

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

[Text] The 1st day of December 1886 was the date of birth of our sincerely beloved Comrade Chu Te, the great revolutionary warrior and proletarian revolutionary of the Chinese people. When the soldiers and civilians of the entire nation, with a feeling of reverence, commemorate the 92d anniversary of his birth, we recall a passage in the letter from a comrade congratulating him on his birthday in 1939:

"I remember that I first saw you in a place more than 100 li from my home, and I found you, commander in chief of the Red Army, a very ordinary man, like the peasants. At the time I was rather puzzled, but actually it was the special characteristic of your greatness."

Greatness resides in being ordinary--it was a bright and clear special characteristic of our revered and beloved Comrade Chu Te, universally admired by the hundreds of millions of people, and the concentrated manifestation of his noble virtues and superior style.

Commander in Chief of the Entire Army and an Ordinary Soldier

For half a century, for the purpose of building a people's army, resisting domestic and foreign class enemies and defending the socialist revolution and construction, Comrade Chu Te, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, established great merits and made tremendous achievements. The "1 August" Nanchang Uprising led by him and Comrade Chou En-lai fired the first shot at the Kuomintang reactionaries. Leading the uprising army, he successfully joined forces with Chairman Mao in the Chingkang Mountains, and together they created a new type of people's army. On the Long March he "never compromised his integrity," and he foiled Chang Kuo-tao's conspiracy to split the Red Army and the party Central Committee. He assisted Chairman Mao in leading and directing the soldiers and civilians of the entire country, winning great victories

in the Japanese and liberation wars and creating a new China. After the founding of the new China he paid great attention to the revolutionization and modernization of the troops and made our army advance continuously along Chairman Mao's line for building the army. Comrade Chu Te's meticulous thoughts were crystallized in every important victory won by our army; he exerted a momentous influence at every crucial turn in the progress of our troops; he made indelible contributions in the entire historical process of the development of our army.

Comrade Chu Te was truly the great leader and organizer of our army; he was truly a great militarist and strategist; he was truly the commander in chief of the entire army. Yet he was very simple and approachable, never divorcing himself from the masses or from labor, never pursuing special privileges and always preserving the essence of a common soldier.

In the war years Comrade Chu Te always shared the bitter and the sweet with the men, becoming one with them and being close to them like brothers. He often remarked: "Officers and soldiers are equal.... What difference is there between us?!" True, Comrade Chu Te was no different from the broad masses of officers, noncommissioned officers and soldiers. In the Ching Kang Mountains and at the Central Revolutionary Base he shared the same pots of rice and soup with the soldiers and lived the arduous life of "5 cents of vegetable money" per day, just like everyone else. Whenever some rice became available it was divided into so many equal shares, which were then wrapped in small cloth packages and steamed; this was known as "package rice," and he, like the soldiers, would receive one package. When marching he would often yield his horse to a sick or injured soldier, while he himself marched on foot alongside the men. He also carried guns and ammunition for the soldiers. Once during the Long March a barefoot old cook, carrying the oil barrel and cooking pots on his shoulders with a pole, trudged along strenuously. Seeing this, Comrade Chu Te immediately took over the carrying pole and said: "Let me carry it for a while." The old cook was rendered speechless when he discovered that it was the commander in chief who had helped him with his load. During rest periods Comrade Chu Te often played ball games with the soldiers. When there were too many players on the ballfield he would stand on the side and wait until someone became tired and dropped out before he joined the game. Afterward he often sat on the ground and chatted with the soldiers, and no one felt any restraint. He was often mistaken for an "old cook" because of his dark, ruddy complexion, simple clothes and diligent style.

Whether in the war years or in an environment of peace, Comrade Chu Te always persevered in participating in manual labor and preserved the essence of a common laborer. The peasants praised him as a "field hand," and the poets extolled him as a "simple and unpretentious farmer." During the great production campaign in Yen-an he personally organized and led the masses in land reclamation, stripping to the waist and toiling alongside them. Worried that he might be overdoing it, the comrades said

with concern: "If each of us does one shovel more, we will be covering your share of the work." Laughingly he said to them: "Chairman Mao's appeal to promote the great production campaign is for the purpose of defeating Japanese imperialism and liberating the whole of China. Every additional fen [0.66 acre] of land reclaimed will be that much more strength against the enemy. You must not do my share." Though he was busy with 10,000 things a day, he still completed the task of reclaiming 3 mou of land per person, just like other comrades of the central organs. Though conditions were much better and he became more advanced in years after liberation, he still persevered in manual labor, reclaiming land and planting vegetables around his residence and actively participating in socialist volunteer labor. "Chu Te's Carrying Pole" is a story often told and admired. It is a vivid portrayal of his not cutting himself off from labor. Actually, he had many carrying poles! In the Ching kang Mountains he carried rice up the mountain; in Yen an he carried and delivered coal; in Peking he carried dirt to build the reservoirs. Such a carrying-pole spirit is the glorious tradition of arduous struggle of our party and our army and a tremendous force encouraging our progress.

For decades Comrade Chu Te always set a high standard for himself and never sought special privileges. He often remarked: "I am an ordinary Communist Party member, and there is nothing special.... When a person becomes special he will divorce himself from the masses." In the party he always consciously participated in the party's organizational life as an ordinary member. Sometimes he would voluntarily ask the chief of the party's cell to assign him mass ideological work among nonparty people. Upon completion of the task he would promptly report to the chief of the cell, thus demonstrating his advanced organizational concept. He served as an example in everything and was once awarded the "Model Party Member" flag by the party branch. There are countless examples of the strict requirements he placed on himself in his daily life and the way he refrained from accepting special privileges. Though material conditions improved a great deal after national liberation, he still ate simple meals and wore mended clothes. Even at his death he wore mended old underwear. His one cotton quilt bedcover was carried from Yen an to Peking, patched over and over again, and used for more than two decades. His bedroom was furnished simply, having only one sofa, with a broken leg. What impresses one even more was that he was very strict with his children, not permitting them anything special. He asked them to walk or ride the bus when returning home, instead of being driven in an automobile. He taught them to be frugal and simple, devote themselves to labor and always associate with the broad masses. The moment Comrade Chu Min's [2612 2404] maternity leave was up, he urged her to return to work, exhorting her time and again: You must live in the staff and workers' dormitory. Do not return home all the time. You must work diligently and integrate with the masses.

Esteemed Leader and Faithful Public Servant

On the 60th birthday of Comrade Chu Te, our great leader Chairman Mao personally wrote an inscription for him: "The Honor of the People." In his congratulatory message our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou said: "In the entire party you were the first to cooperate with Comrade Mao Tsetung in creating a Chinese people's army, establishing a base for the people's revolution and writing a new record for China's revolution. Under the banner of Comrade Mao Tsetung, you are truly his close comrade-in-arms, and you deserve to be called one of the people's leaders." It was a high assessment of Comrade Chu Te's glorious practice in the period of the new democratic revolution and fully expressed the voice of the people. In the socialist revolution period Comrade Chu Te adhered to the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, maintained his vigorous revolutionary fighting determination and made tremendous contributions in implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and in striving for the success of the socialist revolution and construction.

Lenin said: "After the proletariat has gained political power, its most important and fundamental interest is to increase the quantity of products and greatly raise the social production force." ("The Role and Mission of the Trade Union Under the New Economic Policy," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 586) Starting from the most important and fundamental interest of the people, Comrade Chu Te felt great concern for the socialist construction of the state. In his statement at the eighth national party congress he pointed out: "The basic task now confronting our entire party and entire people is to build China into a great socialist country." For more than 20 years he grew ever more vigorous with age, traveled over the entire country and poured all his energy into the various economic fronts and the great cause benefiting the people. To expand and improve agricultural and subsidiary production he personally studied the issue of land reclamation and garrison cultivation in the northeast, Sinkiang and Kansu, showed an interest in the construction of commodity grain bases and urged the hastening of agricultural mechanization in order to liberate the broad masses of peasants from tedious and heavy physical labor. To promote the development of the iron and steel industry, he made many inspection trips to the Capital, Shanghai, Wuhan, Anshan, and Penhsi iron and steel companies, and he advocated an increase in the variety of steel, greater and better output and lower cost in order to surpass imperialism and social imperialism. To improve the petroleum industry, as early as the 1950's he visited the units concerned to learn about geological survey conditions, instructed the geological units to intensify explorations and, taking advantage of his trips, learned the advanced experiences of foreign countries. To develop foreign trade he directed that China's export structure be improved, that the major export be changed from farm products to industrial and handicraft products, and he stressed the import of advanced foreign technology. He once said figuratively: Today, if we can invent and manufacture some things ourselves, this will naturally be good.

But if temporarily we cannot do so, we can import some technology. It is similar to elementary school students learning calligraphy, tracing first, copying next, and creating their own style by incorporating the good points of the different schools of penmanship. During the rampage of the "gang of four," Comrade Chu Te was enraged by their crimes in sabotaging the state economic construction. He once said to a responsible provincial committee comrade: No matter what they do or say, we must handle things according to Chairman Mao's directives to grasp the revolution and promote production; we must develop production. Will it be all right if we ignore labor and production? Grain will not drop from heaven. Without grain, let them drink the northwest wind! Even when he was critically ill and hospitalized, he still exhorted the leading comrades of the party Central Committee who visited him: Our international prestige can only be raised, not lowered; our production can only be increased, not reduced. All these resounding and powerful words were an effective criticism of the "gang of four."

Comrade Chu Te not only felt concern for the fundamental interests of the masses but showed minute care for their concrete problems. He was more concerned with the masses than with himself and always considered their welfare. In the Chingkang Mountains he took off his own cotton padded gown and covered a hungry and cold old villager with it; on the Long March he gave his scanty ration of fried noodles to the soldiers while he ate wild vegetables; under Paota Mountain he delivered his own riding horse to Nanniwan to pull a cart; along the foothills of Taihang Mountain he braved the rain to help the villagers rush the wheat harvest, worrying over the worries of the masses. In the spring of 1938, while campaigning in the Taihang mountain region, he lost weight day after day. Security personnel bought a hen with the money saved from the meals to build up his health. He patiently explained to them: This is a newly liberated area, and the masses live a hard life. If the hen is killed, how can there be eggs? In the future you must let me know in advance before you buy anything. When billeting in villagers' houses he always left the comfortable main bedroom for the villagers, while he himself occupied a side room. Once, when billeting in Chin County, Shansi, his room was very dark, and the work personnel wanted to exchange it with that of the villager, but he stopped them: Do not exchange it. We cannot always ask the villagers for this and that; we must always think about the masses. After entering the city he remained concerned about the problems of the masses, just as in the war years. In his late years, when his residence needed repairs, the unit in charge made suggestions time and again, but he always turned them down tactfully: This house is still pretty good. We must not forget the past or the masses. Any money there is should be used to build some new houses for the people.

In serving the people heart and soul Comrade Chu Te had another outstanding point: He humbly listened to the opinions of the masses, respected their democratic rights and paid attention to criticism and supervision of the upper level by the lower level. He constantly stressed that the

leading cadres of all levels must serve as the people's orderlies, not act as officials and lords; they must listen attentively to the appeals of the masses, understand their desires and clarify their problems. He opposed the bureaucratic work style of ignoring and shelving the people's opinions. He paid serious attention to letters and visits from the masses and considered their handling a means of reinforcing the links with the people. Many times he listened to reports on the handling of letters and visits by the Office of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and he directed that such work be performed concretely. He personally read and commented on many important letters, sometimes answered them personally and attended to those which reflected momentous problems. In October 1975, when the "gang of four" were rampaging, a letter from the masses named Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching as the culprits in sabotaging the Great Cultural Revolution and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He personally wrote a reply and submitted the letters to Chairman Mao.

Diligently and wholeheartedly, Comrade Chu Te devoted his entire life to serving the people and performing good deeds for them. In the year or so before his death he personally accepted the credentials of ambassadors from more than 30 countries and received friends from more than 20 nations on the 5 continents. Five days before his death he still asked his secretary to find out from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs whether there were any credentials to be signed. Even at the last moment he still spoke intermittently in a low voice: I can still work.... I must work.... Revolutionize to the end....

Good Teacher and Industrious Student

For decades Comrade Chu Te paid serious attention to the cultivation of cadres and showed concern for the growth of the cadres and soldiers. In regard to the cadres, he would, by means of dividing one into two, first determine the good points, affirm the mainstream and encourage improvement; when he discovered defects he would always criticize sincerely, educate patiently, study the methods and pay attention to the results. In regard to cadres committing errors, he always adhered to the policy of punishment as a deterrent and curing the illness to save the patient, neither compromising or being indulgent nor destroying by one stroke. All those who directly underwent his teaching were impressed with both his strictness and his sincerity and warmth. All those having problems liked to ask him for solutions, and they voluntarily confided in him. Comrade Chu Te was most interested in the young people, placing endless expectations in them and enlightening and educating them to follow the Red and expert path and to temper themselves and grow in the three great revolutionary movements. He was also concerned with the political and cultural studies of the work personnel around him, personally helping them formulate their study plans, organizing study discussions and inspecting the conditions of their studies. Whether it was the work personnel around him or the cadres and soldiers who came into contact with him, all were impressed by his sincere attitude and untiring spirit.

Comrade Chu Te was our good teacher, but he always regarded himself as a student, always learning from books, from the masses and in practice, and attaining the stage of "learning until death." He said: Studying, like blood circulation in one's body, can never stop. Only constant studying will make us understand the why and how of the revolution. His perseverance, his constancy and his attitude of turning his eyes downward in study were most moving.

Comrade Chu Te paid serious attention to learning by reading. Consistently for decades he read large numbers of books on politics, economics, military affairs, history, literature and science and technology, giving special attention to the study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought. Though campaigning constantly during the war years, he always found time between battles, on marches and after billeting to study. After liberation, though busy with his work, he still took the time to study, even while making inspection trips out of town or recuperating. He repeatedly studied the 12 volumes of "Cadres' Compulsory Reading" and the 20 volumes of theoretical books specified by the party Central Committee, read through many times Volumes 1 to 4 of the "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung," and scanned the verification copy of Volume 5 of the "Selected Works," making marginal comments and writing copious notes. Finding it difficult to read in his late years, he asked others to read to him. A month or so before his death he read the new translation of the "Communist Manifesto," comparing it with the old translation.

Even more than learning from books, Comrade Chu Te paid great attention to learning from the people. Making an old peasant his teacher, he carefully clarified the water and soil conditions of Nanniwan and acquired firsthand material on its development. Humbly seeking instructions from an old shepherd, he found the water source and solved the drinking water problem of Chuanpi Village, Wuhsiang County, Shansi. After liberation he traveled over all the mountains and rivers of the fatherland, visited the personnel of all fields and occupations and humbly learned from the worker-peasant-soldier masses. He once said: To succeed in construction, if there is anything we don't understand, we must learn from the workers and the technicians, making them our teachers, studying concretely and seriously.

Comrade Chu Te also paid special attention to linking theory and practice, to learning in practice. He said: To master Marxism we must, like Chairman Mao, correctly apply it in conjunction with the concrete practice of China's revolution. No matter what we promote, we must use dialectic materialism as the guide, start from the practical and seek the truth from the facts. The famous book "On the Battlefield of the Liberated Area" was a systematic summation of the 8 years of our army's resistance war experience, a new science of people's warfare created by Comrade Chu Te by applying Marxist military theories to China's revolutionary war and a good example of his studying war in war and learning in practice. Our army's victory in the battle of Shihchiachuang in the winter of 1947 was

a bright example of his concrete application of Chairman Mao's military thinking in accordance with the practical situation of ourselves and the enemy. Before the battle he personally visited the frontline, instructed the troops to study Chairman Mao's military thinking and tactics on laying siege to a city, launched military democracy and discussed the problem of attacking the strong. After the battle he called investigation meetings of the officers, noncommissioned officers and soldiers by groups, summarized the experiences of the attack and wrote a report to Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao gave a high assessment to Comrade Chu Te's summary of those experiences and appealed to the entire army to study it. Comrade Chu Te's summary of experiences in attacking the strong had an important guiding effect on our army in seizing big cities in the liberation war. Not just in military affairs but in other aspects, too, Comrade Chu Te started from the practical, studied the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and method and applied them to revolutionary practice. He made outstanding achievements in political theory, economic work and literature and art.

Today, commemorating the anniversary of the birth of our revered and beloved Comrade Chu Te, we feel greatly stimulated. His great yet ordinary, noble image encourages us every moment. To commemorate and learn from him we must, like him, struggle arduously, associate with the masses and make our hearts one with the people; we must, like him, refrain from empty words, do more concrete deeds and serve successfully as the people's orderlies; we must, like him, be diligent in studying and courageous in practice and always preserve our revolutionary vitality. We must inherit the glorious tradition of our party and our army cultivated by the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, bring it greater glory, closely follow the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, raise high Chairman Mao's great banner, liberate our thinking, hasten our stride and vigorously struggle for the great goal of the four modernizations.

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IN DEEP MEMORY OF MY FATHER

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 2 Dec 78 pp 36-45

[Article by Chu Min [2612 2404]]

[Text] The 1st day of December this year is the 92d anniversary of the birth of my esteemed and beloved father—Committee Chairman Chu. At this time I cannot but recall his deep friendship with our great leader Chairman Mao and our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and his untiring exhortations to us, his children, which make me yearn for him even more.

I

Our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and my father were Chairman Mao's long-tested and close comrades-in-arms. In the course of leading the Chinese people's liberation cause for more than five decades, at the most arduous, tortuous and violent critical moments of the revolutionary struggle, the three revolutionary leaders formed a great friendship. They mutually respected and cared for one another. Not long before my father passed away, he said to us profoundly: "The chairman, the premier, and I--we mutually understand one another." The facts were precisely so. He had a boundless trust in Chairman Mao, and their hearts were always linked.

My father first met Chairman Mao when the troops linked up in the Ching-kang Mountains in April 1928. He once told us that, after the Nanchang Uprising, the uprising army, marching straight down to Kwangtung, failed in the attack on Swatow. He and Comrade Chen I led the remaining troops out of Kwangtung, persevered in the armed struggle on the Hunan-Kwangtung-Kiangsi border and launched the Hunan Uprising during the Spring Festival of 1928. After the uprising, at the critical moment when the uprising army faced the joint attacks of several armies of the reactionary Kuomintang warlords, the revolutionary base in the Ching-kang Mountains created by Chairman Mao pointed out the direction for the uprising army. My father sent Mao Tse-tan [3029 3419 6009] to visit Chairman Mao in the mountains, and the latter promptly dispatched Comrade Ho Chang-kung [0149 7022 1562] to contact us, and he personally led troops down the mountain

to link up with and cover us, thus rescuing our revolutionary ranks. My father remarked with deep feeling: "Though we fired our first shot at the Kuomintang during the Nanchang Uprising, marching south to Kwangtung was a mistake, and we almost lost our entire army. If our uprising ranks of more than 30,000 men had mobilized the peasants as in the Autumn Harvest Uprising led by Chairman Mao, the situation of China's revolution would have been much better. Chairman Mao is the only great creator of the people's army." He also said that the moment he met Chairman Mao at Lungshih, below the Ching kang Mountains, he was deeply impressed by the latter's spiritual nobility and ideological greatness. Thereafter, nothing could have parted them. As a matter of fact, in the long revolutionary months and years, neither the extremely arduous environment nor the interference and sabotage, threat and inducement, provocation and alienation of the chiefs of the opportunist line could shake my father's confidence in Chairman Mao or damage the intimate friendship between them.

During the period of the struggle in the Ching kang Mountains and the land revolution, the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army, under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao, won successive great victories over the Kuomintang's first, second and third counterrevolutionary "encirclement and extermination" campaigns, improving the revolutionary situation more and more. When the enemy launched the fourth "encirclement and extermination" campaign against the Central Soviet Region and the "leftwing" opportunist line opposed Chairman Mao's leadership of the Red Army, Premier Chou and my father persevered in following Chairman Mao's strategic and tactical principles to direct the combat of the soldiers and civilians and won victories.

However, as the Wang Ming "leftwing" opportunist line gradually gained ascendancy in the Red Army, opposed Chairman Mao's military line and forcibly promoted a series of erroneous policies, the war against the fifth "encirclement and extermination" campaign was placed in a passive situation, and the main force of the Central Red Army had to leave the Central Soviet Region and begin the Long March. In January 1935 the famous Tsuni Conference was called. At the meeting Chairman Mao severely criticized the errors of Wang Ming's "leftwing" opportunist line and again corrected the course of the revolution. Our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou solemnly exposed and criticized the serious dangers of the "leftwing" opportunist line and firmly supported Chairman Mao's correct leadership. My father also clearly expressed his sincere support of Chairman Mao and criticized the erroneous line which was causing serious damage to the revolution. He said: Beginning with the struggle in the Ching kang Mountains, I have been following Comrade Mao Tsetung to pursue the revolution, and hereafter I will always follow him in the revolution. The Tsuni Conference established Chairman Mao's leadership in the entire party, thereby assuring the continuous victories of China's revolution along his revolutionary line. The Tsuni Conference again proved that our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and my father were Chairman Mao's closest comrades-in-arms. Some 26 years later, on the eve of the party's

anniversary in 1961, my father wrote a poem entitled "The Tsuni Conference," which read: "The dragons with a leader fly high; they follow the same accurate line. Deviations to the left or right are rectified; they soar in the boundless sky." Thus he enthusiastically rejoiced over the fact that our party finally had its own great leader, Chairman Mao.

Some old revolutionary comrades talked about renegade Chang Kuo-tao's frenzied conspiratorial activities during the Long March to split the party and the Red Army. After the 1st and 4th army groups linked up at Maokung, the party Central Committee decided to divide the troops into left and right wings to march north. Chairman Mao and Premier Chou led the right wing, while my father, Comrade Liu Po-cheng and Chang Kuo-tao led the left wing. However, upon arriving in the Apa region, Chang Kuo-tao actually refused to obey the resolution of the party Central Committee, practiced flightism, and even created a puppet central committee. He appointed himself chairman and sent a coded telegram ordering his henchmen attached to the right wing to harm Chairman Mao by force of arms. Fortunately, Vice Chairman Yeh Chien-ying, serving as chief of staff of the Frontline General Headquarters, intercepted the telegram and promptly reported it to Chairman Mao and Premier Chou. Chairman Mao immediately took decisive measures and blocked Chang Kuo-tao's criminal conspiracy. Thereupon, Chang Kuo-tao proceeded to force my father to do the following: First, openly oppose and sever all relations with Chairman Mao; secondly, openly oppose the decision of the party Central Committee to march north and resist Japan. My father declared to him righteously: "I also raised my hand when the decision to march north and resist Japan was passed. I absolutely cannot oppose it!... You can cut me in half, but you will never cut off my relationship with Comrade Mao Tsetung!... Chu-Mao, Chu-Mao, even the foreigners think that Chu and Mao are one person. How can Chu oppose Mao?!" Thereupon Chang Kuo-tao held large and small meetings for several days in a row and clamored loudly for a "struggle" against my father. But my father had only one attitude from beginning to end: The decision of the party Central Committee to march north and resist Japan, I approve; Chairman Mao's correct line, I support; the party has only one central committee, which is the Central Committee led by Comrade Mao Tsetung. He also patiently explained to the cadres of the 4th Army Group the national resist-Japan situation, propagandized Chairman Mao's correct line and urged the troops to follow the directions of the party and Chairman Mao! After repeated propaganda the broad ranks of officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the 4th Army Group gradually clarified their thinking, and Chang Kuo-tao lost all support and found himself in a desperate situation.

Chang Kuo-tao then devised another scheme and resorted to all kinds of despicable means to persecute my father. He secretly ordered someone to take my father's horse to the valley and kill it; he created incidents groundlessly, alienated the relationship between the 1st and 4th army groups, and instigated others to surround and attack my father; he removed my father's guards so that my father was open to attack by the

enemy at all times. However, all these moves failed to subjugate my father. His trust in Chairman Mao remained unshaken from beginning to end, and he firmly believed that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was the only correct line. Only when Comrades Jen Pi-shih, Ho Lung and Kuan Hsiang-ying led the 2d Army Group to join forces with the left wing at Kantzu was Chang Kuo-tao forced to proceed north. As a result of the firm struggle waged by my father and such revolutionary forefathers as Liu Po-cheng and the resistance demonstrated by the broad ranks of officers, noncommissioned officers and soldiers of the 2d and 4th army groups, Chang Kuo-tao's conspiracies were finally smashed. We successfully linked up the three army groups and completed the Long March of 25,000 li.

Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao placed a high assessment on my father's struggle against Chang Kuo-tao and praised him for his "determination, which is as hard as iron, and his broadmindedness, as wide as the ocean." When discussing this historical period with Comrade Chen I, Chairman Mao said with deep feeling: The commander in chief never compromised his integrity.

However, my father gave all the credit to Chairman Mao. He said to us: "The victory of China's revolution was the result of Chairman Mao's wise leadership. I believe in him, and I have been working all my life under his guidance." Such simple and sincere words were filled with his respect for and devotion to Chairman Mao and gave us a profound education.

The deep friendship between Chairman Mao and my father was fully manifested in some trivial matters. In November 1940, with Premier Chou's help, I escaped from the tiger's mouth of the Kuomintang to Yen-an. Walking to Yangchialing at dawn, I saw a tall figure standing on the majestic cliff. Recognizing him immediately, I jumped and shouted: "Mao Tsetung! Mao Tsetung!" Hearing about it, my father scolded me solemnly: "You must not address Chairman Mao by his name. You must address him as Uncle Mao!" My father was several years older than Chairman Mao, and he should have asked me to address him as "shu-shu" [uncle younger than one's father]. However, from the very first day my father asked me to address him as "Mao Po-po" [uncle older than one's father]. It showed my father's respect for Chairman Mao and the noble friendship between them.

This relationship between them continued even after liberation, only growing ever more intense. At the time of the Central Work Conference in 1961, my father had just arrived in Lushan from Peking. Without taking a rest, he hurriedly washed up and called on the chairman. During the conference Chairman Mao had some smoked meat from Hunan delivered to my father so that the latter could taste the special flavors of his hometown.

In 1962 I went with my father to Nanchang and stayed in Building No 1 in the Pinchiang Guest House. Hearing that Chairman Mao was also coming to Nanchang, my father immediately vacated the building for him. Though it was not a big thing, it showed the deep friendship between them.

All the class enemies always considered such firm unity and mutual respect among the leaders of our party a great obstacle to their attempt to strangle the revolution and usurp the party and seize power; they hated them violently, feared them and resorted to every means to sabotage them. However, such great friendship among men could not be shaken by adversities but only grew ever firmer, while the clowns, ignorant of their own capacities, would only knock their heads against the wall in the face of such unity. It was so with Chang Kuo-tao and even more so with Lin Piao and the "gang of four."

As early as 1959 Lin Piao ranted: "He (indicating my father) was never the commander in chief even for one day." At a meeting later, Chairman Mao pointedly addressed my father as the commander in chief and enthusiastically reviewed his revolutionary history.

During the Great Cultural Revolution the "gang of four's" and Lin Piao's followers flattered Lin Piao, who was only a company commander in those days and who deserted at the difficult moment of the struggle, describing him as a leader of the Nanchang Uprising Army which ascended the Ching-kang Mountains. What a shameless alteration of the facts! At the time my father said to us: "History is not just anyone's words. History is history, and no one can alter it." Many comrades at the time voiced their objections to the despicable conduct of Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Hearing of it, Chairman Mao immediately pointed out: The objection was well taken, and the Nanchang Uprising and the linkup of the two armies must be correctly explained. Chairman Mao's instructions served as a rap on the head to Lin Piao and the "gang of four."

At the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution the "gang of four," together with Lin Piao, instigated some people to drag out my father and struggle against him. Learning of this, Chairman Mao angrily pointed out: Comrade Chu Te is a Red commander. If a criticism mass meeting is to be held against him, I shall attend with him. Thus he firmly checked their conspiratorial activities.

The 1st day of August 1967 was the 40th anniversary of the creation of the People's Liberation Army, and the party Central Committee decided to hold a grand reception. At that time Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were in the process of hauling out "the small handful in the army" and recklessly criticizing the so-called "countercurrent" and the "Liu Shao-chi line with guns." My father and some old officers found themselves in a difficult situation. In the latter part of July, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" conspired to prevent my father and some old officers from attending the "1 August" reception. Focusing on this situation, Chairman Mao, who was then in Wuhan, clearly instructed: Commander in Chief Chu must come to the reception, and so must the other old officers. Thus he effectively smashed the conspiracy of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" to disrupt and usurp the army.

Focusing on Lin Piao's and the "gang of four's" shameless slander of my father as a "big warlord," "big party lord" and "black commander," Chairman Mao, when receiving the commanders of the eight military regions, said to my father: "Commander in chief, you are a Red commander!" He also said: "You are a commander, and I am a party representative. If you are a black commander, what am I? I said at the beginning that you were a Red commander, I said so in between, and I still say so now."

Once Chairman Mao specially asked his own physician to bring a verbal message to my father, sending him his greetings and asking him to take care of his health and work freely. My father asked the physician about the chairman's health in detail and said: "When my health is better I shall go and visit the chairman." The criminal and evil "gang of four" exhausted all means to block a meeting between the two close comrades-in-arms, so that my father never saw Chairman Mao before he died. However, their hearts were always linked, and no force on earth could destroy their great friendship. In April 1976 Chairman Mao personally named Comrade Hua Kuo-feng first vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and premier of the State Council, smashing the "gang of four's" dream of seizing power. My father said to us solemnly: "Comrade Hua Kuo-feng made achievements when he worked in Hunan, and he is trusted by Chairman Mao. I support the appointment by the Central Committee. You must firmly support it and follow the party Central Committee in everything." It showed his trust in and support of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, the successor personally selected by Chairman Mao, and it also indicated his respect for and confidence in Chairman Mao.

II

The friendship between my father and Premier Chou was also very deep. The two close comrades-in-arms met in the winter of 1922 in Berlin, Germany. Already 36 years old at that time, my father had participated in the 1911 Revolution and the Yunan Uprising against Yuan Shih-kai, serving as a brigade commander. However, he was dissatisfied with the democratic revolution led by the bourgeoisie. For the destiny of the fatherland and the future of the nation he racked his brains and sought the revolutionary truth. The October Revolution led by Lenin made him realize that only communism could save China. Early in 1922, rejecting the invitation of Yang Sen, the big warlord in Szechwan, to serve as a division commander, he traveled to Shanghai and Peking in search of his own true guide, the Chinese Communist Party. In Shanghai he found Chen Tu-hsiu, the then secretary general of the party. To his surprise, the head of the opportunist line had no respect for this soldier coming up from the ranks, felt that he was not qualified to pursue the revolution and rejected him indifferently. However, being anxious to join the revolution, my father decided to seek the revolutionary truth in Germany, the home of Marxism. In Berlin he met Comrade Chou En-lai. They hit it off immediately and talked through the night. My father greatly admired Premier Chou, who was 12 years his junior. Understanding very clearly my father's urgency

in seeking the revolutionary truth and searching for a communist party organization, Premier Chou immediately had him enrolled in the Chinese Communist Party as a secret member. For my father that marked a brand-new beginning in politics and his great friendship with Premier Chou.

Through the decades my father and Premier Chou sometimes found themselves separated, north and south, by 1,000 li, but their deep friendship not only was unaffected by the geographical distance but even increased with time, growing ever deeper and firmer. The well-known story of the blanket will illustrate this point vividly.

In December 1936, after the "Sian Incident," Premier Chou, as the plenipotentiary of our party, came to Sian to negotiate with Chang Hsueh-liang, Yang Hu-cheng and the detained Chiang Kai-shek, constantly traveling between Yen-an and Sian. In the winter northern Shensi is covered with snow for 1,000 li, and the cold wind pierces one's bones. Once Premier Chou started out on a trip from my father's place without any luggage. My father gave him his one and only blanket. Later on, on the road from Yen-an to Sian, Premier Chou was ambushed by the Kuomintang bandits, who seriously injured the driver and killed many security personnel. Ingeniously and courageously, Premier Chou eluded the enemies and walked to a Red Army camp via a footpath. Our troops charged forth, routed the bandits and recovered the blanket. Subsequently, when my father was getting ready to proceed to the anti-Japanese front, the premier gave the blanket back to him. Now it is on display in the Military Museum as a permanent record of the deep fighting friendship between Premier Chou and my father.

During the liberation war, when the Kuomintang reactionaries attacked the Shensi-Kansu-Ningshia Frontier Region, living conditions were extremely difficult. Our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou lived a very frugal and simple life, yet he was extremely concerned about Chairman Mao and other leading comrades of the party Central Committee. Every time he returned to Yen-an after a trip he would always ask the work personnel how Chairman Mao and Commander in Chief Chu were faring as regards provisions. Whenever he received any gift of food he would always have part of it delivered to Chairman Mao and my father before he would eat any himself. Once, when the work personnel obtained some fruit for him, he immediately asked: Do the chairman and the commander in chief have any? Do other leading comrades of the Central Committee have any? Only after he heard the reply that "we delivered to them more and better ones than these" did he eat the fruits happily.

After the founding of the nation our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou took charge of 10,000 matters, working day and night with little opportunity for rest. Nevertheless, he would often meet with my father whenever there was any time to spare, and my father was always concerned about Premier Chou's health and rest.

Premier Chou highly respected my father and felt deep concern for him. At the Lushan Central Work Conference in 1961, for instance, whenever the meeting lasted too long, the premier would always urge my father to rest. At the conclusion of every meeting, after the chairman's vehicle had departed, the premier's vehicle would follow. But the premier always wanted my father's vehicle to leave first, and he issued an order that the committee chairman's vehicle should follow the chairman's vehicle thereafter.

Once, at the Peitaiho Conference, the premier, in consideration of my father's age, assigned him a house close to the ocean, and he treated other old comrades the same way, while he himself stayed in a small and dark house further away from the ocean. This trivial incident not only indicated his concern and care for his old comrades-in-arms but also demonstrated his noble quality of placing others ahead of himself.

In July 1974 my father, an old man of 88, went to Peitaiho for a rest. Our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou specially telephoned from the Peking Hospital to inquire about my father's health, urged him to concentrate on resting and advised him against swimming in the ocean. Knowing that the premier continued to work while sick and yet still remembered his old comrade-in-arms, my father felt deep gratitude.

My father's respect for and devotion to Premier Chou grew even deeper in his late years. During the period of Premier Chou's illness and after his death, my father's concern and grief for him were a manifestation of such noble sentiments.

After Premier Chou was hospitalized, my father wanted to visit him. However, the evil "gang of four" vigorously blocked a meeting of the two old comrades-in-arms. At the "1 May" Festival in 1975, when Comrade Teng Yin-chao came to call, my father expressed his wish to visit the premier. Even then it was more than 2 months before he was permitted to do so. Subsequently, my father was hospitalized, and he was still concerned about the premier's health. My mother wanted to pay a visit on his behalf but was refused permission. Thus, until the premier's death my father's desire to bring his greetings to his closest old comrade-in-arms was not realized. Yet the "gang of four," by means of their power, took turns to visit the premier and pursue a "wheel war" [several persons attacking one person by turns], interfering with his rest and treatment, persecuting him and harassing him. If this wasn't intolerable, what was?

During my father's illness the organization did not inform him of the seriousness of the premier's condition. He was not told when the premier died on 8 January. That afternoon he still received foreign guests and accepted credentials. After he returned home, my mother said to him slowly: "The premier's condition has worsened." At 8 o'clock in the evening, when he heard of the premier's death, tears flowed from his eyes. I had never seen him weep, yet he was unable to contain his deep grief over the death of the premier and his close comrade-in arms!

When my father heard that the premier had instructed, just before his death, that his ashes be scattered over the great land and rivers of the fatherland, he said sorrowfully and solemnly: "In the past the remains were buried in the ground in a casket. Later we improved things, and the remains were cremated. It was a revolution. The ashes of Engels, the great proletarian teacher, were sunk in the ocean, and the premier wanted his ashes scattered over the great land and rivers of the fatherland. This is also a revolution. For the party, for the state and for the people, the premier exhausted himself until taken by death. He was a true and thorough revolutionary." Still weeping, he sobbed: "Do you know the premier's revolutionary history? You should know his history!" Thereupon he began to tell us about the premier's revolutionary life. Concerned that his health could not withstand so much grief, we tried to stop him time and again, but he still mumbled to himself in a low voice: "Do you know the premier's revolutionary history? You should know his history...." Sorrowfully, he sank into a deep reminiscence. When bidding farewell to the premier's remains he wept all the way there and wanted to take off his hat in the vehicle. As he had not completely recovered from his illness, I did not let him do so, for fear that he might catch a cold. In front of the premier's remains he solemnly raised his hand to salute! Upon returning home he did not say a word nor eat any food. When the funeral committee asked him if he would participate in one part of the mourning ceremony, he insisted on attending the entire program. Before going to the memorial service my 90-year-old father, due to excessive grief, could not stand on his feet; therefore, he could not go.

In the hearts of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, the death of the premier caused indescribable grief. Thus their hearts were linked together, and they rallied closely around Chairman Mao as if they were one. The great friendship between Chairman Mao and his close comrades-in-arms Premier Chou and Committee Chairman Chu will forever serve as a model for us to learn from.

III

My father had high admiration for and boundless devotion to our great leader Chairman Mao and our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, but he felt a deep hatred for the chiefs of the opportunist line, who were enemies of the people and who betrayed the revolution. He felt thus toward renegade Chang Kuo-tao more than 40 years ago and even more so toward Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in his late years.

My father always strictly obeyed the party's disciplines. He never mentioned anything we were not supposed to know. However, from his words and actions we could feel the powerful love and hate burning inside him.

When the "gang of four" conspired to organize a "criticism" of the film "Pioneers," for instance, my father watched the film several times. Once when watching television he praised it continuously and asked us to pay

attention to it. Sitting next to him, I remarked: "You say it's good, but others say it has problems." He said indignantly: "What problem is there? I find it very good. To build up an enterprise with the two theses ["On Contradiction" and "On Practice"]: It is Chairman Mao's thinking! What problem is there?" After the public showing of the film "Hai-hsia," the "gang of four" immediately organized an encirclement and attack. My father, as an exception, had the film delivered for viewing. After seeing it he said: "The film is not bad. Why should it be criticized?"

Here is another instance: Our esteemed and beloved Comrade Chen I died on 6 January 1972. Focusing on Lin Piao's and the "gang of four's" severe persecution of Comrade Chen I, my father, greatly saddened, said regretfully time and again: "Chen I was a good comrade. He died too early!" He decided to write an elegy. Racking his brains, he wrote the following 20-character elegy: He devoted his life to the revolution; the verdict was decided after the coffin was closed. He valued principles and followed his teachers; his lines were straight and correct. Though the poem is short, it is a high assessment of Comrade Chen I's life in closely following Chairman Mao and devoting himself to the party and the people, and a profound criticism and refutation of Lin Piao's and the "gang of four's" shameless slander.

When the "gang of four" announced their notorious counterrevolutionary political line that "the old cadres are democrats" and "the democrats are capitalist roaders" and stirred up a nationwide ill wind to knock down the old cadres, my father said to my mother: "Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has penetrated man's heart; the broad masses want to pursue the revolution; the army is good and stable. These are the most fundamental. With these three conditions, anyone wishing to return to capitalism will inevitably fail. History has proved that anyone disobeying the people's will will inevitably be swept by the people onto the trash pile of history." When the "gang of four" were displaying their teeth and claws and sitting on top of the world, my father had already foreseen their inevitable downfall. How he trusted Chairman Mao and the masses armed with Mao Tsetung Thought!

On 6 March 1976 my father wrote the four large characters of "Revolution to the Final End." Though already 90 years of age, his penmanship was powerful. When we think of the class and line struggle at that time, his profound meaning in writing the four characters is not hard to understand. Studying the heavy and powerful strokes of his brush, we seem to see his resolute expression against the dangerous wind and evil waves stirred up by the "gang of four"; gazing at the four large characters with profound significance, we seem to hear his sincere exhortations to his comrades, comrades-in-arms and progeny to forever raise high the great revolutionary banner and struggle against all ghosts and monsters.

At the end of June 1976 my father was hospitalized for the last time. Our wise leader Chairman Hua visited him in the hospital many times and instructed that all means be exhausted to cure Commander in Chief Chu. Yet renegade Chiang Ching and special Kuomintang agent Chang Chun-chiao and their followers in the Ministry of Public Health covered their noses and scooted up and down the floors. Their only concern was "how long would he drag on?" After learning of my father's condition on 2 July, they devilishly whispered together for a while and hurriedly took off. All these things were seen by my father. He received the visitors with two entirely different attitudes. Focusing on the "gang of four's" conspiracy to sabotage production and revolution by using the "theory of production force only" as a club, he time and again exhorted some old comrades: "We oppose revisionism and capitalism, but socialist production must be pursued, and pursued successfully. We must place our lines correctly.... Our international prestige can only be raised, not lowered; our national economy can only be improved, not regressed.... We must boldly grasp the work.... We must face the difficulties, eliminate the interferences and improve the national economy." When my esteemed and beloved father was unable to get out of bed, he still felt concern for the economic construction of the fatherland and the great goal of the four modernizations, and he still struggled against the "gang of four," who had brought misfortune to the nation and calamity to the people. What bright and clear proletarian sentiments! Our proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation are as noble as the tall mountains, while the "gang of four" were merely a handful of manure!

IV

My esteemed and beloved father was very strict in his demands on us children, the younger generation. He said many times: "I do not want any filial sons and obedient grandchildren; what I want are revolutionary successors!" Even at the critical moment of his last illness, he exhorted us with the little bit of strength left in him: "Be proletarians!" He himself was the best model in "being a proletarian."

He often said: "Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought are our spiritual food. We must study them diligently and bore into them. We must study them until we die. Study in practice and apply in practice. We must be true revolutionaries, not revolutionaries in word only." In this respect my father is truly the model for us to learn from.

In the two decades or more since the founding of the nation, no matter how much work he had and no matter whether he was in Peking or on inspection trips out of town, he always spent 2 or 3 hours every day studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works. When studying Chairman Mao's works he always marked the books with a red pen "X number of times read on X day of X month, X year." When I think back on it now, the articles he read and expounded to us most frequently were "On Contradiction" and "On Practice." Time and again he said to us: "Dialectical materialism

is a great ideological weapon of the proletariat. Mastering it, one will 'master one and all.'" It was my father's important legacy and a profound education to us. A little over a month before his death he read at one sitting, without food or sleep, Cheng Fang-wu's new translation of the "Communist Manifesto" while comparing it with the old translation. He praised the new translation for being popular and easy to understand, suitable for the workers, peasants and soldiers. The next day he personally called on Comrade Cheng Fang-wu, who had given him the book, at the Central Party School and thanked and encouraged him for his work.

My father not only diligently studied Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works but also tightly grasped the studies of us children, and he set a high standard.

In the 30 or more years from the time when I studied in the Soviet Union until his death, my father supervised and guided my study of Chairman Mao's works. I spent all my time studying in the Soviet Union prior to 1953. Every time I came home on vacation my father always asked whether I had studied Chairman Mao's works. On 31 August 1950 he wrote the following inscription for me: "Humbly study theories and link them with practice." At that time my Chinese was not so good, and I had difficulty reading Chairman Mao's works. Sometimes he would put on his reading glasses, ask me to sit next to him, and teach me to read, line by line, such bright articles as "On the New Democracy" and "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship." He explained while reading and stopped at the end of every paragraph to ask whether I had understood. Whenever he found that I did not have a profound understanding, he would explain the passage again time after time.

According to common practice, holidays are the time when the family gets together and rests, but in our family we always spent our holidays studying. My father said: "You all have to do revolutionary work at ordinary times, and it is not easy for you to get together. You must utilize the opportunity to exchange your study impressions." As long as he was home he always personally organized the studies, without any interruption. He also wanted us to make study notes, because making notes would help us remember what we had learned, systematize our dribblets of knowledge and improve our writing ability. Sometimes he would personally read our notes, correct the wrong characters and revise the poor sentences.

Not only did my father urge us to study Chairman Mao's works, but as we grew up and first started to understand some revolutionary principles he began to make us read Chairman Mao's books. He often asked us to sit in front of him and take turns in reading the passages aloud, while he himself listened and read at the same time. After each section he would ask us to explain it and to raise questions. He said: "Do not be afraid to ask questions. If there is anything you don't understand, you must ask questions fearlessly. Studying means learning and asking questions." He also said: "I personally experienced many of the things mentioned in

Chairman Mao's books, and I can give you some tutoring." Thus the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation hoped to make Mao Tsetung Thought our heirloom, passing it on from generation to generation.

My father wanted us to serve the people heart and soul and to work diligently. In 1953, the moment my maternity leave was up after the birth of my first child, my father urged me to return to work. He said to me kindly: "We all pursue the socialist revolution, and we must mutually help one another. You go back to work and leave the child with me. I will make the proper arrangements, and you do not have to worry." He exhorted me repeatedly: "You must work diligently." Sometimes I would rush home quietly to check on my child. Upon discovering this he always criticized me for not following his instructions and settling down to my work. I could only follow his instructions and devote myself completely to my work at the school, returning home only during holidays to visit my parents and my child. For more than two decades it was an inviolable "system." In recent years, as he became more advanced in years and his health deteriorated, we visited him more frequently. He was always displeased, saying: "My livelihood is taken care of by the organization. You must not come back to visit me all the time. You must work diligently." Even during his final hospitalization he still said repeatedly: "I am fine. You can go back now. Do not take leave to visit me and affect your work." Following his instructions, I was working on the morning of the day he died.

My father himself is a good model for us to serve the people heart and soul. He had no addictions and only knew study and work, work and study, consistently for decades, always meticulous and always tireless. In his late years he valued time even more, striving to do more work for the party. He slept very little and spent a long time at one stretch in his office. At mealtime he had to be urged two or three times before coming to the table. Some leading comrades advised him to get more rest and receive fewer foreign guests. He replied: "Anything I can do I must do. It will take some burden off Chairman Mao, and the younger comrades will be spared the time to do what I cannot do." Not long before his death I said to him when he was having dinner: "Daddy, you are 90 years of age, and you cannot stand this." He replied: "For what purpose does a man live? If a man lives, he must work, revolutionize and struggle!" On 26 June 1976, when he had to enter the hospital, he still asked the doctor to make arrangements beforehand for him to receive foreign guests and accept credentials, but the doctor firmly denied his request. Lying in his sickbed, he still remembered the matter. Only when his secretary told him that the foreign affairs units had made the arrangements did he set his mind at ease. After he entered the hospital his condition deteriorated rapidly. He passed the 55th anniversary of the party in his last struggle against his illness. Even then he still asked his secretary to read the newspaper articles to him. Thus my esteemed and beloved father offered his last drop of energy to the party and the people. The image of his diligent work and his intimate and profound teaching are invaluable

treasures he left to us, his children. I will serve the people concretely as he did. As long as I live I will never stop fighting.

My father asked us to forever closely associate with the masses and avoid special privileges. After I began participating in work he asked me to live at the school. He said: "There is no advantage for you to live with me. You will only cut yourself off from the masses. You must live in the dormitory. Do not return home all the time. You must work diligently and become one with the masses." At that time the housing for families had not been completed at our school, and I followed my father's demands and lived in the dormitory for single persons for 4 years. Not until 1957 did I move into the house assigned to me.

The year 1962 was a time when China was encountering severe natural disasters and temporary difficulties in the national economy. The several children at home, who were second and third graders, were ignorant of things. One Sunday morning, when my parents returned from their walk, they brought back with them many wild vegetables. My father remarked happily: "Today we will invite the children to a 'dinner party.'" At dinner several dishes of wild vegetables were served. Tasting them, the children stuck their tongues out and said: "What kind of vegetables are these? How awful they taste!" Mother pointed out to them. This is purslane. This is amarantus. This is sow thistle.... Then she said: "Now the country is encountering severe natural disasters, and the people live a hard life...." Before she finished, my father interrupted contemplatively: "Is this vegetable bitter? It is the best tasting of the wild vegetables. During the Long March we did not even have wild vegetables like this, and many comrades died for lack of food. Now our country has encountered difficulties, and imperialism and revisionism want to subvert us. Chairman Mao leads the people to overcome the difficulties, and he takes the lead in forgoing meat. We must heed his words and share the bitter and the sweet with the people." He also said: "Even in good years we must also eat wild vegetables." Finally he asked the children to live at school, saying: "You will eat whatever your schoolmates eat. On Sundays when you come home you will eat in the big dining hall of the organization. You must not have any special privileges." The children learned a profound lesson and moved into the school the next day. On weekends and holidays, when they returned to Chungnanhai, they voluntarily went to the big dining hall for their meals.

In the 3 difficult years my father time and again voluntarily lowered the standard of his meals and admonished the cook not to exceed the supply standard of the state. We had many guests in our house. In one period we overdrew more than 50 catties of grain. In view of my father's advanced age and poor health, the work personnel wanted the organization to make up the shortage, but my father firmly disagreed, saying: "When the state encounters such difficulties, we must take the lead in economizing on our clothes and food. We must make up our own shortage." To save grain he personally directed the cook to boil rice and vegetables

together into vegetable porridge and insisted on eating it with the entire family. Once he specially had a porridge dinner made for the work personnel around him, saying: Today we invite you all for this dinner so that you will not forget the spirit of arduous struggle in the war years of the past. During the struggle in the Chingkang Mountains we had to carry grain back from several dozen li away below the mountain, and the vegetables often consisted of bamboo shoots boiled in water, without any salt. Though we have some difficulties now, it is much better than in the past. We must forever preserve the work style of arduous struggle advocated by Chairman Mao. With such a spirit my father led the entire family to make up the grain shortage by means of "vegetables" and vegetable porridge, at the same time giving us a profound lesson on always thinking of the people and closely associating with the masses.

My father paid special attention to cultivating in us the living style of arduousness and simplicity. Not only did he explain the reasons for doing so, but he also concretely guided us in arranging our life and economizing as much as possible. Sometimes he told us of his childhood and the hardships of the Long March, and he asked us to remember the past, value the happiness today and save each watt of electricity and each grain of rice created by the laboring people. Discussing the hardships in his youth in his old home, he told us that the family planted rice, but what it lived on all year round were sweet potatoes and pumpkins, because the entire crop of rice was used for rent and taxes. Young and old in the entire family toiled hard, but they only had one solid meal at noontime. Sometimes rice or beans were added to pumpkin. The family was so poor that it could not afford salt, and vegetables were cooked in plain water. A bowl in the middle of the table contained some black and dirty salt crust or salt water. They would pick up some vegetables with their chopsticks and rub or dip them in the bowl. Father said that such a life of poverty tempered his determination to endure hardship and withstand hard labor and prepared him for the revolutionary struggle. He never found it intolerable when eating tree bark or chewing grass roots during the Long March.

Father's patient teaching gave us a great education. However, what influenced and educated us most was the example of his own frugal and simple life.

Every month he personally inspected the grocery account to see whether we had exceeded the average living standard. He paid little attention to his clothes. His few better suits were reserved for receiving foreign guests or going out. The moment he returned home he would change into old clothes. His underwear was in even worse condition. When the collars, sleeves and elbows were worn through, he would ask the work personnel to mend them for further wear. Though his clothes were old, he always dressed neatly, maintaining the bearing of a revolutionary soldier. Just what year his one pair of leather slippers had been bought was unknown. Though the tops and soles were worn through, instead of

discarding them he continued to wear them. Even after his death I dressed him in an old suit in accordance with his instructions.

More than once he told us: "Death is a certainty, and a man cannot live forever. I am a proletarian. After my death there is nothing for you to inherit. The house and all the furniture belong to the state. All the things I use will be turned over to the state. What I value most is Chairman Mao's portrait hanging in the house, and you may inherit it. You can also keep my books to read." He also told the work personnel around him many times: "I have a deposit of 20,000 yuan. It is not to be divided among the children, nor spent. Tell Comrade Kang Ko-ching to turn it over to the organization as my party fee." In accordance with his instructions, mother turned the entire sum over to the party organization. Father's arrangements and instructions fully manifested the noble virtues of a proletarian revolutionary. We deeply understood the profound meaning of his words. To a proletarian revolutionary, the issue of "right of inheritance" fundamentally does not exist; everything belongs to the class, the party. If there is anything which can be inherited, it is revolutionary thinking and revolutionary ambition. Chairman Mao's portrait and the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao works left to us by father are proletarian heirlooms, requiring us to carry out the wishes of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, always raise high Chairman Mao's great banner and pursue the proletarian revolutionary cause to the final end.

Currently the people of the entire country are, under the wise leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, marching forward for the purpose of realizing the general task of our party in the new stage of the socialist revolution. In such an excellent situation I will learn my father's noble virtues, firmly remember his intimate teachings and offer my all to the four modernizations of the fatherland.

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LONG LIVE THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY MASS MOVEMENT

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 2 Dec 78 pp 46-48

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] With the approval of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the Peking Municipal CCP Committee solemnly declared: The mass actions honoring the memory of Premier Chou and denouncing the "gang of four" at Tienanmen Square during the Ching Ming Festival in 1976 were completely revolutionary. Wise leader Chairman Hua wrote the inscription for the book "Selected Tienanmen Poems" which will soon be published. The major frameup deliberately fabricated by the "gang of four" has thus been completely corrected. The Tienanmen incident will be immortalized in history as a great revolutionary mass movement.

Completely reversing the verdict on the Tienanmen incident and restoring the original historical features of this incident has truly reflected the wish of the hundreds of millions of people. It is a source of delight to the people and wins their vigorous support. It is the result of wholly and accurately implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a fruit of victory won in the struggle to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four" and a lively expression of restoring and carrying forward the party's fine traditions of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line. This shows once again that the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua is one with the people and that our party is creditably a great, glorious and correct party.

The heroic "5 April" Movement at Tienanmen Square and the mass struggles in various parts of the country honoring Premier Chou and denouncing the "gang of four" occurred at the same time and echoed one another. They were a great, open political struggle of the proletariat and the masses against the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao antiparty clique. Bringing with them the love and hatred they had buried deep in their hearts, hundreds of millions of people came to the monument to the people's heroes and, with blood and tears, expressed the resolution of the 800 million people: "Our Red hearts always yearn for the leader; to capture the demons we are ready to sacrifice ourselves." They solemnly declared war on the "gang

of four": We want Marxism and oppose revisionism; we want socialism and oppose capitalism; we want the people's democracy and oppose the fascist dictatorship. This showed that the Chinese people can never be deceived and that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can never be smeared. This also showed that China's destiny can only be steered along the socialist road and permits no restoration and regression whatsoever. The "5 April" Movement is a flower of glory and pride of the Chinese nation. Its historical achievements are indelible. Its revolutionary spirit will shine forever.

The spearhead of the "5 April" Movement was directed at the "gang of four," who did evil to the country and the people. The "gang of four" were always hand in glove with Lin Piao. After the downfall of the Lin Piao antiparty clique, they became more arrogant. They waved the flag of Chairman Mao while opposing Chairman Mao. They put up the signboard of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought while opposing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. They wildly carried out sinister activities of usurping party and state power and were bent on pulling China back into darkness and restoring capitalism. However, being counterrevolutionaries they could never hide their rightist features by disguising themselves as "leftists." Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the people in their hundreds of millions saw and were aware of all this: So many years have passed since the Great Cultural Revolution started. Why is it that freaks and demons run wild and capitalism spreads unchecked in some places? Why is the national economy on the brink of a collapse? Chairman Mao instructed time and again that it was necessary to maintain "stability and unity." Why is it that the civil war does not end and stability and unity cannot be achieved in many places? People saw ever more clearly that the several bourgeois careerists and conspirators of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four," who were hiding in the leading bodies under the dictatorship of the proletariat and had usurped part of the party and state power, were doing evil. The gang were the main root of all evils. In particular, the gang wantonly opposed esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, thereby baring their ugly counterrevolutionary features. Premier Chou was Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms, a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary as well as a great representative firmly defending and going all out to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Throughout the past decades he devoted himself entirely to the party, the people and Chairman Mao and worked hard without complaint. His Red heart was as bright as the sun and the moon and his reputation prevailed all over the world. He won the heartfelt love and respect of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in the country. Vilifying esteemed and beloved Premier Chou meant vilifying the proletarian revolutionary cause. Opposing esteemed and beloved Premier Chou meant opposing Marxism, the people and Chairman Mao. How could our people remain silent? How could they endure this? Aroused by tears and hatred, people in the capital could no longer restrain their grief and indignation. Finding the best opportunity (the Ching Ming Festival), the best place (Tienanmen Square), the best form (honoring the

memory of Premier Chou) and the best weapon (wreaths, poems and memorial and public speeches), people voluntarily participated in the memorial activities, which attracted a total of 2 million. A great spectacular mass movement honoring the memory of Premier Chou and denouncing the "gang of four" took shape. No one organized and commanded this movement. It was Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat that called those people together. It was the common target of a life-and-death struggle against the agents of the bourgeoisie in the party--the "gang of four"--that rallied them. It was their boundless love for Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and their deep-seated hatred of the "gang of four" that united them. It was their firm will to push the proletarian revolutionary cause forward that made them fight together. They were like a mighty, long river which was formed by countless drops of water and flowed on with roaring waves, washing away all obstacles standing in its way.

This revolutionary mass movement was a brilliant example of carrying socialist democracy forward. Chairman Mao always advocated using the mass democracy of the proletariat to deal with the bourgeoisie and class enemies. People saw very clearly that the purpose of their actions of "raising our heads, we unsheathe our swords" was to awaken the people of the whole country, remove the representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the leading organs of the party and the state, and subsequently consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to the orientation of socialism for our country and push the four modernizations forward. They exercised the legal democratic rights given them by the Constitution and adopted the method of the proletarian mass democracy they had been taught by Chairman Mao. Once democracy is developed, the masses will demonstrate their wisdom, which is as deep as the sea. Never had any previous spontaneous mass movement shown such consciousness and thoroughness in the struggle against the enemy and such good discipline and liveliness in a historic political movement. This was no ordinary spontaneous mass movement. This was a socialist mass democratic movement guided by Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Developing the proletarian democracy is an indication that our country is powerful. Striving for and defending socialist democracy is the sacred duty of the people. The millions of people at Tienanmen Square were carrying out this sacred duty solemnly, heroically and with the utmost consciousness and faithfulness.

Facing the revolutionary mass movement which broke out like an erupting volcano at Tienanmen Square, the "gang of four" were frightened and elaborately plotted a bloody suppression and a sinister attempt to seize party and state power. On the afternoon of 3 April, Yao Wen-yuan rang up his follower working with the RED FLAG and yelled: "Recently counter-revolutionary ties to concoct incidents in Nanking and at Tienanmen Square" to "stage a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat" have been established. This showed clearly that the gang premeditated a conspiracy and had determined the nature of the Tienanmen incident beforehand. The subsequent deeds of

suppression at Tienanmen Square were an implementation of the gang's pre-meditated conspiracy. Yao Wen-yuan made a series of telephone calls, gave instructions and talks and made sinister counterrevolutionary plans for the publication of RED FLAG No 5 of 1976. In this issue RED FLAG called black white, willfully vilified and attacked the mass movement at Tienanmen Square and fabricated false charges to attack Premier Teng. It was really an example of rare teaching material by negative example. It mentioned not a word about Chairman Mao's nomination of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as first vice chairman of the party and premier of the State Council and as his successor, as if it had heard nothing about it. This demonstrated the gang's reactionary stand against Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua. A number of antiparty articles written by Chi Heng, Liang Hsiao, Li Chang (which was another pseudonym of Chi Heng) and Hung Kuang-ssu were released after being revised many times by Yao Wen-yuan and his followers. The hue and cry they raised meant nothing but "suppression" and "murder," as in the reactionary notes of Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan. They were accounts of saber rattling and clenching teeth in hatred, as if they would completely exterminate the broad revolutionary masses, sweep away Vice Chairman Teng and the responsible cadres of the party, the government and the army at all levels who firmly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and knock out the revolutionary forces as a whole under Chairman Mao's leadership in order to establish their "new heavenly kingdom." But, as Lenin pointed out: "The Bolsheviks, the internationalists and the supporters of the proletarian revolution should 'hear' praises amid this sort of brutal and fierce clamor, because the fierce hatred of the bourgeoisie is often the best proof of the correct and faithful service rendered to the proletariat by those who are vilified, framed and persecuted." ("Political Blackmail," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 25, pp 248-249) "The revolution may be arduous or may meet setbacks for the time being, and no matter how high the counterrevolutionary waves may surge, the final victory of the proletariat will be inevitable." ("Materials for Revising the Party Constitution," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 24, p 427)

No reactionary force can resist the strength generated by the people's awakening. By stepping up their sinister activities of usurping party and state power, and as a result of their bloody suppression of the masses, the "gang of four" hastened their own destruction. If the "5 April" Movement was the blooming of the flower of struggle in the form of an open showdown with the "gang of four," then the shattering of the gang in October by the whole party under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua was the fruit of victory gained in this struggle.

At present the four modernizations are being carried out with one heart and one mind at both the central and local levels in our country. The situation of stability and unity achieved after the smashing of the "gang of four" is a fundamental precondition for realizing the four modernizations. To make a success of the highly magnificent cause of the four

socialist modernizations, all people inside and outside the party and at all levels should look forward unanimously. Great leader Chairman Mao always taught us to "carry forward the revolutionary traditions and win still greater glory." The historic initiative and the revolutionary creativeness demonstrated in the "5 April" Movement at Tienanmen Square represent the uprightness of our proletariat and the Chinese nation. Doubtlessly they are of great value to the building of a powerful, modern socialist country. From the Marxist viewpoint the major incidents and their consequences in the whole course of history are independent of man's will. We have now seen clearly the influence of the "4 May" Movement on the progress of the democratic revolution in China. It is very difficult to estimate at present the role the "5 April" Movement plays in the building of a powerful, modern socialist country and the effect it may have on it. During our new Long March under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we must carry forward the historic initiative and the revolutionary creativeness of the "5 April" Movement. They are the valuable mental wealth of our nation, the motive force for us in implementing the line charted by the 11th party congress, as well as the source of strength pushing us forward. We must carry forward the proletarian consciousness and militancy shown in this great revolutionary mass movement, the revolutionary spirit of breaking with fetishes and liberating the mind, the spirit of self-sacrifice for the revolution and the sense of consciously observing the rule of organization and discipline, and translate them into the practice of hastening the four modernizations. We must carry out an extremely great and deepgoing revolution in all spheres and strive to realize the general line and general tasks for the new period.

Let us learn from and salute the heroic people who participated in the "5 April" Movement!

Long live the revolutionary spirit of the great "5 April" Movement!

Long live the great revolutionary mass movement!

SOME SELECTED POEMS OF TIENANMEN

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 2 Dec 78 pp 49-54

[Text] The People Love the People's Premier

The people love the people's premier,
The people's premier loves the people.
The premier and the people share weal and woe,
Their hearts are joined as one.

 The People Revere Him, the Enemies Fear Him

Great is the premier's image
Whom the people revere and the enemies fear.
Why did they fear him when he was alive, why fear him when he is dead?
All because the people's strength is great.

 Scoring High Merits But Never Claiming Credit

Braving the adverse wind, the revolutionary ship sails,
Ahead it charges, around reefs and over waves!
Following the helmsman for several decades,
Scoring high merits but never claiming credit.

 Mourning the Premier

White flowers are everywhere in the capital city,
Hot tears are shed in a myriad homes when the wind blows.
From now on, every year will there be a heartbreak day,
That day being the eighth day of January.

 Poem Composed Amid the Flowers

Although there are not too many flowers, we plant them,
And in tears we pick them when it is Ching Ming time.
A cluster of flowers stands for a family's heart,
The premier will live in people's hearts for a myriad generations.

 By Everyone-in-the-family

The Premier Truly Has Won the Hearts of the People

Copious tears are shed at Ching Ming time,
The sudden thunder breaks the silence.
Look, all around the Hero's Monument
Numerous flowers of boundless feelings lie.
The people love the people's premier,
The people esteem the people's premier.
The people cherish Premier Chou in their hearts.
The premier truly has won the hearts of the people.
The history of the world is created by the people,
For the people have eyes that rival the eyes of the dragon.
Monsters and freaks do not feel exulted yet,
There will be people who will hoist banners high and defeat the monsters!

The Monument Is Erected in the Hearts of the People

The roc closes its eyes forever,
The dirge pierces the celestial sphere.
The summits and ranges of five continents grow dim,
The eyes of eight hundred million people are red with weeping.
The vermilion heart requites Marxism-Leninism,
Merits and faults are weighed.
The ashes are strewn in the rivers,
The monument is erected in the hearts of the people.

Profound Remembrance

The time of Ching Ming, a festival deprived of light,
Heaven and earth are sad, and tears flow continuously.
Tears and snow we offer up to you, Sir.

Memories linger, indignation, too.
Who dares disturb your grave newly dug three months ago?
We will shed blood to defend you.

Heartfelt Words

In dreams recurrent we hold your hands tightly:
"Premier, you mustn't leave!"
Waking, we forebear our sorrows
But cannot withhold our tears!

The eighth of January, the time of Ching Ming,
Dates we bear in mind.
Children and grandchildren of a myriad generations of the Yellow River
and Kunlun Mountains
Will offer up flowers and wine to you.

Remembering Comrade Chou En-lai

The great one sleeps forever,
The comet falls;
Lowly the dirge murmurs,
The crowd follows the hearse for a hundred li.
The clouds are leaden and gray,
The road to heaven is meandering.
We do not see our premier return.
We stamp our feet and beat our breasts,
We are heartbroken,
Our tears flow.
Great military exploits he scored;
Over 25,000 li
In armor he fought,
Breaking through layers of encirclement.
At Chungking he feared not impending dangers,
He commanded the great army in northern Shensi,
He cleansed the filth
And brought morning glows to the river's upper and lower reaches.
He set new rules at the Bandung Conference,
Went to the Soviet Union to fight the revisionist leaders.
Through a tit-for-tat struggle
Victorious he returned, with truth sounding in the sky.
He rebuked the monsters Liu and Lin,
And preserved the colors of the rivers and mountains.
He joined the five continents in fighting hegemony,
Drove Chiang out and recovered our UN seat.
His fame was renowned throughout five continents.
He planned a strategy
As though he were holding a bowl full of water.
He brought stability, unity and prosperity to the nation.
He knew no haggardness,
Embraced a sense of humor whenever he spoke.
His entire life he dedicated to the cause,
Bent his body and exhausted his energy in doing so.
His life's work will live forever.
Our hearts go out to him, our minds pursue our memory of him.
In sorrow we recall his teachings.
We will learn from his noble qualities,
And courageously carry forth his behests.

The Song of the People

Premier Chou loved the people,
The people will forever cherish you in their hearts.
I will sing a "Song of the People"
To the countless people in the country:
The cold air of Ching Ming threatens the people,

But how can it stand up against a myriad people who go to sweep the grave?
The people are law abiding.
Alas, the clowns infuriate the people.
The people's premier loves the people.
Are those howling mad dogs people, too?
They wear masks and temporarily pass for people,
But they who wear masks will surely be unmasked!

We Willingly Trade a Hundred Deaths for One Life

We meet in silence and tears,
We part our lips to speak but no sound comes.
A heartfelt song a myriad people join in to sing:
We willingly trade a hundred deaths for one life.

Poem to the Tune of "Shui Tiao Ko Tou"

His glorious name spread throughout the world,
His kind looks warmed a myriad families.
Three months since he passed away,
Yet tears still hang down from a myriad cheeks.
The premier carried out revolution all his life,
His loyal heart was devoted to the people,
He was never tainted by the word selfishness,
His heart was red and his footsteps were righteous,
No matter how the evil wind blew.

A myriad people rose
To fight the vicious wave;
It was a magnificent sight.
Everyone wrathfully joined in the battle
To vehemently rebuke the careerists.
Do not dream of soiling the soul of the loyal,
We will not permit restoration and retrogression.
Try whatever trick they will.
The hero's name will live for thousands of ages,
And shine in glory for ten thousand generations.

Raising Our Heads, We Unsheathe Our Swords

The devil howls as we pour out our grief,
We weep but the wolves laugh,
We spill our blood in memory of the hero,
Raising our heads, we unsheathe our swords.

The Chinese People Cherish Great Aspirations*

The Chinese people cherish great aspirations,
They place the world's hardships under their feet.
They dare ascend to the highest heavens to tear down the heavenly bridge,
They dare descend into the great river to seize the sea monster.

*In this poem the words "bridge" (chiao), "river" (chiang) and "monster" (yao) stand for Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan.

Killing the River Monsters

(Written after having read in great indignation the strange article in the 25 March WEN HUI PAO on reversing verdicts)

The plot is exposed now that they clamor against reversing verdicts.
They are attacking our premier, and this is a great crime.
Shadows of ghosts on the Puchiangyao Bridge.*
Rosy clouds will appear after river monsters are killed.

*Puchiangyao Bridge implies Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan.

These Are the Flowers in the People's Bosom

Poems, like flowers, are strewn before the memorial,
But the poetry journal and the papers refuse to print them.
Still, songs and essays are written;
These are the flowers in the people's bosom.

Poem to the Tune of "Huan Chi Sha"

Tears shed for the kinsman are not yet dried,
The mountain spirits emerge from the cave and turn into freaks,
Giving out pretentious and high-pitched shrieks.

We desire to restudy the method of catching ghosts,
We will not lightly believe in false methods.
Dry our tears and attentively identify their tricks.

We Will Offer Up Our Heads to Catch the Monsters

Before the behests of our premier are fulfilled,
The nation's bandits can no longer contain their ambition.
The evil and wicked wind blows everywhere,
The wonder-worker will not hold back his golden cudgel.
Martyrs before us have shed their blood on the motherland,
What should we of the later generation offer?
Our red hearts will follow our leader forever,
We will offer up our heads to catch the monsters!

A Tribute to a Certain Lady

That certain lady is truly insane,
She vainly wishes to be empress.
Shall I lend you a mirror
So you can see what you look like?
You muster a handful
To stir up troubles;
You deceive the higher and lower levels and exult in what you do.
But good times are not lasting.
The Chairman's thinking gives out glorious light
Which illumines our hearts.
We can distinguish between true and false Marxism-Leninism
And can never be fooled.
The premier's brightness shines like the sun and moon
And warms the hearts of a thousand ages.
He exhausted himself for the people,
His name will be remembered forever.
Those who want to oppose the premier
Will be like mad dogs howling at the sun
----a sheer dream!

Indignant Denunciation

(Written in anger and vexation difficult to repress after reading the
25 March WEN HUI PAO)

The mountains and rivers are witnesses
Of your great exploits, which shine in all corners.
Vehemently the bandits beat their drums and
Attempted to soil and destroy the pillar of China.
They made insinuations
And committed perverse acts.
They resorted to tricks and roundabout talks,
And brandished their swords and guns.
Mad dogs howled at the red sun
But could not weaken its splendor.
Mayflies plotted to topple the giant tree;
We indignantly rebuked their lack of self-knowledge!
The adverse current of Puchiang
Obstructed the course of the giant ship.
But we heard that the great bridge would soon fall down*
And horses and pawns would tumble into the vast ocean.

*The words "heard" (wen), "great" (hung), "bridge" (chiao) and "soon" (chiang) are sound representations of one syllable in each of the following names: Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan.

Give Us Back Our Premier

We mourn our premier and rebuke the rascals,
There are evil spirits inside the court still,
They must be eradicated,
Or the people will never rest.
Ferret out the head of the ghouls,*
Smash the chamber of the scholars.
To these criminals
We shout with indignation:
"Give us back our premier,
Bring back to life our premier!"

*The word "ghouls" (chiang) is a sound representation of the syllable in Chiang Ching's name.

We Will Not Rest Until the Monsters and Freaks Are Destroyed

His meritorious deeds will live a thousand years.
His heroic acts have shaken the whole globe.
His red heart is like the sun and moon.
His worthy history will live for a myriad years.
We know how great he is, especially now that he is gone.
His glorious name will shine all over the motherland.
We will wipe away our tears and carry out the premier's behests,
We will not rest until the monsters and freaks are destroyed.

Realize the Grand Design of the "Four Modernizations"

We will carry out our premier's behests and
Realize the grand design of the "four modernizations."
We will fear no hardship in struggle,
But will bury the Khrushchevian calamity.
We will wipe clean our fiery and bright eyes.
How can we permit the monsters to charm us!
We will sing aloud the Internationale
And the eight hundred million people of the motherland will ring out their
praises.

The Premier Turned His Head and Smiled a Reassuring Smile

Seventy-eight years he distinguished truth from falsehood.
Who sought to support him, who to destroy him?
The heart of all fell with the comet,
Eight hundred million people of the motherland watched over his grave.
The people rose up courageously, held up the mirror that reflected the
monsters,
And mightily pursued the bandits who disturbed the nation.
The premier turned his head and smiled a reassuring smile,
The sounds of mourning were already converted into thunder in heaven.

The Grand Design Relies on Those Who Will Come After

Drizzles at the time of Ching Ming.
Before Tienanmen we stand, brokenhearted.
When asked why we are sad,
We point to the red wall afar, whence a demoniacal spirit issued forth.
Many intellectuals are roused in anxiety,
The mass of workers and cadres are bathed in tears.
The mountains and rivers are unusually bright, but the man is gone.
Where shall we find another such brilliant premier?
The great currents of the Yangtze roll on,
The ice-capped summits of the North Pole are scaled by hand.
The sons and daughters of China embrace extraordinary aspirations,
The grand design relies on those who will come after.

The Endless Song

Endlessly, we shed tears in memory of the premier,
Endlessly, we feel the pain in our breasts which threatens to break our hearts,
Endlessly, we see his grandeur shining like a bright rainbow,
Endlessly, we remember how a red heart devotes itself entirely,
Endlessly, we praise his bountiful and meritorious deeds,
Endlessly, we learn from his noble qualities.
Our hearts go out to him and our minds pursue our memory of him.
Endlessly, we hate the slanders which the monsters hurl at the loyal bones.
Endlessly, we keep the revolutionary flame burning, destroying all filth.
Oh! Just like
 The rolling waters of the Yellow and Yangtze rivers,
 Wave after wave, endlessly,
We rejoice to see the sun shining endlessly,
Oh, shining endlessly,
The azaleas bloom and carpet the land with red,
The motherland is all daylight!

Poem to the Tune of "Ju Meng Ling"

The premier's exploits were great,
He stood higher than the public but never rode over them.
His loyal spirit rose to the heavens.
We gladly assure our heroic soul not to worry;
Do not worry, do not worry,
We swear to seize the "four modernizations" for the motherland.

Poem to the Tune of "Pu Suan Tze"

The premier loves the people,
The people love the premier.
In spring, summer, autumn and winter,
We on earth cherish eternal memories of you in heaven.

The four modernizations
We will carry to the end "with two legs."
When your behests become a grand design,
We will tell our premier at a national memorial ceremony.

Poem to the Tune of "Ching Ping Lo"

The sun rises in the east.
We rejoice to see that the men and women are all red.
Not being able to see the realization of the grand design of the "four
modernizations,"
He on his deathbed worried about the great issue.

The motherland is seething high and low,
The premier's behests will be fulfilled.
Let us look at the lands south of the river and north of the sea,
We know that they are becoming more prosperous than ever.

Poem to the Tune of "Man Chiang Hung"

The bones and ashes are not yet cold,
How can the rain of tears in memory of our kinsman stop?
The wind rises again,
The snow covers the rivers,
The cold air penetrates.
The land praises the great man,
The heaven expresses its grief.
The dirge of eight hundred million people shakes heaven and earth,
The hearts of the public are at one.

We will dry our tears,
Lift our heads,
Hold our treasure book,
Stand upright.
We will brave the strong wind and fight;
Who fears mountains bristling with swords?
We will hold aloft the great Marxist-Leninist banner,
For communism is truth.
We are determined
To stand up against revisionism!

A Special Offering

He has no heritage, no heir, no grave. He leaves no ashes. It seems he has left nothing to us, but he lives forever in our hearts.

He is as rich as if he owned the whole country, and he has several hundred million sons and grandsons. His grave is everywhere. He has left everything to us, and he lives forever in our hearts.

Who is he? Who is he? He is our premier! He is our esteemed and beloved premier; he is our premier who...died too soon!

Our premier, our premier, we are thinking of you at the time of Ching Ming and have woven a wreath to offer to you. But where should we offer it? We have gathered a handful of yellow earth from the motherland's vast land and have filled a glass of water from the motherland's river. We are gathering together before the People's Monument.

Our premier, this yellow earth is your grave. This water contains your ashes. We give our hearts and our offering to the yellow earth, to the river water, to the people's heroes, and to you--esteemed and beloved premier.

Our premier, ours is a special offering. The water that contains your ashes is unusually sweet. The earth that contains your ashes is unusually fertile. If we use such sweet river water of the motherland to irrigate such fertile earth, we will, under the red sun, surely nurture a myriad things and enable everything to grow. So, we think: This is the most precious offering.

Please receive it, our premier. This is a little thing from your sons and grandsons.

Please Receive Them--What We Place Under the Monument

Receive them, please receive the flowers in the bosom of a new generation. Receive them, please receive the profoundly affectionate flowers from the successors!

Holding them, we seem to see you again--esteemed and beloved premier. Your eyes shining and your right hand resting on your bosom, you stood under the blue sky and white clouds.... How can we forget that, so many times, we also held fresh flowers in our hands and stood in the broad Changan Street, cheerily welcoming you? Even more unforgettable was that cold and sorrowful day when we stood, right here, weeping and watching you pass by for the last time. The black armbands and the white flowers accompanied our frozen tears.

These flowers blossom in the broad bosom of eight hundred million people of China, blossom on your warm ashes, which warm thousands of rivers and a myriad hills. These flowers symbolize your eternal life which will blossom in our bodies.

Although the monstrous tentacles still stretch themselves into the coldness of the passing winter, yet the Yangtze and Yellow rivers are the pulse of her life, the Kunlun and ChingKang mountains are her frame, and revolution endows her with boundless strength in life. These flowers of spring are still in their infancy and are covered by the proud snow! Although we have not been tempered by blood and fire, we deeply realize that we are nurtured to maturity by the blood of martyrs. When we join the ranks of our fathers and older brothers and march onto the stern battlefields, we will not panic and will not be afraid. Our hot blood is as red as that of our elders, and our responsibility is as heavy as theirs! Let there be a strong hurricane of Force 10, and let there be a yellow sandstorm 10 yards high! No one can break our backs and no one can obstruct our advancing step! If the enemies should attempt in vain to drag the sun to the bottom of the sea and chain it there, we will guard the rising sun with our steel breasts and will redden the morning sky with our youthful blood.

Esteemed and beloved premier! "We know how great he is, especially now that he is gone." For three months we have written so many affectionate letters. We hope you will receive them. Many times have we wakened from a dream, crying: "Premier, come back, come back!" We will forever remember your glorious image, which no one can erase. We will bear firmly in mind the sad lesson of how the Soviet Union turned revisionist and will constantly open wide our ideological radar. We can hear your affectionate urging: Children, beware! Beware of figures like Khrushchev carrying out speculation inside the party!

Ah, esteemed and beloved premier, rest! We will realize your behests under the leadership of Chairman Mao! When that day comes, we will fire a million roaring gun salutes to wake you up; we will lead you to the splendid communist building and let you speak to us on the reviewing stand. Once again we offer this cluster of communist flowers!

Receive them, please receive them. These are plain fresh flowers, tied together and offered to you by ten children who love you dearly.

9335

CSO: 4004

A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ENCIRCLEMENT AND SUPPRESSION BY THE PUBLIC MEDIA

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 2 Dec 78 pp 55-58

[Article by the mass criticism group of RED FLAG]

[Text] The truth about the Tienanmen incident has finally been brought to light. Several million people involved in an unjust trial have been exonerated and rehabilitated, and the history which the "gang of four" reversed has been restored. This was a common aspiration of the people throughout the nation and is a great achievement in exposing and criticizing in depth the "gang of four" under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua.

The "April 5" Movement was a great struggle between justice and evil and between brightness and darkness. It was the fiercest struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Several million people gathered together at the grand Tienanmen Square to deeply mourn esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and indignantly denounce the diabolical "gang of four." This earth-shaking revolutionary act fully manifested the will and strength of the masses of people. However, the "gang of four" slandered the great revolutionary mass movement as a "counterrevolutionary incident" and carried out cruel fascist suppression against it. The journal RED FLAG, which was under the control of alien class element Yao Wen-yuan, distorted facts, juggled black and white, played the role of vicious hatchetman in the public media and carried out encirclement and suppression against the "April 5" Movement. We must thoroughly purge the counterrevolutionary crimes which the "gang of four" committed by using RED FLAG.

The counterrevolutionary encirclement and suppression against the "April 5" Movement which the "gang of four" carried out by using RED FLAG was a long-premeditated act and was planned and commanded by Yao Wen-yuan personally. On 1 April Yao Wen-yuan wrote the following comment on the draft table of contents of the fifth issue of RED FLAG: "No personnel of the press should go to Tienanmen Square to 'place wreaths.' This includes the workers and the servicemen." This was a prohibition as well as an implication. It explained that the "gang of four" were determined to

strike their vicious blow. On the afternoon of 3 April Yao Wen-yuan made a phone call to his party followers in RED FLAG, and made it even more clear: "Lately there have been counterrevolutionary linkups. Incidents have been engineered in Nanking as well as at Tienanmen.... They have no other purpose than to carry out a counterrevolutionary political coup." In this way he passed the verdict on the revolutionary action of the broad masses. After 5 April they raised an even greater clamor and were ready to murder people with their pens. Reactionary literary figure Yao Wen-yuan made comments on materials, examined reports and made phone calls, and kept in incessant contact with his party followers. At noon on 9 April, in a phone call to his party follower, Yao Wen-yuan instructed: "Could the publication of this issue of RED FLAG be advanced so that it could fit in with the current struggle." He also added: "You could supply a few more articles, Peking could. So could Shanghai and Liaoning. The articles which Tsinghua and Peking universities wrote summing up the leadership experiences of the past several months can no longer be used. But you can write other articles." After Yao Wen-yuan devised this plan, his party followers mobilized and contacted people and got really busy. Chih Heng, Liang Hsiao and Lo Ssu-ting (whose pen name in the fifth issue of RED FLAG was Wei Hsia-an), who made up the personal storm troops of the "gang of four," were all mobilized to go into action together. So the fifth issue of RED FLAG was dished up on 23 April, a week before the regular date of publication.

Why did Yao Wen-yuan so hurriedly publish RED FLAG in advance? The "gang of four" knew in their hearts that although the revolutionary action of the broad masses had been suppressed by clubs and prisons the revolutionary spirit of the masses of people was not suppressed. In his phone call to his party followers, Yao Wen-yuan said: "As regards the present counterrevolutionary incident at Tienanmen Square, some people were still not clear about its counterrevolutionary nature. There was a question involving the nature of the phenomenon. We must make this meaning clear" and "carry out additional analyses theoretically." This meant that the counterrevolutionary act of the "gang of four" should be camouflaged by counterrevolutionary theories. They wanted to carry out an ideological campaign against the broad masses and to create counterrevolutionary public opinion in a big way for the purpose of stepping up their move to usurp party and state power.

To expound and prove that the Tienanmen incident was a "counterrevolutionary incident," the journal RED FLAG, under the control of Yao Wen-yuan, wove a good number of shocking crimes around the masses who took part in the incident: such crimes as "attacking great leader Chairman Mao, splitting the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao," "maligning Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, slandering the socialist system," "breaking the law and doing evil deeds, beating people up and committing arson" and so on and so forth, which were truly unpardonable, towering crimes. However, strange as it might seem, the actions of these people won the sympathy and support of people throughout the country. The

reason was very simple. It was because the actions of these people were revolutionary actions. Poetry was the weapon they used to defend socialist democracy and defend the courageous fighters of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The so-called crimes which the "gang of four" arbitrarily accused them of were all fabricated; they were all the products of the "iron and steel factory" and "hats factory." For instance, a poem posted at Tienanmen Square mentioned "Chin Shih Huang's feudal society." In the article "Great Victory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Chih Heng insisted on saying that it "perversely directed the spearhead at great leader Chairman Mao." This was an obvious distortion. Let us look at the passage in the original poem: "China is no longer the China of yore, And the people are no longer cloaked in utter ignorance, Gone for good is Chin Shih Huang's feudal society, We believe in Marxism-Leninism." The meaning here was very clear. It was a warning to the "gang of four" that they should not intimidate the people, that they were not allowed to tamper with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and that our socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat would not permit them to run amuck! Was there a tiny bit here that meant to oppose Chairman Mao? On the contrary, this precisely expressed the clear stand and firm resolution of the whole party and the people throughout the country in defending Chairman Mao and defending Chairman Mao's thinking and line. Again, for instance, the revolutionary poem of the masses sternly rebuked "those scholars who emasculate Marxism-Leninism." This clearly was a spearhead which was directed at the "gang of four" and which touched a raw nerve of people like Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan. However, the article "Use Revolutionary Public Opinion To Shatter Counterrevolutionary Public Opinion," concocted by Liang Hsiao, distorted its meaning, saying that it "viciously maligned the 'scholars' who propagated Marxism." Let us pay attention to this. Here Liang Hsiao originally intended to defend Chang and Yao. But he unconsciously admitted that the counselor and the reactionary literary figure of the "gang of four" were persons the masses sternly rebuked. In creating counterrevolutionary public opinion Yao Wen-yuan was even better than Liang Hsiao. In reading the scripts he took up a pen and put down the following remarks: "Here you should emphasize that they were pointing the spearhead at Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee." Following the remarks, Liang Hsiao made a correction, thereby branding the masses with the crime of opposing Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee and enabling those like Chang and Yao to get away. From this we can see how despicable was the method of the "gang of four" and how vicious their intention.

The "gang of four" made use of RED FLAG to hang so many crimes on the masses who took part in the Tienanmen incident. But they were still not satisfied. They used this incident in every way possible to attack and slander Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping. Yao Wen-yuan said to his party followers in RED FLAG: "The articles on the Tienanmen incident should directly criticize Teng. They should indicate clearly the direct link between Teng and the Tienanmen incident." In discussing the topic of an

article, Yao Wen-yuan said: "You could entitle it something like Teng Hsiao-ping is the what-have-you of the Tienanmen counterrevolutionary incident...." Reading his mind, his party follower said: "Archcriminal." Yao Wen-yuan said approvingly: "Something to that effect." Yao Wen-yuan and his party follower could not find any link between Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping and the Tienanmen incident. So they used the usual method of the "gang of four," which was to frame up charges. They slandered Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping's correct implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, calling it an act of pushing a revisionist line. With this as a pretext, they drew logical inferences and reached the absurd conclusion that Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was the "behind-the-scenes boss" and "archcriminal." Their logical inferences appeared to be brilliant. But because their pretext was invented, it followed that their conclusion was absurd.

Yao Wen-yuan even insisted that the Tienanmen incident was whipped up as a result of Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping's fabrication of rumors. In editing an article he added, from out of nowhere, a sentence making false charges against Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, stating that he "fabricated a large number of extremely reactionary political rumors to instigate a handful of counterrevolutionaries and unrepentant capitalist roaders to carry out frenzied attack against the dictatorship of the proletariat." However, this reactionary literary figure was indeed pitiful; he made a charge but then could not back it up with any facts. In this article he made the following remarks: "In the article criticizing the fabrication of rumors (Note: this referred to Liang Hsiao's article "Use Revolutionary Public Opinion To Shatter Counterrevolutionary Public Opinion"), we must mention generally those rumors which Teng Hsiao-ping created." His party followers racked their brains but still could not "generalize" anything. They had to ask Liang Hsiao for assistance. Finally, through the joint effort of Chih Heng and Liang Hsiao, they wrote a few vague sentences indicating how the "handful of class enemies" fabricated rumors. It was not difficult to see that this canard which they planted on Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was nothing but a big fabrication which could not hold water.

Why did the "gang of four" so frantically attack and frame up charges against Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping? Everyone knew that when he was in charge of the work of the central authorities in 1975 Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping carried out resolute struggle against the "gang of four." He waged struggles against the serious harm caused by the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," implemented Chairman Mao's various instructions, supported the carrying out of all-round rectification and enabled work in all fields to develop in a healthy way. He brought about a rise in production and made everybody happy. He won the support of the whole party and the people throughout the nation. In the eyes of the "gang of four" these were big crimes. Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping thus became a serious obstacle to their attempt to usurp party and state power. Their attempt to attack and frame up

charges against Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was a big plot: On the one hand, by insisting that the Tienanmen incident had a so-called "behind-the-scenes boss," they could call the Tienanmen incident a counterrevolutionary incident. On the other hand, they could use this incident to pass a verdict on Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping. They attempted in vain to destroy Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, topple a large number of leading central and local comrades and realize their counterrevolutionary sinister plot of usurping party and state power.

Any great revolutionary mass movement has its historical inevitability. It was so with the "April 5" Movement. For a long time the "gang of four" resisted progress, angered the heavens and caused the people to complain. In particular, in 1976, after our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou had passed away, they set their minds on suppressing the people's activities to mourn Premier Chou. They used every means in their power to attack and frame up charges against Vice Chairman Teng, stepped up their counterrevolutionary pace of usurping party and state power and drove the broad masses to the edge of endurance. At that time the people could see clearly what was right and what was wrong, and they were worried about the world. The indignation that had long been suppressed in the hearts of the people finally burst forth. The broad masses of people who were tempered by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution exerted themselves and, with the dauntless revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, opposed the feudal fascist rule of the "gang of four" and strove for and defended the socialist democracy which the "gang of four" had undermined. This was the true cause of the "April 5" Movement. No one could erase this historical fact.

When the fiery "April 5" Movement was suppressed, the broad masses felt boundless indignation. Nevertheless, the "gang of four" employed RED FLAG to greatly praise their own atrocities. They shouted at the top of their voices about what they called "a great victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat." The article by Chih Heng even used this specific phrase as its title and exaggerated this victory. But then, lies written in ink could not cover up facts written in blood. Chairman Mao once said: "To protect or to suppress the broad masses of people, this is the basic distinction between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." This clearly told us that the principal line of distinction between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie lay in the attitude toward treating the masses of people. The "gang of four" had all along stood in opposition to the people throughout the country. Through the "April 5" Movement they further exposed the vicious features of this gang of clowns, who were enemies of the people. Prior to the Tienanmen incident, on 3 April 1976, Yao Wen-yuan wrote in his reactionary diary: "Why can't we shoot the group of counterrevolutionaries? Dictatorship, after all, is not embroidery." As expected, 2 days later they took action. Clubs, handcuffs, prisons, encirclement

and suppression by the public media--all were used to deal with the innocent masses. A white terror reigned. This was their so-called "great victory." To explain the criminal acts of the "gang of four," Chih Heng shamelessly quoted the following passage by Lenin: The dictatorship of the proletariat "must adopt merciless, swift, resolute and violent means to suppress the opposition of the exploiters, meaning the capitalists, landlords and their lackeys." Unfortunately, Lenin's words did not help them a bit. Lenin stated very clearly that the violent means of the dictatorship of the proletariat were used to suppress the opposition of the exploiting class and to deal with enemies. But it was the masses of people whom the "gang of four" were suppressing. Was there such a dictatorship of the proletariat in this world? It was obviously a feudal fascist dictatorship. The "theorists" of the "gang of four" were indeed too despicable in arbitrarily giving it the beautiful name of dictatorship of the proletariat!

Dictatorship of the proletariat was an unpropitious thing for the "gang of four." In spite of the fact that these people paid daily lip service to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat was precisely what they feared and hated most. The suppression of the "April 5" Movement was not the ultimate aim of the "gang of four." Their ultimate aim was to usurp the highest power of the party and state, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism in China. When the "gang of four" had usurped a portion of the party and state power, they already exercised a feudal fascist rule. Then, if they had succeeded in accomplishing their sinister plot, they would have thrown the people throughout the country into a bloody, feudal fascist prison. The people could profoundly feel this danger in the suppression of the "April 5" Movement. The poisonous articles slandering the "April 5" Movement which the fifth issue of RED FLAG dished up and the many poisonous articles published after that revealed such a menace. Meeting the counterrevolutionary needs of the "gang of four" in stepping up their attempt to usurp party and state power, these articles energetically publicized "waging courageous onslaughts" and "developing the excellent situation." Toward whom should they wage their onslaughts? The article "The Archcriminal of the Tienanmen Square Incident" said it was necessary to "thoroughly track down the behind-the-scenes plotter, commander and fabricator of political rumors of the Tienanmen Square incident." Yao Wen-yuan personally added that it was necessary to "track down counterrevolutionaries" in several articles. These bellicose remarks indicated that they wanted precisely to use the Tienanmen incident to further push the counterrevolutionary political program of the "gang of four" and to clear the way for their usurpation of power and ascension to the political stage. In fact, after the Tienanmen incident the "gang of four" indeed became more frantic than ever and exposed themselves even more fully. This further opened the eyes of the masses of people and created the condition for the gang's own swift destruction.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country was established through several decades of revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars of the broad masses of people under the leadership of Chairman Mao. This impregnable state of the people could not be undermined or subverted by bad people like the "gang of four." This handful of clowns who attempted in vain to shake the dictatorship of the proletariat were finally shattered by the iron fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And this public medium RED FLAG, which was controlled for many years by the "gang of four," was finally seized by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. This is the logic of history.

9335

CSO: 4004

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE TIENANMEN INCIDENT--REVERSE THE HISTORY TURNED UPSIDE DOWN BY THE 'PEOPLE'S DAILY' MANIPULATED BY THE 'GANG OF FOUR'

Peking RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 2 Dec 78 pp 59-72

[Article by PEOPLE'S DAILY reporter]

[Text] Those involved in the Tienanmen incident--which people throughout our country are concerned about--have been rehabilitated and exonerated.

The Tienanmen incident was by no means a "counterrevolutionary political incident" but a completely revolutionary action. This is the conclusion drawn by the people and a conclusion of history. Truth has prevailed over evil, and history that was turned upside down has been restored to its true color. This is a great victory won by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua in leading us to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and to eliminate chaos and restore order. It represents a great victory in adhering to the Marxist principle advocated by Chairman Mao of seeking truth from facts.

After the "gang of four" usurped the PEOPLE'S DAILY leadership power, they turned it into an important tool for creating counterrevolutionary public opinion. Before and after the Tienanmen incident the gang and their trusted followers used the PEOPLE'S DAILY to falsify a great many situations. They spread many rumors to deceive the central authorities and the masses alike. Thus, they played a very bad role in causing the bloody Tienanmen incident. In a report they dished out on 8 April under the title "The Tienanmen Square Counterrevolutionary Political Incident," they distorted facts, slandered the masses and falsely accused Vice Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping. Later they used the incident to raise a big fuss and rabidly suppress the revolutionary masses in a vain attempt to overthrow large numbers of responsible party, government and army comrades, from central to local levels, committing a heinous crime against the entire party and the people of the whole country. Workers and staff of the PEOPLE'S DAILY have, in the struggle to expose and criticize the gang, exposed a host of their crimes committed during the Tienanmen incident. Now people involved in the Tienanmen incident have been rehabilitated. The workers and staff of the PEOPLE'S DAILY, like the people of

our entire country, are jubilant and deeply aware that they have a responsibility to reveal to the people the truth about the Tienanmen incident, which was turned upside down.

1. The Incident's Causes Were By No Means Accidental

The Tienanmen incident was by no means accidental. Its happening had deep class roots and a historical background.

From the very beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were already in collusion with each other in flaunting Chairman Mao's banner to push a fake-left and real-right counter-revolutionary revisionist line. They called for "overthrowing all" and stirred up an "all-round civil war," with the result that neither the party nor the state could have even one day of peace. Our 800 million people have long been angered by this, driven beyond the limits of forbearance. After the 10th National CCP Congress the "gang of four" stepped up their efforts to usurp party and state power. They became all the more rabid in their opposition to Premier Chou and our other leading comrades of the central organs who firmly upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In 1975, when Premier Chou was seriously ill, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping became the one in charge of the work of the central organs. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, a struggle was waged against the "gang of four." Under very difficult conditions, a series of measures on consolidation were taken. These brought hope to the Chinese people, who had suffered from the evil acts of Lin Piao and the "gang of four." But before long this ray of hope was eclipsed by the dark cloud stirred up by the gang under the pretext of "criticizing the novel 'Water Margin.'" That winter Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was falsely accused of being the "source" of the "right deviationist wind for reversing correct verdicts." Why is it that good people are invariably the targets of attack and bad people go wild so blatantly? Why is it that our country has become so stricken with woe? Questions like these kept increasing in the minds of people.

On 8 January 1976 our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai departed from this world forever. A towering pillar was lost to the Chinese people. They shed rivers of tears. Mountains of worries burdened them. What would the country do? What would the nation do? In those days of deep grief, people were forbidden to wear any dark armband or white flower. Nor were they allowed to hold memorial meetings. People could find no place to express their feelings of sadness, nor could they constrain the indignation burning in their hearts. In their way of expressing their profound memory of Premier Chou and protesting these unreasonable prohibitions, the people of the country's capital stood along the long streets to bid tearful farewell to their good premier. They placed wreaths made with their own hands in Tienanmen Square and recited eulogies they had written in front of the monument to the people's heroes. The brilliance of Premier Chou inspired hundreds of millions of people. It

rallied them to form an irresistible force. People wiped away their tears of sadness and watched the trend of the struggle with mouths tightly closed in indignation.

On 5 March Shanghai's WEN HUI PAO, then controlled by the "gang of four," flagrantly deleted from a report the inscription written by Premier Chou for Comrade Lei Feng. On 25 March the WEN HUI PAO went so far as to include in an article a passage alleging "that capitalist roaders within the party wanted to reinstate that already-overthrown and still-unrepentant capitalist roader." These were immediately perceived by people as two poisonous arrows aimed at Premier Chou. They represented a warning that the gang was plotting to usurp party and state power.

These two anti-Premier Chou incidents created by the WEN HUI PAO developed into the direct cause of the Tienanmen incident. On 29 March the heroic people of Nanking erected on streetside walls revolutionary slogans that read: "The WEN HUI PAO's Antiparty Article Is a Signal for the Usurpation of Party and State Power" and "Never Give Up Until the Sinister Boss-Behind-the-Scene of WEN HUI PAO Is Ferreted Out." They also went in a continuous flow to Yuhuatai to respectfully present wreaths to Premier Chou. When a train on its way from Shanghai to Peking stopped in Nanking, the people there also pasted their slogans on the railway cars. This train sped across the Yangtze and Yellow rivers, spreading the news of the struggle by the people of Nanking across the Tientsin-Pukou Railway, sending the message of their struggle to Peking. The people in Peking had long been filled with indignation at the counterrevolutionary actions taken by the WEN HUI PAO. They talked about it everywhere in factories, schools, offices and PLA units. Once again they were drawn to Tienanmen Square by the great struggle to defend Premier Chou and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. A struggle that would shake the world was thus launched.

2. Mourn the Premier and Take Punitive Action Against the "Four Pests"

This was a particular battle to fiercely attack the "gang of four," who usurped high positions, using wreaths and poems as a weapon.

On 30 March, 29 comrades of the workers theoretical group of the Peking Municipal Council of Trade Unions, including Tsao Chih-chieh, were the first group to post the memorial poem mourning Premier Chou and "fight a bloody battle" with determination against the bourgeoisie. The poem was posted under the "May 4 Movement" relief on the south side of the monument to the people's heroes at Tienanmen Square. Wreaths offered to Premier Chou arrived one after another, and poems in praise of Premier Chou's tremendous achievements were posted one after another. As of 3 April there were several thousand wreaths. Those who presented wreaths included organs of the central authorities, state organs, organs of the PLA headquarters, various factories, government and party organs, schools, stores and people's communes in Peking Municipality, and comrades from

Tientsin, Hupeh, Shenyang, Shensi and other localities outside Peking. Those who presented wreaths came in groups comprising scores of people. Some groups comprised hundreds, even thousands of people. They formed a mighty parade at Tienanmen Square and along East and West Changan streets. They sang the "Internationale": "Rise...it's the final conflict. Let each stand in his place. The Internationale shall be the human race."

Look, here comes the contingent from plant No 109 of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Holding high large placards with poems written on them, they went through busy streets such as Wangfuching Street and entered Tienanmen Square. The poem written on the four placards read: "The red hearts have borne fruits of victory; revolutionary flowers bloom with the nurture of red blood. Let the freaks and monsters spout flames of poison; there will be people who can capture and defeat them." How emotional the people were when they saw this poem, which reflected the aspiration of hundreds of millions of people! Following the crowd, many people copied down poems while walking. Within half a day all the poems cut through the city of Peking like fire and sword.

Here comes the contingent of 3,000 workers from the state-run Shukuang electric motor plant. Early in the morning they congregated on East Changan Street. Carrying 34 large wreaths in eight columns with Premier Chou's portrait in the fore, they walked slowly from the Tungtan area to Tienanmen Square amid somber music. Traffic policemen switched on the green lights, while some veteran gray-haired fighters in uniform stood at attention. After entering the square the contingent walked around it once. Many people who came to mourn Premier Chou voluntarily joined this mighty workers contingent.

Here comes the contingent of more than 1,000 workers from the Peking broadcast equipment plant. Wearing white flowers on their chest and black bands on their arms, they walked toward Tienanmen Square in drizzling rain. Many workers wept while walking. The PLA fighters who passed by, people at bus stops and customers in the stores all greeted them and expressed their respect.

Sunday, 2 April, was the Ching Ming Festival. The activities at Tienanmen Square had reached a climax. Although the "gang of four" had issued an order prohibiting the commemoration of this "ghost festival," the people in the capital feared neither being followed nor persecution nor frameups. Helping the old and young, they vied with one another in coming to Tienanmen Square like a powerful torrent. On that day alone the number of people who came to Tienanmen Square reached 2 million. The whole square was drowned in a vast sea of people and flowers. Wreaths of all kinds lined the north of the square to the south side of the monument. Oblong placards were hung on the 13 flagpoles in front of the monument on which the words read: "Respected and Beloved Premier Chou, You Are Forever in Our Memory!" Those placards ran across the entire square. Two

huge yellow balloons flew in the blue sky. On one side of the strip of white cloth attached to the balloons the words read: "In Memory of Premier Chou." The words on the other side read: "Carry the Revolution Through to the End." The atmosphere at Tienanmen Square was even more solemn, moving and soul stirring.

It was an ocean of poems. The entire monument was posted with poems. When the spaces at Tienanmen Square were filled, the people moved to the pine woods south of the square. In the woods they tied ropes to the trees and on these ropes hung thousands of poems and streamers, forming row after row of crooked poem corridors. These strong and forceful poems reflected the love and hatred in the people's hearts. These militant poems filled with feeling fired the loyal hearts of millions of people and embodied the 800 million Chinese people's class feelings of ardent love for our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and deep hatred for the "gang of four." Some people read the poems aloud while others were busy copying them.

Listen, here are some verses with seven characters to a line:

"The uprising in Wusung and Shanghai shook East Asia, followed by the red flags of the Nanchang Army on 1 August. They remained loyal during the 10,000-li Long March, still remaining loyal in the showers of bullets. The rolling Yen River helped bring up the young grass, and the lofty pagoda in Yen-an nurtured the green pines. In extreme danger they struggled to capture the mountain fortress, also using tongues and lips as weapons to fight the stubborn enemy. The hardships they endured are sufficient to move three mountains, and the blood they shed enough to paint the five stars red. They performed great deeds for the state and people in the anti-imperialist and antirevisionist cause. Man is mortal, yet they devoted their sincere hearts to the good of the public."

Here is a prose poem: "He has no heritage, no heir, no grave. He leaves no ashes. It seems he has left nothing to us, but he lives forever in our hearts. He is as rich as if he owned the whole country, and he has several hundred million sons and grandsons. His grave is everywhere. He has left everything to us, and he lives forever in our hearts. Who is he? Who is he? He is our premier..."

Among the people at the square was Wang Hai-li, a young worker of the Peking Railway Branch Bureau, who lifted with both hands a piece of white satin with words written in blood: "Our Esteemed and Beloved Premier Chou, We Will Defy Death To Defend You With Our Blood and Lives..." Many people were moved to tears and shook hands with him after reading the words written in blood.

This was a battlefield for denouncing the "gang of four." Everyone was indignant, and everyone exposed and criticized their wrongdoings verbally and in written form. Here is a poem written by Comrade Sun Cheng-i of the

Chungwen District chemical fiber plant in Peking Municipality: "The plot is exposed now that they clamor against reversing verdicts. They are attacking our premier, and this is a great crime. Shadows of ghosts flash on the Chingchiangyao Bridge. Rosy clouds will appear after river monsters are killed." Thus the names Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan were exposed by using "sound representation." As soon as this poem was posted it was besieged by the masses who wanted to copy it. Many people also wrote "Good!" "Bravo!" "Really Great!" and other comments.

Also posted in front of the monument was a poem by "Hsin Jen," entitled "Call to Arms on Ching Ming Festival," saying: "As we come to sweep the tomb this morning, the situation has worsened. You say that it is necessary to break with the old practices, but, ah, how malicious your motives are: Your 'telephone circular' slanders others for forging. It is not a crime to 'look from afar.' Has our premier made mistakes? Those who have eyes can see everything you have done. In the final analysis we see you in the two households in Shanghai and Liaoning. Your minds are overwhelmed by your lust for fame and gain, and you attempt to make yourself the ruler. You want to put the emperor under your control so as to command the whole country. You are just like the Lin family in preferring left to right." This poem clearly exposed the "gang of four's" wild ambitions and tricks. People continuously spread it from mouth to mouth and copied and recorded it.

To the east of the monument an eye-catching poem was signed "A Worker With a Real Name, Reading Poems Carefully With a Clear Mind and Sharp Eyesight." The poem reads: "Three persons are a mere handful; only the 500 million people are the masses. Khrushchev the bald stirs up an adverse wave in the clear river [Ho tu ching chiang hsien ni lang 6378 4422 3237 3068 2216 6627 3186]; we dare to go against the tide and shatter the capitalist dream." When the masses saw the words "three persons," they asked themselves: "Who?" And then they answered the question themselves: "It is obvious!" When they came across the expression "a handful" [i hsiao tso 0001 1420 2331], the one who was reading the poem aloud explained: "The word tso is the radical shou plus the word tsui, the tsui in tsui huai [the most wicked]." It was through this kind of question and laughter that the people expressed their mockery and contempt for the "gang of four."

Tienanmen Square is a witness to history. This was the place of origin of the Chinese people's anti-imperialist and antifeudal "4 May Movement" and the place where the Chinese people hoisted the first five-star red flag. Now it became the imposing battleground to denounce the "gang of four." To preserve the historical picture and to record the voice of the era, many comrades took a lot of valuable photographs at the risk of their lives. With tape recorders hidden on their bodies, Liu Wan-yung, of the Central Broadcasting Administrative Bureau, and his wife and Jen Shih-ming, of the Kansu Nonferrous Metals Company, and his brother walked among the

crowds and made recordings. It is regrettable that it was impossible at that time to shoot a film. Nevertheless, this splendid page in this glorious scene in the history of the CCP's 11th struggle between the two lines has left an indelible impression in the minds of the Chinese people.

3. Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao Plotting in Secret

From Nanking's Yuhuatai to Peking's Tienanmen Square, the waves of people's revolution surged forward. On the verge of drowning, Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao finally raised their butcher's knives to viciously attack the people.

From the very beginning they labeled the masses' activities to mourn Premier Chou as counterrevolutionary. On 30 March Wang Hung-wen told that trusted follower of theirs in the PEOPLE'S DAILY: "The nature of the Nanking incident is against the Central Committee" and "those who put up the big-character posters are preparing public opinion for a counter-revolutionary restoration." On 2 April, when the mourning for Premier Chou and denunciation of the "gang of four" by the people in the capital became raging revolutionary flames, Yao Wen-yuan told that trusted follower: "It is necessary to analyze this counterrevolutionary adverse current, for it seems that there is a headquarters." On the same day he telephoned the Central Broadcasting Administrative Bureau, saying: "The Ching Ming Festival is an old habit." "Now the wreaths sent to the monument in Tienanmen to mourn Premier Chou are aimed against the Central Committee and are intended to sabotage the criticism of Teng." On 4 April Yao Wen-yuan again telephoned that trusted follower in the PEOPLE'S DAILY: "The activities at the Tienanmen monument to the people's heroes are counterrevolutionary in nature." This shows that the classifying of the Tienanmen incident as a "counterrevolutionary incident" was not because of the burning and beating that allegedly occurred on 5 April, but was long premeditated and determined by the "gang of four." The alleged burning and beating was just their excuse. In fact, the charges were already fixed, the traps were already set, and a bloody suppression of the revolutionary masses had already been plotted.

They gave orders to use the methods of fascist secret agents in dealing with the people going to Tienanmen Square, shadowing and persecuting them. Wang Hung-wen personally telephoned a follower of theirs in the Ministry of Public Security, saying: "You are still asleep. I have just had a look at Tienanmen. Have you photographed those reactionary poems? It won't do if pictures are not taken of them, for they can be used to break the cases. Otherwise, where can we find these people? You should organize your men to take pictures. Keep in mind that they will be used in the future to break the cases." Chang Chun-chiao suggested dispatching plainclothes agents, saying: "Plainclothes men are very effective, as only they can go among the masses to get information." That sinister henchman of the "gang of four" in the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau was extremely arrogant. He dispatched plainclothes men on 31 March to "appear as members

of the masses, observe the situation, note the tendencies and copy and report all the small-character posters that were read and the poems that were posted." On 2 April this sinister henchman held three successive emergency meetings and arranged to "have 3,000 more men on alert" as "a mobile force that is ready to move at all times" to "watch, follow and find out where people are going," "arrest them on the spot," or "if it is not advisable to arrest them on the spot, then follow and arrest them away from the square." On 4 April that sinister henchman again made the following arrangement: "He ordered the preparation of motor vehicles, prisons and detention centers for their action." From 3 to 4 April they arrested 26 people who went to mourn Premier Chou, including worker Wei Hai-tao of the Peking No 1 bicycle plant and worker Han Chih-hsiung of the No 2 housing repair company.

To further suppress the masses, Yao Wen-yuan went so far as to use the date of Chiang Kai-shek's death as a pretext. (Editor's note: The public enemy of the people, Chiang Kai-shek, died on 5 April 1975) On 4 April Yao Wen-yuan said: "These activities (presenting wreaths) can be understood. The Kuomintang is making trouble for us. Some people want to prolong their activities until 6 April, but 6 April is a day to be marked by the Kuomintang. It is imperative to resolutely stop them."

That sinister henchman of the "gang of four" in the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau also harangued: "Take those wreaths away, don't let class enemies have any place to continue their activities." The people's wreaths for their own premier became an unpardonable crime--working in coordination with the Kuomintang! At midnight that day they mobilized some 200 trucks to carry all the wreaths away.

The wreaths carefully made by people with tears in their eyes were wantonly trampled on, and the glasses and frames holding portraits of the late premier were smashed. This could not but arouse the people's indignation. Their comrades-in-arms were put into police cars one by one and thrown into jail. How could the people withhold their sorrow and indignation? Could the Chinese people be intimidated by such vicious and evil action? How could they refrain from rising up to defend Premier Chou, defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and defend people's democratic rights? No, the heroic masses of people would not give in. Thus, the fierce struggle on 5 April became an unavoidable situation.

4. Return Our Wreaths and Comrades-in-Arms

On the early morning of 5 April, when the masses went to Tienanmen Square, they saw that the wreaths had been taken away, posters with poems were torn, scrolls written in memory of the premier had all disappeared, the ground was wet and the memorial monument was blocked by three lines of guards.

The people felt coldness in their hearts.

More than 30 students of the Peking No 172 middle school carried wreaths and approached the memorial monument with heavy steps. The masses made way for them and clapped their hands in support. They were stopped by the guards and could not present the wreaths.

"Why won't you let us up to the memorial monument?"

"The monument needs repair," replied the guards in accordance with the instruction they had received.

"Why cannot they repair it earlier or later, and why do they want to repair it today?"

The guards could find no words of reply.

The masses again asked: "Why won't you let us present the wreaths?"

At that time worker Lu Te-chun of the Peking rectifier plant heard a person wearing a blue uniform say: "You shouldn't be instigated by counter-revolutionaries. Stop making trouble. Don't sell yourselves to the capitalist roaders who will be named in newspapers soon." His muddle-headed remarks were also heard by Chen Tzu-ming and others of the Peking College of Chemical Engineering. The masses said that this man was attacking Premier Chou and rushed forward to beat him. Then two public security officials came up to help him. Having noticed that they wore civilian clothes, the masses centered their hatred on them. One of these two public security officials ran to the Great Hall of the People. The masses were following him and reached the point outside the east gate of the Great Hall of the People.

At that time nearly 10,000 people were gathering outside the east gate of the Great Hall of the People. They thought the wreaths had been placed in the underground rooms of the hall and said loudly: "Return our wreaths and our comrades-in-arms!" The cadres inside the command post in a tower southeast of the square slandered the masses and accused them of attempting to rush into the Great Hall of the People. They immediately telephoned the traffic command post under the east viewing stand: "You should quickly go out to make propaganda and tell the masses that the Ching Ming Festival has passed and commemoration activities have stopped. You should ask revolutionary comrades to leave Tienanmen Square and guard against sabotage activities by a small handful of class enemies." At that time Comrade Chiao Hou-chuan of the Communications Department of the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau, who received the phone call, wrote the message in a notebook and had an announcer read it accordingly. The loudspeaker vehicle drove back and forth from north to south along the east side of the Great Hall of the People and made continuous announcements. When the vehicle made its third round, the masses rushed forward and asked: "You say that commemoration activities have stopped. Who organized us to commemorate the premier? When did the commemoration activities start?"

"Who are the class enemies? Who is sabotaging and rioting?" The angry masses then turned the vehicle over and smashed the loudspeaker mounted on top of it. They dragged Chiao Hou-chuan out of the car and, knowing he was a cadre, asked him: "Do you have a clear conscience barring us from paying tribute to Premier Chou?" "If you do not oppose Premier Chou, shout the following slogans: 'We Will Strike at Whoever Opposes Premier Chou!' 'We Cherish Forever the Memory of Premier Chou!'"

Although besieged by the masses, Comrade Chiao Hou-chuan completely sympathized with their actions and shouted these slogans. Then the crowds said: "Let them go! They are here to carry out orders." This is the true story of the alleged case of the smashing of the loudspeaker vehicle. Comrade Chiao Hou-chuan was considered by that sinister follower of the "gang of four" in the Public Security Bureau as one who failed to stand tests and was not resolute in making struggles.

Around 0900 the eastern entrance of the Great Hall of the People was still thronged with a big crowd demanding, "Return the wreaths to us, release our comrades-in-arms," and shouting such slogans as "Long Live the People!" A medium-sized man wearing overall fatigues jumped up out of the crowd at this time and said: "The slogan 'Long Live the People' is not right. There are different classes among the people." He said: "It is of no use to present wreaths. Premier Chou was the biggest capitalist roader." Indignant over these remarks, a number of comrades present, including Wang Wei-yen, a worker of the Hsicheng District cotton textile mill in Peking, and Li Chin-sheng, a worker of the Peking Taming optical store, rushed toward the man to teach him a lesson. To protect these comrades, the big crowd formed a shield for them. When questioned by Yueh Tsun-shou, a worker of the Peking Railway Bureau, as to where he came from, the man refused to answer. Later it was learned that he possessed an identification card as a student of Tsinghua University's Machinery Science Department. He was pushed to the ground by the monument to the people's heroes for further interrogation by the masses as he stubbornly struggled. Questioned by Chi Kuo-chih, an industrial worker of the Tungcheng District No 1 electronic instrument plant in Peking, as to why he attacked Premier Chou En-lai, he said that it was in response to the call issued by Shanghai's WEN HUI PAO. A few minutes later he was escorted to the Chungshan Park police station by the masses, who demanded stern handling of the case.

By 1000 the throng of people at the eastern entrance of the Great Hall of the People had snowballed to as many as tens of thousands. They shouted "Down With Whoever Opposes Premier Chou!" By this time, leaders of the command post directed militia and other troops to surround the Great Hall of the People. During the confrontation between the militia and other troops on the one hand and the masses on the other, Hou Yu-liang and other workers of the No 2 Construction Engineering Bureau under the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power recited their poem:

"Listen! You soldiers made by the people's children,
"You are not allowed to do anything unjust today when the people are paying their tribute to their premier.
"The color of your uniform is just like that of the grass on which Premier Chou depended for survival during the Long March;
"Your bayonets were manufactured by the machines operated by us workers,
"You were raised with grain planted by us peasants,
"In the struggle against the enemy, your father, brothers and sisters expect you to be fierce...."

The poem touched the PLA fighters to the core of their souls. They responded by saying: "We share your feelings." With tears in their eyes, many worker-militiamen tore off their armbands and threw them away. Then Hou Yu-liang read out to those present the proposal of the "Capital People's Committee for Cherishing the Memory of the Premier," a proposal which Hou had drafted. The crowds raised their arms and cheered.

A little later a young man spoke, using a microphone. He said: "All of us look at that building! That is the joint command post. Those who removed the wreaths and put people under arrest last night were men directed by that post to do so. Let us negotiate with those in the building for the return of the wreaths and the release of the men arrested!" Then he declared: We must line up and observe discipline. Singing the "Internationale," the demonstrating citizens crossed Tienanmen Square hand in hand. Knowing that the young man was being closely watched, Liu Ti, a young intellectual (a comrade who was described by the "gang of four" as a "man with crewcut hair"), took over the microphone and directed the files of the masses of citizens to that building. Those who volunteered to be representatives of the masses for the negotiations were Hou Yu-liang; Chao Shih-chien, a worker of the Peking Te-I machinery repair plant; Sun Ching-chu, a student of Peking No 86 middle school; and Chen Tzu-ming, a student of the Peking Chemical Industrial College. When they entered the building to begin the negotiations, Liu Ti and other comrades led the crowds in shouting the slogans: "Long Live Chairman Mao!" "Give the People Their Right To Pay Tribute to the Premier and Other Martyrs!" They also declared three rules of discipline: "Do not hit people," "Do not damage public property," and "Prevent class enemies from carrying out sabotage." Those waiting outside the building were anxious and worried about their negotiating representatives, because 10 minutes had passed and they had not emerged from the building. Liu Ti then recited the three rules of discipline over and over. Not long after that the representatives came out, saying that they could not find any responsible persons in that building. The leaders of that command post were not in the building? This was not true. Their Shanghai-brand sedan automobiles and their "212" jeeps were parked by the side of the building. What they wanted was to shy away from and play tricks on the masses. Oppressed and cheated, the crowds became even more angry. At Tienanmen Square of the People, why was there the freedom to remove wreaths but no freedom to present wreaths? Why was there the freedom to attack the premier but no freedom to defend him?

At 1305, when the angry masses found out that the Shanghai-brand sedan was used by chieftains of the command post, they overturned it and set it afire.

At 1440 two jeeps of the command post were set on fire.

At 1455 a bread vehicle arrived with food for the worker-militiamen. The masses said: "We haven't had anything to eat since early morning, and do we let them fill their stomachs to suppress us!" So the masses angrily overturned the vehicle and set it afire.

At 1704 the command post building was also set on fire by the masses.

At the time tens of thousands of people were at the square. Why didn't they put out the fires? Could it be that the people did not know that they should cherish state property? Could it be that they did not know what consequences this would bring? Of course they knew. But the masses supported the actions heartily, because the actions were counterblows against the "gang of four's" fascist atrocities, protests against the White terror!

5. Terror Reigned the Night of 5 April

While the command post building was on fire, the command post leading cadres received orders to pull out. Amid shouts of "Leaders go first," they climbed out from windows one after another. At 1900 the sinister henchman in the Public Security Bureau gave the order: "A united action will be carried out tonight. It must be tightly organized. Weapons should be prepared. Clubs and handcuffs may be brought along."

A large-scale suppression was to begin soon. A dark shadow hung over the hearts of tens of thousands of people. The people again converged on the monument to bid farewell to the heroic soul of the premier. They sang at the top of their voice the "Internationale," shouted the slogan "We Shall Always Remember Premier Chou," and sobbingly read aloud a lyric poem to the memory of the premier entitled "Farewell," which had just been posted by Ching Hsiao-tung, a worker of the Peking television plant: "How I wish that I could grow wings, to fly to the farthest limits of the sky, to visit your loyal soul, hear again your loving teachings and see again your kindly eyes. How I wish that I were Wu Kang in the moon, to bring the mellowest wine to you.... But only my sad song can fly to the farthest limits of the sky, and I have only sorrowful verses to bring to you."

As the masses were leaving the square, a chieftain in the command post was making many telephone calls. "How are the troops assembled? Quick. You must be quick. Soon the people will all be gone." At 2130 all the lights were turned on in the square and the suppression of the people began.

Please listen to the accusations by the victims:

Meng Lien, a Communist Party member of the Economic Research Institute of the State Planning Commission, says: I was copying poems on the south side of the monument and I saw some people chasing and beating the dispersing masses. I sensed the danger, quickly concealed my notebook and went around to the north side of the monument, only to see that many people were approaching from the north. I hurriedly ran down the steps, hoping to break through the encirclement. But it was too late. Wildly shouting "Go back, go back," they wielded their clubs and struck me on the head. Suddenly someone kicked me, and I fell to the ground. More than 10 people surrounded me and hit and kicked me with both fists and feet until I was beaten silly and became motionless. When I slowly came to, I felt a man lying on my legs and another lying next to my arm. From nearby came the shrieks of people being beaten up. I wondered: You are beating up us unarmed masses; what kind of heroism is that? Then they found that I had a notebook full of copied poems and threw me in prison that night.

Juan Nan-nan, of the Peking No 2 motor vehicle plant, said: I saw four or five persons chasing a young man. One of the pursuers struck the back of the young man's head with a club. With a cry of pain, that young man slumped to the ground. I ran to the southeast corner of the square and saw some people approaching from the monument, threatening and driving the masses away. One of them shouted: "Revolutionary comrades, leave the square quickly, and counterrevolutionaries stay here...." I said indignantly: "All right, we'll go, we are revolutionaries. But those who remain are counterrevolutionaries." The man shouted: "Arrest him!" The rest of the men closed in on me, fiercely attacking my head, chest and abdomen with fists and boots. I was knocked to the ground, my buttons ripped off, my cotton-lined jacket and shirt torn up and my pants slashed. While kicking and hitting me, they dragged me to the monument. One man searched me and kicked my face with his shoe on. My nose and mouth bleeding, I passed out in shock. When I came to I saw a man rubbing off with his shoes the blood I had shed on the monument. After an hour or so I was sent under escort to the Chungshan Park, and there I stood in the icy wind for several hours. Later I was thrown into prison....

That night more than 200 revolutionary comrades were arrested at Tienanmen Square. The "gang of four" imposed a White terror on Peking which soon spread throughout the country.

6. Falsifying Facts To Deceive the Central Committee

The gang's vilification of the Tienanmen events as a counterrevolutionary political incident was directly connected with the CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION edited by the PEOPLE'S DAILY, which was then under the gang's control. The formulation "the counterrevolutionary political events on Tienanmen Square" was first used in CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION.

Between 1 April and 6 April the gang put their trusted reporters in the PEOPLE'S DAILY on an emergency assignment to do this special reporting, the result of which was over a dozen issues of CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION on the activities at Tienanmen Square. They sometimes put out three issues within one day, and at other times they hand-copied them because they were "unsuited for printing." All this information was written and edited in the tone set by the gang. After preliminary selection and polishing it was sent to Yao Wen-yuan for changes and review before being printed.

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION described the people's mourning for Premier Chou as a "pretext for vicious attacks on the party Central Committee and central leading comrades." The CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION distorted facts and avoided mentioning the mourning for Premier Chou by the masses. Even when the reporters mentioned a little of these activities, Yao Wen-yuan crossed such passages out or twisted their meaning. The 3 April CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION reported an unsigned slogan on the northern rail of the monument as saying: "We Cherish the Memory of Premier Chou and That of Yang Kai-hui." Yao Wen-yuan wrote on it angrily, "This is much the same as reactionary agitational slogans that have appeared in other places." The 4 April issue of CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION carried a poem to the tune of "Manchianghung" signed "Attempt Made by Ching Chou (meaning respect for Premier Chou)." It reads:

On the ancient soil of China
A few new flies crawled out, buzzing without cease.
Having got something wonderful they become terrors and filled with conceit.
The glorious image of a great man must not be smeared by insects!
Infuriated, I rise and bang on the table,
Comrades, unite in defense of our Premier Chou,
Rise up with fire and sword, be prepared for the final battle.
Let the monsters stir up vicious storms,
We take a stance against them.
Expose the vicious wolves who hide their tails and fight them to a finish.

Yao Wen-yuan deliberately struck out the lines before "In defense of our Premier Chou" and added the comment, "These counterrevolutionary lines show that the masterminds behind the scenes are planning action after the words." A poster signed "Young Worker Yang Kuang-ming" said: "History will pass merciless judgment on those who dare defy the people's will and discredit the premier. Anyone who tries to tarnish the premier's great and glorious image is setting himself against the people. Such degenerates and dregs of society will inevitably stand condemned as public enemies in the eyes of the people of China and the whole world." Yao Wen-yuan added the note, "From this it can be seen that this frantic adverse current is an organized, planned counterrevolutionary political move."

A proposal signed by "Young Worker Ting Liang" that appeared in the 3 April issue of CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION made a full exposure of the counterrevolutionary features of the "gang of four" as being left in appearance and right in essence. It said in conclusion: "Empty words about communism cannot satisfy the people's wishes" and "they will end up being swept by the people into the garbage heap of history with their filthy bodies cloaked in pretty, empty words." Yao Wen-yuan crossed out the entire text of the proposal and changed "empty words about communism" to "openly put forth the counterrevolutionary slogan, 'Oppose empty words of communism.'" On the page carrying the well-known poem by factory No 109 of the Academy of Sciences--"Blood Will Grow Revolutionary Flowers"--Yao Wen-yuan wrote: "'Grow revolutionary flowers' means to overturn the socialist revolution and the struggle against the right deviationists' trend of reversing correct verdicts." A poem entitled "New Version of a Certain Person's Three Lamentations," which was aimed at Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Chiang Ching, was also distorted by Yao Wen-yuan and his followers. Without a single quote from the original, the 4 April CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION said that the poem "used extremely vicious language in a direct attack on the great leader Chairman Mao and other central leading comrades." Such vile tactics fully demonstrate that the gang was using every trick in the book to turn the Tienanmen events into a counterrevolutionary incident.

They deliberately distorted the truth about the burning and fighting at Tienanmen Square. The article, "The Counterrevolutionary Political Incident at Tienanmen Square" carried in the CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION of 5 April began with this statement: "At about 7 o'clock this morning, when people noticed the disappearance of the wreaths, they gathered to protest." But Yao Wen-yuan changed the word "people" into "a small number of bad people" and "gathered" into "incited a bunch of people." The article went on to say: "About 8 o'clock a broadcasting van of the Public Security Bureau was attacked and overturned. The van and the loudspeaker were smashed." But the INFORMATION did not say a single word about why the masses smashed the van. As for the fight, the original version of the INFORMATION said that "about a dozen young people were surrounded and beaten up by troublemakers, who claimed that two of them were worker-peasant-soldier students of Tsinghua University and that another was a PLA man and that they all had said: 'Premier Chou was the top capitalist roader.'" But Yao Wen-yuan crossed out the sentence with the vicious attack on Premier Chou. In this way the cause of the fight remained unclear, the facts were completely distorted and the nature of the event was completely reversed. Consequently, those who defend Premier Chou were described as "a small number of bad people," while those who attacked Premier Chou became victims. The gang used the same despicable trick about the burning of the automobiles and the building. On the burning of the automobiles, the CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION originally said: "Black smoke fills the sky, and the smell of burning rubber is in the air." Yao Wen-yuan changed this to "counterrevolutionary clamors everywhere." Another sentence reading "All those in front of the command post

building were young people" was changed to "Most of those in the vanguard of this counterrevolutionary incident were young people." This is how Yao Wen-yuan and his trusted followers distorted facts and turned things upside down.

Fabricating false information by despicable means, the "gang of four's" henchmen in the PEOPLE'S DAILY gave great help to the gang in mercilessly suppressing the masses. No wonder that Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan lavished praise on this "little paper" (CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION), saying: "It is playing a bigger role than several million copies of big papers." The gang's henchman in the PEOPLE'S DAILY once boasted that the "information" they had collected played a "tremendously important role."

7. How the Sinister Report Was Fabricated and Spread Throughout the Land

The "gang of four" personally directed the fabrication of the notorious report "Counterrevolutionary Political Incident at Tienanmen Square," on the basis of the CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION that misrepresented the facts.

It was the morning of 7 April. At about 7 o'clock Yao Wen-yuan phoned his PEOPLE'S DAILY man: "Come to the Great Hall of the People immediately, you and the reporters who wrote the material about the situation at Tienanmen Square. Bring those issues of CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION about the Tienanmen incident."

He and the reporters were greeted by a gleeful Yao Wen-yuan, who, the moment he saw them, exclaimed: "Excellent! Excellent! Write a report for publication on the basis of the CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION." At around lunchtime Yao Wen-yuan took the man and the reporters to the east chamber of the Great Hall of the People, where he introduced these "persons of merit" to Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching.

"These are the ones that got the Tienanmen material," said Yao Wen-yuan.

Wang Hung-wen: "You have something to your credit."

Chiang Ching: "We have won!" "Congratulations!" Dripping with solicitude, she asked: "Did they beat you?"

The joy of Wang, Chang, Chiang, Yao and their confidantes knew no bounds. Raising his glass, Wang Hung-wen proposed: "Drink a toast, everybody!" Chiang Ching, in her turn, proposed a toast to honor each of these "persons of merit."

Chang Chun-chiao gave instructions on how to write the report. "By writing these reactionary poems," he said, grimacing, "that lot wanted to support Teng Hsiao-ping as the Chinese edition of Nagy, the chieftain of the counterrevolutionary incident in Hungary."

Yao Wen-yuan said: "Some bad types praised Teng Hsiao-ping, saying that decisive victories were won when he was in charge of the day-to-day work of the party Central Committee."

The henchman lost no time in getting his men to write up the report.

Again Yao Wen-yuan instructed them: "Hasn't Chun-chiao said that the lot wanted Teng Hsiao-ping to play the role of Nagy? Write that in the report. You must also quote such statements as 'decisive victories were won when Teng Hsiao-ping was in charge of the day-to-day work of the party Central Committee, and the people throughout the country were happy about this.' That will make the report sound much more convincing." He gave instructions on every detail and every formulation to be used in the report, all of which was carried out in full.

While the report was being written, Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao were on the scene, giving instructions or polishing it. Yao Wen-yuan urged: "Get the job done quickly! As each page is finished, use my bodyguards' car to send it to the printing house." These literary hacks worked from morning till evening and produced a report filled with fabricated charges against the people.

An important reason given in the report for labeling the Tienanmen events as a "counterrevolutionary political incident" was a "counterrevolutionary poem." Following is the poem as quoted by the report:

The devil howls as we pour out our grief,
We weep but the wolves laugh,
We spill our blood in memory of the hero,
Raising our heads, we unsheathe our swords.
China is no longer the China of yore,
And the people are no longer wrapped in utter ignorance,
Gone for good is Chin Shih Huang's feudal society,
We believe in Marxism-Leninism,
To hell with scholars who emasculate Marxism-Leninism!
What we want is genuine Marxism-Leninism,
For the sake of genuine Marxism-Leninism,
We don't fear to shed our blood and lay down our lives,
The day modernization in four fields is realized,
We will come back to offer our libation and sacrifices.

The report made formidable charges against the poem, saying that "it frenziedly turns the spearhead of struggle against the great leader Chairman Mao and attempts to split the party Central Committee headed by him," that "it contains vicious insinuations and slanders against the great leader Chairman Mao and other leading comrades on the party Central Committee," that "it is out-and-out counterrevolutionary agitation in the same vein as the language used in Lin Piao's plan for his counterrevolutionary coup d'etat, 'Outline of Project 571.'" A fearsome

charge indeed. Even at the time of the publication of the report, many readers wondered why the style of the first four lines was entirely different from the style of the rest? The first four lines are a four-line poem with five characters to the line, a form of classic Chinese poetry, while the rest sound like modern poetry in free verse. Why is it that the whole thing is neither fish nor fowl? Investigation shows that these lines are not from one poem but were picked from two different poems and then pieced together. When the "poem" was being fabricated, some people suggested that the first four lines be cut. Yao Wen-yuan rejected the idea, saying: "They can't be cut, because there are the words 'We unsheathe our swords.'" It is obvious that, by making two poems into one, Yao Wen-yuan meant to link "swords" with "Chin Shih Huang," or in other words, to accuse the poets of attacking Chairman Mao by allusion. This kind of incrimination by such a dirty trick was very rare indeed.

Obviously, by "Raising our heads, we unsheathe our swords" the poet meant opposition to the "gang of four." Was the line about "Chin Shih Huang's feudal society" an insinuation against Chairman Mao? We were able to read the poem in its original form when it was again put up in Tienanmen Square in January last year to honor the first anniversary of Premier Chou's death. Entitled "Cherish the Memory of Premier Chou on Ching Ming," it reads:

Revered Premier Chou,
Your sons and daughters feel a sense of guilt that
Your noble soul cannot, to this day, rest in peace.
Even with our heart's blood
We could not show how we cherish your memory;
We could not fully express our sorrow and indignation
Even though we pour out all our tears.
History has placed its highest value on your life,
More brilliant than the sun and the moon are your
Meritorious deeds, and the heavens echo with your voice.
In the annals of international affairs
There will always be a page for your image.
Every inch of the revolutionary road
Bears your footprints.
Wind and storms rose, and gods wept,
Heaven and earth were plunged into deep sorrow as the giant star fell.
Flags flew at half-mast everywhere across the five continents and four seas.
Despicable are the demons who, overrating themselves,
Once again attempt to stir up evil winds and bloody rains,
Talking glibly and carrying their mistress' train
--What a ridiculous lot they are, a bunch of monkeys
Trying to crown themselves!
Ants on the locust tree assume a great nation swagger
And mayflies lightly plot to topple the giant tree.
Behold, you despicable lot:
Flowers blanket Tienanmen Square like snow,

And tears fall in showers around the monument.
We cherish the memory of Premier Chou; you don't,
And we offer our libation; you don't.
The premier's spirit will be carried forward for all time,
And the future generations will always hold high the Red banner.
China is no longer the China of yore,
And the people are no longer wrapped in utter ignorance,
Gone for good is Chin Shih Huang's feudal society,
We believe in Marxism-Leninism,
To hell with scholars who emasculate Marxism-Leninism!
What we want is genuine Marxism-Leninism,
For the sake of genuine Marxism-Leninism,
We don't fear to shed our blood and lay down our lives,
And we will not hesitate to climb Chingakang Mountains again to rise in
rebellion.
We will carry forward Premier Chou's behest.
The day modernization in four fields is realized,
We will come to offer our libation and sacrifices.
Rest well,
Our respected and beloved Premier Chou.

The theme of the poem is entirely one of mourning for Premier Chou and denunciation of the "gang of four." The poem honors Premier Chou's memory and eulogizes his immortal contributions. Even now, everyone who reads it is tremendously moved. In this poem the writer also gives expression to his indignation at the "gang of four." What joy and satisfaction we get when we read these penetrating lines. But in preparing the CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION the gang's henchman crossed out all the lines before "Flags flew at half-mast everywhere across the five continents and four seas." When it reached Yao Wen-yuan's hands, he struck out the part from "Despicable are the demons who, overrating themselves" to "Mayflies lightly plot to topple the giant tree," and by the time it was published in the PEOPLE'S DAILY Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan went further to delete "We will not hesitate to climb Chingakang Mountains again to rise in rebellion," and "We will carry forward Premier Chou's behest." Thus, the original poem was emasculated. As for the words "Gone for good is Chin Shih Huang's feudal society," they were also aimed at the gang and were a denunciation of their collusion in their own selfish interests, their control of the mass media and their feudal fascist rule. Following this line, the poet says in explicit terms: "We believe in Marxism-Leninism," "We don't fear to shed our blood and lay down our lives" and "We will not hesitate to climb Chingakang Mountains again to rise in rebellion," which means to take Chairman Mao's revolutionary path. How can these words be construed as opposition to Chairman Mao? How can they be connected with Lin Piao's "Outline of Project 571"? This monstrous absurdity shows up Yao Wen-yuan's plot to incriminate the poet and the masses who were mourning Premier Chou at Tienanmen Square.

Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan produced some thoroughly malicious ideas for writing the report. In order to label the actions of the masses honoring the memory of Premier Chou at Tienanmen Square as a "counterrevolutionary political incident" conducted by "behind-the-scene plotters," Yao Wen-yuan said that it was necessary to insert the words "an organized, premeditated and planned counterrevolutionary political incident." He tried to create counterrevolutionary public opinion to serve the gang's aim of overthrowing a great number of proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. On the alleged storming of the Great Hall of the People and setting fire to a building, Chang Chun-chiao, after reading the manuscript, said: "Why were several hundred worker-militiamen going in formation up the steps leading to the Great Hall of the People? Paying a visit? The point is not made clear." Then the sentence was changed to these words in the report: "Several hundred worker-militiamen went up the steps leading to the Great Hall of the People to stand guard," thus giving the false impression that some people intended to storm the Great Hall of the People. He said, "Change the word 'building' to 'People's Liberation Army Barracks,' and people all over China will be furious when they learn that the bad elements smashed and burned the barracks!" And so the building was turned into "People's Liberation Army Barracks." As a result of this doctoring, the revolutionary people defending the shining memory of Premier Chou became "hooligans," and the innocent masses were shown as criminals storming the Great Hall of the People. In this way Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan spread rumors, hoodwinked people and carried out their counterrevolutionary agitation.

After the report was published on 8 April, many readers telephoned or wrote to the PEOPLE'S DAILY to voice a strong protest. Four days later the paper received a letter signed by "a worker-militiaman on the spot." It was addressed to the editor in chief of the PEOPLE'S DAILY and on the back of the envelope was written: "To editor Goebbels." The letter contained the first and second pages of the newspaper, on which the worker-militiaman wrote a very long note. Some of his comments were: "This is shocking! The party organ has degenerated! It has become the mouthpiece for a handful of fascist careerists and conspirators! It's obvious that a handful of careerists and conspirators controlled WEN HUI PAO and STUDY AND CRITICISM and directed their blows against our beloved premier, leading to counterblows from the infuriated masses. Yet you dare to say that they were directed at Chairman Mao!" "It's obvious that the dozen or so young people who inveighed against Premier Chou were given protection by someone in the Great Hall of the People. Yet you said that people stormed the Great Hall and beat up people. Can the truth be hidden? Facts distorted?" "It's evident that you plotted to remove the wreaths and detain people. Yet you call others troublemakers." "It's obvious that you faked the poem which you claim was copied at Tienanmen Square. Who doesn't know it's from Chiang's court?" (Chiang Ching--ed.) "You have made a really clumsy Reichstag fire case. Can a faked report which falsifies the facts really mislead the masses as it's intended to do? From now on your paper

should be called the fascist party organ." "Down with the careerists and conspirators Chiang, Chang and Yao!" This was a forceful counterattack by revolutionaries against the faked report and the "gang of four."

8. Attacking the "Mastermind" and Framing Honest People

When the Tienanmen events took place, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was in total isolation from the outside world and had nothing to do with what was happening. The gang, however, tried to finish him off, claiming that he was the mastermind behind the events.

Though the masses were furious at the gang's outrageous attacks and false charges against Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, in their poems and leaflets there was at first no mention of his name. This gave the gang and its followers no opening to attack him. The CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION of the PEOPLE'S DAILY at one point carried several photos as evidence of the crimes of a "handful of class enemies at Tienanmen Square." When Yao Wen-yuan saw them he became furious, asking his man at the paper: "Why did you put out these photos? What a mess! Some of the pictures show people with head injuries, but none of them have anything to do with Teng Hsiao-ping." Trying to link the incident with Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, they even fell back on the feudal practice of involving the ninth degree of relationship of a family. They tried to get at him through his relatives. Teng Hsiao-ping's daughter worked in the semiconductor institute under the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The gang and their people were elated when they learned that the institute had sent two wreaths to Tienanmen Square. A reporter was sent to collect information. It happened that Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping's daughter was ill at the time and resting at home. She did not take part in making wreaths, nor did she go to Tienanmen Square. Despite that fact the reporter wrote: "On the wreath sent by the Scientific and Technological Department where Teng's daughter works were the words..." in order to involve Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping in the wreath sending. Pleased with themselves, the gang's hacks crowed like peacocks: "Don't think one or two hundred words is small stuff. The impact can be tremendous."

At 9 o'clock in the evening of 4 April a gang reporter saw several thousand people gathered at the southeast corner of the monument listening to a leaflet being read out. Entitled "A History of the 11th Line Struggle," the leaflet reads in full as follows:

1. January 1974, Chiang Ching diverted the orientation of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and aimed the attack at Premier Chou En-lai.
2. December 1974, Chiang Ching had interviews with a foreign biographer behind the back of the Central Committee and slandered certain central leading comrades. She attempted to become premier at the Fourth National People's Congress.

3. January 1975, Chairman Mao saw through Chiang Ching: The Fourth National People's Congress was held as Premier Chou intended. The first victory was won in the struggle.

4. July 1975, Chairman Mao criticized Chiang Ching and stopped her work at the Central Committee. Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was put in charge of Central Committee work during Premier Chou's illness, and a decisive victory was won. Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping's coming back to take charge of Central Committee work gave great pleasure to people throughout the country.

5. The current struggle against right deviationists is in fact a restoration and reversal of correct verdicts by a handful of careerists. Chairman Mao said: "Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people." Those who try to reverse the verdict of history have become objects of universal condemnation.

The leaflet drew attention from the masses and won their support. The reporter ran back to his office to relate the situation. At this the gang's PEOPLE'S DAILY man felt he had a windfall. He immediately scribbled it on the calendar and reported to Yao Wen-yuan by telephone. Yao said this was excellent. When his man wanted to tell him about the "reactions" of the masses, Yao stopped him, saying: "That's enough. Don't go on. I am having a meeting and will finish soon. I'll tell the meeting about it." A copy of the leaflet was sent to Yao Wen-yuan post-haste as "first-rate information."

In the writing of the "Counterrevolutionary Political Incident at Tienanmen Square" story, Yao Wen-yuan gave the order: "Point to Teng Hsiao-ping in explicit terms." So the tags "Teng Hsiao-ping, China's Nagy," "the general manager of the rumor company," "the root of the Tienanmen Square incident," and all other such false charges were heaped upon Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping and printed in reports, articles and commentaries about the Tienanmen events.

The article jointly written by the PEOPLE'S DAILY writing group and Liang Hsiao (the writing group of Tsinghua and Peking universities) entitled "The Bourgeoisie Is Right in the Party--An Analysis of the Counterrevolutionary Incident at Tienanmen Square" claimed that "the monsters and demons making trouble at Tienanmen Square all danced to the tune of Teng Hsiao-ping's flute." It said, "Teng represents the interests of the old and new bourgeoisie inside and outside the party and of the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists"; the incident was "staged singlehandedly by Teng Hsiao-ping." But to Yao Wen-yuan this was still not clear enough. He crossed out "staged singlehandedly by" and made it "Teng Hsiao-ping is the mastermind behind this counterrevolutionary incident." This settled the verdict on Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping.

After the overthrow of Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping the gang continued to make a hullabaloo about the Tienanmen incident. Two articles, "The Counter-revolutionary Political Incident at Tienanmen Square (Continuation)" and "Figures of the Nagy Type Are Not Permitted To Come to Power," were prepared on orders from the gang and were blatantly aimed at Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. Wang Hung-wen said: "We have not yet really traced the sources of the counterrevolutionary rumors of last year. We'll do it, be it the emperor of heaven himself. Don't think we're afraid of going after veteran cadres. We must even look into State Council and party Central Committee personnel." This was a wild attempt to overthrow central leading comrades who upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

9. Fighting to the Last Breath

The gang's bloody suppression of the revolutionary masses at Tienanmen Square on 5 April, instead of overwhelming the people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, served to reveal these political bandits in their true colors as a gang of fascists and to arouse even stronger resistance.

Hardly had the night passed when people again gathered in Tienanmen Square. Some delivered militant speeches, exposing what had happened in the square the night before and denouncing the gang's counterrevolutionary atrocities. Some people proposed staging a sit-down demonstration, others suggested sending in petitions and still others called for parades.

Encouraged by the people's enthusiasm, Chi Kuo-chih, a worker from the No 1 electronic instruments factory in the eastern part of the city, said: "What's the use of a sit-down demonstration, petitions or parades? Aren't they all useless? To have strength we have to get organized." He proposed that a "National Committee in Defense of Premier Chou" be established to explain the truth to the people throughout the country and to expose the conspiracy of the careerists. His proposal was warmly approved.

On the night of 7 April the news report concocted by the "gang of four" about the so-called Tienanmen counterrevolutionary political incident was broadcast. Immediately after that, Li Ching-chun, a cadre in the technical section of the Central Broadcasting Administration, wrote two huge streamers, one reading: "Chiang, Chang, Yao (Fierce Jackals) Who Oppose Premier Chou Will Come to No Good End and Will Die in Ignominy!" The other was: "Down With Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan and Chang Chun-chiao!" What an act of daring!

The revolutionary people showed their skill and daring in the struggle. The revolutionary poems, eulogies and memorial speeches at Tienanmen Square played a great militant role during the Ching Ming Festival. After the Tienanmen actions were put down, protecting and preserving them became a form of struggle waged by the revolutionary people against the "gang of four" in the new circumstances. People racked their brains to find the best ways to guard these treasures. A functionary of the

Light Industry Ministry recopied the poems he had noted down in an order known to himself only. He rolled up the papers and wound cotton thread around them to look like a spool of thread. A civil policeman of the Public Security Bureau took his copy of the revolutionary poems to his home in the countryside in Honan and buried it. A comrade from Ching-huangtao who happened to be in Peking during the Ching Ming days copied a great number of poems, put them into a plastic bag and buried it in the Fragrant Hills near Peking. Other people hid their poems in flower-pots or in the lining of a coal stove. They did these things because they were convinced that the day would come when the "gang of four" would meet its doom; darkness would end and dawn would break.

During those hard days, 16 teachers in the Chinese-language teaching group of the Second Peking Foreign Languages Institute, braving pressure from the gang and risking prison, went about collecting and sorting out these precious poems from Tienanmen Square. They mimeographed the collection under the pseudonym of Tung Huai-chou. One of their members, Pai Hsiao-lang, was arrested. But they persevered. People at the No 502 Institute of the Seventh Ministry of Machine Building and the Automation Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences collected and published a selection of revolutionary poems. Comrade Chao Pu-chu wrote the calligraphy for the title.

The comrades arrested turned the prison into a new front of struggle against the "gang of four."

The gang's followers resorted to various measures to break the comrades. They placed the list of names of the cadres at the Shukuang electrical machinery plant before Yuan Hai-chang, a member of the plant party committee, and demanded that he underline the names of those who had participated in the activities to mourn Premier Chou. He refused. They asked Liu Ti to betray his comrades and provide written material to slander and denounce Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping. Liu Ti vehemently refuted their lies. They urged Li Chou-sheng to provide material against Vice Chairman Yeh Chien-ying and were countered by a flat refusal. They tried to force Wang Ying-pin, a worker at the Peking No 7 machine tool plant, to say that the Tienanmen Square poems were counterrevolutionary. He refuted this charge on the basis of the facts. Graduate student Wang Lei from the Peking Iron and Steel Institute and Han Chih-hsiung encouraged each other and studied together to prepare for struggle after prison. Faced by such heroes, the "gang of four" and their followers failed in all their plots.

This is a new generation, a generation of heroes. Together with the masses at Tienanmen Square, they took up the burden of the motherland's destiny. They cried out for the smashing of the "gang of four" and blazed the trail forward, arduously, magnificently.

10. The 5 April Movement Will Shine in Glory Forever

The Tienanmen Square events are now being hailed as the great 5 April Movement. It stands before the whole world, colors flying for all to see, tremendous in its revolutionary sweep, unprecedented in its scale, and solemnly proclaims: China does not belong to the "gang of four." People and the people alone can decide the destiny of China. Only the people can advance history.

The people are the masters of history. This Marxist truth, translated into a sublime and heroic scene at Tienanmen Square, is burned into the hearts of hundreds of millions of people. Who organized the Tienanmen Square events? The people. Who directed at Tienanmen? The people. Millions of people demonstrated their high level of political consciousness, their organizing ability and their skill in struggle. This earth-shaking historical drama at Tienanmen Square is a rare feat in history. It shows penetratingly that the historical trend of the people's revolutionary movement cannot be held back by any force of reaction. Though the 5 April Movement was suppressed by the "gang of four," the flames of truth spread across the length and breadth of China. The people awakened, discovered their own strength, broadened their horizons, raised their skill in struggle and became more confident of victory. The April struggle tolled the knell of the "gang of four" and prepared the most important condition for the October victory led by Chairman Hua--hundreds of millions of awakened people.

The revolutionary spirit of the 5 April Movement will shine through all time and always inspire the Chinese people on their forward march.

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- END -



