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No. 1, 1 January 1979

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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UNINTERRUPTED REVOLUTION

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 p 2

[Article by Mao Zedong [Mao Tsetung] dated January 1958]

[Text] Our revolutions have occurred one after another. From the seizure of nationwide political power in 1949 we went on to the antifeudal land reform and the movement for agricultural cooperation right after the land reform and to the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce and of handicrafts. Socialist transformation in these three main fields, which was a socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production, was basically completed in 1956. It was followed by a socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts last year. By and large, this latter revolution can be wound up before 1 July this year. But there will still be problems, and it will be necessary to go on solving them each year for a considerable period of time through the full airing of views and the introduction of reforms. What we need now is a technological revolution so that we can catch up with or surpass Britain in 15 years or a little longer. China's economy is backward and its material base weak. As a result, we are still not in a position to take the initiative and feel mentally constrained, and in this respect we are not yet liberated. We need to exert ourselves. Then after 5 years we shall have a little more initiative; 10 years from now we shall have greater initiative; and 15 years on, when we have more grain and steel, our initiative will be greater still. In revolution as in war we must set new tasks immediately after each victory. This keeps both the cadres and the masses full of revolutionary zeal and helps curb conceit. Anyway, there is no time for conceit. With new tasks pressing, everyone's attention is set on how to complete them. Our aim in proposing a technological revolution is to get everyone to study science and technology. The rightists say that we are petty intellectuals incapable of leading big intellectuals. Others say that we should adopt a policy of "buying off" the veteran cadres, paying them a sum of money and telling them to retire, because they know only how to wage war and carry out land reform and know nothing of science and technology. We must exert ourselves, we must study and carry through to the end this great technological revolution which history has bequeathed us. This question should be discussed among the

cadres; a cadre conference should be called to discuss what other capabilities we have. In the past we had certain capabilities, we were able to wage war and carry out land reform, but now these capabilities are not enough. We must acquire new ones and become well versed in professional work, in science and technology; otherwise we cannot possibly exercise effective leadership. In "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" which I wrote in 1949, I said: "The serious task of economic construction lies before us. We shall soon put aside some of the things we know well and be compelled to do things we don't know well. This means difficulties." "We must overcome difficulties, we must learn what we do not know." Eight years have elapsed. During these 8 years one revolution has succeeded another, preoccupying everybody's attention, and many have not had the time to study science and technology. From this year on, while continuing to complete the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, we should shift the emphasis in our party's work to the technological revolution. We must call the attention of the whole party to this matter. Party committees at all levels may hold internal discussions first and make it clear to the cadres, but for the time being no publicity should be given it in the press. We can play it up after 1 July, because by then the rectification campaign at the grassroots level will be almost over, and the attention of the whole party can be shifted to the technological revolution. Politics is apt to be neglected with a shift to the technological side, so we must stress integrating technology with politics.

(Note: This is one item in "The 60 Points on Methods of Work (Draft)" written by Comrade Mao Zedong.)

ON CONDUCTING RURAL SURVEYS

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 3-6

[Speech by Mao Zedong dated 13 September 1941]

[Text] One. Conditions Are Understood Gradually and Only With Persistent Effort

Getting to know the world is no easy matter. Marx and Engels rounded off the theory of scientific communism only after lifelong effort and repeated investigation and study. Lenin and Stalin also made many investigations.

Carrying out the Chinese revolution also requires investigation and study. First of all we must know China (its past, present and future). It is regrettable that many comrades are often subjectivist and opinionated and attach no importance whatsoever to investigation and study.

We believe in science, not theology. Therefore, instead of giving play to our imagination we look at the grassroots levels in making investigation. At the same time we believe that things are in motion, that they are changing, progressing. Thus, investigation is a long-term job. We need to investigate things today, and our children and grandchildren will have to investigate things in the future. Only in this way is it possible to go on learning new things and acquiring more knowledge.

We must investigate patiently, step by step, and must not be impetuous. It was only after several years of effort that I came to know the countryside.

I remember it was in 1920, when I first read Kautskiy's "Class Struggle," Chen Wang-tao's translation of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" and an Englishman's "History of Socialism," that I came to know that the history of mankind is a history of class struggle and that class struggle is the motive force in social development; only then did I begin to grasp the method of cognizing problems. But in none of these books was there any mention of things specifically Chinese, such as Hunan or Hupeh, Chiang Kai-shek or Chen Tu-hsiu. I took from them only the idea of

"class struggle" and began to study practical class struggle in earnest. After taking part in the peasant movement for 4 months, I came to know something about the various classes, but this knowledge was quite superficial, not at all deep.

The Central Committee later asked me to take charge of the peasant movement. I then made up my mind to conduct further investigations, spending a little over a month in the survey of the five counties of Changsha, Hsiangtan, Hsianghsiang, Hengshan and Liling. There was an upsurge in the peasant movement in these counties, and many peasants had joined peasant associations. The Kuomintang attacked us for "going too far" and for engaging in "riffraff activities" and reviled the peasants for "going too far" by lolling on the beds of the daughters of big landlords. In fact, my investigations showed that not all things had gone "too far," as they said they had, but that this state of affairs was natural and necessary, because the peasants had suffered too much. I think it is inevitable for peasants who have been oppressed for thousands of years to go a little "too far" once they rise up, and it wouldn't have mattered much if they had lolled on the beds of the daughters of the landlords even more often.

However, I was still not very clear about class alinement in the countryside. It was only when I had made a survey of Hsunwu after we got to the Chingking Mountains that I became clear on the question of the rich peasants and the landlords. I put forward measures for dealing with the rich peasants, measures that involved not only "taking from those who have more land and giving to those who have less" but also "taking from those who have better and giving to those who have worse," for this was the only way the rich peasants, middle peasants, poor peasants and farm laborers could all carry on. If the landlords were not given any land and had nothing to live on, and if the rich peasants were only given poor land and were left half-destitute and driven to rebel, the poor peasants and farm laborers would be mutilated. Some people ridiculed my approach as a rich-peasant line, yet I'm afraid my measures were the only correct ones at the time. Of course, today we have the anti-Japanese national united front, and we are reducing rent and interest, not depriving the landlords and rich peasants of their property rights. Otherwise, it would be impossible for us to unite with them in the fight against Japan.

As regards the poor peasants and farm laborers, I became clear only after my survey of Hsingkuo County, which helped me realize the importance of poor peasant leagues in redistributing land.

So, it took me 6 to 7 years to acquire experience in conducting rural surveys. Now, with the experience of other comrades to go by, you can take shortcuts and accomplish such work in a few months instead of 6 or 7 years. The thing for comrades to do today is dig into questions and exert yourselves in a matter-of-fact way. Provided you are not sleepy-heads, you can achieve quite a lot even if you work at it only 6 hours a day. But you do need to keep at it.

Two. Method

A. The unity of opposites and class struggle are the two points of departure in our work. When we observe something, the first step can only be to perceive its broad outlines and form a general impression. Take the case of a newcomer to Yen-an. At first he has only a general and vague idea of the place. But after he has visited the anti-Japanese military and political university, the women's college and other schools and government institutions in Yen-an, he takes the second step, adopts an analytical approach and makes a careful and systematic study and analysis of the different aspects of Yen-an. Then, taking the third step, he employs synthesis to sum up his analyses of these different aspects and gains a picture of Yen-an as a whole. He now knows a Yen-an which is different from the one he knew on his arrival. He saw Yen-an as a whole at the beginning, and he is still seeing Yen-an as a whole now, but his knowledge of the place is different. He has now gained a scientific knowledge and a concrete understanding of Yen-an. The same is true of our observing a village.

That was the method used by Marx in writing "Das Kapital." He first analyzed the various sectors of a capitalist society and then summed up his analysis to realize the law of the capitalist movement.

Special attention should be paid to analysis. There should be synthesis as well as analysis, that is to say, there is an element of synthesis in the analysis made in the second step. As the old saying goes, the principle of good writing is to have both an unfolding and a summing up. This saying is correct. And it was also correct for Su Tung-po to study history and the Sung dynasty by using the method of "tackling the enemy from eight sides." As we study Chinese society today, we should likewise use the method of "tackling the enemy from four sides," dividing it into four sectors--political, economic, cultural and military--and drawing conclusions for the Chinese revolution.

If we use the method of "looking at flowers while on horseback," trying to know a bit of everything, we will only be wasting time and will get nowhere.

Therefore, we must grasp this viewpoint, that is, the unity of opposites and class struggle. This is the viewpoint inherent in analysis and synthesis, as I have already said. If you use this approach in analyzing conditions in the rural areas, you will come to know the classes there, their main characteristics and their interrelations. One of the questions you have asked me is: What is a rich peasant? In my view, a landlord lives mainly on rent; a rich peasant lives mainly by hiring farm laborers while engaging in some labor himself; a middle peasant generally does not sell his labor power and works his own land; a poor peasant has to sell his labor power, as he cannot make a living from his land; and a farm laborer sells all his labor power and owns no land at all. Of course, these are only the main criteria of the above classes.

Such an analysis of the different classes and strata as well as their general living conditions is the only way to correctly understand the overall situation in the countryside.

We should think hard in analyzing objective reality and analyzing classes. We should not turn a blind eye to practical problems. We should throw out purveyors of bombast and should think things out for ourselves and integrate theory with practice.

Lenin said in 1905 that a government of workers and peasants should be formed in Russia after the overthrow of the tsarist government, but Trotsky maintained that there should be a government of workers alone. This shows that Trotsky did not really integrate theory with practice. We should try through practice to identify the law of the movement of things and create new theories. For instance, the protracted nature of China's war of resistance against Japan constitutes a law of that war. Today, when you go down to rural areas to make investigations, you should adopt this viewpoint and method to guide your practice and, at the same time, constantly enrich your theoretical understanding in the course of practice.

B. Gathering vast amounts of data and grasping the main points. The more data one collects, the better. But it is essential to grasp the main points of characteristics (the principal aspects of contradictions). When Marx was studying capitalism and Lenin imperialism, they collected vast amounts of statistics and data. However, they did not use them all; they only made use of such data as best illustrated the characteristics under consideration.

No investigation, no right to speak. But there are comrades who like to ask: "Out of ten things, I have investigated nine--all but one. Don't I have the right to speak?" I think that if the nine you have investigated are all secondary things and you have omitted the principal one, you still have no right to speak.

In China today the national contradiction is the principal contradiction, while the class contradiction has become secondary. Before the Sian Incident the contradiction between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang was the principal one. Since the incident, the contradiction between China and Japan has been the principal one. So it is this contradiction that must be our point of departure in understanding and solving any problem today. If we concentrate on minor matters to the neglect of the principal contradiction, seeing the trees but not the forest, we will still have no right to speak.

Therefore, in synthesizing data we should avoid getting bogged down in narrow empiricism.

Three. Replies to Questions

Comrades have raised a lot of questions, and I can only answer some of them. Others cannot be answered, because if they could, there would be no need for you to go to the countryside. What is more, you yourselves must go to the rural areas and make investigations before you can understand these problems and find different solutions appropriate to different people and circumstances.

How should we hold factfinding meetings? A factfinding meeting must not only pose questions but produce answers. It is advisable to have around three to five people at each meeting. During my survey of Hsingkuo I learned that 40 percent of the land was owned by landlords and 30 percent by rich peasants and that 10 percent was ancestral temple land owned in common by landlords and rich peasants, making a total of 80 percent owned by the landlords and rich peasants, while only 20 percent was owned by the middle and poor peasants. But the landlords accounted for no more than 1 percent of the population and the rich peasants for no more than 5 percent, while the poor and middle peasants accounted for 80 percent. On the one hand 6 percent of the population owned 80 percent of the land, and on the other 80 percent of the population owned only 20 percent. The only logical conclusion could be revolution. This strengthened my confidence in the revolution, my conviction that the revolution would win the sympathy and support of more than 80 percent of the people.

How should we select samples for investigation? There are three kinds: the advanced, the middle and the backward. If on the basis of this classification you choose to investigate two or three people from each kind, you will be able to learn the conditions of them all.

How should we collect and compile material? You must do it all yourselves in order to gain experience, experience which you use to improve your work in investigating and compiling material later.

How can we make sure that the people we talk to tell the truth? People are different, and therefore you must adopt different approaches. But the main thing is to make friends with the masses and not to spy on them, which causes resentment. If a person does not tell the truth, it is because he does not know whether or not your intentions are for his benefit. You must give him time to get to know your thinking in the course of talking and making friends with him, so that he gradually recognizes your true intentions and regards you as a real friend. Only then will you be able to find out the facts. You must blame yourself and not the masses if they do not tell you the truth.

In my investigation of Hsingkuo I invited several peasants for a conversation. At first they were full of misgivings, wondering what on earth I would do to them. So the first day we only had a chat about everyday matters. No smiles crossed their faces, and they did not say much. Later

I invited them to dinner, and in the evening I gave them large, warm quilts to sleep under. This helped them understand my real intentions. Gradually they began to smile and spoke up more. In the end we were all at ease. Everybody joined in lively discussions, nothing was held back and we got along so well we might have been one family.

It is not necessary to go into the other questions. It will be better for you to go down as soon as possible to make investigations yourselves.

THREE LETTERS FROM COMRADE MAO ZEDONG TO COMRADE LI DA [LI TA]

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 7-10

[Text]

(1)

Ho-ming (A): [See footnotes at end of item]

Thank you for your two letters and the second part of your annotations to the text of "On Practice." I have also read the first part of the annotations from a journal (B). By using plain language they help a great deal in propagating materialism. These annotations should be published in pamphlet form as soon as you have finished the third installment. Please reconsider my minor amendments to the notes on imperialism, dogmatism and empiricism that appear on two pages of the second part of your annotations. In case the second part has been published, inclusion of its revised version in the future pamphlet will do.

In the past there has been little propagation of dialectical materialism in plain language to meet the pressing needs of cadres, students and other youths. I hope you will write more articles to meet these needs.

Greetings!

Mao Tsetung

27 March (C)

P.S.: In "On Practice" it is inappropriate to link the movement of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom to antiforeign struggles. This should be revised in the "Selected Works" but will remain unchanged for the time being.

(2)

Ho-ming:

Your letter of 11 September has been received, and so have the several others mailed before this one. I have written the three characters--
Ai Wan Ting (D)--on another piece of paper as requested.

The phrase "in any given time" that appears in line 3, paragraph 10, chapter 4 of "On Practice" in the sentence: "But, in any given contradiction and in any given time, whether principle or secondary, should the two contradictory aspects be treated as equal?" should be deleted. This phrase has been deleted in the second edition of Volume I of the "Selected Works." Please pay attention to this deletion when you write annotations to this article.

Greetings!

Mao Tsetung

17 September 1952

(3)

Ho-ming:

Have received and read your letter of 20 December and the attached two articles (E). They are very good, especially the article on politics and ideology, which will be of great help to the readers. There seem to be some incorrect words in the articles; for instance, in the sentence "pragmaticists advocate the first nature of material and the second nature of perception." In addition, the terms regarding practical application and efficiency used by pragmaticists and cited in our criticism of pragmatism are similar in general to those being used by us. It is necessary to compare these terms with the terms we are using and make some explanations, because ordinary people cannot clearly distinguish between them. An explicit criticism should be given to such sentences as "the cosmos 'is an unfinished draft manuscript.'" (E)

Your articles are written in plain language and are easy to understand. They are very good. I suggest that when you again write articles you should try to give proper explanations to some basic philosophic concepts, so that they can be understood by the ordinary cadres. Make use of this opportunity to enable some 1 million cadres both inside and outside the party who do not understand philosophy to grasp a bit of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. What do you have to say?

Greetings!

Mao Tsetung

28 December 1954

FOOTNOTES

(A) Ho-ming--Comrade Li Ta's alias.

(B) Journal--refers to issue No 6 of Volume 3 of NEW CONSTRUCTION.

- (C) 27 March 1951.
- (D) Ai Wan Ting is a scenic spot in the Yuehlu Mountains in Changsha. It was renovated in 1952. At that time Comrade Li Ta was the president of Hunan University. At the request of Comrade Li Ta, Chairman Mao wrote the three characters "Ai Wan Ting."
- (E) See Hu Shih's work "Experimentalism" for "the cosmos 'is an unfinished draft manuscript.'" Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's opinion, Comrade Li Ta, while editing and compiling the book "Criticism of Hu Shih's Reactionary Ideology" in 1955, made comparative explanations of the pragmaticists' terms--practical application and efficiency--and the similar terms used by dialectical materialists. He also made an explicit criticism of "the cosmos 'is an unfinished draft manuscript.'"

LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TO MAO ANYING [MAO AN-YING] AND MAO ANQING [MAO AN-CHING]

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 11-12

[Text] To my sons An-ying and An-ching:

I received a long letter from An-ying, a letter from An-ching and the photo album and photos from An-ying long ago, adding up to several letters and photos, but I didn't answer. I am very sorry and know that you must have been worried.

I am pleased to learn of your progress. An-ying's letters read well, his calligraphy is not bad and he has shown the will to go ahead--this is very good. The only suggestion I would make is that you spend more time studying natural science, while you are still young, and less discussing politics. Political discussion is necessary, but at present you'd better devote yourselves to the study of natural science, supplemented by social science. In the future you can reverse the order, making social science your main subject and natural science auxiliary. In short, pay attention to science, which alone is genuine knowledge and which will be extremely useful in the future. People speak highly of you and flatter you. This may spur you on, and that's good, but it may make you complacent and turn your heads, and the danger may arise of not knowing how to keep your feet on the ground and seek truth from facts. This could be bad. You have your own futures before you. Whether they are bright or not will depend on yourselves and on your immediate environment. I don't want to interfere in your affairs. I put forward my views only as suggestions for you to consider, and you must make the decisions. In a word, I love you both and hope you do still better.

An-ying asked me to write a poem, but I can't because I don't have the least inspiration. On your request for books, I asked old Comrade Lin Po-chu in Sian to mail a stack of them to your group of young people in 1939, and I'm really sorry to hear that you never received them. I am now selecting and sending you a few, and more will be sent later.

My health is not so good this year, and I am displeased with myself. I am so busy I have little time to read. How are things with you? Thinking a lot about you.

Mao Tsetung

31 January 1941

LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TO CAI BO [TSAI PO] AND FOUR OTHER YOUTHS

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 p 13

[Text] To young Comrades Tsai Po, Chang Chih-ming, Liu Yung-pin, Huang Ping and Chao Hsiao-yen:

I was very glad to receive your letter upon the return of Yung-fu (Comrade Mao An-ying--RED FLAG editor's note). As you said in your letter, new China will need a great number of scholars and technicians, and it's right for you to strive in that direction. Here I can write only a few brief lines, all in the hope that you will become more mature day by day, be healthy and strong and happy and make progress. I also hope that you will unite with all your young Chinese friends studying in the Soviet Union and that you will all study hard so that you can come back and serve your country.

A hearty handshake for you all!

Mao Tsetung

8 January 1946

COMMUNIQUE OF THE THIRD PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA (ADOPTED ON 22 DECEMBER 1978)

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 14-21

[Text] The 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its third plenary session in Peking between 18 and 22 December 1978. It was attended by 169 members and 112 alternate members of the Central Committee. Hua Kuo-feng, chairman of the CCP Central Committee, and Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Yun and Wang Tung-hsing, vice chairmen, were present. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng presided over the session and made important speeches.

A central working conference held prior to the session made full preparations for it.

The plenary session decided that, since the work of the Central Committee following its second plenary session had proceeded smoothly and the large-scale nationwide mass movement to expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four" had in the main been completed victoriously, the stress of the party's work should shift to socialist modernization as of 1979. The plenary session discussed the international situation and the handling of foreign affairs, reaching the view that the foreign policy of the party and the government was correct and successful. The plenary session also discussed the question of how to speed the growth of agricultural production and arrangements for the national economic plans for 1979 and 1980 and adopted relevant documents in principle. The plenary session examined and solved a number of important questions left over from history and the question of the contributions and faults, the correctness and incorrectness of some important leaders. In order to meet the needs of socialist modernization, the plenary session decided to strengthen democracy in party life and in the political life of the state, put forward in explicit terms the party's ideological line, strengthened the party's leading organs and set up a Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline. The plenary session elected Comrade Chen Yun an additional member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and vice chairman of the Central Committee, and elected Comrades Teng Ying-chao, Hu Yao-pang

and Wang Chen additional members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. In view of the changed situation in party life since the 11th national congress of the party and current urgent needs in party work, the plenary session decided, in a provisional measure, to add nine members to the Central Committee--Comrades Huang Ko-cheng, Sung Jen-chung, Hu Chiao-mu, Hsi Chung-hsun, Wang Jen-chung, Huang Huo-ching, Chen Tsai-tao, Han Kuang and Chou Hui--subject to future confirmation by the 12th national congress of the party. The plenary session elected Comrade Chen Yun first secretary of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, Comrade Teng Ying-chao second secretary, Comrade Hu Yao-pang third secretary, Comrade Huang Ko-cheng permanent secretary, and Wang Ho-shou and other comrades deputy secretaries. Permanent members and members of the commission were also elected.

The plenary session holds that this session and the earlier central working conference are of great importance in our party's history. Throughout the two meetings the participants emancipated their thinking on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and spoke freely. They fully revived and carried forward inner-party democracy and the party's fine traditions of seeking truth from facts, the mass line, and criticism and self-criticism, and enhanced their unity. The meetings truly brought about "a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness," as Comrade Mao Tsetung advocated. The plenary session decided to spread this atmosphere throughout the party and the army and among the people of all nationalities in our country.

(1)

The plenary session expresses satisfaction with the work of the Central Committee in the past 10 months since the second plenary session. There has been great victory in the momentous nationwide political revolution to expose and repudiate Lin Piao and the "gang of four"; there has been additional restoration and growth of the national economy; there is political stability and unity throughout the country; and significant progress has been made with regard to our foreign policy. All this provides good conditions for the whole party to shift the emphasis of its work to socialist modernization.

The session points out that our country has achieved new and important successes in developing the international united front against hegemonism and in developing friendly relations with countries in all parts of the world. The visits made by our state leaders this year to Korea, Romania, Yugoslavia, Kampuchea, Iran, Burma, Nepal, the Philippines, Bangladesh, Japan, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore and many other countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe; the conclusion of the China-Japan peace and friendship treaty and the completion of the negotiations for the normalization of relations between China and the United States are important contributions to peace in Asia and the world as a whole. But the

grave danger of war still exists. We must strengthen our national defense and be prepared to repulse at any moment aggressors from any direction. The plenary session holds that the normalization of relations between China and the United States further places before us the prospect of the return of our sacred territory Taiwan to the embrace of our motherland and the accomplishment of the great cause of reunification. The plenary session expresses welcome to Taiwan compatriots, compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and Overseas Chinese, as patriots belonging to one family, to continue making joint and positive contributions to the reunification and construction of their motherland.

In the early years after the founding of the People's Republic, especially after the socialist transformation was in the main completed, Comrade Mao Tsetung instructed the whole party time and again to shift the focus of our work to the field of the economy and technical revolution. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung and Comrade Chou En-lai, our party did a great deal for socialist modernization and scored important achievements. But the work was later interrupted and sabotaged by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Besides, we had some shortcomings and mistakes in our leading work because we lacked experience in socialist construction, and this also hampered the transition in the focus of our party's work. Since the nationwide mass movement to expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four" has fundamentally come to a successful conclusion, though in a small number of places and departments the movement is less developed, still needs some time to catch up and so cannot end simultaneously, on the whole there is every condition needed for that transition. Therefore, the plenary session unanimously endorsed the policy decision put forward by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng on behalf of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee that, to meet the developments at home and abroad, now is an appropriate time to take the decision to close the large-scale nationwide mass movement to expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and to shift the emphasis of our party's work and the attention of the whole people of our country to socialist modernization. This is of major significance for fulfillment of the 3-year and 8-year programs for the development of the national economy and the outline for 23 years, for the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology and for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. The general task put forward by our party for the new period reflects the demands of history and the people's aspirations and represents their fundamental interests. Whether or not we can carry this general task to completion, speed socialist modernization and, on the basis of a rapid growth in production, improve the people's living standards significantly and strengthen national defense--this is a major issue which is of paramount concern to all our people and of great significance to the cause of world peace and progress. Carrying out the four modernizations requires great growth in the productive forces, which in turn requires diverse changes in those aspects of the relations of production and the superstructure not in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, and requires changes in all methods of management,

actions and thinking which stand in the way of such growth. Socialist modernization is therefore a profound and extensive revolution. There is still in our country today a small handful of counterrevolutionary elements and criminals who hate our socialist modernization and try to undermine it. We must not relax our class struggle against them, nor can we weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. But as Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out, the large-scale, turbulent class struggles of a mass character have in the main come to an end. Class struggle in socialist society should be carried out on the principle of strictly differentiating the two different types of contradictions and correctly handling them in accordance with the procedures prescribed by the constitution and the law. It is impermissible to confuse the two different types of contradictions and damage the political stability and unity required for socialist modernization. The plenary session calls on the whole party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities to work with one heart and one mind, enhance political stability and unity, mobilize themselves immediately to go all out, pool their wisdom and efforts and carry out the new Long March to make ours a modern socialist country before the end of the century.

(2)

In preparing for the great task of socialist modernization, the session reviewed the experience and lessons of economic construction since the founding of the People's Republic. The session holds that the fundamental policy put forth in the report "On the Ten Major Relationships" which Comrade Mao Tsetung made in 1956, summing up China's experience in economic construction, is an objective reflection of economic law and also an important guarantee for the political stability of society. This report still is significant for guidance today. It has been shown in practice that whenever we maintain society's necessary political stability and work according to objective economic law, our national economy advances steadily and at a high speed; otherwise, our national economy develops slowly or even stagnates and falls back. While we have achieved political stability and unity and are restoring and adhering to the economic policies that proved effective over a long time, we are now, in the light of the new historical conditions and practical experience, adopting a number of major new economic measures, conscientiously transforming the system and methods of economic management, actively expanding economic cooperation on terms of equality and mutual benefit with other countries on the basis of self-reliance, striving to adopt the world's advanced technologies and equipment and greatly strengthening scientific and educational work to meet the needs of modernization. Therefore, there can be no doubt that our country's economic construction is bound to advance rapidly and steadily once again.

The plenary session discussed arrangements for the national economic plans for 1979 and approved them in principle, and proposed that the State Council submit them after revisions to the second session of the

National People's Congress to be held next year for discussion and adoption. The session feels that these arrangements are both forward-looking and feasible. The session points out that the restoration and development of our national economy since the downfall of the "gang of four" has been very rapid, and that there have been marked increases in total industrial and agricultural output and revenue in 1978. But it has to be noted that due to sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over a long period there are still quite a few problems in the national economy, some major imbalances have not been completely changed and some disorder in production, construction, circulation and distribution has not been fully eliminated. A series of problems left hanging for years as regards the people's livelihood in town and country must be appropriately solved. We must conscientiously solve these problems step by step in the next few years and effectively achieve a comprehensive balance, so as to lay a solid foundation for rapid development. We must make concentrated efforts within the limits of our capabilities to carry out capital construction actively and steadily and not rush things, wasting manpower and material.

The session points out that one of the serious shortcomings in the structure of economic management in our country is the over-concentration of authority, and it is necessary boldly to shift it under guidance from the leadership to lower levels so that the local authorities and industrial and agricultural enterprises will have greater power of decision in management under the guidance of unified state planning; big efforts should be made to simplify bodies at various levels charged with economic administration and transfer most of their functions to such enterprises as specialized companies or complexes; it is necessary to act firmly in line with economic law, attach importance to the role of the law of value, consciously combine ideological and political work with economic methods and give full play to the enthusiasm of cadres and workers for production; it is necessary, under the centralized leadership of the party, to tackle conscientiously the failure to make a distinction between the party, the government and the enterprise and to put a stop to the substitution of party for government and the substitution of government for enterprise administration, to institute a division of responsibilities among different levels, types of work and individuals, increase the authority and responsibility of administrative bodies and managerial personnel, reduce the number of meetings and amount of paperwork to raise work efficiency, and conscientiously adopt the practices of examination, reward and punishment, promotion and demotion. These measures will bring into play the initiative, enthusiasm and creativeness of four levels, the central departments, the local authorities, the enterprises and the workers, and invigorate all branches and links of the socialist economy.

The session discussed in detail questions in agriculture and agreed to distribute to the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions for discussion and trial use the "Decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development (Draft)" and the "Regulations on the Work in the Rural People's Communes (Draft for Trial Use)."

The plenary session holds that the whole party should concentrate its main energy and efforts on advancing agriculture as fast as possible, because agriculture, the foundation of the national economy, has been seriously damaged in recent years and remains very weak on the whole. The rapid development of the national economy as a whole and the steady improvement in the living standards of the people of the whole country depend on the vigorous restoration and speeding up of farm production, on resolutely and fully implementing the policy of simultaneous development of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations and fisheries, the policy of taking grain as the key link and insuring an all-round development, the policy of adaptation to local conditions and appropriate concentration of certain crops in certain areas, and gradual modernization of farmwork. This requires, first of all, releasing the socialist enthusiasm of our country's several hundred million peasants, paying full attention to their material well-being economically and giving effective protection to their democratic rights politically. Taking this as the guideline, the plenary session set forth a series of policies and economic measures aimed at raising present agricultural production. The most important are as follows: The right of ownership by the people's communes, production brigades and production teams and their power of decision must be protected effectively by the laws of the state: it is not permitted to commandeer the manpower, funds, products and material of any production team; the economic organizations at various levels of the people's commune must conscientiously implement the socialist principle of "to each according to his work," work out payment in accordance with the amount and quality of work done, and overcome egalitarianism; small plots of land for private use by commune members, their domestic side occupations, and village fairs are necessary adjuncts of the socialist economy and must not be interfered with; the people's communes must resolutely implement the system of three levels of ownership with the production team as the basic accounting unit, and this should remain unchanged. Organizations at various levels of the people's commune must firmly carry out democratic management and election of cadres and make public their accounts. The session holds that, for a fairly long period to come, the national figures for the agricultural tax and the state purchase of grain will continue to be based on the 5-year quotas 1971-1975 and that grain purchase must never be excessive. To reduce the disparity in prices between industrial and agricultural products, the plenary session suggests that the State Council make a decision to raise the grain purchase price by 20 percent, starting in 1979 when the summer grain is marketed, and the price for the amount purchased above the quota by an additional 50 percent, and also raise the purchase price for cotton, edible oil, sugar, animal by-products, aquatic and forestry products and other farm and sideline products step by step, depending on the concrete conditions. The factory price and the market price of farm machinery, chemical fertilizer, insecticides, plastics and other manufactured goods for farm use will be cut by 10 to 15 percent in 1979 and 1980 by reducing the cost of production, and these benefits will in general be passed on to the peasants. After the purchase price of farm produce is raised, the

urban workers must be guaranteed against a fall in their living standards. The market price of all food grain will remain unchanged, and the selling price of other farm products needed for daily life must also be kept stable; if some prices have to be raised, appropriate subsidies will be given to the consumers. The plenary session also discussed the strengthening of education in agricultural science, the drafting of regional programs for developing agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry, the establishment of modern farming, forestry, livestock breeding and fishing centers, the active expansion of rural industry and side occupations run by people's communes and production brigades and other important questions and decided upon relevant measures.

The plenary session points out that it is imperative to improve the livelihood of the people in town and country step by step on the basis of the growth of production. The bureaucratic attitude of paying no attention at all to urgent problems in the people's livelihood must be resolutely opposed. On the other hand, since our economy is still very backward at present, it is impossible to improve the people's livelihood very rapidly, and it is essential to keep the people informed on the relevant state of affairs and to intensify education in the revolutionary ideas of self-reliance and hard struggle among the youth and other sectors of the people, and leading comrades at all levels must make themselves exemplars in this regard.

(3)

The session had a serious discussion on some major political events which occurred during the Great Cultural Revolution and certain historical questions left over from an earlier period. It holds that satisfactory settlement of these questions is very necessary for consolidating stability and unity, facilitating the shift in focus of the work of the whole party and getting the whole party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities to unite as one and to look forward so as to mobilize all positive factors to work for the four modernizations.

The session points out that in 1975, in the period when Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was entrusted by Comrade Mao Tsetung with the responsibility of presiding over the work of the Central Committee, there were great achievements in all fields of work, with which the whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country were satisfied. In accordance with Comrade Mao Tsetung's instructions, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping and other central leading comrades waged tit-for-tat struggles against interference and sabotage by the "gang of four." The gang arbitrarily described the political line and the achievements of 1975 as a "right-deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts." This reversal of history must be reversed again. The session points out that the Tienanmen events of 5 April 1976 were entirely revolutionary actions. The great revolutionary mass movement which unfolded around the Tienanmen events and in which millions upon millions of people in all parts of the country

expressed deep mourning for Comrade Chou En-lai and indignantly condemned the "gang of four" provided the mass base for our party's success in smashing the "gang of four." The plenary session decided to cancel the erroneous documents issued by the Central Committee in regard to the movement "to oppose the right-deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts" and the Tienanmen events.

The session examined and corrected the erroneous conclusions which had been adopted on Peng Te-huai, Tao Chu, Po I-po, Yang Shang-kun and other comrades and affirmed their contributions to the party and the people. It points out that historical questions must be settled in accordance with the principle consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Tsetung, that is, seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes whenever discovered. Only by firmly rejecting false charges, correcting wrong sentences and rehabilitating the victims of frameups can the unity of the party and the people be fulfilled resolutely without any relaxation after the mass movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" ends. The session agrees that the adoption of these steps is in itself an example of grasping the scientific system of Mao Tsetung Thought comprehensively and accurately and holding high the banner of Chairman Mao.

The session holds that the past practice of setting up special-case groups to examine cadres without party and mass supervision had great disadvantages and must be abolished once and for all.

The session held a serious discussion on the question of democracy and the legal system. It holds that socialist modernization requires centralized leadership and strict implementation of various rules and regulations and observance of labor discipline. Bourgeois factionalism and anarchism must be firmly opposed. But the correct concentration of ideas is possible only when there is full democracy. Since for a period in the past democratic centralism was not carried out in the true sense, centralism being divorced from democracy and there being too little democracy, it is necessary to lay particular emphasis on democracy at present and on the dialectical relationship between democracy and centralism, so as to make the mass line the foundation of the party's centralized leadership and the effective direction of the organizations of production. In ideological and political life among the ranks of the people, only democracy is permissible and not suppression or persecution. It is essential to reiterate the "principle of three nots": not seizing on others' faults, not putting labels on people and not using the big stick. Leadership at all levels should be good at concentrating the correct ideas of the masses and using explanation and persuasion in dealing with incorrect ideas. The constitutional rights of the citizen must be resolutely protected, and no one has the right to infringe upon them.

In order to safeguard people's democracy, it is imperative to strengthen the socialist legal system so that democracy is systematized and written into law in such a way as to insure the stability, continuity and full

authority of this democratic system and these laws; there must be laws for people to follow, these laws must be observed, their enforcement must be strict and lawbreakers must be dealt with. From now on, legislative work should have an important place on the agenda of the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee. Procuratorial and judicial organizations must maintain their independence as is appropriate; they must faithfully abide by the laws, rules and regulations, serve the people's interests, keep to the facts, guarantee the equality of all people before the people's laws and deny anyone the privilege of being above the law.

(4)

The session had a thoroughgoing discussion on continuing to inherit and bring into full play the Marxist style of study advocated by Comrade Mao Tsetung, that is, upholding a materialist ideological line. The session unanimously agrees that only if comrades of the whole party and the people of the whole country, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, emancipate their thinking, dedicate themselves to the study of new circumstances, things and questions, and uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts, of proceeding from reality and of linking theory with practice, can our party smoothly shift the focus of our work, correctly work out the concrete path, policies, methods and measures for carrying out the four modernizations and correctly transform the aspects of the relations of production and the superstructure that do not correspond to the swiftly developing productive forces.

In the past 2 years, through the deepening struggle to expose and criticize Lin Piao and the "gang of four," many issues of right and wrong in ideology and theory which they turned upside down have been straightened out. However, quite a number of comrades still do not dare to raise questions or deal with them in a straightforward way. This situation came into being under specific historical conditions. The plenary session calls on comrades of the whole party and the people of the whole country to continue to free themselves from the mental shackles imposed by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and, at the same time, resolutely overcome the bureaucracy caused by the overconcentration of authority, the failure to reward or punish as deserved and the influence of petty producer mentality so as to help the people emancipate their minds and "start up the machinery."

The session places a high evaluation on the discussion of whether practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, noting that this is of far-reaching historic significance in encouraging comrades of the whole party and the people of the whole country to emancipate their thinking and follow the correct ideological line. For a party, a country or a nation, if everything had to be done according to books and thinking became ossified, progress would become impossible, life itself would stop and party and country would perish.

The session emphatically points out that the great feats performed by Comrade Mao Tsetung in protracted revolutionary struggle are indelible. Without his outstanding leadership and without Mao Tsetung Thought, it is most likely that the Chinese revolution would not have been victorious up to the present. The Chinese people would still be living under the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and our party would still be struggling in the dark. Comrade Mao Tsetung was a great Marxist. He always adopted a scientific attitude of dividing one into two toward everyone, including himself. It would not be Marxist to demand that a revolutionary leader be free of all shortcomings and errors. It also would not conform to Comrade Mao Tsetung's consistent evaluation of himself. The lofty task of the party Central Committee on the theoretical front is to lead and educate the whole party and the people of the whole country to recognize Comrade Mao Tsetung's great feats in a historical and scientific perspective, comprehensively and correctly grasp the scientific system of Mao Tsetung Thought and integrate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of socialist modernization and develop it under the new historical conditions.

The session holds that the Great Cultural Revolution should also be viewed historically, scientifically and in a down-to-earth way. Comrade Mao Tsetung initiated this great revolution primarily in the light of the fact that the Soviet Union had turned revisionist and for the purpose of opposing revisionism and preventing its occurrence. As for the shortcomings and mistakes in the actual course of the revolution, they should be summed up at the appropriate time as experience and lessons so as to unify the views of the whole party and the people of the whole country. However, there should be no haste about this. Shelving this problem will not prevent us from solving all other problems left over from past history in a down-to-earth manner, nor will it affect our concentration of efforts to speed up the four modernizations, the greatest historic task of the time.

(5)

Basing itself on the experience and lessons drawn from the history of our party, the plenary session decided to improve the practice of democratic centralism within the party, to amplify the party rules and regulations and to enforce strict discipline in the party.

At the session Comrade Hua Kuo-feng laid stress on the importance of collective leadership in the party Central Committee and party committees at all levels. He proposed that newspapers and publications throughout the country and works of literature and art give more praise to the worker-peasant-soldier masses, the party and the revolutionaries of the older generation and give less publicity to any individual. The plenary session fully agreed with Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's proposal and evaluated it highly, regarding it as an important sign of an improvement in

democratic life within the party. The plenary session reiterated Comrade Mao Tsetung's consistent view that people in the party should call each other "comrade" and not address each other by their official titles. No personal view by a party member in a position of responsibility, including central leading comrades, is to be called an "instruction." The session points out that the party members' right to raise criticism within the party concerning the leadership at higher levels, up to members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, must be guaranteed, and any practice that does not conform to the party's democratic centralism and the principle of collective leadership should be resolutely corrected.

The session holds that just as a country has its laws, the party should have its rules and regulations. Observance of party discipline by all party members and party cadres is a minimum requirement for restoring normal political life in the party and the state. Leading party cadres at all levels should take the lead in strictly observing party discipline. Disciplinary measures should be taken against all violators of party discipline with no exception, so that there is a clear distinction between merits and faults, awards and punishments, so that honesty prevails and bad tendencies are eliminated.

The plenary session elected a 100-member Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, headed by Comrade Chen Yun. This is an important measure to guarantee implementation of the party's political line. The fundamental task of the commission is to enforce party rules and regulations and develop a good party style.

The plenary session points out that the efforts made in the 2 years since the smashing of the "gang of four" have immensely strengthened unity and heightened the political consciousness of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all China's nationalities. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's call to "solve the problems while stabilizing the situation" and "further emancipate our minds, be more courageous and resourceful and step up the pace" has found a warm response in the hearts of the people. So long as the whole party applies itself to the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the know-how needed for socialist modernization, continues to seek truth from facts and uphold the mass line, makes bold innovations and at the same time maintains an attitude of modesty and prudence, makes thorough investigation, gives careful direction and fights no battle ill-prepared or lacking assurance of victory, it can definitely speed the realization of its general task for the new period, and no difficulty can stop the victorious advance of the party and the people.

Next year will be the 30th anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China. The third plenary session of the 11th Central Committee issues the following call to all comrades in the party, to commanders and fighters throughout the army, to workers, peasants and

intellectuals of all nationalities throughout the country, to people in all political parties and to nonparty democratic patriots: The best contribution to the 30th anniversary of the founding of our People's Republic will be to shift the emphasis of our work to socialist modernization and to achieve the expected success next year. Let us rally even more closely under the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, rally around the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and advance courageously to make a fundamental change in the backward state of our country so that it becomes a great, modern socialist power!

LET THE WHOLE PARTY AND THE WHOLE NATION UNITE WITH ONE HEART, ACT IN
CONCERT AND STRIVE TO REALIZE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 22-26

[RED FLAG editorial]

[Text] A new turning point has been reached in the work of our whole party.

The third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the central working conference which were held recently are of significance in the annals of the party. At the conference the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng [Hua Kuo-feng] analyzed the excellent situation at home and abroad, summed up the experiences of the successful struggle of our party against the Wang, Zhang, Jiang and Yao [Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao] "gang of four" and firmly, promptly and decisively called an end to the large-scale nationwide mass movement to criticize Lin Biao [Lin Piao] and the "gang of four" and shifted the focus of the work of the party to socialist modernization. This is a great strategic policy decision. It fully expresses the urgent desire and aspiration of the whole party, the whole army and people of various nationalities throughout the country. Friends throughout the world who are concerned about China's future are all delighted.

The transition in the focus of our party's work to socialist modernization makes it imperative for party committees at all levels to concentrate their main attention on vigorously grasping socialist modernization. Henceforth, so long as there is no large-scale foreign invasion, modernization should be the key work of the whole party. All other work, including the political work of the party, is centered on and in the service of this key work. This is a historic change. It will greatly push forward our undertakings and enable a new vigorous situation to appear in all spheres of Chinese politics, economy, military affairs and culture. Building a strong, modern socialist country has been our party's goal of struggle since completing the task of the democratic revolution. In the final analysis, the agrarian reform we practiced, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry and capitalist industry and commerce

we carried out and the socialist revolution we launched on the political and ideological fronts after the founding of the People's Republic are all geared to creating conditions for the building of a strong, modern socialist country. China's socialist revolution and socialist construction are being carried out simultaneously. As early as the initial period of the founding of the People's Republic, Comrade Mao Zedong instructed the whole party to shift the focus of work to economic construction. After the basic completion of socialist transformation, Comrade Mao Zedong again promptly put forward the task of making technical revolution. In January 1958, in his brilliant work "Uninterrupted Revolution," he correctly pointed out: "From this year on, while continuing to complete the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, we should shift the emphasis in our party's work to the technical revolution," and he called upon the whole party to study science and technology. In 1964, in accordance with the instruction of Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai [Chou En-lai] put forward a goal of struggle for realizing the four modernizations in an all-round manner within the present century, so that the national economy of our country will stand in the forefront of the world. In 1975 Comrade Zhou Enlai again put forward this goal in his report on the work of the government delivered at the Fourth National People's Congress. At this time Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Zhou Enlai had done a great deal of work and made important progress in leading our party to carry out socialist modernization. However, it was subsequently interrupted and sabotaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The "gang of four" attacked realization of the four modernizations as restoring capitalism. They wielded the big club of "theory of productive forces" and agitated everywhere to stop work and production. This almost brought the national economy to the brink of collapse. Where was there any transition worth discussing? Besides, we had some shortcomings and mistakes in our leadership work, because we lacked experience in socialist construction, and this also hampered the transition in the focus of our party's work.

The smashing of the "gang of four" at a single blow by the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua removed the greatest obstacle to bringing about this transition. At present a great victory has been scored in the momentous political revolution to expose and criticize the "gang of four." There has been additional restoration and growth of the national economy. There is political stability and unity throughout the country. New, important progress has been achieved in developing an international united front against hegemonism and in developing friendly relations with various countries of the world. In spite of the fact that the movement to expose and criticize has been backward in a handful of localities and departments and must still be firmly grasped for some time to come and cannot be cut away, on the whole, conditions exist for basically shifting the focus of the party's work.

Grasping the current excellent opportunity, racing against time to speed up the tempo of the four modernizations and realizing the general task of

the new period is a strategic policy decision concerning the destiny of our country and representing the fundamental interests of the whole people. Only by doing this can we basically transform China's backward economic and technical features and unremittingly improve the material and cultural living standards of the people. Only by doing this can we build a strong material base for the socialist economic and political systems and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only by doing this can we strengthen national defense forces and effectively deal with possible aggressive wars launched by social imperialism and imperialism. Realizing the four socialist modernizations is an extremely profound and momentous revolution, because it will lead to a rapid development of social productive forces. In keeping with this development, a tremendous transformation will take place in the relations of socialist production and in the superstructure. In the new period of historical development, this is mainly manifested by holding high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought and persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Based on the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, after the proletariat has acquired power and the task of putting down the resistance of the exploiting class has generally been solved, the proletariat must quickly shift the emphasis of work to economic construction. Not long after the victory of the Russian October Socialist Revolution, Lenin in the first half of 1918 raised the question of shifting the focus of political and economic work. However, because of the civil war launched by the bourgeoisie and foreign imperialist armed interventions, this transition could not be brought about. In 1920, when the civil war was on the verge of victory, Lenin again put forward the subject of shifting the focus to "politics in the economic sector." Lenin believed then that restoring and developing the socialist economy and raising labor productivity were class struggles and politics in the economic sector.

During China's civil war and the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, judging the situation as a whole, war was the central task. However, under the conditions at that time, Comrade Mao Zedong still strongly stressed the importance of economic construction and held that the key work of the rear areas was to develop the economy and culture of the base areas. In 1942, in his report delivered at the conference of senior cadres of the Shanxi-Gansu-Ningxia [Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia] region, Comrade Mao Zedong made an incisive analysis of the relations among economic work, cultural work and revolution and the relations between economic work and cultural work. He pointed out: "We must pay attention to economic work. Talk of education or study divorced from economic work can only be superfluous words. Talk of 'revolution' divorced from economic work can only be revolution against the department of finance and against oneself but will not have the slightest effect on the enemy." How correct were the words of Comrade Mao Zedong! Proceeding from their need to usurp party and state power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" set revolution against the development of productive

forces and against economic work. They advocated a kind of "class struggle" and "revolution" divorced from the development of productive forces and even sabotaged the development of productive forces. Their "revolution" was the "making revolution against revolution" described by Lu Xun [Lu Hsun] and pure and simple counterrevolution.

Now we have before us an extremely rare and important historical opportunity. The goal of the 3-year and 8-year programs and 23-year outline is ambitious. Time is short, and the task is very difficult. Now we must make the great resolve to shift the focus of the work of the party to socialist modernization.

Our guiding thought for achieving socialist modernization is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Mao Zedong summed up both the positive and negative aspects of experiences at home and abroad to solve many important ideological problems in the building of socialism in our country. The fundamental policy put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong in his report "On the Ten Major Relationships" summing up China's experience in economic construction is an objective reflection of economic law as well as an important guarantee of the political stability of society. It has been a lighthouse illuminating the course of our advance in the past and at present and will continue to be so in the future. Mao Zedong Thought will always be the most valuable spiritual riches of the whole party, the whole army and people of various nationalities throughout the country. The great banner of Mao Zedong Thought has guided us from a dark China to a bright China. It is leading us from a poor and backward China toward a prosperous and strong China and will also successfully lead us toward the communist future. We must completely and accurately master the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought, combine the universal principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the concrete practice of socialist modernization and develop them under the new historical condition.

Emancipating our minds, "starting the engine," and restoring and carrying forward the spirit of seeking truth from facts advocated all along by Comrade Mao Zedong is our ideological foundation for making a success of modernization. Only by emancipating our minds, striving to study new conditions, things and problems and upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts, always proceeding from reality and combining theory and practice under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought can our party smoothly shift the focus of its work, correctly work out the concrete path, policies and methods for carrying out the four modernizations and correctly transform those aspects of relations of production and the superstructure that do not correspond to the swiftly developing productive forces. Otherwise there will be no hope for the four modernizations. The debate on the question of practice is the sole criterion of truth developed throughout the country in the foregoing period of far-reaching historical significance in encouraging the comrades of the whole party and the people of the whole country to emancipate their minds and

follow the correct ideological line. The third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out: For a party, a country or a nation, if everything had to be done according to books and thinking became ossified, progress would become impossible, life itself would stop and the party and country would perish. This means that the debate on practice as the sole criterion of truth is indeed a question concerning the future and destiny of the party and country. Since the founding of the People's Republic we have accumulated rich experiences in the course of socialist construction. These experiences are valuable assets for the socialist modernization we are now carrying out. We must conscientiously and realistically sum up both the positive and negative aspects of these experiences. Things proved by practice to be correct must be restored and upheld, and things proved by practice to be wrong must be corrected or abolished. We are now, in the light of the new historical conditions and practical experience, adopting a number of major new economic measures, conscientiously transforming the system and methods of economic management, actively expanding economic cooperation on terms of equality and mutual benefit with other countries on the basis of self-reliance, striving to adopt the world's advanced technologies and equipment and greatly strengthening scientific and education work to meet the needs of modernization. Under the new situation we may also come across many new conditions, problems and contradictions never encountered before. Where do the correct methods for solving these new problems and contradictions come from? They also can only come from practice and from the masses. Only by going deeply into reality and among the masses for investigation and constantly summing up experiences can we gradually understand and master the objective law and carry out work according to the objective law.

Giving play to democracy and strengthening the legal system are indispensable political conditions for socialist modernization. Only by fully giving play to democracy can we mobilize the initiative and creativity of the masses of cadres and people to the greatest degree. Only by pooling the wisdom and efforts of the masses in building socialism can we guarantee the masses of cadres and people the right to supervise and criticize leadership and can we create the kind of vigorous and lively political situation in which there is both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom and both unity of will and personal ease of mind in the whole party and in the whole country. China is a country in which the people are masters of their own affairs. Regardless of their ranks and stations, cadres are service personnel of the people. Cadres at all levels must be models in practicing democratic centralism. Everybody must be allowed to have his say. A political party is afraid of not hearing the voices of the people and is most afraid of complete silence. Not only must it listen to nice words, but it must also listen to unpleasant words and words which oppose it. It must listen more to opposing views, for this is an important way to acquire a comprehensive knowledge of things. We must reiterate the "principle of three nots": not seizing on others' faults, not putting labels on people and not using the big stick. In political life within the party and among the people, only democracy is

permissible and not suppression or persecution. The constitutional rights of the citizens must be resolutely protected, and no one has the right to infringe upon them. Bureaucratism undermines the relationship between the party and the masses, causing us to become divorced from the masses. This will lead to dissatisfaction on the part of the masses and constitutes an extremely serious threat to our cause. To realize the four modernizations we must overcome this scourge of bureaucratism. In order to give full play to socialist democracy we must strengthen the socialist legal system so that democracy can be systematized and written into law. There must be stability and continuity for such systems and laws. They are formulated by the people and as such represent the highest interests of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They must have the greatest authority. Revisions can be carried out only through the process of law, and they are independent of the will of any individual leading member. We must guarantee the equality of all peoples before the people's law and deny anyone the privilege of being above the law. Lin Biao and the "gang of four," a bane to the country and the people, wantonly trampled on socialist democracy, undermined the socialist legal system and exercised feudal fascist dictatorship over the masses of cadres and people, causing disastrous results to China's political life and economic and cultural construction. They also taught us by negative example how important it is to give full play to democracy and strengthen the legal system.

Consolidating and developing the political situation of stability and unity is the basic condition and guarantee for smoothly shifting the focus of work and realizing socialist modernization. Historical experiences since the founding of the People's Republic have proved that there must be stability and unity regardless of whether we are dealing with imperialist and social imperialist aggression and subversions or building socialism. The present situation of stability and unity before us is not easy to achieve, and we should highly value it, cherish it and develop it. This is the common aspiration of 800 million people throughout the country. Naturally, the unity of our people is built on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. To draw a distinction in line, ideology and theory within the party we must develop criticism and self-criticism as well as mutual assistance and supervision and overcome all kinds of erroneous ideas. We must use Marxist methods to keep on strengthening the factors of unity and overcoming factors detrimental or injurious to unity. At present the large-scale, turbulent class struggles of a mass nature have generally come to an end. Class struggle in socialist society should be carried out on the principle of strictly differentiating the two different types of contradictions and correctly handling them in accordance with the procedures prescribed by the constitution and the law. It is impermissible to confuse the two different types of contradiction and damage the political stability and unity required for socialist modernization.

To correspond to the shift of emphasis of work of the whole party, we must study all over again. Leading cadres must set the pace in studying

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, economics, science and technology and administration, and learn to lead socialist modernization. In 1958 Comrade Mao Zedong said: "In the past we had certain capabilities, we were able to wage war and carry out land reform, but now these capabilities are not enough. We must acquire new ones and become well versed in professional work and in science and technology; otherwise we cannot possibly exercise effective leadership." We must learn from the working people, from experts with practical experience and from all those who know so that we can become "knowledgeable" as quickly as possible. We must admit what we know and what we do not know. If we drop our airs and make the effort, we certainly will be able to learn and to make a success of it.

Such proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation as Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Zhu De [Chu Te] handed to us the revolutionary cause of the proletariat they created with their own hands. In order to carry out their behests and foster and enhance their cause, we must speed up the realization of the four modernizations. Let us hold high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought, let the whole party be united with one heart and the whole nation act in concert, and let us closely rally around the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, unite with all forces with which we can possibly be united and bring all positive factors into play. Let us go all out, rely on the collective wisdom and efforts of the masses and struggle courageously to build China into a great, modern and strong socialist country.

ALWAYS BEAR IN MIND CHAIRMAN MAO'S TEACHINGS REGARDING MATERIALISM IN
FIGHTING--COMMEMORATING THE 85TH ANNIVERSARY OF COMRADE MAO ZEDONG'S BIRTH

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 27-31

[Article by Wu Liping [Wu Li-ping 0702 7812 1627]]

[Text] In October 1932, after being released from prison in Shanghai, I secretly crossed the border between the red and white areas via Shantou [Swatow] and Meixian [Meih sien]. I went to Shanghang and Yongding [Yungting] in the soviet areas and then proceeded to Ruijin [Juichin]. The Central Bureau assigned me to do political work in the Red Army School. Not long after that Comrade Mao Zedong came to attend a mass meeting. He stood among the audience, looking and listening. I happened to be standing near him. A comrade introduced me to him. Looking at me, Comrade Mao Zedong asked how I had come there. He asked me more questions: "Didn't you translate 'Anti-Duhring'? Are you the writer of an article bitterly denouncing Chiang Kai-shek which was recently carried in SHIHUA [SHIH HUA--HONEST WORDS] (an official publication--which was renamed DOUZHENG [TOU CHENG--STRUGGLE]--of the Central Bureau of the soviet area at that time)?" "Yes, I wrote that article," I replied, "but it was not well written." He said: "That denunciation was marvelous." Before that I had read Comrade Mao Zedong's writings and felt the greatness of Mao Zedong Thought, but I had never seen him in person. This interview was an unforgettable occasion in my life. How approachable and how kind he was to the cadres! Three months later I was transferred to do economic work with the central government of the workers and peasants. Comrade Mao Zedong was then chairman of this central government. As a result, I often had the opportunity of learning directly from him. Because I was the translator of "Anti-Duhring," Comrade Mao Zedong talked with me many times about problems of Marxism-Leninism, especially philosophical problems. Arriving in north Shaanxi [Shensi] at the end of the Long March, I worked with the Propaganda Department of the party Central Committee and was editor of the weekly JIEHFANG [CHIEH FANG--LIBERATION]. I worked beside Comrade Mao Zedong for 10 years until I left Yanan [Yenan] for the base areas behind the enemy lines. During that time Comrade Mao Zedong taught me a great deal, mostly about the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method and especially about materialism in fighting, which I will never forget.

Adopting the Materialist Attitude Toward Marx, Lenin and Marxism-Leninism

Comrade Mao Zedong taught me many times. He said: We must have a correct attitude toward Marx and Lenin and Marxism-Leninism. We must study and master the spiritual essence of Marxism-Leninism comprehensively, completely and accurately and must not obstinately stick to isolated phrases and sentences of Marx and Lenin. He also said: Marx and Lenin were geniuses, because they were more intelligent, that is to say, they could hear and see more clearly, than ordinary people. They saw realities clearly, heard the voices of the masses distinctly and were good at thinking about problems, analyzing actual contradictions and finding correct ways and methods of resolving the contradictions. Comrade Mao Zedong explained these brilliant ideas very clearly in his article "Oppose Book Worship": "When we say Marxism is correct, it is certainly not because Marx was a 'prophet' but because his theory has been proved correct in our practice and in our struggle. We need Marxism in our struggle. In our acceptance of his theory, no such formalistic or mystical notion as that of 'prophecy' ever enters our minds."

By giving us these profound teachings, Comrade Mao Zedong wanted us to understand the Marxist principle that "the objective is primary" and "practice is primary," to cultivate the habit of using our ears and eyes more, to raise our abilities to think about and analyze actual problems, and to pay constant attention to proceeding from realities, learning about the actual conditions, and listening to the opinions and pooling the wisdom of the masses to correctly solve specific problems. However, there are some people among us who think that they are intelligent and always right. They have eyes but cannot see the actual conditions. They have ears but cannot hear the voices of the masses. Actually, they are deaf and blind and the most stupid. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The lowly are the most intelligent; the elite are the most ignorant." The "elite" here means those "officers" and "leading cadres" who work according to their wishes. Ten out of ten of such "elite" people will slip and fall and may even knock their heads against the wall.

Many times I heard Comrade Mao Zedong teach other comrades. He said: In studying Marxism-Leninism we must seriously study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. More important, we must be good at going into realities and among the masses to make investigations, be good at using our brains to think independently about the problems and be good at analyzing and solving the problems. Marxism-Leninism only provides the general principles for the proletariat to know and transform the world. We cannot and do not have the right to ask Marx and Lenin to prescribe a panacea to solve our specific problems. Comrade Mao Zedong bade us time and again never to become mental lazybones and to rest on readymade conclusions of Marxism-Leninism. There are no gods in the world. We should not regard Marx and Lenin as gods and take Marxism-Leninism as the "holy scripture." "Dialectics lets nothing impose upon it and is in its essence critical and revolutionary." ("Afterword to the Second Edition of the

First Volume of 'Capital,'" "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 218)

We often see two wrong attitudes toward Marxism-Leninism: One is diametrically opposed to the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, and the other regards Marx and Lenin as gods and Marxism-Leninism as rigid dogma. They must be resolutely opposed. The former can be seen easily, while the latter can easily confuse some people who only learn the Marxist-Leninist phrases and sentences and do not know the essence. We must always guard against and pay attention to the latter and correct the mistakes. Counterrevolutionaries like Lin Biao [Lin Piao] and the "gang of four" wear the cloak of Marxism-Leninism and flaunt a red flag to oppose the red flag. They are the most wicked enemy. We must expose and criticize their intrigue and conspiracy and lay bare their tricks of tampering with and distorting Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong were models of adopting a thoroughgoing materialist attitude toward Marxism. Marx and Engels said that the proletarian revolution would succeed first in the advanced capitalist countries in West Europe. But Lenin did not rest on the conclusion drawn by Marx and Engels and wait for the revolution to break out first in West Europe. Instead, he made an incisive analysis of the concrete conditions of Russia, which was a focus of capitalist contradictions, and arrived at the conclusion that the Russian working class, in alliance with the peasants, could first win a victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia. Kautsky and his ilk, who were opportunists but called themselves "Marxists" in the international sphere at that time, denounced Lenin for deviating from the teachings of Marx and Engels. Lenin replied: "Suppose a historical situation has arisen (a war, an agrarian crisis, and so forth) in which the proletariat, constituting a minority of the population, has an opportunity to rally around itself the vast majority of the laboring masses; why, then, should it not take power?" ("The Foundations of Leninism," "Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 6, p 74) Tested in practice, Lenin's new conclusion was entirely correct.

Before Comrade Mao Zedong led the Chinese people to wage revolutionary struggles, the Marxists generally held that the proletarian revolution would first break out in cities, where the workers and the laboring people engaged in other fields would start an uprising, with the peasants joining in later. Comrade Mao Zedong did not obstinately stick to this Marxist-Leninist conclusion. Proceeding from the realities in China, he analyzed the various concrete contradictions, both internal and external, in semicolonial and semifeudal old China. He pointed out that China was a focus of acute national and class contradictions and that China should not mechanically copy the patterns and methods of the Paris Commune or the Russian Revolution but should take the road of first using the countryside to encircle the cities and then seizing the cities. He integrated Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Chinese revolution, thereby developing Marxism. His creative revolutionary principles were

genuine Marxist-Leninist principles. Tested in the practice of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong's creative revolutionary road was proved to be entirely correct. Engels said: "Without Marx the theory would be far from what it is today." ("Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 238) In the same way the Chinese people say unanimously: "Without Chairman Mao there could be no new China." Therefore, holding high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought was, is and will be the guideline and guarantee for the Chinese people of all nationalities in winning victories.

Comrade Mao Zedong admonished us on many occasions that we should never rest on all the readymade conclusions drawn by Marx and Lenin and stick to their phrases and sentences. Similarly, we must not and should not rest on all the readymade conclusions drawn by Comrade Mao Zedong or obstinately stick to his phrases and sentences. Comrade Mao Zedong strongly objected to other people's repeating his words without looking into the new situation and thus failing to creatively solve new problems. This was what he said to those who blindly carried out the directives of higher levels: "To carry out a directive of a higher organ blindly, and seemingly without any disagreement, is not really to carry it out but is the most artful way of opposing or sabotaging it." ("Oppose Book Worship") This criticism by Comrade Mao Zedong is also entirely applicable to those who blindly and seemingly "support" Mao Zedong Thought.

Handle Mistakes in a Truth-Seeking Way

Comrade Mao Zedong often said, as Marx and Lenin did: It is impossible for one not to make a mistake in one's work. We must seek to make fewer mistakes and not to make serious ones. Once we have made a mistake, it will be all right if we correct it. He also gave a simple example: I may have stomach trouble after eating some food which does not agree with me, or I may catch cold because I have been careless about the weather. I make this mistake because I do not have a correct understanding of the objective. I was deeply educated by this simple example. I often came across similar problems in daily life, not to mention daily work. Judging from the Marxist viewpoint, no one can avoid making mistakes. Because of subjective and objective reasons, one's understanding often varies with the realities of objective matters, so that one makes a mistake.

Comrade Mao Zedong was good at correctly analyzing the nature of a mistake and waging a correct struggle against it. While in Yanan I once asked him: "Is it possible to carry out in advance the struggle against the 'left' opportunist line, so that the masses and the Red Army in the bases may suffer fewer damages and losses?" Thinking a moment, he replied: I am afraid not. The reason is that a matter has to go through a process of development, and a mistake also has to go through a process of exposure. Take the situation a couple of years ago, for example. At the early stage of the fifth countercampaign against "encirclement and suppression," I was

already aware of the mistakes of dogmatism and factionalism. Yet they still could confuse quite a few cadres and some people. If the struggle against the "left" opportunist line were waged at that time, the party would be in disunity. This would be very disadvantageous to the revolution, as the enemy was launching a large-scale attack against us. We should first of all take the revolution as a whole into consideration. Although the dogmatists were wrong, our disagreement with them was one among the people. Since they were different in nature from the ferocious enemies--the Kuomintang reactionaries--we should not deal with them with the same methods we used against the Kuomintang. It was only after being educated by negative example in the heavy losses and damages in the fifth countercampaign against "encirclement and suppression" and the first stage of the Long March that the overwhelming majority of cadres raised and unified their thinking and that the conditions became ripe for the success of the Zunyi [Tsun] meeting. We must have a correct strategy for the struggle within the united front outside the party. We must fight on just grounds, to our advantage and with restraint. We also must have a correct method of struggle between the two lines in the party. This teaching given by Comrade Mao Zedong was a wise guideline for us in materialistically recognizing a mistake and correctly fighting a wrong line. In treating the comrades who were well-intentioned but made mistakes, Comrade Mao Zedong always adopted the method of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient; he proceeded from the wish for unity and achieved new unity on a new basis after criticism and struggle. He was very angry with and felt very sorry for those who made mistakes but refused to correct them. He asked me once: Which is more intelligent, a man or a pig? I was perplexed and replied: A man is probably more intelligent. He said: Not quite so. When a pig comes to an obstacle, it turns back. Some people, for instance, the ringleaders of the opportunist line, have made serious mistakes but have refused to correct them, even though they are aware of their mistakes. Aren't they worse than a pig? I hope others will not follow them. A man should by all means be more intelligent than a pig!

Marx, Engels and Lenin were teachers of the proletarian revolution. Their stands, viewpoints and methods were entirely correct as a whole. But we should not demand that every word they said was correct. Neither should we demand that they never made a single mistake in their estimate of the situation of struggle and in their decisions on strategies and methods of struggle at any time or in any place. For example, in 1850 Marx predicted the possibility of a new revolutionary upsurge and a new revolution and proposed that workers get organized independently, arm themselves and organize a revolutionary government of workers. Half a year later, however, the revolutionary upsurge did not come as predicted, and the efforts of the Communist League were not fruitful. Engels wrote in 1885: A revolutionary upsurge "was becoming more and more unlikely and might even be entirely impossible by 1850." ("History of the League of Communists," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 21, p 258) Judging from the materialist viewpoint, this could be understood very easily

and would not impair even slightly the correctness of the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method as a whole and the prestige of Marx and Engels.

Comrade Mao Zedong's great feats will be immortal and his fame everlasting. The whole system of Mao Zedong Thought has been proved to be entirely correct by the practice of the Chinese revolution. But, like Marx, Engels and Lenin, Comrade Mao Zedong was not a god existing only in a legend. In a conversation with Edgar Snow in 1936 Comrade Mao Zedong said: The Kuomintang portrays me as a monster with red hair and green eyes. You can see I am not a monster. Neither am I a god. I am an ordinary man. Comrade Mao Zedong consistently advocated the spirit of seeking truth from facts. He also applied this spirit to himself and never concealed his mistakes. In my narrow scope of daily life I heard Chairman Mao talking about his shortcomings and mistakes on several occasions. In 1943 a movement to examine the personal record of cadres was held in Yanan to expose the secret agents who had sneaked into the party. This work was entirely necessary. But at one time this movement was conducted on too broad a scope. Fortunately, Comrade Mao Zedong promptly put forward the nine principles, including the principle of "killing none and not arresting most," thereby halting the erroneous development of the movement. Summing up the experience of this movement, he pointed out this mistake and made an apology to the comrades concerned. Even at a meeting of the party Central Committee in 1954 after the nationwide liberation, he again brought up the mistake of conducting this movement on too broad a scope and assumed responsibility for this mistake. He said: As chairman of the party Central Committee I should be responsible for it. I did not blame that person who followed Wang Ming's line and actually should be chiefly responsible for this mistake. However, that person never made a self-criticism for his serious mistake. In an enlarged central work conference held in 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "On 12 June last year, that is to say, the last day of the central work conference held in Peking, I talked about my shortcomings and mistakes. I asked the comrades to transmit this to various provinces and regions. Later I learned that this had not been transmitted to many localities, as if my mistakes could and should be concealed. Comrades, they must not be concealed." I remember that he also said at this conference: The central authorities once held different opinions in a discussion of problems. It was proved later that I was correct in most problems and wrong in a few. Comrade Mao Zedong did not gloss over his mistakes which had been proved in practice. He admitted his mistakes. This fully demonstrated his thoroughgoing materialist spirit.

In 1952, in a letter to Comrade Li Da [Li Ta 2621 6671], Comrade Mao Zedong suggested deleting the phrase "and at any time" from the sentence "In any contradiction and at any time the development of the contradictory aspects is uneven," which appeared in his article "On Contradiction." I thought he felt that this sentence was inaccurate because at given times there is relative unevenness in the development of the contradictory aspects. This development progresses along the course of

"unevenness--evenness--unevenness," and this is the objective situation of twists and turns in the development of the contradictory aspects, so one should not say that this development is uneven at any time. This correction made by Comrade Mao Zedong was very important, because it was of great significance to us in our work of planned equilibrium and our work in other fields. This showed Comrade Mao Zedong's serious materialist attitude toward his speeches and writings.

Comrade Mao Zedong was the great leader of our party and the great founder of our socialist motherland. His great feats cannot be described in words. His brilliant thought will shine forever. Holding high the great banner of Comrade Mao Zedong is a paramount duty and an honorable right of our party and the Chinese people. For half a century or so, Comrade Mao Zedong led the Chinese people to carry out the great struggle of revolution and construction. It was inevitable that he had shortcomings and made mistakes in some problems. We must try to understand his shortcomings and mistakes by adopting a historical materialist viewpoint. His shortcomings and mistakes are insignificant when compared with his great feats and do not impair his brilliant image one bit. Let the enemy grasp these shortcomings and mistakes and yell at the top of their voice! Our great Chinese people will hold high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought forever and march on and on!

One Who Respects Materialism Must Learn From Practice and the Masses

Comrade Mao Zedong taught us many times: We must continue to investigate the conditions and persist in learning from practice and the masses. A comrade once asked him: Chairman, you have commanded battles so well. Where did you learn military science? Smiling, Comrade Mao Zedong replied: I attended a teachers college and taught school in the past. I never learned military science. He added: Surely, some people attend military school before joining a battle, but most people of our Red Army learn warfare by fighting a battle. They fight and learn side by side. When we started a revolution we organized the workers and peasants to wage a struggle. We were often suppressed by the reactionaries at crucial moments and defeated. I thought to myself: The reactionaries are human beings and so are the workers and peasants. The reactionaries are few in number while the workers and peasants are in the majority. How is it possible for the minority to suppress the majority? The only reason is that they have weapons in their hands. Then, why can't the workers and peasants have weapons? Why can't they seize weapons from the reactionaries? This gave rise to the idea of arming the masses. Later we tried to arm the workers and peasants by every possible means. But what could we do after arming the workers and peasants? How could we deal with the reactionary armed forces? We lacked correct understanding and practical experience in the beginning, so that we made mistakes, were defeated in battle and lost a number of men. It was not until then that we began to understand deeply that when we have arms we must also know how to wage armed struggle against the reactionaries. From what Comrade Mao Zedong

said, we saw how he attached importance to learning from practice and the masses. The "left" dogmatists threw mud at Comrade Mao Zedong, saying that he knew nothing about warfare and that he learned the science of tactics from the novel "Romance of the Three Kingdoms." Comrade Mao Zedong said: Yes, I do not know their method of fighting a battle like stupid pigs. I really have read many books on war in ancient China and studied such works as "Sunzi Bingfa" ["Sun Tzu Ping Fa"--"Sunzi's Art of War"]. I also have read many other books on wars in foreign countries. But I have acquired military knowledge chiefly from the practice of war. Comrade Mao Zedong did not oppose learning about warfare in a military school, but he held that in order to learn really well about fighting a battle the most important thing was to learn it from war and from practice.

Comrade Mao Zedong paid close attention to reading in detail the works of Marx and Lenin. He not only read them many times but also circled and marked the pages, wrote comments in the margins as he read and made notes on what he had read. He also paid constant attention to learning from comrades and workers with practical experience. The well-known investigations he conducted at Changgang [Changkang] village and Caixi [Tsaihsi] village in the soviet areas were a major embodiment of this kind of spirit in learning. The major works by Comrade Mao Zedong were a scientific summary of his practical experience. He wrote them after making numerous investigations among the masses and the practical workers. In handling problems of war he not only upheld the viewpoint that practice is primary, truth stems from practice, and truth has to be tested in practice, but also taught us always to uphold this viewpoint in handling other problems. The following passage from a speech he delivered in 1962 was an outline of this idea: "If someone says that a certain comrade, for instance, any comrade of the party Central Committee, or I myself, knew very well the law of the Chinese revolution at the very beginning, he is lying. You must not believe him because that is not true. In the past, especially in the initial period of the revolution, we were just enthusiastic in making revolution. As for how to make a revolution, what should be revolutionized, which should be revolutionized first and what should be revolutionized at a later stage, we were not sure or did not understand very clearly after a considerable length of time. In saying that during the period of the democratic revolution, although we members of the Chinese Communist Party found it very difficult to understand the historical conditions of this period of the Chinese revolution we did successfully understand them, my purpose is to lead comrades to understand this point: Understanding the law of socialist construction must follow a process of development. We must start from practice and follow a course leading from having no experience to having some experience, from having little experience to having much experience, from the unrecognized realm of necessity, that is, socialist construction, to the realm of freedom, that is, gradually overcoming blindness and knowing the objective law and subsequently winning freedom and achieving a leap forward in understanding." (Talk at an enlarged central work conference) This was a

scientific summary made by Comrade Mao Zedong by applying the thoroughgoing materialist spirit.

Comrade Mao Zedong taught us: "We believe in science, not theology. Therefore, instead of giving play to our imagination we look at the grassroots levels in making investigation. At the same time we believe that things are in motion, that they are changing, progressing. Thus, investigation is a long-term job." ("On Conducting Rural Surveys") Let us always remember Comrade Mao Zedong's teachings about materialism in fighting, have a complete, accurate grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, strive to learn from practice and the masses, uphold the correct principle that practice is the only criterion for testing truth, and perseveringly consolidate and strengthen the highly favorable current situation of stability and unity in our country. At the same time we must think about problems boldly and independently and be good at analyzing and solving new problems arising under new conditions during the new historical period. We must break with fetishes, emancipate our minds, go further to shatter the taboos created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and completely wipe out the pernicious influence of the reactionary idealism and metaphysics they upheld. Obeying Comrade Hua Guofeng's instruction, we must "further emancipate our minds, be more courageous and resourceful and step up the pace" and speedily shift the focus of the whole party's work to socialist modernization. Let us march forward bravely, dauntlessly and in broad strides to speed up the four modernizations and build our country more quickly into a powerful and modern socialist country!

ETERNAL REMEMBRANCE--DEDICATED TO RESPECTED AND BELOVED PREMIER ZHOU

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 32-36

[Article by Li Jianzhen [Li Chien-chen]]

[Text] Linked Heart-to-Heart With Worker-Peasant Cadres

Premier Zhou's meticulous concern for worker-peasant cadres and his work style of guiding people methodically and teaching people tirelessly can never be forgotten by any comrade who has worked by his side or by any cadre who has personally listened to the premier's teaching.

My first meeting with him was in the winter of 1931, when I was working in the party committee of Changting County, Fujian [Fukien] Province. One day I went down to the lower levels to arrest counterrevolutionaries, guided by a namelist supplied by the higher authorities. My task was completed smoothly. With great enthusiasm I reported back to the provincial party committee in Tingzhou [Tingchou]. When I entered the door I saw a new comrade sitting inside. He was casually dressed and had a slender face with a pair of sparkling, searching eyes. He asked me affably: "What have you done, my female comrade?" I replied: "Arrested counterrevolutionaries!" When he heard this, he smiled and said: "Arrested counterrevolutionaries? Well, tell me, how did you arrest them?" "Simply arrested them," I replied. He said, "Eh, how do you know a person is a counterrevolutionary?" I could not give a ready answer and wondered who this man was. He seemed to be so insistent on every detail. The comrades beside me told me that he was Comrade Zhou Enlai of the party Central Committee who had just arrived from Shanghai en route to the Central Committee of the Ruijin [Juichin] soviet area. Comrade Zhou Enlai amiably asked my name and my native village and then patiently explained to us the party policy. He said that in struggling against local tyrants and evil gentry it was imperative that their background be ascertained. In arresting counterrevolutionaries there must be full evidence. If they are enemies, none of them should be spared; if they are good people, none should be wronged. Only in this way could we isolate and attack the handful of class enemies and unite with the broadest mass of people. His talk immediately illuminated my heart--the bitter

heart of one who had been sold in childhood to another family to be brought up as a future daughter-in-law. It is true that, in making revolution, reliance on deep hatred of the landlord class and on impulse is not enough. It is necessary to learn about policies. This was our first meeting, and I was deeply impressed by his work style of being close to people and giving methodical guidance, his attention to investigation and study, and his skill in discovering and solving problems.

In the winter of 1933 I was sent to the party school under the Central Committee of the soviet area for education. One day Comrade Zhou Enlai came to the party school to see the students. (At that time he was vice chairman of the Military Commission under the Central Committee.) He came to me, smiled and took a good look at me. He then asked: "Do you come from Fujian? Right, you are a Cantonese. How are you? Are you accustomed to the living conditions here? Any difficulty in studying?" I never thought that after a lapse of 2 years Vice Chairman Zhou would still remember me. Then I felt quite at ease and said: "I am now quite accustomed to the living conditions. I am only afraid that I cannot catch up with my studies. I am a worker-peasant cadre with no educational background. Now, whenever I open a book, I find a lot of unfamiliar words. I can read some of them with some effort, but I do not quite understand them. Studying Marxism is really not easy!" Vice Chairman Zhou encouraged me to persevere in order to overcome difficulties. After thinking for a while, he told the comrades in the party school to think of some way to supply each student with a red-blue pencil and then said to me: "Let me give you an idea. In your studies hereafter, make a red mark on the words you cannot read and a blue mark on those you can read but cannot understand. Whenever there is an opportunity, you can ask the educated comrades to teach you. You can learn a little at a time and will progress slowly as time goes on. Vice Chairman Zhou's words showed great warmth. Everyone said: "How considerate Vice Chairman Zhou was toward us worker-peasant cadres and how meticulously he planned for us!"

In 1934, after the Second National Congress of Workers' and Peasants' Representatives, I was sent to work in the Women's Department of the Central Bureau in the soviet area. I was very worried upon receiving this order. I asked myself: "Can I possibly work in the Central Bureau with my poor cultural background?" At that time Comrade Deng Yingchao [Teng Ying-chao] was also working in the Central Bureau with me. On every visit Vice Chairman Zhou came to see us to learn about our work and our living conditions. He taught us about the need to arouse and rely on the broad masses in the soviet area. He said that the masses were our great support and that with the masses on our side we could overcome any difficulty. Because of the Guomindang [Kuomintang] blockade, our living conditions were very difficult. We had no salt, and our daily ration was fixed at only 9 taels of rice. Vice Chairman Zhou asked if we had enough to eat, since we were so young, and said that our sister could save something for us. Sister Deng's ration was even smaller than ours, yet she frequently saved some cooked rice for us and told us to mix it

with boiled rice water before eating. Vice Chairman Zhou understood very well what we worker-peasant cadres had in mind. Whenever it was my turn to speak at a meeting, particularly a large meeting with a huge audience below the rostrum, I felt very tense. My heart would be throbbing, and whatever I had planned to say was entirely forgotten. Vice Chairman Zhou always tried to encourage me, saying, "Take it easy. Drink some cold water first and you will not be afraid to speak." I became instantly relaxed on hearing his kindly voice and looking at his amiable eyes. This shows how good Premier Zhou was in understanding and accommodating cadres. He very often gave them ardent support whenever he detected any sign of cadres' dissatisfaction with even trivial matters.

During the Long March, Vice Chairman Zhou was usually in Chairman Mao's company. They, along with the fighters, climbed mountains, forded rivers and ate tree bark and grass roots. When the troops encamped, Vice Chairman Zhou and Chairman Mao still worked diligently, studying the situation and working out military plans. Because of overexertion, Vice Chairman Zhou became very weak and once fell ill. At that time even the much-needed drugs were not available, not to mention nutritious food. Even in his illness he showed great concern for every cadre and fighter. When our troops in the van brought in some food or daily necessities after fighting local tyrants, he was offered some of these spoils of war. However, he positively refused to accept any and insisted that the sick and wounded and the old and weak comrades should receive better care. We female comrades on the march every day tended the sick and wounded. Sometimes we had to carry them on stretchers because we could not get civilian help. As we neared Maoergai [Maoerkai], supplies were in very bad shape. We had to live on wild fungi and later suffered from food poisoning. Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Zhou were afraid that the female comrades might collapse under such unusual hardship and decided to send us to different army groups. Thanks to their great care, all the female comrades in the First Front Army arrived safely in northern Shaanxi [Shensi]. However, some of the female comrades sent to the Fourth Front Army were either captured or killed because of Zhang Guotao's [Chang Kuo-tao] opportunist line. Whenever I recalled this experience, I deeply realized that we could win victory for the revolution and be what we are today only by following Chairman Mao and firmly upholding his revolutionary line.

Comrade Zhou Enlai very highly regarded the worker-peasant cadres. I remember the occasion when a comrade in Yanan [Yenan] was cracking jokes. He said that at mealtimes we were afraid to dip our chopsticks into a dish first and that in speaking we were afraid to raise our voices. Comrade Zhou Enlai was nearby and heard this. He said quickly: "Yet because of their industriousness and stamina, their hard work and plain living, their firm stand and their determination in struggle, we have to learn from them!" For many years these words of the premier remained deeply imprinted in my mind as an inspiration in my endeavor to preserve the characteristics of a worker-peasant cadre and to maintain forever a

firm proletarian stand in order to carry the revolution through to the end!

Open-Hearted and Selfless

Premier Zhou was a paragon of party unity. Throughout his life he was open-hearted, had the overall situation in mind, followed party disciplines and was strict in examining himself. These fine proletarian work styles were his requirements for cadres or the means he used to train cadres.

During the Long March I was an instructor in the cadre company of a field hospital. In this company there were quite a few aged comrades, some wounded leading cadres and some female comrades. The situation then was quite poor. Sometimes we had to eat wild vegetables, tree bark and grass roots to appease our hunger. The sick and wounded were not only without medicine but also sometimes without boiled water to drink. With deep class feeling, the comrades helped one another and forced their way onward. Yet some of the sick and wounded, because of their disturbed minds, showed their temper before us. Moreover, our troop movement was slow, and some comrades behind us showed their displeasure. I could not face these difficulties as I should have, so in a moment of vexation I offered to quit my job as instructor. The news was brought to Vice Chairman Zhou. He said to the comrades in our company: "Li Jianzhen is a female cadre. From the way she has carried out her duty so far, there should be nothing wrong with her. You should make some allowance and help her overcome the difficulties through unity." When he met me later, he said to me earnestly: "Why do you think of quitting? True, there are many difficulties! But these difficulties are only temporary. If there is anything wrong, simply correct it, and that is all. How is your health? Please be careful in your work!" Although Vice Chairman Zhou spoke to me in a mild tone, his words made me feel very uneasy. I had not fulfilled my duty after all. I had let the party down.

I have often recalled these incidents in recent years. The more I thought of them, the more I realized that Premier Zhou had not only taught us to be brave in carrying a heavy responsibility for the revolution by working in places under the most trying conditions. More important still, he also taught us that, for the sake of revolution, we have to work hard without complaint or ostentation. I remember that when the Long March had ended in Shaanxi I complained to him that I felt depressed because people did not appreciate my work. He simply said: "We just do our work and let others talk. A Communist Party member should seek neither fame nor personal gain; he should serve the people wholeheartedly." When I was doing mass work in northern Shaanxi some local comrades were dissatisfied with my performance in the task of expanding the army and supporting the front. When I met Vice Chairman Zhou, I complained to him about the local cadres, saying that they had this and that sort of "principles." He cut me short by saying: "Well, do not slap so many hats on others.

A person has only one head. How can he or she wear so many hats?" He then repeatedly told me to be modest and prudent, to be careful in uniting with the local comrades and to discuss matters with them more frequently. Some time later he met me and asked: "How are things going? Your job finished? No more hats for others?"

In dealing with comrades Premier Zhou never condoned shortcomings or mistakes. He invariably made strict demands on comrades and at the same time patiently helped them. When they made some progress he was extremely pleased. At the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution I did not quite understand it and could not face it correctly. In 1967, when Premier Zhou came to Guangzhou [Canton] to handle the problems of the Cultural Revolution, he specially sent for me. Despite the tremendous pressure of his work, he wanted to hear about my situation. I said to the premier: "I have made mistakes. My attitude toward the masses was no good." The premier said seriously: "It is good to be aware of your own mistakes. However, if your attitude toward the masses is no good, it will be impossible to gain their tolerance and understanding." He encouraged me to handle the masses correctly and told me to take part in a symposium of mass representatives. He introduced me to the representatives and encouraged me to take the side of the masses and to actively participate in the Great Cultural Revolution. In the winter of 1971, when Premier Zhou accompanied some foreign guests to Guangzhou, he again sent for me. He told me to be careful about my health so that I could still work. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Premier Zhou faithfully carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In dealing with those cadres who had made mistakes he firmly upheld Chairman Mao's principle, "Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient," and the party's policy on cadres. In this way he saved and protected a large number of veteran revolutionary cadres by waging resolute struggles against Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their counterrevolutionary conspiracy to "overthrow all." He won immortal achievements for the cause of the party and the people.

Premier Zhou constantly taught us to think more about our own shortcomings and to be strict in self-discipline. His brilliant life was an example of modesty, prudence and selflessness. After the Xi'an [Sian] Incident I had a particularly unforgettable meeting with him. On 12 December 1936, when Zhang Xueliang [Chang Hsueh-liang] and Yang Hucheng [Yang Hu-cheng] had combined to capture Chiang Kai-shek in Xi'an, Vice Chairman Zhou was sent by Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee to hold talks with Chiang Kai-shek, inducing him to agree to resist Japanese aggression and persuading Zhang and Yang to set Chiang Kai-shek free. The peaceful settlement of the Xi'an Incident smashed the conspiracy of Wang Jingwei [Wang Ching-wei] and the other pro-Japanese elements in the Guomindang to further spread the civil war by seizing this opportunity. The result was an agreement to form an anti-Japanese national united front. This settlement was warmly supported by people of all strata throughout the country. When Vice Chairman Zhou returned to Yanan

[Yenan] after the Xi'an Incident, I happened to have just returned from a bandit-suppression expedition. As soon as he saw me, he said with great enthusiasm: "Jianzhen, I hear that you people have returned in triumph after the bandit suppression!" I replied: "What we have done does not amount to much. Your trip to Xi'an was really a big victory. You are the one returning in triumph!" He said: "That is not the right way to put it. My victory depended entirely on the wise direction of the party Central Committee and on Chairman Mao's great strategic plan!" For decades Premier Zhou made indelible contributions to the Chinese and the world revolution and won immortal achievements. However, he invariably attributed his success to Chairman Mao, to the party and to the people, thus fully displaying his great Marxist aspirations and style.

Exhausting Himself for the People's Happiness

The important duties of Communist Party members are to maintain close relations with the masses, be concerned with the people's well-being and serve the people wholeheartedly. As far back as January 1934 Chairman Mao wrote his report in Ruijin entitled "Be Concerned With the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work." Our respected and beloved Premier Zhou implemented this directive from Chairman Mao in an exemplary manner. He was constantly concerned with the masses' suffering and exhausted himself trying to promote the people's happiness.

When I was working in the Women's Department under the Central Bureau, Premier Zhou constantly told us that, while male comrades had gone to the frontline, women engaged in logistic work in the soviet area to support the front were carrying a very heavy responsibility. We must make suitable arrangements for the people's well-being and do our jobs well in giving preferential treatment to the Red Army dependents. He once inquired about minute details of our work in organizing women to learn how to plow and harrow. He also praised us for the good straw sandals we made to comfort the Red Army and for the embroidery work which contained words and folk songs encouraging our troops to fight bravely on the front. He was greatly concerned about the care of children in view of the women's heavy work. He proposed that we organize the old women to set up child-care centers. Materials in the soviet area were very scarce, so he gave us an idea: Since we had no stools, we could use palm leaves and rice stalks for the children to sit on. They must not be allowed to sit on the ground, because it was too wet. If there were shortages of food, we could take some sweet potatoes, which would not cause stomach troubles for the children. He also reminded us of the importance of helping women to learn about culture. Because of enemy blockade, there was a serious shortage of paper, pens and ink. Premier Zhou told us to write on tiles with charcoal or to use stones or twigs to write on the sandy ground, because this method of learning could not be affected by the enemy blockade. Vice Chairman Zhou's words were relayed by us to the masses and met with an enthusiastic response. Many women said: "Vice Chairman Zhou can really read our minds! We

cannot read our husbands' letters from the front. We want to encourage them to be brave in killing the enemy but cannot express our thoughts in words. We have thought of learning culture for a long time." With the guidance and help of Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Zhou, child-care centers and literacy classes were soon set up in the soviet area, and many concrete difficulties among the masses were resolved. People in the soviet area wholeheartedly loved the Red Army and the soviet government, and the work of supporting the front was carried on vigorously.

After liberation, Premier Zhou had to attend to even more important affairs, both domestic and foreign. But he still paid great attention to the people's well-being. On many occasions he paid comforting visits to disaster areas after earthquakes or disasters caused by flood or drought. Even such minor items as firewood, rice, oil, salt and medical and sanitary facilities for the people were deep in his mind. The premier was also greatly concerned about the health of women and children and frequently instructed us on the need to take care of female health, to guarantee a period of rest before and after giving birth, and on running child-care centers well.

In 1958, when the broad masses were vigorously promoting socialism, some localities in Guangdong [Kwangtung] did not pay much attention to the need to alternate labor with rest. There also happened to be a measles epidemic which resulted in many sick children. On hearing of this, the premier instructed us that the more enthusiastic the people were, the greater the attention that should be paid to their well-being, and that work in this direction should be done well in a deepgoing and thoroughgoing way. He also eagerly inquired if measles could be treated with traditional Chinese herbal medicine and directed that some way be found to increase nourishment for children, to give time off for mothers of sick children, and so forth.

At that time some localities did not take the principle of seeking truth from facts seriously with regard to the quantity of production, and this adversely affected the people's well-being. Chairman Mao criticized this bad work style. Premier Zhou also took this matter very seriously when he came to Guangzhou. He personally called together the responsible comrades of some counties to clarify the situation. He asked how many catties of sweet potatoes or taros should be equivalent to 1 catty of rice in value, and he stressed the need to avoid falsifying reports on the yield of miscellaneous grain crops so as to insure sufficient grain for the commune members' own consumption. He repeatedly urged the provincial committee to pay attention to investigation and study and to seek truth from facts, and he strongly admonished us against bragging (exaggerating the amount), which would be against the interests of the masses.

Later, when I went to attend a meeting in Beijing, he again looked me up to talk about this matter. He said that as communists we should be responsible to the people, seek truth from facts and talk honestly. He

told me to conduct more investigations and study at the lower levels in order to maintain close contact with the masses. At this point he asked: "You are a Hakka; but can you speak Cantonese?" Then he told Sister Deng to talk to me in Cantonese. I said that I was used to the Hakka dialect and that my Cantonese was no good. He disapproved strongly, saying, "Your sister left Guangzhou long ago and can still speak Cantonese. You must learn to speak this dialect. Wherever we go we must learn to speak the local dialect and become one of the local people." How deep was Premier Zhou's feeling toward the people!

The premier felt uneasy whenever the people suffered and was glad when people enjoyed well-being. When I went to Beijing for a meeting in 1962, I saw the premier and told him that the situation in Guangdong had improved. He was very pleased and said: "If the people have rice to eat, I am at ease!"

Bending Himself to His Task Unto Death

For decades Premier Zhou worked selflessly and tirelessly in the people's interests. He worked more than 10 hours every day and sometimes kept on working several days and nights without sleeping. When he was hungry he ate a loaf of bread and drank a cup of tea. This was considered a full meal. When he was really tired he only took a catnap on a sofa and then got up to continue his work. Every minute was precious to him and must not be wasted. Quite often he read documents while eating. In 1967, when Premier Zhou visited Guangzhou, I saw him eating some bread and drinking carbonated water between meetings. This was dinner for him. Then he met the mass representatives and patiently explained to them Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It was already 30 minutes after midnight when all the meetings were over for the day. The premier knew that I was in poor health, and on our parting he told me to rest well. I said: "Premier, you should rest, too." He laughed and said: "No. There are two more meetings waiting to be held!" On hearing this I could not control my tears. Our respected and beloved premier! The people's good premier! You worked days and nights for the party during the difficult days of the revolutionary wars, as well as during socialist revolution and construction after liberation. You have never had a Sunday or any day off. In 1972, when the premier fell ill, the doctor repeatedly urged him to stop work, to stay in the hospital and to be free from strain of any kind. But the premier was always thinking of the huge amount of work that was pending inside and outside the country, of the many cadres who had not come out to work, of production which was not yet on the right track, and of the very acute struggle against imperialism and revisionism in the world; so he had to work every minute and every second. Despite the great pain caused by his medical treatment, he did not rest in bed. After his surgery in hospital in 1974, he still read and wrote comments on documents, received foreign guests and attended to important domestic and foreign affairs. When he was critically ill, he still listened to the reading of Chairman Mao's two newly published poems. Oh, Premier!

Your strong faith in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, your loyalty to the party, your boundless love for the people, and your strong will to dedicate yourself to the struggle for the cause of communism enabled you, with your tremendous stamina, to struggle with illness to complete your work until the very last moment of your life. The magnitude of your work is beyond imagination.

In work the premier was only afraid of not having done enough; in life style he was also afraid of having enjoyed too much. He set a personal example against the practice of inviting guests and sending gifts and against seeking privileges, and he strived to preserve the proletarian style of plain living. His home was an old common house in Zhongnanhai [Chungnanhai]. On many occasions the department concerned proposed that this house be reconstructed, but the premier did not agree. Thus he occupied this house until he died. His normal meals were extraordinarily simple, consisting mainly of vegetables. I asked Sister Deng how his food could be so plain! The premier said: "This is much better than what the people are having and much better than what we had before. We cannot forget our origin!" To save every penny for the people, he was meticulous in his calculations. When he went out to attend a meeting he brought his own tea leaves. If he forgot to do this, he would simply drink boiled water. I once was a guest in his home. When Sister Deng was talking with us, he saw a nearby empty room with a light on and hastily went to switch it off. When he found water dripping from a faucet, he quickly tightened it. His frugality was entirely natural. He never wasted a single drop of water or a single unit of electricity. Oh, Premier! You were so full of warmth toward the comrades and so loyal to the revolutionary cause, and yet you were strict on yourself to the most minute detail. In your heart you have 800 million people, but not yourself. After dedicating all your energy to the cause of the people, you left behind these words: Scatter the ashes over the rivers and fields of the motherland. When you were alive you worked hard and without complaint as a servant of the people. After your death you are still with the people. How can the people ever forget you!

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A RED HEART SHINES LIKE THE SUN AND MOON, UPRIGHTNESS WILL BE REMEMBERED FOR AGES--MOURNING COMRADE PENG DEHUI [PENG TE-HUAI]

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 37-45

[Article by Huang Kecheng [Huang Ko-cheng]]

[Text] History is inexorable and impartial. Under the wise leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, Comrade Peng Dehuai's case, which was wrongly handled, has been rehabilitated and redressed! Comrade Peng Dehuai's merits and faults have been given a complete, impartial appraisal. In thinking of the present and the past I am unable to describe my mixed feelings. Before he died Comrade Peng Dehuai earnestly hoped that the party organization would pass a realistic verdict on him. Now his wish has finally come true. If veteran soldier Peng could still comprehend affairs from his grave, he would close his eyes with a smile and with passion-ridden tears.

Veteran soldier Peng died on 29 November 1974. This proletarian revolutionary fought north and south. He went through thick and thin under the leadership of the party and Chairman Mao, won outstanding meritorious military achievements for the liberation of the people, made remarkable contributions to the development and growth of the People's Liberation Army, and performed indelible feats for the cause of the party and the people. But under prolonged torture and ruthless persecution by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" he died unavenged. With a heavy psychological burden, he died in grief and anger, completely exhausted both mentally and physically. When his health deteriorated, how profoundly he thought of great leader Chairman Mao! Time and again he expressed his desire to see Chairman Mao once more. However, with the tentacles of the "gang of four" darkening the sky, his strong desire was not met. In those days and nights when he fought against his illness, he often thought of Premier Zhou, veteran soldier Zhu and other veteran marshals who had fought battles and worked hard for the great cause with him, of his old comrades and comrades-in-arms who shared weal and woe with him and of his old subordinates and veteran fighters who shared rough and smooth and fought valiantly alongside him. But he had no freedom of action. Completely isolated, he could only heave a long sigh in front of an empty wall. When he was dying

his eyes welled with tears. He was by then anxious to take a last look through the window at the sunny fields of his motherland. He also wished to see his close family members before his death. But all the windows were closed. He then felt lonely, surrounded by darkness. When he opened his eyes he saw no one. Those party members, government officials and soldiers who had fought shoulder to shoulder with old soldier Peng or worked under his command numbered in the hundreds of thousands or even up to a million. However, the overbearing "gang of four" were in their heyday of power. No one could bid farewell to his remains or stand vigil by his body. Nor could anyone attend his funeral service to mourn his death. Chairman Mao once said in 1944: "In the days to come we should hold funeral services or memorial meetings for anyone in our ranks who has done something good--no matter whether he was a cook or a fighter. We should regard this as a regulation." Contrary to this teaching, however, old soldier Peng was cruelly treated, even though he had served his country outstandingly well and had been a dedicated fighter for a lifetime, feared by his enemies.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" conspired to frame him. They were thus guilty of committing an astonishingly violent crime.

This extraordinary tragedy has taught us a lesson: We need to courageously and indignantly wage resolute struggle against careerists and conspirators like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and carry through to the end.

Old soldier Peng was my old commanding officer and old comrade-in-arms. From the time the III Red Army Corps was established in May 1930, I spent most of my time fighting and working under his leadership. During those 40 years or more, we worked together to overcome countless storms, difficulties and obstacles and cheerfully and happily shared the fruits of countless victories. Whenever we marched to battle or slept in an army camp, we often spent time together discussing everything freely and working in harmony, although sometimes we did debate with each other seriously without either of us yielding any ground. However, our mutual trust and personal friendship were never in the slightest affected by these debates. On the contrary, they helped us understand each other better and increased revolutionary affection for each other. I always regarded him as a serious-minded teacher and honest friend who taught me much and encouraged me tremendously. The more I mourn him today, the more I am impressed by his heroic personification of a great fighter and the more his brilliant personality and lofty qualities loom large before me.

A Lifelong Devotion to Revolution

Comrade Peng Dehuai was a native of Xiangtan [Hsiangtan] County, Hunan Province. He was born to a poor family in 1898. He studied for only 2 years at a private school. When he was 11 he was hired by a landlord to herd cows. Later, as a coal miner and construction worker, he suffered greatly from capitalist exploitation and suppression. As a child he

suffered miserably. This drove him to bitterly hate those who suppressed and exploited him. It transformed his character into a contestant of the old society. One year when his hometown was hit by a serious natural disaster, grievances and complaints were heard everywhere, and people starved to death everywhere in Xiangtan. Tenant peasants were under pressure from landlords to pay off their debts in grain. To survive this disaster, people voluntarily organized themselves to look for aid from rich families. But those local tyrants who stored 10,000 piculs of rice at their homes were unwilling to offer starving people anything. They even cruelly suppressed these people. Noting this situation, Peng Dehuai, then 19, angered by this suppression, led hundreds of starving people to break into a big landlord's home and cart away more than half the grain stored in his granary. This was the first time that he brilliantly demonstrated his rebellious character. Out of a strong desire to serve the interests of workers and peasants and to liberate the Chinese nation, he joined the Hunan army in 1916. In 1919 he became a company commander. Later he led his company to organize a "Committee for Rescuing the Poor" and urged progressive officers and men to unite themselves to serve the interests of the workers and peasants. When his company was stationed in Nan County's Zhucikou [Chutzukou] Township in the winter of 1920, with the approval of the "Committee for Rescuing the Poor," he secretly ordered his men to kill a Mr Ou, a local tyrant and landlord, in order to relieve the local peasant's suffering. That particular tyrant-landlord was the elder brother of a major general who was an adviser to the warlord Zhao Hengti [Chao Heng-ti]. After the case was exposed, Peng Dehuai left his job and fled. In 1923 he was admitted to the Hunan Military Academy. After graduating he became a company- and battalion-level commander. Using the "Committee for Rescuing the Poor" as a core, he organized a "Soldiers Committee" with a six-point program aimed at preventing the big powers from dividing China into their spheres of influence, at overthrowing big capitalists and at distributing land to tenant peasants. He also took an active part in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism.

During the great revolution Comrade Peng Dehuai took part in the Northern Expeditionary War. During this war the battalion he commanded fought heroically, scoring one victory after another. In 1926 he became an acting regiment commander. When the Northern Expeditionary Army besieged and launched offensives against Wuchang, he met a Communist Party member, Comrade Duan Dechang [Tuan Te-chang], who briefed him on the party and recommended that he read the "Communist Manifesto," the "General Outline of Capital" and other Marxist-Leninist works and progressive publications. Only then did he really come to understand what the liberation of workers, peasants and the Chinese nation meant to him. After the great revolution failed, despite the threat of white terror, he determinedly followed the path blazed by Marx and Lenin, joining the CCP in 1928.

Although the Chinese revolutionary tide ebbed to a new low in July 1928, under the party's leadership Peng was inspired by the Nanchang, Autumn Harvest, Guangzhou [Canton] and Xiangnan [Hsiangnan] uprisings, as well as

by the Jinggangshan [Ching kangshan] struggle. Defying widespread counter-revolutionary storms, old soldier Peng played a leading role in the famous Pingjiang [Pingchiang] Uprising. As commander of the rebellious troops which were later reorganized into the 5th Red Army, old soldier Peng actively developed guerrilla warfare around the Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi [Hunan-Hupei-Kiangsi] border turning it into a revolutionary base area. In November 1928 he led the main force of the 5th Red Army on a march toward Jinggangshan. After winning one tough battle after another, the contingent eventually arrived in Jinggangshan on 11 December 1928 and successfully met up with the 4th Red Army led by Chairman Mao and Commander in Chief Zhu. From that time on, under the command of Chairman Mao and in close coordination with other fraternal army units and the masses, Peng led a vast army, scaling the heights of the Jinggang [Ching kang] Mountains, crossing rivers in Jiangxi, negotiating the mountains in Fujian [Fukien], and waging difficult struggles. In this way his army smashed successive "encirclement and suppression" operations launched by Chiang Kai-shek, broke through encirclement and interception moves by the hundred thousand-strong Chiang army and, after scaling countless mountains and rivers, successfully concluded that world-famous 25,000-li Long March.

During the war of resistance against Japan, as deputy commander in chief of the 8th Route Army, old soldier Peng resolutely implemented the political line of the party and Chairman Mao. While the one million-strong KMT army fled and collapsed in the face of Japanese attacks, he assisted old soldier Zhu, commander in chief of the 8th Route Army, in courageously penetrating the enemy line, in mobilizing the masses behind this line to wage guerrilla warfare, in establishing the anti-Japanese base area in north China, and in smashing the Japanese aggressor army's many encirclement and mopping-up operations. He also played a role in defeating provocations by the reactionary and diehard KMT faction and applied Chairman Mao's brilliant concept of people's war, scoring a brilliant victory in the war of resistance against Japan.

During the liberation war old soldier Peng persistently implemented Chairman Mao's great strategic policy decision and fought the enemy's troops, who were ten times stronger than our own, under the most difficult conditions in the battle to defend Yanan [Yenan] and protect the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao. He closely relied on the masses to score successive victories, using the tactic of pretending to attack the enemy in the east but actually attacking in the west. He was praised by Chairman Mao and commended by the people throughout the country for defeating the Chiang Kai-shek-Hu Tsung-nan bandit army and for liberating northwest China. This brilliant victory is part of the history of the Chinese revolutionary war, along with the name of old soldier Peng.

At the critical moment when U.S. imperialism had spread the flames of aggressive war against Korea to the banks of the Yalu River in a vain attempt to strangle new China in its cradle, old soldier Peng resolutely accepted the important mission entrusted him by Chairman Mao and shouldered

the expectations of the Chinese people by leading China's heroic sons and daughters to cross the Yalu River to resist U.S. aggression, aid Korea and protect our homes as well as our motherland. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people and the Korean People's Army, the highly modernized enemy troops were defeated by our more poorly equipped forces, forcing U.S. imperialism to sign an armistice agreement and gloriously fulfilling our obligation of proletarian internationalism. After returning to China, old soldier Peng faithfully carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and army-building line and made important contributions to our country's national defense and economic construction.

Loyal to the Party, Resolute as Well as Faithful and Loyal

Old soldier Peng ardently loved the party and the people and sincerely respected and deeply trusted Chairman Mao. He pointed out immediately after the start of the Pingjiang Uprising: "Jinggangshan Mountain is a bright star in the cloud-covered sky and a beacon light guiding the revolutionary bases in Hunan, Hubei, Jiangxi and other localities." He firmly believed that the road of Jinggangshan pioneered by Chairman Mao was the only correct road to lead the Chinese revolution to victory.

I still remember clearly that during the Futian [Futien] incident in the winter of 1930 a forged letter supposedly in Chairman Mao's own handwriting was sent to Comrade Gu Bai [Ku Pai] asking Comrade Gu Bai to furnish evidence--in the investigation of the A-B clique--that Peng Dehuai was a member of the clique. This letter was later circulated to old soldier Peng. Although the handwriting was very similar to Chairman Mao's, he took one look at the letter and realized it was an enemy conspiracy. He declared firmly: "This letter was not written by Chairman Mao, because he would never write such a letter." He immediately called a meeting of the frontline [party] committee of the III Army Corps to discuss this forged letter in order to expose the enemy's conspiracy to foment discord between the I and the III Corps and instigate them to oppose Chairman Mao. Meanwhile, he also delivered the original letter to Chairman Mao without delay. On receiving this forgery, Chairman Mao developed an even greater faith in old soldier Peng. The 3d Division of our III Red Army Corps was stationed in areas between Nanchang and Lichuan in June 1931. One day the sentry brought two men to see me at headquarters. One was a white-haired man of over 50 who told me that he worked for the uncle of Huang Gonglue [Huang Kung-lueh]. He said he had made a special trip here from Nanchang to discuss an important matter with Peng Dehuai in person. I immediately sent them to see old soldier Peng. When he discovered that the white-haired man was a Kuomintang special agent ordered by Chiang Kai-shek to entice him to defect to Chiang, he laughed loudly and declared humorously: "This is a good trick. I will reply to Chiang Kai-shek properly." He then reported this incident to Chairman Mao without delay and sent the two men back to my headquarters under escort. He also personally telephoned me, saying: "Behead these two men and let their servants take their heads back to Chiang Kai-shek." I immediately carried out this order from old soldier

Peng. Old soldier Peng's swift and proper reply to Chiang Kai-shek fully manifested his boundless loyalty to the party and revolution.

Old soldier Peng took a clear-cut firm stand at the Zunyi [Tsun] conference, resolutely supporting Chairman Mao's position as leader of the whole party. He was fully convinced that Chairman Mao would definitely be able to overcome the critical situation to save the Red Army and the Chinese revolution as well. After the 1st and the 4th front armies joined forces at Lianghekou [Lianghokou], Zhang Guotao [Chang Kuo-tao] carried out a series of conspiracies to split the party and the Red Army and to establish another party central committee in an attempt to win over old soldier Peng and coerce him into following Zhang's erroneous line of escaping to the south. But Zhang's plots were resolutely turned down and severely condemned by old soldier Peng. At the critical juncture when Zhang launched a sudden attack in the areas of Axi [Ahsi] and Baxi [Pahsi] in a vain attempt to assassinate Chairman Mao, old soldier Peng secretly led a regiment to safeguard Chairman Mao, the party Central Committee and the central organs until Chairman Mao, Vice Chairman Zhou and other leading central organ comrades were out of the dangerous area and arrived safely at the headquarters of the III Army Corps.

Peng resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's correct line of marching north to resist Japanese aggression and establishing the revolutionary general headquarters in the vast area of northwest China. At the sixth plenary session of the sixth CCP Central Committee in October 1938, old soldier Peng firmly took Chairman Mao's side and waged a resolute struggle against Wang Ming's right capitulationist line.

On many occasions old soldier Peng told me how he was sincerely educated by Chairman Mao. When the soviet zones were first established, Chairman Mao presented Lenin's work, "'Leftwing' Communism--An Infantile Disorder in the Communist Movement," to old soldier Peng as a gift and attached a note in his own handwriting. The note read: "In order to strive for victory in the Chinese revolution, you must read this book." Later Chairman Mao gave another book, "The State and Revolution," to old soldier Peng with another note attached in his own handwriting. The note read: "This book is even more important in striving for victory in the Chinese revolution." Chairman Mao frequently assigned the most arduous tasks to old soldier Peng, tasks which had a direct bearing on the situation as a whole. As early as the Jinggangshan period, Chairman Mao had already assigned old soldier Peng the important task of defending that area. In the Long March there were only 8,000 to 9,000 men in our forces' right column when we left Lazikou [Latzukou]. These men were organized into the Shaanxi-Gansu [Shensi-Kansu] detachment. Chairman Mao appointed old soldier Peng commander, with himself as political commissar of this detachment. When our anti-Japanese advance detachment crossed the Yellow River and marched to the east in 1936, Chairman Mao once again appointed old soldier Peng commander in chief, with himself political commissar, of this advance detachment. In 1950, when U.S. imperialism declared it would end the war

of aggression against Korea before Thanksgiving that year and turn new China into its colony, Chairman Mao deeply believed in old soldier Peng's ability to fulfill another important mission. Thus Peng was appointed commander and concurrently political commissar of the Chinese People's Volunteers.

In 1962 Chairman Mao still harbored sincere expectations of old soldier Peng, asking others to remind old soldier Peng to study the works of Marx and Lenin well so as to be prepared to work for the party in the future. In October 1965, before old soldier Peng became deputy commander in chief of the third front [san xian 0005 4848], he was invited by Chairman Mao to have several hours of sincere and frank talks in Mao's house. They reviewed the course of past major struggles. Excited by his talk with Chairman Mao, old soldier Peng could not sleep that night. He took over his new post with full confidence, determined to do a good job in building the three lines so as to fulfill the mission assigned to him by the party and Chairman Mao. Precisely when he had decided to serve the party and people once again, Peng was stabbed in the back by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Yet although old soldier Peng was a victim of protracted persecution, he always maintained his boundless loyalty and a lofty spirit of overwhelming demons of all descriptions.

Brilliant Achievements in His Entire Life of Fighting

As a capable assistant to Chairman Mao and old soldier Zhu in commanding troops over several decades of extremely difficult armed struggle, old soldier Peng was capable of commanding both officers and men in battles. Old soldier Peng, who successfully organized and commanded many important campaigns and battles, was a famous proletarian militarist at home and abroad.

In commanding battles, old soldier Peng was able to see far ahead and keep the entire situation under control. Before a major combat decision was made, he always thoroughly observed the enemy situation, repeatedly discussed it with others and repeatedly studied every single detail. Once a decision was made, no force on earth could change his mind. Even under the most difficult conditions, old soldier Peng was always skillful at encouraging the officers and men to heighten their fighting spirit and charge forward bravely to strive for victory. Under critical conditions he always remained calm, fearless in the face of danger and capable of making correct decisions, turning danger into safety. In the face of victory he always remained sober-minded, thoroughly studied the situation and made adequate arrangements for advance, retreat, offense and defense. In tense and complicated situations he always drew a clear distinction between advantage and disadvantage, avoided the powerful force and attacked the weak, made timely decisions in emergencies, and took advantage of all combat situations. In life-or-death battles his appearances always tremendously inspired the officers and men and created an invincible force for victory. A massive army acted as one under his

command. Under his orders the army was capable of taking swift offensive and defensive actions. Commanding an overall view, with a force as irresistible as that of a sharp knife splitting bamboo, old soldier Peng was indeed an outstanding, courageous, talented commander who placed both conduct and dignity on an equal footing.

On strategic questions concerning the overall situation, old soldier Peng made painstaking efforts to overcome all difficulties and did everything possible to firmly implement Chairman Mao's strategic principles. Shortly after the Red Army's 5th and 4th armies joined forces in Ninggang [Ningkang], the warlords in Hunan and Jiangxi mustered 18 regiments of reactionary forces to "jointly suppress" the Jinggang Mountains area. Based on the critical situation at that time, Chairman Mao made a wise and correct strategic decision. He decided to use a small part (about a regiment) of the Red Army to defend the Jinggang Mountains, draw the attention of the "joint suppression" enemy forces from Hunan and Jiangxi and thus cover the 4th Red Army, which was to move to south Jiangxi and open up a revolutionary base area. Obviously, the 5th Red Army was faced with a very arduous and dangerous task. At the time a majority of the 5th Red Army party committee comrades, unwilling to accept responsibility, called for a quick return to the north to expand the Hunan, Hubei [Hupeh] and Jiangxi base areas. In the face of this important strategic choice, old soldier Peng kept the overall interests of the revolution in mind, stood his ground, persuaded these comrades and resolutely assumed the heavy burden Chairman Mao had given him. The 4th Red Army had been gone from the Jinggang Mountains only 3 days when, with the force of an avalanche, enemy troops wildly encircled and attacked the area from all sides. After 3 days and nights of fighting, and after wiping out a large number of enemy troops, our army forced a break in the enemy's encirclement. After hard fighting on all sides, although only some 300 men of old soldier Peng's force remained, they still actively looked for opportunities to take the initiative and attack the enemy, thereby effectively supporting the 4th Red Army's successful advance in the south Jiangxi area. For several decades old soldier Peng firmly carried out Chairman Mao's strategic principles with concrete actions like this.

In directing combat old soldier Peng often, under rigorous and difficult conditions, defeated a bigger and stronger force with a smaller and weaker one. In 1930 he led the 3d Red Army Group in easily overwhelming an enemy force more than twice as large, capturing Changsha City. This was the only provincial capital our army captured during the Red Army period. In all the counterrevolutionary campaigns against "encirclement and suppression," under Chairman Mao's unified command and the influence of Chairman Mao's military thinking, old soldier Peng fought heroically, annihilated large numbers of enemy troops, and performed outstanding combat services. His heroic name spread far and wide. Especially in the second counterrevolutionary campaign against "encirclement and suppression," with the 1st Red Army Group's close support, old soldier Peng led his unit to fight three successive battles. In the first battle, fought at Donggu [Tungku]

Mountain, four regiments of Gong Bingfan's [Kung Ping-fan's] division, totaling more than 10,000 men, were completely annihilated. In the second battle, at Zhongcun [Chungtsun], a brigade under Sun Lianzhong's [Sun Lien-chung's] command was routed, and more than 1,000 enemy troops were taken prisoner. In the third battle, fought at Jianning [Chienning], the division of the enemy Liu Heding [Liu Ho-ting] was largely annihilated, and a great deal of weapons and equipment was captured. "A drive across 700 li in 15 days," "sweeping out thousands of enemy troops like rolling up a mat," this second counterrevolutionary campaign against "encirclement and suppression" ended in complete victory. In the course of the Long March old soldier Peng led the 3d Red Army Group and, in coordination with the 1st Red Army Group, fought and charged furiously with an inferior force, destroyed a powerful enemy force holding a superior defensive position with one blow, attacked and captured the natural barrier of Loushanguan [Loushankuan] and entered Zunyi [Tsun] City for a second time. In this battle our army annihilated the largest number of enemy troops in the entire Long March. The famous campaign to defend Yanan ended in complete victory under Chairman Mao's strategic decision. As frontline commander in chief of the northwest theater, old soldier Peng firmly carried out Chairman Mao's concept of operations, fully demonstrated his own military talents, actively and correctly organized and commanded every campaign and battle and made indelible contributions to annihilating the Chiang-Hu bandit forces, quickly reversing the north Shaanxi war situation and finally liberating all of the northwest.

At that time the units under old soldier Peng's command, very poorly equipped and with a total strength of merely 25,000 men, were confronted by more than 230,000 completely U.S.-equipped Chiang-Hu troops. Despite such disparities in strength, old soldier Peng was filled with a will to fight and with confidence. He followed Chairman Mao's combat principles, such as "attack dispersed, isolated enemy forces first; attack concentrated, strong enemy forces later," "make wiping out the enemy's effective strength our main objective" and "strive to wipe out moving enemy forces," and fought one brilliant battle after another. Old soldier Peng made elaborate plans and laid out confusing formations. At Qinghuabian [Chinghuapien] he lured the enemy deep into a trap and in a single ambush completely wiped out the enemy's 31st Brigade of some 2,900 men, capturing the brigade commander, Li Jiyun [Li Chi-yun], alive. After victory in the initial battle, old soldier Peng followed Chairman Mao's tactics of "wear and tear," leading the enemy by the nose on a "big parade," and when the enemy was very tired and confused, again fighting them at Yangma River, wiping out the enemy's 135th Brigade, killing and wounding more than 4,700 enemy troops, including Brigade Commander Mai Zongyu [Mai Tsung-yu]. Next, old soldier Peng led his troops to attack Panlong [Panlung], swallowing up more than 6,700 enemy troops and capturing the commander of the enemy's 167th Brigade, Li Kungang [Li Kun-kang], known as one of Hu Zongnan's [Hu Tsung-nan's] "four guardians." Winning victories successively in three battles, he was hailed by the people and struck fear in the enemy's hearts. The northwest situation was quickly reversed.

Chairman Mao highly appraised old soldier Peng's outstanding command and brilliant war exploits. At a military meeting after the victory of the Shajidian [Shachiatien] campaign, Chairman Mao extemporaneously rewrote a poem he had composed during the Long March to praise old soldier Peng:

The mountain is high, the road is long and the tunnel is deep,
Big troops are moving about in all directions,
Who has the courage to hold the sword crosswise on horseback?
Only our great General Peng;

The grandeur of Chairman Mao's poem vividly portrayed the heroic image of the combat-worthy old soldier Peng.

I remember that when old soldier Peng first saw Chairman Mao's poem, he modestly changed "Only our great General Peng" into "Only our heroic Red Army."

Our soldier Peng always said: If cadres are brave and death-defying, our troops will charge ahead and subdue the enemy. He himself personified courage and wisdom. To insure that his command was correct, he always went to the battlefield to inspect the terrain and understand the enemy situation amidst artillery fire and smoke, disregarding his personal safety. He strove to "understand ourselves and the enemy and to win all battles." He admonished us on many occasions: "Maps alone won't help to command a battle well. We must stride to the frontline and gain a true picture of how we and the enemy stand. Only thus can we acquire the commanding power." I recall a battle to combat "encirclement and suppression" in the soviet area in Jiangxi [Kiangsi]. The enemy was falling upon us from all directions in an attempt to surround and eliminate us en masse. The map showed that our army was desperately trapped and that making a breakthrough would be difficult. But old soldier Peng personally surveyed the frontline terrain and eventually found a hazardous path. He immediately led the troops, carrying light packs, in a quick advance along the path. Having broken through the encirclement, they dealt heavy blows at and inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy troops from the rear flank. His command post was always very close to the battlefield, and we subordinate commanders used to "protest" to him: "Your post is too close to the front. Where do you expect our command posts to be?" At one time during the liberation war, Comrade Wang Chen, then a column commander, was directing a battle on the northwest battleground where bullets were flying in all directions. All of a sudden he saw old soldier Peng pop up and said, in amazement: "What are you doing here?" Old soldier Peng replied, smiling: "You can come, so why can't I?" To insure his safety, Comrade Wang Chen had to take "forceful measures" and order the guards to take him back to the rear. There were innumerable instances of old soldier Peng being towed away from the battlefield. The party Central Committee and Chairman Mao deeply appreciated old soldier Peng's consistent style of doing things in disregard of his personal safety. Therefore, during the war to aid Korea and resist U.S. imperialism, they sent a special message to the

party committee of the Chinese People's Volunteers asking it to take care of old soldier Peng's safety.

After returning from the Korean battleground, old soldier Peng devoted all his efforts to national defense construction. He always revered the old generals who had rendered outstanding, meritorious service. When he was entrusted by Chairman Mao to take charge of the daily work of the CCP Central Committee's Military Commission, he became more attentive to the opinions of the old generals in matters concerning national defense construction. Unless something unusual happened, he would invite the old generals in Peking to get together every week to study strategy, national defense, arms production, militia work and other important questions. He did his utmost to obtain satisfactory solutions to these questions, frequently ignoring his meals and sleep and disregarding fatigue and hardship.

Acting on Chairman Mao's strategic policy of positive defense, old soldier Peng raced against time and paid close attention to insuring preparedness against war. In a 2-3 year period he completed a detailed survey of China's coastal regions--from the mouth of the Yalu River in the north to Hainan Island in the south--by spending 3 or 4 months on this project each year. Almost the entire 18,000-kilometer coastline was marked with the mountains he had climbed and islands he had visited. He carefully studied where defense works were needed, where they were not needed, where they should be built in selected areas and where they should be extended. One spring his health failed, and Chairman Mao let him recuperate in Qingdao [Tsingtao]. But his strong desire to serve the revolutionary cause and his high sense of revolutionary responsibility for defending the motherland's security made him so absorbed in his work that he couldn't sleep soundly. Within a week after he arrived in Qingdao he had local military cadres accompany him to the mountains to inspect the terrain, examine the work of preparedness against war and review their defense situation. In more than 3 months of "recuperation" he made a detailed inspection of the Shandong [Shantung] Peninsula and the Bohai [Pohai] Gulf and drew up concrete plans for building defense works. Old soldier Peng always said: Our vast country has had no frontier defense for more than 100 years. We must end this situation in our generation.

Old soldier Peng attached utmost importance to our army's modernization and conducted massive work in a down-to-earth manner. Before the founding of new China our army consisted only of infantry. Many fields had to be restudied in order to build the army into a highly modernized one with various arms and services and with nuclear weapons. Not only did old soldier Peng frequent naval and air force units to conduct investigations and studies and to learn about technical arms and services, but he was also very concerned about scientific research in national defense and national defense industry construction. He paid great attention to the development of modern military technology and modern warfare characteristics. For this purpose he issued special invitations to those comrades who had

conducted thorough research on modern warfare characteristics and the command of military campaigns to lecture him. Nuclear physicists were invited to his office, where a blackboard was hung. They explained to him the principles, structure and performance of atomic missiles. We all should learn from the seriousness and concern he displayed in studying modernization.

In modernizing our army old soldier Peng always adhered to Chairman Mao's principle of building a people's army, persisted in having the party exercise absolute leadership over the army, and maintained the fine traditions of our army's political work so as to guarantee that our army would forever remain the powerful pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the latter half of 1953 some people proposed the system of one-man leadership. After serious consideration, investigation and study, old soldier Peng resolutely opposed the idea. He said: This system of one-man leadership will only breed commandism and warlordism and will estrange officers from men and upper bodies from lower ones. It should not be adopted. He firmly advocated the system of division of responsibilities among department heads under the collective leadership of the party committee. He not only made special reports on this at military academies but gave detailed explanations in his speech to the Eighth CCP Congress. Old soldier Peng continued to work assiduously day and night and made promising contributions to our army's modernization and revolutionization.

Honest and Upright, Selfless and Fearless

Old soldier Peng was open and aboveboard, honest and upright and hated evil as much as he hated the enemy. He fully displayed the thorough, revolutionary, communist spirit of fighting for truth and justice and never retreating from great danger.

Selfless and fearless, old soldier Peng always took a firm and clear-cut stand on major matters of principle and dared to wage an irreconcilable struggle against any items and actions running counter to the people's interests. Some "left" dogmatists, who came to the front in March and April of 1934 as representatives of the party Central Committee, ordered old soldier Peng to defend Guangchang [Kuangchang] in accordance with Wang Ming's line and erroneous principles that "not a single inch of land must be lost" and "it is imperative to engage the enemy outside the gates." After accurately analyzing the enemy's and our situations, following Chairman Mao's military thinking, old soldier Peng held that it was impossible for our army to win the battle, because we were outnumbered by 11 enemy divisions deployed on the front and because the enemy was using blockhouse tactics, attacking and consolidating its positions at every step. He flatly said that we must not defend a certain area to the last and take a beating in a passive position. Later the "left" dogmatists ordered old soldier Peng in the name of the party Central Committee to fight the battle. He therefore had no choice. As a result, our

army suffered heavy losses. After the battle old soldier Peng, defying their tremendous power, struggled against and sharply criticized them. Using the Hunan proverb, "A son does not feel sad when he sells his father's land," old soldier Peng angrily denounced them by saying that the central soviet area would be lost for good because of them. Shortly afterward old soldier Peng directed the battle at Gaohunao [Kaohunao] between Guangchang and Shicheng [Shihcheng]. This battle was won by using skillful defensive deployment and surprising the enemy. The "left" dogmatists seized this opportunity to ask old soldier Peng to write an article to prove the correctness of their so-called "tactics of quick and sudden assaults." However, persisting in seeking truth from facts and never making any insincere statements to satisfy them, old soldier Peng sharply pointed out: "This victory was won under unusual circumstances and cannot be used to prove the feasibility of tactics of 'quick and sudden assault.'" All traitors and evildoers were awed by his outstanding boldness, vision and uprightness.

Old soldier Peng respected and supported great leader Chairman Mao. However, when his views differed from Chairman Mao's, old soldier Peng always placed the party's interests above everything else, took a clear-cut stand and expressed his views to Chairman Mao without scruple. In January 1951 old soldier Peng came back from Korea to express his views to Chairman Mao on urgent matters. As Chairman Mao was not in Beijing at that time, Peng immediately rushed to where Mao was, arriving when Mao was resting. Disregarding the guard's advice not to enter Chairman Mao's bedroom, he opened the door, entered the room and expressed his views to Chairman Mao without reservation. Knowing old soldier Peng as a frank and upright man, Chairman Mao did not blame him for his action and immediately agreed with his views. Chairman Mao also praised him, saying: Only you, Peng Dehuai, rush into another's bedroom to advance your views when the other is sleeping. Old soldier Peng always told others that he liked to discuss his views with Chairman Mao and that when his actual conditions and views were reported to Chairman Mao, problems could be solved timely and effectively.

Old soldier Peng always told us that a Communist Party member, especially a senior party cadre, should not conceal his political views. To uphold truth, one should rid oneself of all selfish ideas and have the spirit of not fearing to be beheaded, imprisoned, removed from one's post, expelled from the party or divorced. Only thus can one be loyal to the party and the people and work for the interests of the revolution and the people. Otherwise, if one does not dare to bravely step forward and firmly struggle against an erroneous trend, or if one feigns compliance when one is really against something, one will only aid the development of the erroneous trend and thus harm the party, country, people and revolution.

Old soldier Peng disliked most the cunning cadres who are worldly-wise, playing it safe, steering according to the wind, paying no attention to principle and failing to distinguish right from wrong. He bitterly hated

doubledealers whose outward appearance did not match their thoughts and who said one thing but did another. We can recall that when a Soviet delegation came to visit our country in 1956, old soldier Peng asked Mikoyan this pointed question face to face: "Stalin had his shortcomings. Why did you not advance your opinions on his shortcomings while he was alive? Now you are doing your utmost to oppose him after his death." Mikoyan answered: "We dared not advance our opinions at that time. Had we done so, we would have been beheaded." Old soldier Peng then said in no uncertain terms: "One should not be a communist if one fears death." This is the kind of individual our old soldier Peng was. It was impossible for him not to express his opinion in the interests of the party and the people. As he once said, he would advance his opinions even if it meant death. At a financial and economic conference sponsored by the Northwest Bureau of the party Central Committee in the winter of 1943, Peng sharply criticized Gao Gang [Kao Kang] for the extravagant and wasteful way the conference was held. After the Seventh National CCP Congress in 1954, when Rao Shushi [Jao Shu-shih] criticized Comrade Chen Yi [Chen I], old soldier Peng immediately rebutted Rao. Peng's lofty qualities of being open, strict and selfless and daring to speak out are a concentrated manifestation of the Communist Party spirit consistently promoted by Chairman Mao.

When we now talk about old soldier Peng's lofty qualities, I feel quite uneasy in my heart. It was precisely because of old soldier Peng's upholding truth, daring to speak out and struggle and never believing in anything evil that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" regarded him as a thorn in their flesh, tried in every possible way to bring false charges against him and to ruthlessly persecute him, and were not happy with anything less than his destruction. However, our old soldier Peng did not yield before the evil forces. He stubbornly struggled against this bunch of ferocious enemies and scolded Lin Biao and Jiang Qing [Chiang Ching] until his last breath. He died with indignation before the false accusation against him was redressed. However, history shows us that he did not sacrifice himself for nothing. On the contrary, our party and people have benefited immeasurably from his brave and just actions and from his unremitting struggles. Today the role played by him in our recognition of truth and summing up of historical experiences is all the more immeasurable. His firm loyalty and moral integrity, which are as shining as the sun and the moon, will exist forever.

Old soldier Peng dared to hold fast to his correct opinions but did not persist in any erroneous views. Whenever he argued with others, he was always willing to listen to the differing views of the other side. When he found his own views to be wrong, he was always glad to correct them and to show his determination to do so by taking action in this regard. After Changsha was attacked for the second time in 1930, Chairman Mao incisively discerned that, with the suspension of the war between the warlords, Chiang Kai-shek had massed a large number of troops and was preparing to "encircle and suppress" our central soviet area. It was then

decided that our army should move to the area east of the Gan [Kan] River and concentrate its forces to smash the enemy's "encirclement and suppression." Failing to understand this situation clearly, old soldier Peng did not agree with Chairman Mao's view and continued to advocate that our army should expand its area west of the Gan River. Chairman Mao explained the situation to him, but he still could not understand it at that time. Then Chairman Mao asked Zhou Yili [Chou I-li], representative of the party Central Committee's Changjiang [Changchiang] Bureau, to persuade him. When old soldier Peng thought it over and understood it, he immediately changed his wrong view and resolutely redeployed the three army groups under his command in accordance with Chairman Mao's strategic concept.

After the Red Army finished its Long March and reached northern Shaanxi, old soldier Peng held, due to the experiences of the struggle in the Jinggang Mountains, that the Red Army should expand its strength in northern Shaanxi while consolidating itself. Disapproving his view in light of the situation at the time, Chairman Mao advanced the view that the Red Army should consolidate while expanding its strength. Through persuasion and help by Chairman Mao, old soldier Peng came to realize the farsightedness of Chairman Mao's strategic concept and gladly gave up his own view. Moreover, in order to implement Chairman Mao's strategic concept, old soldier Peng served as commander of the advance detachment (with Chairman Mao concurrently as its political commissar) against the Japanese aggressors. This detachment crossed the Yellow River from the east and swept through large areas in western and southern Shanxi [Shansi]. Through these operations the detachment captured a large number of weapons and equipment and expanded the political influence of our party and the strength of the Red Army, thus laying a solid foundation for the consolidation and expansion of the base area against Japanese aggression in northern Shaanxi. This provided tremendous support for the anti-Japanese movement by the people in north China.

Strict Teacher and Honest Friend, He Is Loyal-Hearted to Others

Old soldier Peng placed strict demands on his subordinates. He said humorously: "I like to criticize others, for which I am notorious." However, those who were criticized by him were mostly senior cadres. He often said: If we did not place strict demands on senior cadres, it would be impossible for us to direct tens of thousands of troops well and lead them in waging rigorous struggles. Out of his sense of responsibility, old soldier Peng criticized cadres in order to help and support them in work. Under no circumstances did he criticize cadres in an attempt to suppress them. This is why people accepted his criticisms with sincerity, felt his comradely warmth and concern from his stern criticisms and regarded these criticisms as a tremendous stimulus to their progress.

Take me, for instance. There was a long superior-subordinate relationship between us. We were old comrades-in-arms. But he strictly criticized me very often. Without regard to personal friendship, he even removed me from

a leading position one time. Old soldier Peng just could not tolerate any irresponsibility or dereliction of duty. In the Korean war one of our units lacked the determination to fight a battle of annihilation and acted slowly toward an isolated enemy unit, thus missing the combat opportunity and letting the enemy troops escape. At a meeting, old soldier Peng sternly criticized the responsible person of that unit. He sternly warned that if the responsible person failed to mend his ways he would be removed from his post and his unit would be deactivated. Shortly after accepting the criticism, however, that unit took on a new look and fought a smart battle. Old soldier Peng immediately commended the unit with enthusiasm and reported this to Chairman Mao. Fair and unselfish, he dispensed reward and punishment impartially. Under him, people worked with ease of mind and with increasing vigor.

While old soldier Peng was very strict with senior cadres, he was extremely easy to get along with and loved the fighters dearly. On the march and in combat, he always let the wounded or sick and those younger and physically weak comrades ride his war horse. He often inquired about the physical and mental condition of fighters and their families in order to understand their hardships and opinions of cadres and find out what they expected from the leadership. He often ate with the fighters to understand how they lived. For fear that a fighter on sentry duty might have cold feet, he would ask him to take off his cotton-quilted shoes so he could find out if his shoes were warm. I recall a time in the soviet area of Jiangxi [Kiangsi] when our army was on the move to attack an eastern village. Our vanguard units were closing in on the enemy, and our rearguard units were resting on a road awaiting orders. Anxious to get to the front, old soldier Peng asked a fighter blocking his path to let him through. Unexpectedly, the fighter responded by punching him. Old soldier Peng ignored him and rushed through. A moment later a squad leader took this fighter to old soldier Peng and asked that he be punished. His eyes half closed with a smile, old soldier Peng said: "Who asked you to tie him up? It was a small matter. Release him quickly!" When that fighter realized that he had struck the commander in chief of the army group, he felt miserable and dejected beyond words. But old soldier Peng said: "I am the one to be blamed for bad manners!" Old soldier Peng's magnanimity toward the fighters had become an interesting story in the Red Army units. Old soldier Peng took meticulous care of those comrades working by his side, politically as well as physically. I recall that when he was fighting in Korea I sent him some native products from Hunan in consideration of the tough life at the front. I later learned from his secretary that he gave most of them away to comrades working in operations, confidential file and communications departments.

Old soldier Peng led an extremely arduous and simple life. Ever since the Red Army period he often reminded cadres and fighters not to forget: Our food and clothing come from the blood and sweat of the people, and we are the sons of the people. We must not forget our origin and the people, nor should we indulge in extravagance and waste and pursue the

comforts of life. He practiced what he preached and was truly a good example. In the long years of war he shared weal and woe with the army units and never sought special privileges. When I first met him in 1930, I felt he was like an ordinary soldier wearing a Red Army cap, a grey Red Army uniform and a pair of sandals made of hemp and straw. He ate like any other fighter. When salt was very scarce due to the enemy blockade, he shared salt indiscriminately with the fighters. He flatly refused the extra monthly allowance the army provided him. He maintained the revolutionary spirit of arduous struggle displayed in the years of war after his return from Korea. He never used more people than he needed. When he was in Zhongnanhai [Chungnanhai], besides office secretaries and staff personnel he had only one guard, one driver and one servant. He had neither private cooks nor a small kitchen. He always ate in the messhall. His living quarters were also extremely simple. With the exception of quarters for other personnel, all he had was one bedroom and an office which was also used as a reading and living room.

Old soldier Peng was also very strict with his family. Before going to Korea old soldier Peng worked in the northwest. He stayed in the Beijing Hotel during his two visits there. On each trip he was visited by his nephews and nieces. However, on both visits he would not get an extra room for the children. He would let them crowd together in his own room and sleep on the rug. He worked at Zhongnanhai after he returned from Korea. Although the children had quite a distance to go to school from home, he would not allow his car to be used for transportation. In 1965 he had to leave for work on the third front, and his living quarters had to be returned to the government. That left a niece living with him with no place to live. He asked the organization whether living quarters could be secured for her and was told she would be given a house. Old soldier Peng felt very bad about this. He told his niece time and again: This is the first time in my life I have ever asked the organization to solve my own problem. I feel bad. Yes, old soldier Peng pursued personal interests. When he died he left behind nothing but a loyal heart, his lofty integrity and his steel-like devotion to the communist cause!

Old soldier Peng led a revolutionary and militant life, loyal to the party and the people. The brilliant red flag of the Pingjiang Uprising, the roar of guns at Huangyangjie [Huangyangchieh], the hard battles on the Long March, the flames of the anti-Japanese war in the Taihang Mountains, the nights and days in defense of Yanan, the victorious counterattacks on the Korean battlefield, and diligent work in building up the national defense constitute the record of old soldier Peng's meritorious exploits in his lifelong struggle, carving a lofty image of military expert and statesman. We must emulate Comrade Peng Dehuai's revolutionary spirit and his noble quality, raise aloft the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought and, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, build our army into a powerful modernized army and advance courageously in making China a great, modern and powerful socialist state!

THE JUST SPIRIT OF HEAVEN AND EARTH LIVES ON--IN MEMORY OF COMRADE TAO ZHU
[TAO CHU]

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[Article by Xue Guangjun [Hsueh Kuang-chun]]

[Text] It has been 9 years since Comrade Tao Zhu died unjustly under the cruel persecution of the diabolical Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The last meeting I had with Comrade Tao Zhu was in late October 1966, that is, exactly 12 years ago. With infinite memories I recalled the years and months during which I worked under his direct leadership. Scenes of the past appeared before my eyes. His voice and smiling face often reoccurred in my head, as though he were still alive.

For 10 years I worked under the direct leadership of Comrade Tao Zhu, successively in Yanan, in the northeast liberated area and in the Central-South Bureau of the CCP Central Committee. The noble image of Comrade Tao Zhu as a good student of great teacher Comrade Mao Zedong, an outstanding leader of our party and state, and a long-tested loyal proletarian revolutionary fighter is carved in my heart and has become a tremendous force that spurs me on to fight all my life for the realization of the great communist ideal.

I

I first met Comrade Tao Zhu in early 1941. At that time I was working at the central organization department. He frequently attended a small-group discussion which was led personally by Comrade Chen Yun. Later I knew that he was a delegate to the Seventh CCP National Congress, a veteran Communist Party member of the great revolutionary period and a student of the Huangpu [Whampoa] Military Academy; that he participated in the Nanchang Uprising and the Guangzhou [Canton] Uprising, that he worked in the white area for the Fujian [Fukien] provincial party committee and that he did an outstanding job in organizing and commanding the nationally famous storming of the Xiamen [Amoy] prison. Later he was sold out by traitors and was arrested in Shanghai, sent to jail and sentenced to life imprisonment by the Guomindang [Kuomintang] reactionaries. When

he was in jail he carried out courageous struggles against the enemy. Only until the beginning of the war of resistance against Japan was he released through the intervention of Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Ye Jianying [Yeh Chien-ying]. After he got out of prison he took part in the leadership work in the Hubei [Hupeh] provincial party committee, resolutely opposed Wang Ming's right opportunist line, actively implemented Comrade Mao Zedong's correct line, went to the central Hubei region to set up resist-Japan armed forces and contributed to the establishment of the central Hubei rural base area. Wang Ming cruelly attacked Comrade Tao Zhu and without cause dismissed him from his leading post in the Hubei provincial party committee. Comrade Tao Zhu feared no blows, persevered in the truth and struggled courageously. Finally, elected delegate to the Seventh National CCP Congress, he arrived in Yanan.

In January 1943 the party organization transferred me to work with Comrade Tao Zhu; I was with him until June 1945, when we left Yanan together. During this period he actively took part in the rectification movement in Yanan. From what he told me about developments within the party and from what I personally heard about the fierce debates he carried out against comrades who implemented Wang Ming's line and who made mistakes, I profoundly realized that, having conducted protracted struggles against Wang Ming's line, he developed a very high consciousness of the line struggle and cultivated a very strong sense of principle. At that time he was secretary general of the General Political Department of the Military Commission and concurrently director of its Propaganda Department and was in charge of the daily work of the General Political Department. To assist everyone in learning and summarizing the historical experiences of the struggle between the two lines inside the party prior to the Sixth National CCP Congress, and in particular since the Sixth National CCP Congress, Comrade Tao Zhu, together with other comrades, took part in editing two sets of materials on the party's history. The editing of these two sets of materials involved a large amount of historical facts proving the correctness of Comrade Mao Zedong's line and criticizing the erroneous line of Wang Ming, and it played a very effective role in coordinating with the rectification movement in Yanan. In accordance with the instruction of Comrade Mao Zedong, he conscientiously summed up the advanced experiences of the political work of the army units, eradicated the pernicious influence of Wang Ming's line, and revived and gave prominence to the fine tradition set forth at the Gutian [Kutien] conference concerning our army's political work. He contributed to the birth of a historically significant document, written by Comrade Zhou Enlai and others under the direction of Comrade Mao Zedong, on "The Question of Political Work Inside the Army," which was proposed by the regimental political department at the Northwest Bureau's senior cadres conference held in 1944.

In the fall of 1943 Comrade Tao Zhu took several of us comrades to the army companies under the 120th Division of the Shanxi-Suiyuan [Shansi-Suiyuan] liberated areas to carry out investigations there. He personally

investigated the 2d Company of the 8th Regiment under the 358th Brigade and wrote up an investigation report. At the time the various base areas were enjoying the fresh experience of having created armed working teams in the struggle to consolidate and develop the liberated areas. Comrade Tao Zhu listened to a report by the enemy-work section under the 358th Brigade on the condition of an armed working team: not having many members, this armed working team relied on the masses and mysteriously appeared and disappeared inside the enemy-occupied territories, dealing blows to the enemies, protecting the masses and causing the puppet troops and traitors of the neighboring areas to tremble with fear. After listening to the report, Comrade Tao Zhu was very pleased. In order to obtain firsthand materials on the activities of the armed working team and to see how, through the activities of the armed working team, a village under the strict control of the enemies was gradually transformed into a revolutionary two-faced regime which superficially supported the enemy but actually worked for us, Comrade Tao Zhu disregarded his personal safety and took us, in disguise, to a village near Sanjiaozhen [Sanchiaochen], an enemy vantage point, to carry out investigations there. In 1944 Comrade Tao Zhu again organized the Propaganda Department of the General Political Department and us comrades who were engaged in investigations and study into several work groups to carry out investigations in some heroic and model companies of army units stationed in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia [Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia] border regions and to sum up advanced experiences of the political work of those companies. This investigation gave birth to several model essays. Comrade Tao Zhu compiled them into a pamphlet, wrote a preface to it in the name of the Propaganda Department of the General Political Department, and submitted it to Comrade Mao Zedong for inspection. Comrade Mao Zedong personally made some changes in the preface and gave his approval for printing and distribution. This small pamphlet played an active role in implementing the spirit of the instruction of the Northwest Bureau's senior cadres conference on strengthening army political work. After the liberation it continued to be printed and distributed publicly.

II

The Seventh National CCP Congress formulated the line of "boldly mobilizing the masses, strengthening the people's forces and placing them under the leadership of our party so as to defeat the Japanese aggressors, liberate the people throughout the country and establish a new democratic China." The party Central Committee decided to transfer a large number of cadres from Yanan to the enemy-occupied territories along both sides of the Guangzhou-Hankou [Canton-Hankow] Railroad and to establish new liberated areas there. Comrade Tao Zhu was sent to the Hunan-Guangdong [Hunan-Kwangtung] area to lead the work of establishing base areas. We comrades who were prepared to follow Comrade Tao Zhu to work in Hunan and Guangdong and leading comrades and a large group of cadres who were prepared to go to South China to establish other base areas left Yanan upon the close of the party's seventh national congress. We passed through

the Shanxi, Suiyuan and Taiyue [Taiyueh] liberated areas and advanced southward. After departing from several villages between Fenyang County and Wenshui County at the border of the Shanxi-Suiyuan liberated area, we crossed the border of Pingyao County on the Fenhe [Fenho] Plain, which was enemy-occupied territory, penetrated the enemy's blockade along the Tongpu [Tungpu] Railroad, crossed the mountains and were just about to arrive at the base area of the Taiyue region when we suddenly discovered that puppet troops were carrying out disturbances in a village ahead of us. Sounds of gunfire could be heard not far away. At that time our unarmed cadres following the army south were far from our main army units. Also, we had already marched day and night over some 180 li, and our men and horses were exhausted. We were faced with the danger of being completely defenseless when attacked by the enemy. At this critical moment, calm and sure, Comrade Tao Zhu stepped forward. He swiftly organized a dozen of the guards, led them to climb to a higher elevation on the roadside, personally selected a favorable site and commanded each and every one of them to take his position and be prepared to stand up against the enemy and safeguard the safety of the whole contingent. Although we did not clash with the enemy, his quickness and bravery and his revolutionary heroic spirit of remaining undaunted in the face of peril won the admiration of the comrades present at the time.

Shortly after our unit advanced southward to the Taiyue liberated area, Japan announced its surrender. The Central Committee instructed us not to move further south but to rush day and night to the northeast to open up the northeast base area. After a month's long journey we arrived in Shenyang. Comrade Tao Zhu became secretary of the Liaoning provincial party committee, and I also stayed in Shenyang Municipality to become secretary of a district party committee there. During more than 2 months of work here the provincial party committee enthusiastically propagated the party's policies, mobilized the masses, fostered cadres and organized the workers armed forces. Later on the Guomindang launched a mass offensive against the northeast. When the capacity of our own forces was weak compared with that of the enemy, we acted in accordance with Comrade Mao Zedong's strategic policies of "yielding the main road and occupying the two sides" and "setting up and consolidating the northeast base area," and took the initiative to retreat from Shenyang. To strengthen leadership in the new situation, the Northeast Bureau decided to abolish the Liaoning provincial party committee and again establish the Liaoji [Liaochi] provincial party committee, which covered a portion of the area in Liaoning Province west of the Zhongchang [Chungchang] Railroad and north of the Beining [Peining] Railroad and a portion of the area in Jilin [Kirin] Province west of the Zhongchang Railroad. Comrade Tao Zhu became secretary of the Liaoji provincial party committee, and our cadres and workers armed forces of that area were transferred to work in Liaoji. When we gathered at Masanjiazi [Masanchiatzu] in Xinmin [Hsinmin] County, waiting to be transferred, Comrade Li Fuchun [Li Fu-chun], then secretary of the Western Manchurian Subbureau, and Comrade Tao Zhu had already arrived there to revise the administrative divisions of the several

provinces in Western Manchuria to meet the needs of the struggle. They reassigned a large group of cadres who had just retreated from Shenyang, transferring them from the border region to the various counties in Liaoji. Comrade Tao Zhu was dressed in an army jacket. On seeing me he said: "For over 2 months in Shenyang we were so busy that we had no appetite and slept poorly. Now we've arrived in the countryside. The rice tastes good and we sleep well. Our home, after all, is the countryside!" He and Comrade Li Fuchun instructed us to go to Faku County to mobilize and organize the masses, launch a struggle to purge traitors and special agents, set up our own government and mass organizations, organize local armed forces and strive hard to build the base area. At that time some cadres still yearned for the big city and were mentally unprepared for the idea of giving up the big city to go to the countryside and carry out hard work there. But seeing how Comrade Tao Zhu unswervingly implemented Comrade Mao Zedong's strategic policies and how vigorously, confidently and earnestly he organized this strategic transfer of work, they all accepted their assignments without hesitation and happily went to Faku County to welcome new struggles.

Faku was ruled by a prefectural party committee in Liaoji Province. This prefecture had a total of seven to eight counties, most of which were near the Zhongchang Railroad and the Beining Railroad and were the frontier areas of Liaoji Province. We persevered in work in this prefecture for less than a year. Later, when the Guomindang troops invaded, the principal units of our army subdistrict made the mistake of withdrawing, forcing over 1,000 of our cadres and the local armed forces in the several counties to retreat. We took a course around eastern and northern Manchuria back to Baichengzi [Paichengtzu], where we reported to the provincial party committee on our work in the several counties and the course of this retreat. We felt somewhat guilty for not having persevered in those counties. But Comrade Tao Zhu did not criticize us. He said that the major responsibility lay with the major leading comrades of the principal units of the military subdistrict and that what they did was a mistake. Because all of us had retreated from the district, the work in Liaoji became increasingly difficult. After discussions and studies the provincial party committee reshuffled the leading groups of the prefectural party committee and the subdistrict and decided to dispatch an army unit with a large group of cadres from various counties, under the prefectural party committee, to return to their former districts to resume work. In the light of the situation at the time, the provincial party committee decided not to do this directly but to infiltrate from two sides. It regarded the five prefectural party committees around Rehe [Jehol] as the rearguard. In coordination with the army units dispatched by the provincial military district, it was to push steadily into the various counties of the prefectural party committee. This was a major policy decision and was a difficult and complicated task, because this prefecture was close to the enemy-occupied railroad line. After we had retreated, the landlord "home-going legions" returned in force. In these circumstances it was extremely difficult to mobilize the masses. If the work was not done

properly, not only would we be unable to hold our ground but we might incur great losses. At that time, although we accepted the task, we did not have enough confidence. Comrade Tao Zhu foresaw this situation. On the one hand he fully launched ideological work among the cadres and taught everyone to fear no hardship but to courageously fulfill this arduous task; on the other hand he did not simply hand this task over to the leading comrades of the prefectural party committee and military subdistrict, but personally led the units and cadres to advance southward. He led us around the Zhelimu [Chelimu] League. Braving the penetrating cold wind of the north country, crossing the frozen Liao River, passing through the uninhabited desert, going through seven or eight counties (banners) and marching over 1,000 li, we first took the Kulun Banner and set up a solid rear area for the prefectural party committee and created favorable conditions for further advances. Only at that point did Comrade Tao Zhu return to the provincial party committee. Later on, with the Kulun Banner as a place to depend on, the prefectural party committee gradually recovered its work in various counties. We should learn from Comrade Tao Zhu's outstanding ability and fine working style of being good at grasping key issues at critical moments and at personally assuming command at the forefront. Many comrades who experienced this period of history expressed their admiration for Comrade Tao Zhu whenever this event was mentioned.

Liaoji Province was the frontline in the struggle against the enemy. There were neither high mountains nor dense forests, so the conditions for setting up and consolidating a base area there were comparatively more difficult. It was necessary to constantly strengthen the struggle against the enemy, take the initiative to deal blows to the enemy, and, through the agrarian reform, fully mobilize the poor peasants and farm laborers so as to build up a truly impregnable base. War and agrarian reform were the two major tasks of the base area at the time. Comrade Tao Zhu often personally took part in the important battles. For instance, he personally took part in the battle to take Zhangwu [Changwu] in the winter of 1948. He went in and out of the smoke-filled battlefields calmly and in a heroic manner. Frequent praise was heard from the guards and drivers who were with him. Although Liaoji had a small population, the provincial party committee headed by Comrade Tao Zhu firmly grasped the task of strengthening the armed forces. As a result, not only did it establish the local armed forces, but it sent a large number of soldiers to the principal army units. Finally, a field army column was built--the 7th Column of the 4th Field Army. At the same time Comrade Tao Zhu resolutely implemented the instruction of the party Central Committee and the Northeast Bureau and conscientiously led the task of agrarian reform. The provincial party committee led the prefectural and county party committees to concentrate their major efforts on grasping the agrarian reform, to convene meetings at fixed intervals, to devise programs for launching movements and to examine work and sum up experiences. The provincial party committee organized a large group of cadres into a work corps to go to the countryside to comfort the poor

peasants, take root in and link up the rural areas, mobilize the poor peasants and farm laborers to air their grievances and uproot poverty, raise the class consciousness of the poor peasants and farm laborers, organize a staunch class force, thoroughly topple the reactionary rule of the landlord class in the countryside and carry out thorough agrarian reform in accordance with the policies stipulated by the Central Committee. By launching the agrarian reform and fully mobilizing the masses, Liaoji Province set up a new regime with the poor peasants and farm laborers as the masters, established a party organization, organized the people's armed forces, eradicated the bandits, launched a large-scale production movement and gradually turned the place into a solid base area where revolution and production prospered.

Comrade Tao Zhu only worked for a short period of 3 years in Liaoji Province. But because he had resolutely implemented Comrade Mao Zedong's strategic principle of "establishing a solid northeast base area," struggled courageously in an arduous and complicated environment, worked selflessly and led the broad ranks of cadres and the masses to overcome one difficulty after another, the Liaoji base area was able to become consolidated and develop continuously. He had rendered contributions to the liberation of the entire northeast region.

III

In early November 1948 Shenyang was liberated. At that time Comrade Tao Zhu was vice chairman of the Shenyang Municipal Military Administrative Committee and concurrently secretary of the municipal party committee. At that time Comrade Chen Yun was the chairman of the Military Administrative Committee. The situation they faced was this: Undermined by the war, there was much confusion in the city. Production had come to a halt, the supply situation was difficult and life was hard. Comrade Tao Zhu actively assisted Comrade Chen Yun in effectively carrying out a series of tasks, including taking over the city administration, resuming production and transforming the old government. In a few months Comrade Tao Zhu was transferred to the Political Department of the 4th Field Army to assume leadership work, and he therefore went south.

After Comrade Tao Zhu left Shenyang he took part in the Beiping-Tianjin [Peiping-Tientsin] battle and, as representative of the 4th Field Army, held talks with Gen Fu Zuoyi [Fu Tso-i] on the peaceful liberation of Beiping. Following that he went south to Wuhan and became chairman of the Wuhan Military Administrative Committee. Then he went to the South China Subbureau and led the struggle in Guangxi [Kwangsi] to clean up the bandits and oppose the tyrants. In late 1951 he was transferred to Guangdong [Kwangtung] to lead the agrarian reform movement there. Later he was for a long time first secretary of the Guangdong provincial party committee and led the socialist revolution and socialist construction in Guangdong.

In 1962 I was transferred from Beijing to the Central-South Bureau and once again worked with Comrade Tao Zhu. In April of that year the Central-South Bureau convened a meeting in Wuhan to discuss the question of how to implement the policy of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards" as proposed by the party Central Committee, so as to swiftly solve the various problems brought about by the 3 years of economic setbacks and to resume and develop production. At the meeting Comrade Tao Zhu asked, on the one hand, that everyone boldly expose contradictions and look at difficulties in the eye; on the other hand he asked that everyone fully recognize the favorable conditions, strengthen confidence, adopt effective measures and try by every means to promote production. With full confidence he proposed to restore production in 2 years, at most in 3 years, to the level of 1957. This revolutionary optimistic spirit of Comrade Tao Zhu in attaching importance to difficulties and at the same time scorning them affected us profoundly at the time. Some cadres, who originally had overestimated the seriousness of the difficulties and who lacked the confidence to restore production in a short period of time, were even more profoundly educated and inspired. Later, facts proved that Comrade Tao Zhu's assessment of the situation at the time and his work plan were correct.

To swiftly restore agricultural production, Comrade Tao Zhu, together with the comrades of the Guangdong provincial party committee, summed up and popularized the experience of Zhouxin [Chouhsin] commune in Qingyuan [Chingyuan] County in trial-practicing the production responsibility system of output of related large-field crops and reward for surplus output. Together with Comrade Wang Renzhong [Wang Jen-chung], he went to Longsheng [Lungsheng] County in Guangxi to carry out investigations and wrote an "Investigation Report on Longsheng" for Comrade Mao Zedong. In the report he proposed a responsibility system of agricultural production based on related output and reward for surplus output. A fixed quota could be assigned to each person to carry out cultivation of winter crops or scattered industrial crops or farming of remote small plots. In this way the productive enthusiasm of the basic accounting unit, the farming unit and the working individual could be fully mobilized, thereby exerting a positive effect in recovering production. Comrade Mao Zedong highly commended this report and said that its analysis was Marxist in nature and that the method proposed was also Marxist in nature. In accordance with the spirit of Comrade Mao Zedong's directive, the Guangdong provincial party committee again conscientiously studied the experiences of Zhouxin commune. It realized that, given the prerequisites of a unified leadership, a unified cultivation plan, a unified allotment of production materials, a unified transfer of labor forces and a unified distribution, the production responsibility system of related output and reward for surplus output involving a farming group as a unit was a good method of mobilizing the labor enthusiasm of the masses in carrying out agricultural production well. It would not weaken the collective economy and would not incur the danger of "fixing output quotas on the basis of individual households." So it decided to experiment with the system in various

counties in the province. In work such as this Comrade Tao Zhu always persevered in the down-to-earth Marxist principle of proceeding from reality in carrying out investigations and study and in summing up the new experiences of the masses.

In 1963 Comrade Mao Zedong presided over the Hangzhou [Hangchow] Conference convened by the party Central Committee and issued the decision on launching the socialist education movement in the countryside. Returning from the conference, Comrade Tao Zhu issued a notice and drew up a corresponding plan. Then he immediately went to the Yaer [Yaerh] production brigade of Tanbu [Tanpu] commune in Hua County to carry out an experiment on the spot. I followed him to that place to work for some 2 months. He persevered in living in the commune and took his meals like everyone else in the commune messhall. During the time we were stationed there he went to the production team every day and adopted various methods, such as forums, heart-to-heart talks and home visits, in order to go among the masses, to understand the situation and to educate the cadres. He talked not only with the poor and lower-middle peasants and the cadres but also with young people. He was extremely concerned about the growth of young people. He earnestly taught the young people how to give play to their role as the shock force in the rural socialist revolution and socialist construction. Once he spent his own money to buy a basket of lichee and held a forum with the young people. They talked and ate lichee in a relaxed manner as though they were all of one family. Every night I would go with him to the production team. Traveling from the commune to the production team we had to cross a river, and after crossing the river we had to walk some 2-3 li along narrow paths through the crop fields. Some of these narrow paths were no wider than two palm-lengths. They were winding and rough. A northerner who had just arrived in the south, I found it very difficult to walk steadily. Comrade Tao Zhu, on the contrary, was extremely agile and often left me way behind and had to stop and wait for me. He was afraid that I would feel embarrassed, and so he said to me kindly that, coming from a village in Hunan, he was used to this kind of narrow paths. In the course of this work, Comrade Tao Zhu paid great attention to investigating the changes in economic, political and living conditions among the various classes and strata in the countryside since the cooperative movement. He discovered that, although the living conditions of a great majority of poor and lower-middle peasants had greatly improved, some landlords and rich peasants still made use of previous social connections to exploit opportunities and carry out speculative activities. They were much better off than the poor and lower-middle peasants. Some of our basic-level cadres had a vague class concept and did not deal strong enough blows against the sabotage activities of the class enemies and did not give the poor and lower-middle peasants enough support. With this situation in mind, he repeatedly educated basic-level cadres on the need to strengthen supervision over the class enemies, to solidly establish a class viewpoint of relying on the poor and lower-middle peasants and to actively assist the poor and lower-middle peasants in developing production and raising their standard of living.

Under the direct leadership of Comrade Tao Zhu, the Yaer production brigade, serving as an experimental unit, was able to reorganize the poor and lower-middle peasants and deal blows against the sabotage activities of the class enemies. The cadres also underwent a profound socialist education.

In 1964, in accordance with the plan of the party Central Committee, a large-scale "four cleanups" movement was launched throughout the country. Again I followed Comrade Tao Zhu, this time to the Xinhe [Hsinho] production brigade of Huashan commune in Hua County in September of the same year. At the time of our departure Comrade Tao Zhu carried his luggage on his back and boarded a large truck, and he stood in the truck all the way. When we got off the truck on the highway some 3 li from the Xinhe production brigade, he shouldered his luggage and walked with everybody along the narrow path that led to the Xinhe production brigade. Comrade Tao Zhu lived for 2 months in a poor peasant's home in the Xiangdong [Hsiangtung] production team. He lived, labored and slept in the same way as other members of the team, leaving the team only when the Central Committee instructed him to attend a meeting in Beijing. This experimental unit was personally led by Comrade Tao Zhu. He not only boldly mobilized the masses to expose the existing problems in the production brigade but also coolly analyzed these problems. Acting on Comrade Tao Zhu's opinion, we refused to consider cadres who made mistakes as political degenerates and push them out. Rather, we adopted a correct policy of seriously, warmly and actively conducting education and assistance and did a great deal of work with the cadres. Later the work team acted in accordance with the spirit of the "23-Point Document" stipulated by the party Central Committee and resolutely corrected the tendency toward purging too many cadres in the early stage of the "four clean-ups" movement. Through criticism and education the great majority of the cadres of this production brigade were permitted to remain in their leading posts. Comrade Tao Zhu sternly criticized the shortcomings and mistakes of the leader of the Xiangdong production team. But at the same time he affirmed the vigor of this team leader as well as his conscientious attitude in leading production. Through patient education and assistance this team leader realized his own shortcomings and mistakes, sincerely conducted self-examination before the masses and continued to perform his task as production team leader. In the course of this work Comrade Tao Zhu also paid great attention to changing the backward production outlook of the Xinhe production brigade. He contributed several hundred yuan for the purchase of some tree saplings and bamboo shoots and mobilized the masses to carry out the task of making the countryside green. Through an afforestation movement a bald mountain and the bare village roadsides of this village are now covered with green trees. In the past this village did not have electricity. The people used oil lamps. At the proposal of Comrade Tao Zhu, the work team assisted the masses in setting up power lines and bringing in electricity, thus benefiting thousands and thousands of households. Every time I recall all this I profoundly feel that Comrade Tao Zhu was indeed a good leader who brought benefits to the people.

No wonder that when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" frantically slandered Comrade Tao Zhu the cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants of the Xinhe production brigade were unable to criticize Comrade Tao Zhu!

To lead the "four cleanups" movement in the entire Central-South China Region, Comrade Tao Zhu, when he was stationed in Hua County, personally initiated the "Bulletin on the Socialist Education Movement in the Central-South China Region." He once told me that the major purpose of his work was not only to benefit one area but to lead the entire movement by setting an example. In the course of that work, in addition to attending all activities, he would read tremendous amounts of materials on the "four cleanups" movement delivered from the various provinces to the Central-South China Region. Depending on the needs of the development of the movement, he would select the good experiences and recommend that they be printed in the bulletin. The task of selecting essays fell to him almost entirely. Every day he would read several dozen documents, select the good experiences, personally edit the materials and sometimes attach notes to them. He would work until midnight every day. He paid great attention to remarks and editor's notes and to compiling the materials into concise, vivid, pungent and vigorous pieces. He held that a journal that did not have its own opinion, did not advance proposals and did not make clear what it opposed was tantamount to not having a soul. He paid a great deal of attention to selectively printing the experiences of major leading comrades of various provinces in their work at different places. Because this bulletin gave timely instructions to the movement, was militant in nature and was exceptional, work teams in many places constantly asked for additional printings.

During the period of the "four cleanups" movement Comrade Tao Zhu not only paid attention to working at the basic level and to carrying out rectification and construction in production brigades and communes, but also took a county into consideration and paid attention to the problems of improving leading bodies, production, construction, cultural development and the livelihood of the masses of a county. Under his direct leadership the Hua County party committee conducted conscientious discussions and study and proposed 10 major demands for building a new socialist Hua County, widely propagated the demands among the cadres and masses throughout the county and mobilized the broad ranks of cadres and the masses to strive for the building of a new socialist countryside. In the fall of 1964 the first phase of the "four cleanups" movement came to a close. In May of the following year the Central-South China Bureau summoned the responsible comrades of the five provinces (regions) in charge of the "four cleanups" movement to a meeting at the Conghua [Tsunghua] Hot Springs in Guangdong Province, where they were to exclusively discuss the summation of the basic experiences in the rural "four cleanups" movement. In keeping with the results of the discussion at the meeting, the Central-South China Bureau issued a document on further strengthening the guidance over the "four cleanups" movement. In accordance with Comrade Mao Zedong's thesis that class struggle, the

struggle for production and scientific experiment were the three great socialist revolutionary movements, and in accordance with the experiences in carrying out experiments at selected places in the "four clean-ups" movement, this document clearly issued the loud call for grasping at once the three great revolutionary movements and preventing and correcting the erroneous tendency of separating politics from production and construction. This guiding thought was entirely correct.

Comrade Tao Zhu concerned himself not only with Guangdong but with the production situation throughout the Central-South China Region. In late November 1963 Comrade Tao Zhu, together with Comrade Chen Yu and several other leading comrades of the Central-South China Bureau, inspected the work of over 10 counties in the three prefectures of Binzhou [Pinzhou], Hengyang and Lingling in southern Hunan. Whenever he came to a county he would listen to and study the report by the county party committee in a detailed and concrete manner and would specifically review its long-term and short-term plans and measures for changing the county's outlook in such aspects as grain production, industrial crops, diversified undertakings, afforestation and the raising of the masses' income. To some county party committees that lacked ambition or effective measures he would clearly and concretely point out what needed to be grasped, what the goal of struggle was, what measures were to be adopted, and so forth. As regards those county party committees that were ambitious and had effective measures, he would praise and encourage them. There were many barren mountain areas and bare summits in the southern Hunan area. Everywhere he emphasized afforestation and the development of oil-bearing tea plant forests. In Qidong [Chitung] County a small team of the Soil Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences had long carried out scientific research activities there. Comrade Tao Zhu paid them a special visit, held a discussion with them and encouraged them to do their work well. When they mentioned that the peasants were reluctant to grow nonglutinous rice whereas the land was suitable for doing so, Comrade Tao Zhu asked the reason. They said that the peasants complained that it was difficult to thresh nonglutinous rice. After listening to this, Comrade Tao Zhu said humorously: "If we could bring down a U2 aircraft, why couldn't we thresh nonglutinous rice?" Everybody laughed. Qidong County had always been famous for growing rush. Comrade Tao Zhu specifically asked about conditions in this respect and called upon them to develop it still further so as to increase the income of the collective economy. On hearing that Jianghua [Chianghua] County had done a good job in forestry, he made a special trip of several dozen li to look at its afforestation task and to get to know the experiences and existing problems in afforestation. When the comrades of the forest grounds talked about the comparatively heavier task of grain production, Comrade Tao Zhu instructed the responsible comrades of the provincial party committee on the spot to exempt the foresters from grain requisition work so as to allow them to concentrate their efforts on producing more timber for the country. Spending almost a month in southern Hunan, Comrade Tao Zhu made a three-point covenant: that he would not allow receptions for him

wherever he went; that he would not eat fowl, meat or fish; and that he would only eat vegetables. The party committees of the localities did as they were told, and this had a good effect.

Comrade Tao Zhu concentrated his efforts on grasping industry and agriculture, particularly agricultural production. But in other work, including literature and art, journalism, science, education, health, the army, youth, intellectuals, the united front, historical relics administration, construction of scenic places and guest receptions, he followed Comrade Mao Zedong's revolutionary line and conscientiously strengthened his leadership. He could be described as one who was "good at playing the piano." He devoted particularly great efforts to all aspects of work in Guangzhou Municipality.

During the Great Cultural Revolution Comrade Tao Zhu resolutely implemented Comrade Mao Zedong's proletarian revolutionary line, actively assisted Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Zhou Enlai in leading the great cultural revolutionary movement throughout the nation, courageously struggled against Lin Biao, Chen Boda [Chen Po-ca] and the "gang of four" and became a great obstacle to this counterrevolutionary sinister gang in their attempt to usurp party and state power. That was why they hated Comrade Tao Zhu so much and launched a sudden offensive against him, wildly slandering, cruelly persecuting and finally destroying Comrade Tao Zhu. That Comrade Tao Zhu has been exonerated has further roused our profound remembrance of him and our boundless hatred of Lin Biao, Chen Boda and the "gang of four"!

IV

From the above three stages in which I was in contact with Comrade Tao Zhu's revolutionary practices I could see clearly that Comrade Tao Zhu had always resolutely implemented Comrade Mao Zedong's correct line. As a proletarian revolutionary of the older generation Comrade Tao Zhu embraced a noble communist quality and a lofty communist style and will always be a worthy example for us to emulate.

Comrade Tao Zhu cherished in his heart the broad, long-range communist ideal. Prior to the founding of new China, whether he was in the revolutionary upsurge or under the reign of the white terror, whether he was on the battlefield or in the enemy's prison, Comrade Tao Zhu fully manifested a revolutionary spirit of selfless devotion. He was not afraid of losing his head or of shedding blood for the cause of overthrowing the three big mountains and of founding a new China. He struggled courageously, resolutely, selflessly and fearlessly. After the nation's liberation, in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, he embraced the lofty aspiration of changing the outlook of the motherland's mountains and rivers, worked hard day and night and made painstaking efforts to bring benefits to the people. The Central-South China Region and the land of southern Guangdong is bathed in his sweat. Whoever came into

contact with Comrade Tao Zhu, whoever read Comrade Tao Zhu's articles, and whoever heard Comrade Tao Zhu speak was touched by his fervent revolutionary spirit and made to strengthen his heart for the revolutionary cause and heighten his consciousness of continuing the revolution.

Comrade Tao Zhu embraced a selfless working spirit. He paid attention to practice and did not believe in empty talk. He frequently went deep into the countryside and to the basic level to carry out investigations and study and to guide work. Whenever he heard that a place had developed some advanced experiences, then wherever that place was, be it in the deep mountains or on an island, he would personally visit it, look at the practice and conduct investigations. To study the experience in obtaining a high output of paddy rice he frequently took the trouble to visit the fields. Often he would work until the depth of night, reading large amounts of materials delivered from the lower levels, grasping the situations at the lower levels from their materials, and giving concrete guidance without delay. He wholeheartedly thought about work and never had a holiday or a Sunday off. Even when he was troubled by illness he never forgot to work. I remember that Comrade Tao Zhu once was suffering from acute cystitis and had serious difficulty urinating. The discharge of every drop of urine would cause great pain. Comrade Zhou Enlai was extremely concerned about Comrade Tao Zhu's condition and sent doctors especially from Beijing to examine and treat him. Even in these circumstances he would still summon me to talk about work. His selfless working spirit was truly touching.

Comrade Tao Zhu's style of work was rigorous and effective. No matter what he did, he would grasp firmly, grasp to the end and grasp until some achievements were scored. He hated the bureaucratic style of making empty speeches and not doing anything in practice, of making general calls and not giving concrete guidances and of only making arrangements for work but never conducting examinations. Whenever he decided to do something, he asked for swift action, set a deadline and opposed procrastination and the bad habit of laziness. He demanded thoroughness and strictness in work, pointing out shortcomings on the spot, carrying out serious criticisms and supervising corrections. But when the lower level submitted problems to be solved, he would assist in promptly solving all problems that should be solved and would always bring about solutions. The comparatively better tasks of afforestation and highway construction carried out in Guangdong in the past cannot be separated from this fine working style of Comrade Tao Zhu.

Comrade Tao Zhu was frank and forthright. He laid his opinions about people and matters on the table and never hid his viewpoints. Also, he was never concerned about his personal gains and losses. Whenever he had leisure time he loved to talk with the comrades who worked around him. He expressed his opinions frankly on certain matters and allowed debates on different viewpoints. But he never put on airs of a leader. He made everyone feel that he was at once a revolutionary elder and a

party and state political activist as well as a common proletarian fighter and a member of the masses. Of course, there was no pure gold as there was no perfect man. Comrade Tao Zhu sometimes said and did the wrong things. But once he discovered them he would resolutely correct them. In the Big Leap Forward of 1958 he put forward the erroneous slogan of "eating three meals a day" because he overestimated the grain output. Later he conducted many public examinations. Also, once at a meeting he criticized a county party committee secretary of having rightist inclinations. Later it was proved that this comrade was not rightist in thinking but rather that he was bold enough to do things in a down-to-earth way. Comrade Tao Zhu knew that he had made a mistake in criticizing him, so he publicly apologized to this comrade at another meeting.

Comrade Tao Zhu all along maintained a simple living style. When he went to the villages he persevered in the "three togethers" with the poor and lower-middle peasants. When he went to conduct examinations in prefectural and county party committees he would not permit lavish eating and drinking. He always rode in a jeep to go to the village and never in a sleeping compartment on a train. He specifically opposed indulgence in wastefulness and formality and resolutely opposed exploiting public office for private ends and giving parties and gifts. He refused all food sent by the county party committees and farms or new experimental products sent by the factories, would return them all, and would criticize units that offered gifts. He never used public funds to entertain responsible comrades from the various central departments in Beijing. Sometimes, when he wanted to give a dinner, he would use his own money. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" led a bourgeois, decadent life, but in the Great Cultural Revolution they spread rumors slandering Comrade Tao Zhu, saying that he had villas. All that was nonsense.

"Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers; head bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children." These two verses of Lu Xun [Lu Hsun] can be used to describe the life of Comrade Tao Zhu.

History is the most authoritative judge. After putting Comrade Tao Zhu to death, Lin Biao, Chen Boda and the "gang of four" vehemently created counterrevolutionary public opinion in a vain attempt to remove Comrade Tao Zhu's revolutionary image from the hearts of the people. Now these clowns of history, Lin Biao, Chen Boda and the "gang of four," have become filthy and contemptible, like dog's dung, while the glorious image and revolutionary deeds of Comrade Tao Zhu, a loyal communist fighter, will live among men and in history forever. "The fragrance of the petals will last a thousand years; the fierceness of the army will live again in ten thousand men." Esteemed and beloved Comrade Tao Zhu, you will live in the people's hearts forever, become a living example for thousands and thousands of Communist Party members, inspire us to advance with one heart and in close succession on the new Long March under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng!

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DARK CLOUDS CANNOT COVER UP THE NOBLE STYLE OF INTEGRITY--COMMENTING ON YAO WENYUAN'S ARTICLE 'COMMENTS ON TAO ZHU'S TWO BOOKS'

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[Article by Shang Shi [Shang Shih]]

[Text]

I

On 8 September 1967 alien class element Yao Wenyuan [Yao Wen-yuan] dished out a large poisonous weed, "Comments on Tao Zhu's Two Books" (which will be referred to in the following as "Comments on the Two Books"). The propaganda machinery manipulated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" chimed in with it. A frantic counterrevolutionary encirclement and suppression began.

Yao Wenyuan's sinister article made the following accusations about Comrade Tao Zhu's two books: "'Ideals' of a bourgeois counterrevolutionary," "'spiritual life' of a traitor and flunkey," "'feelings' of inveterate hatred of the proletariat" and "extremely decadent 'literary expression.'" It also branded Comrade Tao Zhu as a "revisionist," "bourgeois rightist chieftain," "traitor" and "Khrushchevian careerists." When Comrade Tao Zhu heard the broadcast of this sinister article, he said indignantly: "Yao Wenyuan wants my death!" This was a strong accusation against Yao Wenyuan, this executioner who killed people without even spilling blood!

Were Comrade Tao Zhu's two books really so unpardonable? No!

These two books were entitled "Ideals, Sentiments and Spiritual Life" and "Thinking, Feeling and Literary Expression." The former stressed the education of young people in revolutionary ideals and revolutionary traditions. The writing displayed lively language, profound thoughts, exciting episodes and warm passages. The latter book was in two parts: the first part was on the question of literature and art and the second part was on journalistic writing. These were accounts of Comrade Tao Zhu's many years' experience in leading the work of cultural propaganda. His views were precise, his discussions were lively, his literary expression was natural and his style was free. These two books not only drew a

strong response from the readers at the time but also stirred up a tremendous revolutionary fervor among the people. Even today they still have practical significance!

However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" would not rest until they destroyed Comrade Tao Zhu. It was not because of the two books, but because the two books were written by Comrade Tao Zhu, who was a proletarian revolutionary of the older generation, who was noble, upright and uncompromising toward the vicious forces, and who would never "kowitz and kneel to them." In short, they did not "criticize the person because of the book" but "'criticized' the book because of the person." It was entirely a political conspiracy. The "established principle" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was to topple Tao Zhu and other revolutionaries of the older generation. The criticism of these two books was only a step taken under this "principle" of theirs. Give a dog a bad name and hang him. People are already very familiar with their trick from their counterrevolutionary acts.

The political conspiracy which aimed at toppling Comrade Tao Zhu was long plotted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

As early as 21 January 1966, when Lin Biao, Jiang Qing [Chiang Ching] and Zhang Chunqiao [Chang Chun-chiao] were stepping up their concoction of the theory of the "dictatorship of the sinister line in literature and art," the YANGCHENG WANBAO [YANG-CHENG EVENING NEWS] in Guangzhou [Canton] carried Comrade Zhou Libo's [Chou Li-po] essay "Festival in Shaoshan." With profound feelings the essay minutely described the scene when Comrade Mao Zedong returned to Shaoshan. Because it mentioned martyr Yang Kaihui [Yang Kai-hui], the article offended Jiang Qing. Jiang Qing, through Zhang Chunqiao, demanded that the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee order newspapers throughout the country not to reprint the essay. Because certain passages in the essay needed clarification, Comrade Zhou Libo corrected the essay in accordance with the readers' opinions. After receiving the approval of Comrade Tao Zhu, the essay was reprinted on 23 April in the YANGCHENG WANBAO. Jiang Qing and her people felt more bitter than ever. Zhang Chunqiao wrote a letter full of accusations about Comrade Tao Zhu. He asked reproachfully: "Why did Guangdong [Kwangtung] print it one more time?..." Jiang Qing even telephoned directly from Shanghai to Comrade Lin Mohan [Lin Mo-han], who was working in the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee at the time, and said viciously: "Zhou Libo and Tao Zhu are very bad. They are the source of the sinister wind."

Contrary to what Jiang and Zhang expected, in June 1966 this Comrade Tao Zhu whom they regarded as "very bad" was transferred to work in the Central Committee. Also, with great revolutionary fervor he plunged into the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In half a year he made over 100 speeches, repeatedly emphasizing that it was necessary to put the

movement "under the absolute leadership of the party" and that "those who do not want party leadership and oppose party leadership are pseudo-leftists but genuine rightists, no matter how loud they shout their slogans and how fine they look." He repeatedly emphasized that it was necessary to strictly distinguish between the two kinds of contradictions and to not view the question of understanding as a question between the enemy and ourselves. He stepped forth to actively protect veteran cadres and the revolutionary masses. He repeatedly emphasized that it was necessary to implement the policy of grasping revolution and promoting production. He resolutely boycotted the adverse tendencies of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Jiang Qing and her gang tried to drag him out to take the lead in attacking Comrade Deng Xiaoping [Teng Hsiao-ping], but he refused. As a result, Comrade Tao Zhu became a thorn in the flesh of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and an obstacle to their promotion of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line and, therefore, had to be removed. On 4 January 1967, in receiving the delegates of mass organizations from other places visiting Beijing, Chen Boda [Chen Po-ta], Jiang Qing and others launched a sudden attack, slandering Comrade Tao Zhu as the "loyal executor" of the bourgeois reactionary line. In the wink of an eye, Comrade Tao Zhu became "China's biggest bourgeois royalist," "vanguard in the restoration of capitalism" and "traitor." Posters saying "Down with Tao Zhu" were posted in large and small streets in Beijing. In a flash a Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau was driven from his leading post, imprisoned and "toppled" because of one statement made by Chen Boda, Jiang Qing and their like. Where was the socialist and democratic legal system!

Since Comrade Tao Zhu had been toppled, why was there still another violent storm whipped up after August to criticize the two books?

Facts proved that there was a political background to that. At the time the Great Cultural Revolution was entering its second year. Due to the frantic ultra "left" trend of thought of "doubting everything and toppling everything" whipped up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," factions stood in opposition to each other, armed struggles became rife, the economy declined, communications were obstructed, and a large group of cadres were ferreted out and struggled against for no reason. In the fall of that year Comrade Mao Zedong made an inspection tour of the North China, Central-South China and East China regions and issued many important directives. In connection with the cadre problem, Comrade Mao Zedong said: The large majority of cadres are good, and the bad ones comprise only a very small number. Cadres who had made mistakes, including those who had made serious mistakes, could be united with and educated as long as they did not persist in their mistakes. He also instructed that it was necessary to liberate a group of cadres and let them come forth. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly criticized the "left" tendency, pointing out that guiding the petty bourgeois thinking onto the proletarian path was the crucial issue in seizing victory. Under these circumstances Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the one hand were anxious to protect themselves and to find excuses to blame others. On the other hand they seized the banner of

"mass criticism" and hatched a greater conspiracy to persecute veteran revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary masses. So they started on Comrade Tao Zhu. This sinister article of Yao Wenyuan's was to serve this big political conspiracy.

II

This writer Yao Wenyuan was very good at murdering people with his pen. The "Comments on the Two Books" was the great consummation of his despicable methods.

1. Arbitrarily linking Comrade Tao Zhu with some infamous figures.

The first link was with Khrushchev. Yao Wenyuan wrote: "Tao Zhu said: His kind of 'socialist ideal' was beneficial to 'all people,' including the bourgeoisie." The reader could recognize that this nonsensical statement was concocted by this reactionary man of letters. After forcing this on him, Yao Wenyuan concluded with the following: "The so-called 'socialism' that is 'beneficial to all people' is a false socialism and is Khrushchevian revisionism." He arbitrarily married Comrade Tao Zhu to Khrushchev. The second link was with Chiang Kai-shek. In the article "It Is Necessary To Establish Socialist Thinking," Comrade Tao Zhu cited the words of Mr Sun Yat-sen: "Government means the affairs of the public, rule means administration, and administration of the affairs of the public means politics." Tao Zhu went on to say: "This statement has its points, but it is not complete. This is because it obliterates the difference between classes." Was not Comrade Tao Zhu precisely emphasizing the class nature of politics? Yao Wenyuan despicably erased the last two sentences and then launched his attacks. Not only this, he also racked his brains to cite similar sentences from Chiang Kai-shek's writings and therefore called Comrade Tao Zhu Chiang's "student" and "flunkey." He again arbitrarily linked Comrade Tao Zhu with the tribe of Chiang Kai-shek. Everyone knows that Khrushchev and Chiang Kai-shek were the paramount villains in people's hearts and that the mere mention of their names aroused everyone's hatred. To link Comrade Tao Zhu with these villains, Yao Wenyuan did not need to give any proof and still could defame Comrade Tao Zhu.

2. Deliberately turning simple things into mysteries and uttering threats through the method of staging charades.

Yao Wenyuan wanted to make a criminal case against Comrade Tao Zhu as being a "counterrevolutionary" but could not produce any real evidence. So he again resorted to his literary scoundrel's pen: He deliberately evaded the issue and staged charades, as though the limited words carried infinite "hidden meanings." Then, supported by threatening words, he hoodwinked those readers who did not know the truth. For instance, Yao Wenyuan pretended to interrogate Comrade Tao Zhu: "Can you not bring into the open how you servilely 'identified' 'subjectivity' with

'objectivity' under Kuomintang rule and how you 'identified' with the U.S. imperialists, the Kuomintang reactionaries and the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie during the 'decades' of your 'success'?" No, Yao Wenyuan could fabricate lies with his bare pen; if indeed there was anything that "could not be brought out into the open," he would long ago have brought it out on a platter and magnified it ten times. Would he still "exercise mercy"? As he did with facts, so he did with history. After his sensational announcement that the "so-called 'May 16' organizers and manipulators were a counterrevolutionary clique engaged in conspiracies," Yao Wenyuan again turned his pen upon Comrade Tao Zhu, saying that "a revisionist such as Tao Zhu obviously declared in his ultraright manner his 'allegiance' to the bourgeoisie. Yet he suddenly joined the ultra-'leftists' in 'doubting everything.'" Yao Wenyuan made people feel vaguely that Comrade Tao Zhu was linked one way or another with the "organizers and manipulators" of the "May 16" incident, that Comrade Tao Zhu was the "counterrevolutionary sinister hand" behind it or that he was at least a "suspect." Using this unclear and unpredictable language, Yao Wenyuan created for people a false image of having "iron-clad proof." The viciousness of this "penman" is fully revealed here.

3. Creating things out of nothing and fabricating lies to be used as evidence for passing sentence.

In his article Yao Wenyuan frequently quoted from the two books. With affected seriousness he even cited page numbers as though "every word had its origin." However, a casual check showed that everything was created out of nothing. For instance, Comrade Tao Zhu said: One should cherish an attitude of welcoming criticism. "Since everyone is doing revolutionary work, a person's character is neither put down nor made important. Insulting a person's character is beside the point." "But to insult a person's character on the pretext of criticism is not permitted." Not an insult of a person's character and no permission to insult a person's character--these two levels of meaning are more than obvious. What was wrong with them? However, in his sinister article Yao Wenyuan changed them to mean that "Tao Zhu viciously slandered the ideological transformation of intellectuals as 'an insult to a person's character.'" Was this not an obvious attempt to create something out of nothing? Today one can see that Comrade Tao Zhu embraced revolutionary farsightedness. What the "gang of four" did to the intellectuals was so many times more cruel and shameless than an "insult to a person's character." This is a fact that people can see.

4. Through adaptation, linking unconnected materials so as to murder people.

This is a common practice in literary scoundrel Yao's writing method. In "Comments on the Two Books" he said that Comrade Tao Zhu "talked such nonsense as that Hu Shi's [Hu Shih] reactionary thinking was simply a 'question of the method of thinking,' which 'could be clarified' in

'30 to 40 years.'" This statement was made up of three quotations. How were they linked together? What happened was that when he spoke of "the question of the method of thinking" Comrade Tao Zhu was referring to Yu Pingbo's [Yu Ping-po] study of "Dream of the Red Chamber." Yu Pingbo's ideological viewpoint was wrong. "Of course, this was only a question of the method of thinking, a question of argument in academic thinking and a question among the people." As for "could be clarified," it was a phrase used by a teacher of Zhongshan [Chungshan] University, who said: "Whether or not Hu Shi's arguments were erroneous could be clarified in 20 years." Comrade Tao Zhu obviously did not agree with this assertion. He pointed out that "Hu Shi's thinking was extremely reactionary. We must criticize it," but that if someone held different views, for instance that teacher, he could "wait 30 to 40 years" to argue the point. Here Yao Wenyuan invented the "method of grafting three passages": He transferred the words referring to Yu Pingbo to the problem concerning Hu Shi; he turned what the teacher said into what Comrade Tao Zhu said; and he transferred what Comrade Tao Zhu said in respect to the teacher to what was said in respect to Hu Shi. After this grafting of different parts, what remained of the original? Yao Wenyuan first distorted the unconnected words, then kneaded the unconnected parts together and distorted them still further, and then insolently passed a sentence on others. The viciousness of his grafting method was stunning!

5. Interpreting out of context and intentionally severing links in the writing and then attacking it.

There is a given concrete linguistic environment for a person when he speaks or gives a report. He definitely cannot talk about everything in the world, go beyond the limits of time and space and make universally applicable remarks. Otherwise, will not what he say become mere stereotypes? Comrade Tao Zhu said: "The history of China in the past century or so has been a history of being battered. It is because she does not have an industry of her own and does not have a powerful national defense." In context, the passage by Comrade Tao Zhu was focusing on the necessity of fostering men of talent in construction and on the necessity of developing modern science and technology. He did not give an overall summation of the history of how China had been battered for over 100 years. Thus, from the economic angle Comrade Tao Zhu's words were undebatable. Comrade Mao Zedong also said that one reason for our being battered was the "backwardness of the economy and technology." However, the teacher by negative example, Yao Wenyuan, who understood nothing about history, thought he had got a handle on something, and he said that the reason China was being battered was "not primarily because China did not have any industry" but because political power was in the hands of traitors. It seemed that as long as the political power was in the hands of the people, then, however backward industry was, no one would bully China. Yao Wenyuan then added that the theory that China was being battered because "it did not have an industry" displayed a "tone of national betrayal." However, it was precisely Comrade Mao Zedong who had

said the same thing: "If we do not strive in the next few decades to thoroughly change the state of our country's economy and technology, which lag far behind the imperialist countries, we are bound to be battered." Who, exactly, was it that Yao Wenyuan's club was hitting at?

6. Beating the air and falsely accusing people of violating prohibitions.

A frank and forthright person is straightforward in his talk as well as in his writing, will not engage in insinuations and will not recognize taboos. Yet, harboring an insidious intent and an ulterior purpose, Yao Wenyuan artificially designated prohibited zones and beat the air at will, made fearsome charges against others and made it impossible for you to defend yourself. With profound feeling Comrade Tao Zhu praised the "style of the pine." In his writing he said the pine "would never bow to the bad environment." This style of the pine was truly worth praising. Nevertheless, Yao Wenyuan took the "bad environment" to mean the "resounding Great Leap Forward and the heroic aspirations of the revolutionary people," and he condemned Tao for committing an unpardonable crime. What else was this besides a political frameup! With profound feeling Comrade Tao Zhu also praised the "glory of the sun" and praised our great party and our great cause. He also pointed out: "Everybody knows and has pointed out that there are black spots on the sun itself. Although these are facts, who can doubt that mankind could not do without the sun? Who ever denies the sun's splendor simply because the sun has black spots? No one." These words, which fully manifested dialectical materialist thinking, were irreproachable in the first place. However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" arbitrarily turned the sun into an exclusive term representing Chairman Mao. Whether or not you are using it as an example, and whether or not you are only talking about natural sciences, to talk about the sun as having "black spots" and shortcomings is to attack Comrade Mao Zedong by innuendo. You will therefore be charged with the ultimate crime. So, Comrade Tao Zhu was accused by Yao Wenyuan of "having barefacedly maligned our party's great leader." Comrade Tao Zhu thus became the "ghost who could not face the sun." In fact, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" profoundly hated Comrade Mao Zedong. But in not permitting others to talk about "black spots" they aimed at making charges against other people but did not mean the charges applied to themselves. For instance, in 1962 Yao Wenyuan himself made a grand statement that was very disrespectful to the sun. He said: "When there was no rain for an extended period of time, the 'red sun burned like fire.' When the midday heat scorched the earth, then the brightness of the sun at this time became a force that obstructed the development of life." The sun "could be ugly under specific circumstances." Was this not truly a "blackening"? How guilty was he then?

There were many other instances of how Yao Wenyuan killed people with his pen. The above were just a few major instances.

Despicable means expose despicable purposes. When Yao Wenyuan did all he could to slander Comrade Tao Zhu, he was obviously aiming not only at Comrade Tao Zhu but also at the party's ideal, the party's line and the party's Marxist world outlook.

1. Yao Wenyuan attacked Comrade Tao Zhu's ideal, calling it the "'ideal' of a bourgeois counterrevolutionary." In fact, what he attacked was precisely the great socialist and communist ideal of our party.

Comrade Tao Zhu pointed out: "Socialist thinking makes use of every means to guarantee the swift industrialization of the nation." Yao Wenyuan insisted on saying that this was an "extremely reactionary 'socialist' theory." He also held that what Comrade Tao Zhu meant by "using every means" was "to use the method of relying on the bourgeoisie to develop a capitalist system of exploitation." This forceful talk against justice was carried to unreasonable lengths. To carry out socialist industrialization and the four modernizations it is necessary to try every means and make use of all methods. This is also what Comrade Mao Zedong meant when he said: "We must do our best to mobilize all positive factors, both inside and outside the party, both at home and abroad, both direct and indirect, and build China into a powerful socialist country." We should follow the road of developing our own industry. But that does not mean we should close our doors or be blinded by presumptuous self-conceit. Science and technology do not have a class nature. We should learn from and borrow from the strong points of the capitalist countries, import advanced science and technology and absorb administrative methods that are in accordance with objective economic laws. Thus, "all methods" should be adopted. Otherwise, it is impossible to "bring about industrialization rapidly." Doubtlessly, the socialist system is infinitely superior to the capitalist system. Yet the socialist system merely provides for us the possibility of realizing industrialization at high speed. To turn this possibility into a reality we must give full play to our subjective initiative, which means using "all methods" to "guarantee the rapid industrialization of the nation." Only this can gradually satisfy the constantly growing needs of the people and provide a more abundant material base for the socialist system. Without a strong material base the socialist system cannot be consolidated. Yao Wenyuan called this a "reactionary ideal that protected and developed capitalism." In fact, he was opposing the swift realization of industrialization in our country.

Comrade Tao Zhu pointed out: "We make revolution and want to build socialism and communism. Basically, what we want is to raise the material living standard (of course, at the same time to raise the spiritual and cultural living standard) of the broad masses of people." With the fervor of a proletarian revolutionary, he described for the masses the long-range perspective of communism, in which he mentioned that the masses of people would lead a rich life. Yao Wenyuan insisted on calling

this "hedonism," the "most despicable traitor's philosophy" and "the essence of extreme individualism, which is capitalism." Let us ask ourselves: What has a rich material life won through one's own hard work to do with "hedonism"? Why do we make revolution? Do we do this so everybody will starve? For over a century, generation after generation of communists shed blood and sacrificed themselves one after another for that great banner of communism. On it, were not the words "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" written? How was this a "traitor's philosophy"? Facts have proved the contrary. Yao Wenyuan himself precisely grew up under the education of the "most despicable traitor's philosophy." His real father, Yao Pengzi [Yao Peng-tzu], and his foster mother, Fei Xia [Fei Hsia], were both traitors to the Communist Party and fed him the traitor's philosophy that "he could sell his soul to anyone who would let him 'have a good meal and a good house to live in.'" The question was particularly apt, because Yao Wenyuan never betrayed these two traitors. Thus, his vicious attacks against the lofty communist ideal were not strange.

Comrade Tao Zhu told some university students: "Perhaps you think of becoming a sailor, a pilot, a scientist, a writer, an engineer or a teacher some day.... But these thoughts revolve around the loftiest and greatest ideal of serving the people and realizing communism." Yao Wenyuan nonsensically leveled this accusation: "Specialists, specialists, specialists! There are simply no workers, peasants and soldiers." Here Yao Wenyuan deliberately placed specialists in opposition to communism and to the workers, peasants and soldiers. When did Marxism ever say that different kinds of specialists were not needed in the struggle for communism? Never! On the contrary, Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and Comrade Mao Zedong all advocated learning a specialty and grasping all scientific knowledge created by mankind, and they held that without this it would be impossible to realize communism. Did this necessarily place the workers, peasants and soldiers in a "very low" position or even "send them to hell, suppress them at the very bottom and never allow them to shake off their yoke"? Our masses of workers, peasants and soldiers will not be taken in by this evil and vicious provocation. For as long as 10 years Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did everything they could to destroy "specialists, specialists, specialists." Intellectuals became "the stinking ninth category." Many specialists were trampled upon, some were injured, some were made sick, some were crippled and some were driven to death. As a result, the national economy was driven to the verge of bankruptcy. And yet Yao Wenyuan and others became arrogant, lorded over others and committed reprehensible acts when riding roughshod over people. Who were they? They were "specialists" who in fact were counterrevolutionary conspirators and careerists.

2. Yao Wenyuan made insidious and deadly attacks on the "feelings" which Comrade Tao Zhu talked about, calling them "'feelings' of deep hatred against the proletariat." In fact what he intentionally attacked was precisely the tradition of the party's mass line and the fine style of criticism and self-criticism.

Regarding the question of "improving the relationship between party and nonparty persons," Comrade Tao Zhu said: "It is necessary to improve the relationship between party and nonparty persons. First of all, party and league members must be good at uniting with and working with persons outside the party. Any act of slighting the masses or of becoming divorced from the masses is not permitted." Comrade Tao Zhu opposed the practice of party and league members thinking highly of themselves, constantly "pulling a long face and giving other people a lesson every day" and "grabbing a person by the short hairs whenever he said something wrong." He pointed out that "Communist Party members take feelings into consideration. These feelings are revolutionary feelings and the richest kind of feelings. We must have these feelings toward all people, with the exception of counterrevolutionaries. We hope more and more people, not fewer and fewer, will join the revolution; the question of people's understanding is uneven, for not all are born Marxist-Leninists. Otherwise, why do we need the Communist Party?" What could be wrong with these words? Do not the advanced people know that they should passionately assist the temporarily backward people, or should they wage cruel struggles and deal merciless blows against the latter? Comrade Mao Zedong said: "To teach people a lesson randomly is also an expression of not understanding Marxism-Leninism." We can see that Marxist-Leninists truly take feelings into consideration. But Yao Wenyuan called this the "theory of human nature." Here Comrade Tao Zhu obviously said "with the exception of counterrevolutionaries." But as a result he became a "powerholder who loved the exploiting class, loved traitors, loved slaves and loved to take the capitalist road" and loved all counterrevolutionaries. Was there ever such absurd logic in the world! And this was precisely the so-called "class analysis" of Yao Wenyuan and his gang. The "class analysis" they practiced was 108,000 li from Marxism! They set the mass line in opposition to the class line and used the class line to oppose the mass line. Anyone who knows a little about Marxism knows that the masses are divided into classes and that there are advanced as well as backward masses in the revolutionary class ranks. Toward the temporarily backward masses we should use the method of encouragement and education to enable them to catch up with the advanced ranks; we should not kick them aside and, more importantly, should not treat them as enemies. Not only that, toward those revolutionary elements who have broken away from the antagonistic class we must adopt the attitude of warm welcome and must take the initiative to bring about this break. This is because "we hope that more and more people, not fewer and fewer, will join the revolution." This is called turning passive factors into active factors. Thus, for us the class viewpoint and the mass viewpoint are dialectical unities. That was exactly what Comrade Tao Zhu did. His two books are filled with clear class viewpoints and at the same time strong mass viewpoints. They are filled with the proletarian generosity of liberating all mankind. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" paid lipservice to "class analysis" and "class struggle." But in fact they were engaged in political conspiracies. They drove the fish into deep waters and the sparrows into thickets, turned active factors into passive factors, and attempted

in vain to lead our party onto a totally isolated path, to undermine our ranks, shake our basis and restore capitalism.

The party's mass line and the party's style of criticism and self-criticism are closely related. To talk about the masses it is necessary to talk about how to correctly treat the criticism that comes from the masses and how to carry out serious and conscientious self-criticism. Just as Comrade Tao Zhu said: "To a Marxist-Leninist this is a generally known principle." It is because, in addition to the fact that work could not be done perfectly without undergoing the process of a subjective understanding of objective needs, "our party is a political party that serves the broad masses of people and struggles through to the end for the interests of the broad masses of people." Therefore, conscientiously treating the shortcomings and errors in work and conscientiously carrying out criticism and self-criticism will involve losing nothing except the shortcomings and the errors. As a result, what is gained is smoother progress in work and warmer support from the broad masses of people. Starting from this point, Comrade Tao Zhu criticized "people who fear to talk about shortcomings and errors." He held that that was not the style which communists are supposed to have. He used the example that although the sun has black spots, the spots do not harm the glory of the sun to inspire these comrades to correctly handle the relationship between our achievements and our shortcomings. Also starting from this point, Comrade Tao Zhu held that our news reports and literary and art works should truly reflect reality and "can look at the bad side as well as the good side." He held that only by so doing "can we understand all aspects of life and understand them profoundly." This originally "generally known principle" became impossible under Yao Wenyuan's pen. Accusations such as "'feelings' of deep hatred against the proletariat," "extremely decadent 'literary expression,'" and "crimes of opposing the party, socialism and Chairman Mao" were frequently made. This precisely exposed their ugly features as fascist followers who suppressed criticism and imposed a reign of terror.

3. Yao Wenyuan attacked the "spiritual life" which Comrade Tao Zhu talked about as the "'spiritual life' of a traitor and flunkey." In fact, what he attacked was the world outlook of the materialist theory and the dialectical method.

Comrade Tao Zhu said: "What is the major content of our common world outlook and common method of thinking. This is what Lenin said: 'Conscientiously and resolutely take as the basis of all arguments the external world and its reflection in the people's consciousness.' Engels also said: 'The world outlook of the materialist theory is merely an understanding of the original face of the natural world, not colored by external factors.' This is an attitude of proceeding from objective reality, an attitude of regarding that which is correct as correct and that which is not correct as not correct. What's wrong with our adopting this honest attitude? The so-called scientific attitude is also this attitude. But today many people still subjectively decide what exists and do not make

their subjectivity serve objectivity." How well said! These words were spoken in August 1955. Today they can be read as a stern criticism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Miraculously enough, the antiparty clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who disguised themselves as more "leftist" than anybody, precisely feared this attitude of proceeding from reality and this honest attitude, or scientific attitude. Yao Wenyuan flew into a rage and cried out that "In a class society what is correct and what is not are based on clear class criteria. The so-called 'reality' is first of all the 'reality' of class struggle." He unjustifiably accused Comrade Tao Zhu of "using an abstract 'right and wrong' to cover up the class standpoint from which people look at problems." This is not worth refuting. Marxism takes into consideration class nature and at the same time takes into consideration practice. Class nature and practice form a unity. So the class struggle which Marxism talks about is an objective and practical class struggle, "not colored by external factors." On the contrary, the "'reality' of the class struggle" of Yao Wenyuan was a subjective and random fabrication, or to use Comrade Tao Zhu's words, was "an existence determined subjectively." In reality, the entire so-called "theory of class struggle" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was founded on the basis of this subjective idealism. They "first of all" decided to "change the dynasty." Then, on the basis of this "reality," they formulated the counterrevolutionary political program of "veteran cadres are democrats and democrats are capitalist roaders" and used this as a pretext to topple a large group of veteran revolutionary cadres. And the people must obey the so-called "reality" they concocted in accordance with their counterrevolutionary subjective wish. Otherwise they would definitely feel the "iron fist of all-round dictatorship." So their "class struggle" represented the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat; whoever was for me prospered, while whoever was against me perished, and whoever I could employ was a proletariat, while whoever I opposed was a bourgeoisie. Their "class analysis" was to do as they pleased and to distribute class labels randomly. They did not go by the objective principle at all; even the same principle would sound proletarian from them and bourgeois from others. "The theory of class struggle" and the "method of class analysis" became purely the trick that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" used to repudiate people effectively. Was there even a glimpse of the materialist theory in this! Nonetheless, their vigorous opposition to "proceeding from objective reality in everything" and to the principle of "existence first, thought second; objectivity first, subjectivity second" was not strange.

Ten years of struggle and 10 years of lessons. People have already seen clearly that, for Lin Biao and the "gang of four," idealism and metaphysics were not simply a question of a general world outlook and methodology. They had become the political weapon of this group of bourgeois careerists and conspirators, who conscientiously made use of them to overthrow the party and seize the country, and they had also

become the theoretical basis for their promotion of a counterrevolutionary line. Let us see, did they not precisely use idealism and metaphysics as a weapon to carry out frantic sabotage and create great confusion in the relations between productive forces and production relations, between the economic base and the superstructure, between the struggle for production, scientific experiment and class struggle, between class struggle and line struggle, between class and political party, between contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and contradictions among the people, as well as many other problems? But those people who show contempt for the dialectical method will be punished by it. Comrade Tao Zhu was right when he said: "That which is in accordance with the law of historical development will succeed, and that which is not will fail."

The article "Comments on the Two Books" occupied a special position in the history of the promotion by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" of their counterrevolutionary revisionist line. The encirclement and suppression of Comrade Tao Zhu was an important link in their conspiracy to overthrow party and state power and to "change the dynasty." At that time the journal RED FLAG, which was under their control, published an editorial when it carried this sinister article by Yao Wenyuan. The editorial praised this sinister article as "advancing the launching of revolutionary mass criticism throughout the country." Chen Boda even added one sentence in particular, calling it a "heavy cannonball." An editorial in the RENMIN RIBAO [PEOPLE'S DAILY], which was under their control, praised "Comments on the Two Books" as the "model" and "example" of "revolutionary mass criticism." It clamored that "revolutionary mass criticism is the current most important politics," "revolutionary mass criticism is the most important policy at present," "revolutionary mass criticism is the touchstone to test all people." After that, under the so-called pretext of "revolutionary mass criticism," they "linked up with people from the higher to the lower levels" to carry out more cruel frameups and persecutions against group after group of revolutionary cadres and revolutionary masses. The basic characteristic of this kind of "revolutionary mass criticism" was its intimate coordination with the counterrevolutionary political program of the "gang of four." An article could topple one person or even topple a group of people. We remember that when "Comments on the Two Books" was dished out a sinister wind of "dragging out figures after the Tao Zhu style" was whipped up throughout the country. After that, in the same vein and under the pretext of "criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius," "ferreting out the big Confucian inside the party" and "ferreting out the followers and disciples of Confucius," they opposed Premier Zhou and other revolutionary cadres; under the pretext of criticizing "Water Margin" they criticized the "contemporary capitulationists" and attacked Comrade Deng Xiaoping. So on and so forth. Were not these all in the same vein?

This sinister article epitomized the counterrevolutionary measures of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and developed the "method of condemnation

without cause" to its height. Later they employed this method to fabricate charges against countless cadres and masses and to push their feudal fascist reign of terror. Unjust prisons sprang up everywhere, and false cases flourished. It was a shameful page in the history of our country.

This sinister article "Comments on the Two Books" also set a basic model for the "gang of four" to frenziedly undermine revolution and construction. For instance, if you wanted to engage in industrialization, then you were engaged in national betrayal; if you wanted to raise the material living standard of the people, then you indulged in hedonism; if you wanted to advocate learning cultural and scientific knowledge, then you were worshipping bourgeois authorities; if you advocated unity among the people, then you were negating class struggle. And if you expressed disagreement with their filthy things, then you surely were opposing the proletarian headquarter headed by Chairman Mao. After that they could take this model to attack the four modernizations as revisionism and capitalism; attack the import of foreign advanced technology as worshipping and toadying to what was foreign; attack stability and unity as not wanting class struggle; and attack the improvement of people's living standards as expanding the bourgeois rule.... All this was almost invariably derived from the same mold.

Thus, this sinister article by Yao Wenyuan was rather typical and representative of the counterrevolutionary cause of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in murdering people with their pens. Criticizing in depth this sinister article not only can enable us to recognize more profoundly the essence of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," but also can assist us to further eradicate its pernicious influence in the various spheres.

Recalling the past, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" must have felt elated when they began to stir up trouble with "Comments on the Two Books" and when they destroyed Comrade Tao Zhu. Yao Wenyuan arrogantly announced: "This is the sentence of history." As though that was the destiny of history! However, how many years later do we see another scene in which Yao Wenyuan and his gang of counterrevolutionary clowns are forever nailed on the shameful pole of history. And Comrade Tao Zhu, as a proletarian revolutionary, is remembered and esteemed by millions of people for his nobility like the pine and his firmness like the rock and will remain in the great historical volume of our country's revolution. Comrade Tao Zhu, who is dead, lives forever!

We say: This, rather, is the conclusion of history!

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USE THE LAW OF VALUE TO SERVE ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

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[Article by Xue Muqiao [Hsueh Mu-chiao 5641 2550 2890]]

[Text] The party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng has admonished us time and again that in doing economic work we must recognize the objective law of economic development and learn to improve economic management work by correctly applying this law. The communique of the third plenary session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP also urged that serious attention be paid to the effect of the law of value.

In "The Question of the Socialist Economy of the Soviet Union," Stalin pointed out that as commodity production and exchange still exist in a socialist society the law of value will certainly produce an effect. The law of value, like other objective laws of economics, appears to be nonexistent when we do not violate it, but it punishes us when our actions run contrary to it. The Soviet Union was once punished by it, and today we are also encountering such punishment in some aspects. To improve our economic management we must study the law of value.

(I) The Regulatory Effect of the Law of Value

What is the law of value? Many textbooks on political economy in the past generally explained it as follows: The value of a commodity is determined by the amount of labor of society necessary to produce it, and the various commodities are exchanged according to their values. Therefore, the price of a commodity must be compatible with its value. This explanation is basically correct but very incomplete. When the supply of and demand for a commodity are mutually adjusted, the price is usually compatible with its value. When supply and demand are unbalanced, the price will depart from the value. Since the supply of and demand for all types of commodities are constantly unbalanced, the compatibility between price and value is always relatively and temporary, while the discrepancy between them is absolute and appears constantly. Some comrades feel that the law of value contradicts the relationship

between supply and demand and that imbalance in supply and demand undermines the law of value. Their understanding of the law of value is incomplete, because they have been influenced by the textbooks mentioned above. When price is compatible with value, this is only the static state of the law of value, not its kinetic state. All kinds of things are constantly in motion, and the law indicates the law of their motion. Therefore, to gain an overall understanding of the law of value we must understand its kinetic state.

With the constant changes in the relationship between the supply of and demand for all types of commodities, the price will often fluctuate accordingly. When supply cannot satisfy demand, the price will rise, thus exceeding its value. As a result, production will increase and the need will shrink, making supply greater than demand. This time the price will fluctuate in the opposite direction, becoming lower than the value, and the relationship between supply and demand will also fluctuate in the opposite direction. Production will decrease and the need will increase, and the price will rise again. Such mutual influencing and constant changes in value and price and in production and need constitute the kinetic state of the law of value. Only when one understands the kinetic state of the law of value can one fully understand the law of value. Though price constantly departs from value, its up-and-down motion is centered on value. Therefore, to understand the law of value as the compatibility of price with value is a simplification of this law.

In saying that the law of value produces a regulatory effect we indicate that the rise and fall of prices will cause changes in the relationship between supply and demand, thereby regulating the distribution of the labor force and means of production. Due to the anarchic state of production in a capitalist society, the production of and need for commodities are spontaneously regulated by the law of value via the rise and fall of prices. The spontaneous regulation of prices and of the relationship between supply and demand by the law of value makes it possible for the relationship of supply and demand, except in an economic crisis, to attain a relative balance. Such a relative balance is realized after continuous destruction (imbalance) and continuous fluctuations. The old saying that "the market price in the morning differs from that in the evening" indicates the frequency and violence of such fluctuations. Every relatively large fluctuation will often make many capitalists rich and others suffer a loss or go bankrupt.

In a socialist society we have created the socialist public ownership system of the means of production and replaced the anarchic state of production with planned development. Production and distribution of the major products are arranged by state planning, and their prices are also determined by the state. In the past we often said that what produces a regulatory effect in the national economy is state planning, not the law of value. This statement is basically correct, but we must not understand it mechanically. The law of value still produces an effect. In areas

where there are commodity production and exchange it will definitely have an effect. What effect does it have? Stalin said that it also has an "influencing" effect. In my view this so-called "influencing" means that it has a regulatory effect. What is different is that it can no longer spontaneously produce the effect of the principal regulator; it is utilized by the state to produce a definite regulatory effect, becoming a tool for the state to regulate the relationship between production and marketing. The state utilizes the law of value (price policy) to regulate the relationship between the production and marketing of all kinds of commodities. The most important regulator at this time is the state--state planning--while the law of value is a tool utilized by the state. Therefore, we say that the principal regulator is state planning, not the law of value.

Why does a socialist country utilize the law of value to regulate the relationship between production and marketing? Because we still have commodity production and exchange. The commodity exchange of a socialist society exists mainly in two situations: Commodity exchange between state-operated and collective economies; commodity exchange between the state and the workers when distributing consumer goods. In these two kinds of exchanges the rise and fall of prices will affect the material interest of the two sides of the exchange. Therefore, an increase or reduction in price will obviously influence changes in the volume of production or marketing of such commodities, and the state can utilize the price policy to seek a balance in their supply and demand. Here the law of value is utilized by the state as a tool to regulate the volume of production and marketing of certain commodities. Though the commodity exchange between state industries also requires price determination and accounting, and the rise and fall of prices will also affect the profit of the industries, the profit, whether large or small, is basically turned over to the state, and any loss is subsidized by the state. Basically, the staff and workers are paid fixed wages according to the wage standard, which is not affected by the size of the profit. Therefore, the staff and workers are often indifferent to the rise and fall of prices in such commodity exchange. Price determination and accounting are for the purpose of business accounting and basically do not affect the distribution of national income. Here the law of value basically does not produce a regulatory effect. However, when the profit or loss, or the size of the profit, of an industry makes no difference, it is unfavorable to the activation of the productive positivity of the industry and of the staff and workers. We must study how state enterprises can also utilize the law of value and integrate, to a certain extent, the profit or loss of an enterprise with the material interest of the individuals.

The collective ownership economy is responsible for its own profit or loss. State production plans for the collective economy are guidelines, not orders. As long as the required purchasing task of the state is completed, units of the collective economy may arrange their own production by referring to the state plans. Furthermore, the state formulates

production plans for only a small number of major products; it does not formulate production plans for most of the secondary agricultural and subsidiary products. Instead, the state purchasing units negotiate and sign purchasing contracts with units of the collective economy according to set prices, or such products are purchased freely. When finding the price advantageous, the collective economy will produce and sell more to the state; when finding the price not advantageous, it will produce and sell less to the state, or it may even not produce or sell at all. Here the regulatory effect of the law of value becomes obvious. The state must, according to the changes in labor consumption and the condition of supply and need of various products, promptly adjust prices in order to complete its purchasing plans and assure market supply. As the collective ownership economy is responsible for its own profit or loss, it always wishes to produce more products at higher prices and less at lower prices. The state must utilize the law of value, via the price policy, to guide the direction of its production development; it must not resort to coercion and orders. As many of our comrades have been violating the objective law for many years and using coercion and orders, serious damage has been incurred, and we have been punished by the objective law. We must be determined to change this situation.

The system followed by the state for staff and workers, "to each according to his work; more pay for more work, less pay for less work," is not commodity exchange. However, to each according to his work can only determine the total value distributed to the staff and workers. As for what consumer goods are to be purchased with this total value, in view of the fact that different individuals have different needs, the staff and workers must select the goods themselves and buy them; therefore, commodity exchange is still necessary. In the exchange, every individual wishes to select and purchase commodities of low cost and high quality, not those of inferior quality and high cost. Here the law of value also produces an obvious regulatory effect. The method of rationed supply is adopted for only a very few commodities which have an enormous effect on the people's lives (such as grain and cotton). Even when it comes to rationed commodities (such as cotton fabric), the consumer must have the freedom to select the colors and varieties. Therefore, the price policy still plays an important role.

When mutually exchanging products, state enterprises must also basically follow the principle of equal value exchange, i.e., making the price approach the value as closely as possible, because only thus will business accounting be done correctly. When the price of a certain product is obviously higher than its value, the producing enterprise will make more profit through such an unequal exchange of value, and the consuming enterprise will increase the cost and reduce the profit. Thus, the surplus products created by the latter will be transferred to the former for realization, and the profit of the latter will be reduced, thereby obviously lowering the accuracy of business accounting. Therefore, the mutual exchange of products by state-operated enterprises must also follow

the law of value, not permitting the price to depart freely from the value. After the profit percentage system is introduced, this point will become even more important.

The fact that a socialist country must be skillful in utilizing the law of value is no longer in dispute, but there are differing views on whether the scope of its effect in a socialist society can and should be restricted. Some comrades feel that since the law of value is an objective law it cannot and should not be restricted. I have always differed from this view. I feel that the scope of the effect of the law of value may be restricted. The reason is that the law of value is the law of commodity economy, and commodity production was always characterized by the private ownership system of production means and the anarchic state of production. Today we have basically eliminated the private ownership of production means and the anarchic state of production; therefore, the factors affecting production are the law of the planned development of the national economy and state planning embodying such law, and the law of value, generally speaking, can no longer spontaneously produce the effect of the principal regulator. In fact, it is constantly utilized by us as a tool to regulate the volume of production and marketing of many products. Though the price of many products is determined by the state, if the price we set departs excessively from the value, a serious imbalance in the supply of and demand for such products will appear, forcing the state to adjust the price according to the demands of the law of value. As for those products over which the state cannot set a unified price, i.e., products whose price is determined by the local governments or by agreement between the producer and the marketer (industrial unit and commercial unit), the effect of the law of value becomes even greater.

(II) Utilizing the Law of Value

The prices of the major products of a socialist society are set by the state. While it is possible for the state to utilize the law of value consciously, it is not easy to attain this point. In the early fifties I once felt that the commodity price of a socialist country could be closer to its value than that of a capitalist country, because the state, by means of planning, could maintain a balance between supply and demand and prevent the commodity price from being affected by their imbalance. As experience has shown, the actual situation is contrary to this. The discrepancy between price and value in a socialist country sometimes exceeds that of a capitalist country. In a capitalist country, when the price departs from the value, the law of value will automatically emerge to regulate the price and make it fluctuate in the direction of the value. In a socialist country, as the price is set by the state, if the price departs from the value, even when an imbalance between supply and demand appears in the market, the law of value cannot automatically emerge to regulate it. If the leading organs adopt a bureaucratic attitude, permitting some products to be overstocked while others are understocked,

it will become possible for the discrepancy between price and value to remain for a long time.

That Stalin stressed the effect of the law of value in "The Question of the Socialist Economy of the Soviet Union" was because the discrepancy between the price and value of many products in the Soviet Union remained over a long period, encountering the punishment of the objective law. It was significant that he brought up this problem, but it seems that it was not truly solved. He admitted that the exchange between the state and the collective farms was commodity exchange, and he even said that in places where there was commodity exchange the law of value would become operative, yet he criticized the correct view that the purchasing price of agricultural raw materials would produce a regulatory effect on the production of the finished product. His reason was that its production was arranged by the state, and its price was set by the state, as if the state could do as it pleased. As a result of overlooking the regulatory effect of the law of value on agricultural production, the price of the required grain purchased by the Soviet Government was at times only 30 percent of the cost, making it difficult to even maintain simple reproduction. Therefore, the collective farms were unwilling to produce more grain. In 1953 Soviet food grain output did not even reach the peak of the tsarist era (1913). This serves as a warning to us.

For a long time the commodity price organs of the Soviet Union overlooked the effect of the law of value, and some economists considered all objectively existing phenomena as objective laws. During the period of the antifascist war the supply of light industrial products in the Soviet Union fell behind demand, and the price shot up 500 or 600 percent. After the war there were seven price reductions, but prices were still about double those before the war. Therefore, in the early fifties light industry was very profitable, while heavy industry suffered losses. This was caused by the discrepancy between price and value. Yet the textbooks on political economy actually claimed that it was an embodiment of socialist "superiority," and they considered the seven price reductions in the 10 years after the war the objective law of socialist economic development. Such a view was incompatible with reality and created a very detrimental effect in both theory and practice.

We pay relatively serious attention to the law of value in our commodity pricing work. However, as the discrepancy between the prices of industrial and agricultural products left by history cannot be eliminated rapidly, expanded agricultural reproduction is relatively slow. In areas where the natural conditions are relatively inferior, the price of farm products can only make it possible to maintain simple reproduction, and in times of natural disasters even simple reproduction becomes very difficult. In the 20 or more years since national liberation we have doubled the purchase price of farm products, and the discrepancy seems to have been greatly reduced. However, natural conditions, especially land, greatly influence agriculture. Even though agricultural production

conditions have improved immensely, labor productivity has risen very little. Sometimes the production cost per unit of product even rises with the higher output. Industrial production is different. Here the rise in labor productivity is relatively fast. The greater the output, the lower the cost. Therefore, the comparable prices of industrial and agricultural products must be constantly adjusted with the development of production. Since the Great Cultural Revolution, due to the interference of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," commodity prices have seldom been readjusted; as a result, the discrepancy [between prices of industrial and agricultural products] has again widened. The current situation in grain production is as follows: In some high-yield areas, increased output does not result in increased income, and expanded agricultural reproduction depends on the profit from commune and brigade industries. Some low-yield areas find it difficult to maintain simple reproduction with their income. To maintain simple reproduction, the pay to the peasants is reduced to such an extent that it cannot satisfy minimum living needs, and the peasants must rely on the plots reserved for their own use and subsidiary family industry to make up the deficiency. To rapidly develop agricultural production, besides implementing the party's rural policies, we must readjust the prices of industrial and agricultural products according to the changing conditions, reduce the discrepancy, and gradually attain or approach equal value exchange. The third plenary session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP made a suggestion to the State Council for a decision: Raise the unified grain purchasing price by 20 percent effective at the time the 1979 summer grain comes to the market; add another 50 percent on this basis for above-norm purchases; gradually and appropriately raise the purchasing price of other agricultural and subsidiary products depending on the conditions. On the basis of lowered costs, reduce the factory and marketing prices of such industrial products for agricultural use as farm machinery, chemical fertilizer, insecticides and agricultural plastics from 10 to 15 percent in 1979 and 1980, thus basically passing on the benefit of lowered costs to the peasants. The party Central Committee's suggestion is compatible with the demands of economic law. Its introduction will definitely have a tremendous impact on hastening China's agricultural development and realizing agricultural modernization.

To prevent anarchism in economic development a socialist country must reinforce the planned management of commodity prices. However, as there are tens of thousands of products in society and hundreds of thousands of different specifications and styles, it is very difficult for the state to set unified prices for all of them. The law of value will actually produce a regulatory effect on the supply and marketing of secondary products which the state is not in a position to control. Currently, the major products (such as grain, coal, steel) under the strictest control of the state are generally priced too low, while the secondary products not under state control are priced too high, and they bring a larger profit. The peasants say: "It is better to plant melons than grain; it is better to haul sand than to plant melons." Among the

industries, most of the mining and excavating industries make less profit, and many of them suffer losses, while the processing industries make more profit, and their development therefore is fast. Such phenomena are contrary to the direction of production development demanded by the state. In the past, instead of using economic means, we resorted to administrative orders to prevent it; in agriculture we used coercion and orders (requiring self-sufficiency in grain in areas producing economic crops), gave blind directions and eliminated multiple operations. As a result, the output of economic crops dropped, while the rise in grain output was very slow. In industry we also pursued "riceless cooking." The supply of raw materials, fuel and power became ever more tense, and some of the processing industries completed the annual plan above norm in the first half of the year. Here one can see that, when the law of value is violated, state planning may lose its regulatory effect. Our principle remains "planning first, pricing second." However, when the pricing is disrupted, the law of value will emerge to force us to revise the state plans, or even to produce a spontaneous regulatory effect.

Irrational pricing makes it difficult for us to manage the economy by economic means. For instance, today everyone is interested in what kind of indicator to use as the main criterion to evaluate and compare the work achievements of the enterprises. Now, the gross output value is factually the criterion, which may encourage waste of raw materials. If it is changed to net output value, this will not work either, because it may encourage waste of labor. Some people suggest using profit as the main criterion to evaluate the quality of enterprise operation. However, the differences in profit of the different branches of industry are very great, because the prices of some products are higher than the value while others are lower. If profit is used as the criterion, the processing industries will win awards, while the mining industries might be punished. This would not be right. Therefore, if prices are not adjusted, it is very difficult to conscientiously manage the economy by economic means. If we permit the law of value to regulate prices spontaneously, the entire national economy may sink into anarchism, and state planning will fail to produce a regulatory effect. The state must be skillful in utilizing the law of value; it must not permit it to produce a spontaneous regulatory effect.

Controlling prices entirely by administrative means is, in fact, very difficult, for it may produce all kinds of defects. As it is impossible to set the price of every product in every area, the state often provides only some pricing principles. For example, if a given percentage of profit is added to the cost, it may encourage the use of expensive raw materials, and it may result in a greater profit to the processing industry than to the raw materials industry. Or if the provinces are asked to set the prices by adding the area price differential to the original price, when commodities are shipped from Shanghai to Shenyang via Dalian [Dairen], for instance, the price in Dalian is higher than in Shenyang! Therefore, we must be flexible in price management, permitting the various

units and areas to set prices according to concrete conditions and not limiting them to only one method of computation. As long as the various enterprises shoulder their economic responsibilities and accept the supervision of the higher level and the masses, they will not indiscriminately raise or lower prices, and any mistake can be corrected promptly. We must educate the cadres at all levels to recognize the effect of the law of value, combine principle with flexibility, carefully observe the market situation and consciously apply the law of value.

(III) Utilizing the Effect of the Market

Since the collective ownership system and the system of "to each according to his work" exist in a socialist country, and since the relationship between commodity and currency must be maintained, we must be skillful in utilizing the effect of the market. The law of value spontaneously regulates the market economy in the capitalist countries, which is something we naturally cannot adopt. From the thirties to the fifties the Soviet Union stressed state planning one-sidedly and made little use of the law of value and the market. In the past we mainly followed the Soviet method, but we made some improvement by giving some attention to the needs of the market. However, many comrades have not acquired a theoretical understanding of the issue, and many policies have not been implemented consciously or have been implemented only half-consciously. Therefore, not enough work has been done.

Our state-operated commerce basically follows the Soviet method of unified purchasing and marketing. Industrial units produce according to state plans. Whatever the plants produce, the commercial units purchase; whatever amount is produced is purchased. In the market, marketing is determined by production, and the purchasing plan is not formulated according to the people's needs, nor is the production plan formulated according to the purchasing plan. It is the other way around: Whatever is produced is marketed. After all, there is only the one state-operated commerce, and the consumer has to take it or leave it. Adoption of this method means that varieties and styles may become ever more limited and quality ever more inferior. For a long time this phenomenon in the Soviet Union has remained unchanged.

China has not adopted this method completely. There are fewer planned products; the state does not formulate mandatory production plans for many articles of daily necessity; the commodity orders of commercial units actually produce the effect of planning. Take such an important consumer commodity as cotton fabric, for instance: Both its production and supply are determined by state planning, but the varieties and colors actually are regulated by the commodity order plans of the commercial units or by commodity contracts between the industry and commercial units. Being close to the market, the commercial units have a greater understanding of the people's needs, and this is much better than the

"cart-making behind closed doors"--impracticability--of the planning units when formulating plans.

In the market of socialist countries, the quality, varieties and colors of commodities often are not compatible with the people's needs; therefore, some people doubt the superiority of the socialist system, feeling that if the law of value is not permitted to produce a spontaneous regulatory effect, the inevitable result is production determining marketing, and not vice versa, and it becomes impossible to link production with the people's needs. I feel that this is a narrow view. The greater sensitivity of the capitalist market in reflecting the people's needs comes from the "thermometer" of the rise and fall of prices. As the prices of socialist countries are determined by the state, the people's needs cannot be reflected by the free rise and fall of prices. However, state-operated retail structures come into contact with consumers daily, and they know what the people need and do not need, what they like and dislike. If they promptly report the market conditions to the higher level, this may work even faster than the "thermometer." The wholesale structures also know what commodities are overstocked and what are understocked. If they revise the purchasing plans accordingly and adjust the production plans of production units by means of the purchasing plans, the contradiction between production and the people's needs can be solved satisfactorily. Currently not enough work has been done in this respect.

To make the above method effective, I feel that the current system of unified purchasing and contracted marketing of industrial articles of daily necessity must be changed to a system of selective purchasing and self-marketing: The commercial units sign purchasing contracts with the industrial units according to the market needs. They may refuse to purchase commodities not needed in the market and not popular with the people. Currently, regardless of whether the quality is good or whether the varieties, specifications and colors are compatible with the needs of the market, the commercial units must purchase all the products included in state planning. They must even purchase products not included in state planning if ordered by the provincial, municipal or county committee. This method of depending on "the higher official's will," instead of the people's needs, must be changed. After the commercial units introduce the system of selective purchasing, the industrial units might disagree on grounds that there are customers who wish to buy the products refused by the former and that there is no reason for the former to turn them down. In such a situation, perhaps it would be possible to permit the industrial units themselves to sell the products in question on condition that they observe market management methods, or to let the industrial bureau establish joint retail units to market them. When the industrial and commercial units do not know whether certain new products are compatible with the people's needs, the former may set up retail units to trial-market them. In sum, there must be more channels, management must be more lenient and the commercial units must not monopolize the market.

There is also the issue of the effect of the supply and marketing cooperative. In the socialist reform period it had an important effect in organizing the small producers and competing against the bourgeoisie for leadership in the market, and it solved problems Lenin considered hard to solve. It organized supply and marketing in the rural villages, rallied the peasants around itself and severed the link between the bourgeoisie and the peasants. Today it still has an important effect on the purchase of Class 3 agricultural and subsidiary products. However, the effect it has developed in this respect is far from adequate, and some of the work it performs is not as good as that done by the small merchant in the old society. The supply of native products in the market today is smaller than that before liberation. Before liberation, articles such as dried yellow lilies, edible tree mushrooms, red dates, dried persimmons and peanuts were available any time of the year, whether in the city or in country markets. Now they are hard to obtain at ordinary times even in big cities like Beijing and Shanghai, and only small quantities are available during festivals. Excluding peanuts, which compete for land with grain, all the other articles can be grown anywhere. The output of many native products has become smaller than that before liberation. There are many reasons for this, and one important one is that the party committees concentrate on grain production and overlook multiple operations; they even do not give the peasants any spare time to gather wild plants. As a purchasing and marketing unit the supply and marketing cooperative has a definite responsibility.

In May 1978 I went to several mountainous areas in Anhui [Anhui] to investigate and study. The development of its commune and brigade industries is relatively slow, but the mountainous areas are abundant in resources. Much can be done to develop commune and brigade and subsidiary family industries, and there are many opportunities for planting, raising and breeding, and processing industries. If properly utilized, the mountainous areas positively will become wealthier than the plains. The issue is to solve the purchasing, shipping and marketing problems, i.e., the market problem.

The decision on improving commercial work formulated in 1962 pointed out that our commerce included three kinds--state-operated commerce, cooperative commerce and the rural market trading--and that cooperative commerce served as an aid to state-operated commerce and market trading supplemented the two. Today our supply and marketing cooperative has actually become state-operated commerce, and cooperative commerce no longer exists. Furthermore, the supply and marketing cooperative may not enter the city, and there is only the state-operated commerce in the city, without any competition. Should the cooperative be permitted to sell in the city certain products it has purchased and thus reduce a middle link? It will make the cooperative understand the market conditions more clearly and produce a greater effect in supplying the needs of the market.

Today China's commune and brigade industries are developing very rapidly. Besides planting and raising and breeding, communes and brigades are also extensively establishing industries to process farm products and other industries. The peasant-worker joint industries in Yugoslavia can produce wheat, flour, bread, milk, powdered milk and canned goods, and they ship and market them themselves. Our people's commune today is developing into a peasant-worker joint enterprise, but it has not ventured into commerce. We may consider permitting commune enterprises, under certain conditions, to market some of their products under the leadership of the municipal or county commune enterprise bureau and the supervision of the municipal or county industrial and commercial management bureau. This will reduce the intermediate links, and the vegetables, meat, eggs and fish may be fresher. We may permit people to make their own free selection according to the principle of superior quality and superior price. In this way the commune will make more money, the state will lose less money and the people will be pleased. In sum, there should be some competition in industry and in commerce, and the people should be permitted to "select the best."

In his speech at the National Conference of Departments of Finance and Trade, Vice Premier Li Xiannian [Li Hsien-nien] compared commerce to the circulatory system of the human body. It is a very accurate comparison. The general policy of our finance and economic work is "developing the economy, assuring supply" (or developing production, satisfying need). Like the blood vessels in the human body, a fairly long circulatory channel exists between production and need. If the blood vessels are blocked, production and need cannot be linked, production cannot develop and need cannot be satisfied. To make the circulation normal we must, on condition that we not destroy unified planning, increase the channels of circulation and reduce the intermediate links. Some of our management methods today result in fewer and fewer native products, turn live fish into dead ones and make fresh eggs rotten. This must be changed. We must further emancipate our minds, be more courageous and resourceful and step up the pace so that our commercial work can also adapt to the demands of the four modernizations.

Today everyone says that our economic management must be reformed--not small reforms, but big ones. The principle of reform is to use fewer administrative methods but more economic means. As regards commercial work, it means developing the effect of the market and utilizing the law of value more successfully to hasten the realization of the four modernizations.

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CONTINUE THE LONG MARCH ON THE ROAD INDICATED BY CHAIRMAN MAO--GREETING
THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE GUANGXI ZHUANG NATIONALITY
AUTONOMOUS REGION

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[Article by Tan Yingji [Tan Ying-chi 6009 2019 2894], secretary of the
CCP Committee of the Guangxi Zhuang [Kwangsi Chuang] Nationality
Autonomous Region]

[Text] The 20th anniversary of the founding of the Guangxi Zhuang
Nationality Autonomous Region was ushered in after the entire party, the
entire army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country,
closely following the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua
Guofeng, had begun the Long March toward the grand goal of socialist
modernization.

Since the autonomous region was founded 20 years ago it has conscientiously implemented the party's policy on nationalities under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. As a result, the region has undergone profound changes, and considerable progress has been achieved in industrial and agricultural production as well as in other socialist enterprises. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" the people of the entire minority region have firmly implemented the strategic policy decision of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng of grasping the key link in running the country well, have further exposed and criticized the "gang of four" and have carried out the party's various policies. This has vigorously promoted the rapid development of the national economy. A comparison between 1977 and 1957, the year before the autonomous region was founded, shows that grain production in the entire region nearly doubled, the total value of industrial production increased 6.57 times and financial revenue rose 3.3 times. Impressive progress has been achieved in finance, trade, culture, education, science and technology, public health and other areas, and the material and cultural life of the inhabitants has improved steadily. The entire region thus presents an encouraging outlook for achieving political stability and economic prosperity.

On this festive occasion our thoughts go out to great leader and teacher Chairman Mao. We recall that we owe the victories we have won to Mao Zedong Thought, to adapting Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to Guangxi's specific conditions, to realistically taking the mass line and to solving local problems on the basis of actual conditions. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Seeking truth from facts is a scientific attitude, while 'being too sure of oneself' and 'preaching to others' or similar manifestations of arrogance will never solve problems. Our nation has suffered deeply, and only by taking a scientific attitude and assuming responsibility will it be possible to emancipate our country." At a time when we are confidently shifting the focus of our work to socialist modernization under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, we are heartened by restudying Comrade Mao Zedong's teaching. Since practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, summarizing both the positive and negative aspects of Guangxi's experience in revolution and production in the past decades and drawing lessons from them will be of great significance in directing present and future efforts and quickening the pace of the four modernizations.

During the democratic revolution period the region's minority nationalities went through tortuous and protracted revolutionary struggles. They realized that only by integrating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, under the CCP's leadership, with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution would it be possible to win victories in the revolution and emancipate the nation. Comrade Wei Paqun [Wei Pa-chun], a fine son of Zhuang nationality, studied in the lecture hall about the Guangzhou [Canton] peasant movement in 1952. After embracing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and summarizing the lessons of failure in the peasant struggle, he returned to Guangxi to propagate Mao Zedong Thought with other comrades. This sparked a revolutionary struggle and a magnificent peasant movement in the Youjiang [Yuchiang] area. Subsequently, a peasants self-defense corps was formed. In 1929 the party assigned Comrade Deng Xiaoping [Teng Hsiao-ping] and others to Guangxi to coordinate the direction of revolutionary struggles in that region. They correctly assessed the favorable factors of the peasant movements that had developed in the Youjiang and Zuojiang [Tsochiang] areas, consolidated work on the troops commanded by the Guomindang's [Kuomintang] Guangxi faction and integrated the peasant movement with armed uprisings. This was in accord with Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis on "armed occupation by the workers and peasants." Along with Comrades Zhang Yunyi [Chang Yun-i], Li Minrui [Li Min-jui] and Yu Zuoyu [Yu Tso-yu], Comrade Deng Xiaoping led the tribesmen in conducting armed uprisings in Baise [Paise] and Longzhou [Lungchou] on 11 December 1929 and 1 February 1930, respectively. They created the Workers and Peasants Red Army's 7th and 8th armies and set up workers and peasants democratic governments in Youjiang and Zuojiang. This paved the way for protracted revolutionary struggles and helped to vigorously promote the peasant movement. The incorporation of the peasants self-defense corps and the Red detachments into the Red Army's 7th and 8th armies reinforced the main force, strengthened army building

and consolidated the revolutionary base area. Guangxi's Youjiang and Zuojiang have since become national models of revolutionary base areas. In the autumn of 1930 the 7th Red Army was ordered to leave the base area for combat missions in Hunan and Guangdong [Kwangtung], entering the Jiangxi [Kiangsi] revolutionary base area in the spring of the following year. Under Chairman Mao's direction, this unit became part of the central Red Army's main force which took part in the counter-"encirclement" struggle, the Long March, the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, fighting north and south until victories were won. Only after the liberation of the entire nation were Guangxi's tribesmen emancipated to become masters of the country. Historical experience shows that Chairman Mao integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and realistically solved the problems of the revolution on the basis of the objective conditions of the Chinese revolution in its various stages. Chairman Mao was thus responsible for making the revolution a success.

During the socialist revolution period two decades later, the most fundamental experience still calls for the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts and integrating the theories and principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's general line and specific policies with Guangxi's concrete revolutionary practice and on the basis of actual conditions and objective economic laws. In his visit to Guangxi in 1958, Chairman Mao presided over the Nanning Conference, a meeting of historical significance, which formulated the general line for building socialism. Both Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou [Chou] were concerned with the minority region's political, economic and cultural progress. On many occasions they listened to summary reports and gave specific instructions regarding socialist revolution and construction in Guangxi on the basis of the region's actual conditions. These provided us with a fine blueprint for developing the socialist enterprise. Chairman Mao urged us to develop farm production, improve farm implements, promote semimechanization and mechanization of farming and, if possible, operate steel and machinery plants. Premier Zhou was particularly concerned with the region's backward economy and personally examined and approved a number of construction projects for improving irrigation and farm production. The blueprint for transforming Guangxi endorsed by Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou furnished the inhabitants of the minority region with something to work for and enabled them to look forward to a promising future. In the last two decades Guangxi has rapidly developed modern industries such as iron and steel, machinery, chemical engineering, textiles and building construction. Equally rapid progress has been achieved in tapping energy resources, with impressive increases in coal production and electrification of mechanical processes. In addition, an industrial system to support agriculture has been set up. With irrigation networks completed all over the minority region and 53 percent of the total arable land under irrigation, significant results have been achieved in farmland capital construction. Seventy-three percent of the production brigades in the region own tractors. With the steady development of farm

production in the last decade, grain output has increased an average of 5.3 percent annually. All this has gradually changed Guangxi's backward features.

The process of seeking truth from facts is a process for testing our ideas and gradually adapting them to objective reality. In practice there are many reversals before we can adapt our ideas, principles and policies to objective reality. On the problem of how to correctly handle the proportionate relationship between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry our understanding was particularly deep. In the early stages of liberation, Guangxi's level of production in terms of the national economy was very low. Its average per-mou grain yield was about 200 catties, while its industrial foundation was even worse than that of agriculture. In terms of the total value of industrial and agricultural production in 1950, industry accounted for a mere 13.1 percent. Modern industrial projects were practically nonexistent. Since the tribesmen had just been emancipated, their immediate problem was food for everyone. As for the relationship between heavy and light industry and agriculture, our comrades realized that they had to concentrate on agriculture and tackle grain production. Leaders at every level devoted their main efforts to agriculture, and following the introduction of land reform, agricultural cooperativization and the people's communes the productive forces were released. As a result, from 1950 to 1958 agriculture in the region advanced appreciably, while industrial and other undertakings also made progress. However, we did not really understand the objective laws governing the development of agriculture and heavy and light industry. Some comrades approached the matter recklessly. They thought of rapidly changing the region's backward economy by giving industry a higher priority, without realizing that only by taking agriculture as the foundation would it be possible to advance industry. Consequently, the production of grain during the period of economic difficulties from 1959 to 1961 dropped to the level of the early 1950's. However, during this period industrial and other undertakings continued to advance. This made it difficult for agriculture to maintain steady progress, let alone to provide industry with manpower, capital, raw materials and outlets. The readjustment of industrial and other undertakings thus slowed the pace of economic construction. Guangxi experienced a severe drought in 1963 which caused farm production to drop further. With less food for everyone, initiative disappeared. This profound lesson was taken to heart. Objective laws verified by practice once again taught us to focus our attention on the overriding problem of food. On the basis of our own practical experience we restudied the general guiding principle set forth by Chairman Mao of developing the national economy by taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. We also raised our understanding of the objective laws governing the development of the socialist economy in accordance with the principle of planning economic development in the following order: agriculture first, then light industry and then heavy industry. By adhering to the guiding principle of taking agriculture as the foundation, we adopted realistic

measures that corresponded to actual conditions, such as mobilizing sufficient manpower, materials and financial resources from various quarters to insure agricultural development. With the development of agriculture, new contradictions reappeared. Without equipping agriculture with modern tools and providing it with support from industry, it would be impossible to rapidly develop farm production and basically alter the region's backward economy. As a result, we concentrated our efforts on developing, by stages, an industrial system aimed at supporting agriculture, taking into consideration the development requirements of agriculture and its potential in order to more closely integrate industry with agriculture. With the changing objective reality in recent years, we were more concerned with adjusting the proportionate relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other. We also attended to long-term and short-term needs and possibilities, consumption and accumulation, and problems involving the proportionate relationship between industry and agriculture with a view to eliminating the disequilibrium between them. Consequently, by 1977 the proportionate relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other had changed radically. In the total value of industrial and agricultural production, agriculture accounted for 41 percent, light industry 32 percent and heavy industry 27 percent. The increased proportion of industry in the national economy as a whole contributed to better coordination in developing heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other. Practice shows that by adhering to practical views, adapting them to objective reality, realistically following the objective economic laws and firmly taking agriculture as the foundation we succeeded in rapidly developing agriculture on a scale that was not possible before.

Seeking truth from facts means that we must proceed from actual circumstances and adapt to local conditions. Only by so doing can we correctly implement the party's line, principles and policies. While firmly taking agriculture as the foundation in recent years, we have concentrated our efforts on developing light industry and have regarded this as part of the important policy decision on developing heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other. Located in a semi-tropical region, Guangxi is rich in agricultural resources, and the potential for tapping them is immense. In developing light industry we must therefore direct our efforts toward processing farm and subsidiary products and producing items for farm production and for urban and rural consumers. In vigorously developing light industry we aim at developing agriculture. With the daily output of machine-processed sugar rising from 2,000 tons to over 27,000 tons and machine-made paper from 1,400 tons to more than 94,000 tons a year, the region now boasts dozens of light industrial enterprises embracing textiles, food products, paper, leather goods, glassware, pottery, domestic metalware, bambooware and woodcraft, plasticware and so forth. In running agriculture-related light industrial enterprises on the basis of actual conditions and using

local resources, obtaining raw materials locally and filling local needs, the region's various counties make a practice of adhering to the principle of serving industrial and agricultural production, serving the people and serving the export trade. Altogether 90 percent of the region's production brigades are engaged in commune-run industrial enterprises producing mainly light industrial and handicraft items. Compared with 1957, the total value of the region's light industrial production by 1977 had increased 6.37 times, while self-sufficiency in light industrial products rose from 18 to 61.7 percent. The profits and taxes contributed by light industry accounted for about 40 percent of the region's financial revenue. Thus, light industry not only contributed funds for further developing heavy industry and supporting agriculture but also helped to promote multipurpose agricultural operations, revive urban and rural markets and improve the people's living conditions. We must also realistically implement the policy of "taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development" according to local conditions and with appropriate centralization. On the basis of Guangxi's climate and its available resources we stressed priority development of grain, sugar and edible oil, with counties located in hilly regions concentrating on the production of grain and edible oil and on afforestation and coastal townships devoting themselves to fishery. It was thus possible to exploit the favorable conditions of various localities so that agriculture could better serve national construction and improve the people's living conditions. The region's sugarcane production has achieved significant results in recent years, and it was estimated that sugar output in 1978 would break all previous records.

In seeking truth from facts we must have faith in the masses and rely on them. We must take the mass line, self-reliantly change our country's backward economy and quicken the pace of economic construction. This has been proved by the minority region's experience in socialist revolution and construction during the past two decades. For example, we encountered considerable difficulties in setting up agriculture-related industries, particularly those for producing farm machinery. We must equip agriculture with a wider range of farm machines. To speed up farm mechanization we must have steel to make farm machinery. In addition, we must have coal and electricity and the capability for making machinery. What were the minority region's actual conditions at that time? Before 1958 there was no iron and steel industry in the region to speak of. The capability for making machinery was very low, and available technical forces were inadequate. There was no practical way of realistically formulating a policy on the region's specific task. Was it true that there was no way to alter Guangxi's backward economy? No. Such temporary backwardness could be overcome through hard work. Essentially, the minority region's 32 million population was fired by revolutionary enthusiasm to mechanize farming and promote socialist revolution in a big way. Proceeding from this understanding, having faith and relying on the masses and steadfastly relying on our own efforts, we have, since 1969, adopted effective measures to give priority consideration to the production of

farm machinery and related construction projects, the supply of raw and semifinished materials to farm mechanization programs and the allocation of products helpful to the mechanization of farming. Every year we have set aside 70 percent of local financial resources and 85 percent of locally produced steel and allocated them to agriculture and agriculture-related industries. We have set up special command groups to give full play to the two initiatives; to mobilize the region's machinery manufacturing facilities and channel them to those producing iron and steel, coal and electricity, tractors, internal combustion engines and other special types of equipment; to stress the simultaneous development of major, medium and small enterprises and to promote the mass movement. After years of hard work the production of farm machinery began to gather momentum. Comparing 1977 with 1958, the total value of farm machinery produced rose by 14.3 times. The production of important products for supporting agriculture, such as medium-sized tractors, hand-held tractors, farm vehicles and rice combines, rose steadily. The output of chemical fertilizers was nil in 1957 but reached more than a million tons in 1977.

In seeking truth from facts we must ward off the interference and sabotage of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." To usurp party and state power they practiced sham left but real right and passed spurious things off as real. Suspecting and overthrowing everything, they sought to provoke a "full-scale civil war." They stirred up bourgeois factionalism everywhere to split the revolutionary ranks, fomenting beating, smashing and looting and disrupting communications and transport to seriously wreck the national economy. On the basis of Chairman Mao's instructions and the CCP Central Committee's directives, we formed a revolutionary committee in the minority region. This stabilized the situation in Guangxi and restored unity among its inhabitants. Practice shows that what Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did was against the people's fundamental interests. They were so unpopular with the cadres and the masses that they were rejected by the cadres and masses. Their efforts to undermine Guangxi's stability and unity were in vain, because all their conspiracies and intrigues were smashed by us. When the "gang of four" were attacking the party's policy on nationalities to wreck the solidarity among the tribesmen and slandering the practice of autonomy for minority regions as "setting up independent kingdoms," we firmly implemented the party's policy on nationalities. By training nationality cadres and assisting the tribesmen to undertake economic and cultural construction, we promoted solidarity among the people inhabiting the minority region. When the "gang of four" condemned our efforts to conduct education in the party's basic line as "pointing the spearhead downward" and as "the big capitalist criticizing the small capitalist," we persisted in conducting education in the party's basic line. When the "gang of four" attacked our efforts to promote production as the "theory of productive forces," we persisted in grasping revolution and promoting production and in deepening the movement to learn from Dajing [Taching] in industry and from Dazhai [Tachai] in agriculture. As

a result, not a single unit in the region ceased production, and every unit did its best to complete its production plans. After the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng smashed the "gang of four" with one blow, we further exposed and criticized the ultrarightist nature of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." After the chaos was eliminated, order restored and things done right, the situation in Guangxi improved steadily.

The CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng is now leading us on the new Long March toward the four modernizations. This is a great revolution to radically transform China's backward economy and technology and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is also a deepgoing revolution to achieve de facto equality among our country's nationalities. Comrade Hua Guofeng said: "Emancipate our minds, be more courageous and resourceful and quicken the pace." He has urged us to topple old idols, liberate our thinking, cherish lofty ambitions to catch up with and overtake advanced world levels, seek truth from facts, promote democracy, take the mass line, restore and carry forward the party's fine tradition and work style and lead the masses in achieving socialist modernization in the shortest possible time. On the basis of striving for greater victories in the struggle to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we must firmly and rapidly shift the focus of our work to socialist modernization. To do so we must exert our utmost to achieve the four modernizations, maintain the Marxist scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, analyze and solve the new problems arising from the new Long March, continually assimilate new experiences and strive to quicken the pace of achieving the four modernizations. Guangxi is rich in natural resources. It abounds in mineral and water resources and possesses enormous potential for developing agriculture, afforestation, livestock breeding, subsidiary production and fishery. We must make full use of these favorable factors and quicken the pace of achieving the four modernizations. Under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, the people of the minority region are determined to build up Guangxi and make greater contributions toward turning China into a modern and powerful socialist country.

POLITICS REORIENTED TO THE FIELD OF ECONOMY

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 73-76

[Article by Yang Zenghe [Yang Tseng-ho 2799 1073 0735]]

[Text] The third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee unanimously endorsed the policy decision put forward by Comrade Hua Guofeng on behalf of the CCP Political Bureau: Under the guidance of the general line and general task for the new period, we must, from this year on, shift the emphasis of our party's work to socialist modernization and mobilize the whole party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities to go all out and work with one heart and one mind to accelerate the socialist modernization of our country. This policy decision of the party Central Committee is a great Marxist-Leninist strategic decision. It is of far-reaching historical importance to fundamentally change the backward appearance of our economy and technology and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat the great teacher Lenin once led the Soviet Government to carry out socialist construction and wrote numerous extremely profound and incisive theses on the significance of economic construction, including the shift in the emphasis of work. A recapitulation of Lenin's teachings in this connection will give us new enlightenment in our study, understanding and conscious implementation of the party Central Committee's strategic policy decision and will enable us to make new gains.

After the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, Lenin repeatedly stressed the need to shift the emphasis of work to economic construction.

In October 1917 the proletariat in Russia seized power through an armed uprising under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. In the following 6 months it smashed the armed resistance of enemies at home, signed the Treaty of Brest with the belligerent German nation and gained a respite to reorganize the Red Army and carry out socialist construction. It was at this time that Lenin put forward the call to shift all attention to economic construction. In "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government,"

published in April 1918, Lenin incisively explained the fundamental problems confronting the Soviet Government and comprehensively expounded on the changed policy and task. Lenin pointed out: In tsarist times the first task of the Bolshevik Party was to convince the majority of the people that its program and tactics were correct. The second task of the party was to capture power and to suppress the resistance of the exploiters. When these two tasks had been accomplished in general, the urgent order of the day was to organize the administration of Russia and carry out economic construction. Lenin said: We, the Bolshevik Party, "have convinced Russia" and "won Russia." "Now we must administer Russia." ("The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 496)

However, the evil imperialists regarded the Bolshevik Party as an enemy and vainly attempted to strangle the Soviet Government in its cradle. Following the outbreak of armed intervention by the 14 nations and the attack launched by the White Guards shortly afterward, peace was replaced by war, and the task of economic construction was disrupted. This war lasted until the end of 1920, with the Russian proletariat emerging victorious.

Shortly after the smashing of foreign armed intervention in December 1920, Lenin said: The crux of the present political situation is that we are now in a period of change, a period of transition from war to economic construction marked by certain twists and turns. He unequivocally pointed out: "The economic task and the economic front are once again put before us as the foremost task and the basic battlefront." ("Report on the Work of People's Committees," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 380) He urged the party to shift its work from serving political and military affairs to the orbit of economic construction. He said: In the future, not only politicians and administrators but also engineers and agronomists will appear on the rostrum of all-Russian congresses. By that time the role of politics will diminish. Fewer people will discuss politics and they will not be so long-winded when they discuss it. Engineers and agronomists will do most of the talking. To truly shift to economic construction, the All-Russian Congress of Soviets must first establish this practice.

Lenin's repeated stress on the need to shift the emphasis of work to economic construction after the October Revolution conforms with the objective laws of the development of the proletarian revolution. Revolution means liberating the productive forces and paving the way for construction. To this end, it is necessary first to capture power and then to change the old relations of production and greatly develop the productive forces. No country can go against this rule in carrying out its proletarian revolution. The proletariat does not make revolution and wage class struggle merely for the sake of struggle. If the struggle is not for the purpose of removing obstacles to the development of the productive forces and does not push forward the development of these forces,

but hinders and even sabotage this development, then it will not be a class struggle desired by the proletariat. This is also not the Marxist outlook on class struggle. In 1945 Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his brilliant work "On Coalition Government": "In the last analysis the impact, good or bad, great or small, of the policy and practice of any Chinese political party upon the people depends on whether and how much it helps to develop their productive forces and on whether it fetters or liberates these forces." It can thus be seen that not all class struggles waged by any class or any political party are progressive. To determine whether or not a class struggle is progressive, the sole criterion is whether it can create the necessary conditions for the liberation and development of the productive forces.

The vicious "gang of four" accused those who carried out production and construction of "paving the way for the comeback of the bourgeoisie." They incited work and production stoppages everywhere and opposed pushing the national economy forward. Their vicious mastermind Zhang Chunqiao [Chang Chun-chiao] cynically remarked: "It is all right to reap nothing at harvest time as long as we have grasped class struggle well." This absurd argument really broke all previous records. Would the proletariat want a class struggle which is divorced from the struggle for production and from the development of the productive forces and which even damages these forces to the extent that people have to starve? Zhang Chunqiao's version of class struggle is not a struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, but rather the bourgeoisie's frenzied attack against the proletariat. The "gang of four" were Kuomintang elements bearing the title of communists. They carried out the most frantic, ruthless and bloody suppression against the revolutionary people under the signboard of class struggle.

In Lenin's mind, politics cannot be divorced from economics. With the development of the situation, it is necessary to shift the emphasis of work to economic construction--this is proletarian politics.

In 1920 the Soviet Government renamed the Committee for Educating the People as the General Committee for Political Education. Lenin was against using the word "political." To avoid misunderstanding about the concept of politics, Lenin dwelt specifically on this point in his speech to the all-Russian congress of provincial and county popular education departments on the work of political education committees. Lenin said: "Politics means the struggle between different classes." "We have a two-fold task in our struggle. On the one hand we must smash everything left by the bourgeois system and crush the bourgeoisie's repeated attempts to destroy the Soviet Government"; on the other hand we must "engage ourselves in politics which serves national construction." Lenin pointed out: "Every step we take toward vanquishing the White Guards will shift the center of gravity of our struggle to politics in the economic field." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 370) See how vivid and apt Lenin's exposition was! Economic construction is one of the two aspects of class

struggle; it is politics in the economic field. Shouldn't those comrades who have gotten used to the old idea of politics and economic construction and cannot lift themselves out of the rut carefully study Lenin's teachings and emancipate their minds?

Lenin also told us about the existence of an acute class struggle in economic construction. He said that after its shift to economic construction the Soviet Government should continue to pay attention to building the Red Army and be ready at all times to crush armed invasions. It must firmly suppress the sabotage of economic construction by class enemies at home and must not show any weakness. As for the spontaneous anarchist forces of the petty bourgeoisie, such as the lack of labor discipline and the free taking of public property, efforts must be made to guide them back to the correct road through struggle and education. In short, economic construction does not always go smoothly but involves a great class struggle.

Lenin also repeatedly elaborated the significance of economic construction in different aspects. He said: "After the proletariat has solved the problem of capturing power, and to the extent that the task of expropriating the expropriators and suppressing their resistance has been carried out in the main, there necessarily comes to the forefront the fundamental task of creating a social system that is superior to capitalism and raises the productivity of labor." ("The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 509) "In the last analysis, labor productivity is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system." ("A Great Beginning," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 16) The capitalist system triumphed over the feudal system in history because it had attained a higher level of labor productivity and produced more for society than did the feudal system. Socialism can and definitely will triumph over the capitalist system. In the final analysis, it is of decisive importance to attain a higher level of labor productivity than that achieved under capitalism, produce more for society than does the capitalist economic system and make society more affluent. The task of the proletarian revolution is to overthrow the reactionary rule of the landlord and bourgeois classes, abolish their system of ownership, free the working people from exploitation, oppression and enslavement and reap political gains for the people. Moreover, it must also strive to adopt advanced science and technology, continuously develop and improve social production, satisfy to the fullest possible extent the constantly growing material and cultural needs of the whole society and provide people with material gains. If we cannot catch up with and outstrip capitalism economically and technically, if we always remain in a backward state, never have sufficient grain, oil and cloth and do not have a decent house to live in, how can we fully demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system and mobilize the working people to overcome the danger of capitalist restoration?

To guard against foreign imperialist aggression and subversion, it is also necessary to catch up with and outstrip the advanced countries economically. Lenin said: "If we cannot restore the economy of our country, we will lag behind the capitalist powers and will be trounced and beaten." ("Report on the Work of People's Committees," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 384) Either perish or go full steam ahead. This is how history raises questions.

Socialism means abolishing classes and creating conditions which make it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or to emerge again. How do we achieve this? Lenin held that to do this we must not only overthrow the exploiters, that is, the landlords and capitalists, and abolish their system of ownership, but also greatly develop the productive forces. He pointed out: "Communism means the Soviet Government plus the electrification of the whole country." "Only when our country has achieved electrification and laid the technical foundation for modern industry, agriculture and transportation can we win final victory" and "eradicate the roots of capitalism." ("Report on the Work of People's Committees," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 399) This idea was also incisively elaborated upon by our great teacher Engels in his book "Anti-Duhring." Engels said: "The division of society into an exploiting and an exploited class, a ruling and an oppressed class, was the necessary outcome of the previous low development of production." "It was based on insufficient production; it will be swept away by the full development of the modern productive forces." It can thus be seen that those who are eager to promote communism and abolish classes must first eagerly promote the development of the productive forces. It is impossible to "make the transition to communism" by arbitrarily abolishing the principle of "to each according to his work" and the law of value through administrative means when the productive forces are not yet developed to a level that we can abolish classes. This will only ruin the prestige of communism and bring about social regression.

Based on the integration of politics and economics, Lenin said: "The fruits of political education can only be measured by the improvement of economic conditions." ("New Economic Policies and the Task of the Political Education Bureau," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 60) After we have shifted the emphasis of our work to economic construction, we must strive to improve our economic management, make technical innovations, raise labor productivity, reap more grain, insure supplies, improve the life of the working people and increase state revenues. This is the important task of politics. Without this principal content, politics will be hollow and will not be in the greatest interest of the party and the people. Those who divorce politics from economics and place them in opposition to each other and who only want people to fight among themselves and not against nature are not genuine Marxist-Leninists. A political worker must study economics and science and show concern for the development of the economy. Only he who combines political work with economic work, acknowledges the fact that politics must serve economics

and recognizes the development of the socialist economy as one of the basic tasks of proletarian dictatorship is a proletarian politician.

Lin Biao blustered about "giving prominence to politics" all day long and asserted that "politics can push aside everything." The "gang of four" vilified our efforts to effect an upswing in the national economy as "a revisionist slogan" and spread the nonsense that the realization of the four modernizations "spelled the restoration of capitalism." All this ran counter to Marxism-Leninism. What they called "politics" was bourgeois politics; what they called "revisionism" was Marxism-Leninism; and what they called "capitalism" was socialism. In short, they stood everything on its head. Their purpose in doing this was to push aside everything belonging to the proletariat, destroy the material basis of proletarian dictatorship and shatter the economic and political systems of socialism under the smokescreen of "politics" and "criticizing" revisionism and capitalism. The "Cheng Yue" [Cheng Yueh] writing group was a tool of the "gang of four." To serve the counterrevolutionary conspiracy of their masters, the members of this writing group distorted and tampered with Lenin's teachings to hoodwink the people. In a sinister article published in April 1976 they said, "If we devote ourselves only to production and construction," "then a developed economy, production and the 'four modernizations' could become material forces oppressing and enslaving the proletariat and the working people. Therefore, after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin repeatedly reminded the party and the people that '90 percent of our attention and our practical activities are and should be devoted to this fundamental question--the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the power of the proletariat and the elimination of every possibility of the return of the bourgeoisie to power.'" In August of the same year the "gang of four's" sinister henchman Chi Qun [Chih Chun] even clamored about "summing up historical experiences" and "devoting nine-tenths of our attention to the struggle against the capitalist roaders." If we turn to page 795 in Volume 3 of the "Selected Works of Lenin," we can see that the phony "theoreticians" of the "Cheng Yue" writing group had crossed out the three crucial words "in the past" which preceded this passage. They had also omitted the entire sentence--"That is absolutely natural, legitimate and unavoidable and in this respect has been successfully accomplished"--which concluded this passage. What Lenin discussed in this "Report on Work in the Rural Districts" was that we must not treat the middle peasants the same way we treated the bourgeoisie in the past, but must "transfer our attention from suppressing the bourgeoisie to arranging the life of the middle peasants." Lenin said: "If tomorrow we could supply 100,000 first-class tractors, provide them with fuel, provide them with drivers--you know very well that at present this is sheer fantasy--the middle peasants would say: 'I am for the kommunia' (that is, for communism)." It can thus be seen that what Lenin stressed in this article was the need to develop the economy. With this shameless adulteration and distortion of Lenin's work and thinking, the "gang of four" exposed themselves as sworn enemies of Marxism. This also gives us a lesson by

negative example: to bring about the four modernizations and avoid being fooled by sham Marxism for a second time, we must continue to pay attention to the study of Marxist theory and have a comprehensive and accurate grasp of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

To meet the development of things we must devote the main part of our energy to socialist construction. This is also a consistent teaching of Comrade Mao Zedong. In 1958 Comrade Mao Zedong explicitly told us that while continuing the socialist revolution on the political front and the ideological front we should lay stress on the technical revolution in the party's work. He emphatically pointed out that this question deserved the attention of the whole party. On the basis of the great victory in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua now calls on us to shift the emphasis of our party's work to socialist modernization. This is how we are going to carry out the behests of Comrade Mao Zedong and fulfill his unaccomplished mission.

A MAJOR EVENT FAVORABLE TO WORLD PEACE

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 77-78

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] Diplomatic relations were established between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America on 1 January 1979. This is a historic event in the relations between China and the United States which puts an end to the abnormal state that has long existed between the two countries and holds out great prospects for promoting friendship between the people of the two countries and stimulating various relationships between the two countries. This is a major international event. It is of great significance in maintaining peace and stability in Asia and the world and will have a far-reaching impact on the international situation. For this very reason it has had widespread repercussions throughout the world. The people of China and the United States are very happy. All countries and people that love peace have warmly hailed it.

In the 29 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Sino-American relationship has followed a long and tortuous road. On the eve of the founding of the new China, great leader Chairman Mao Zedong declared that the new China was willing to negotiate the establishment of diplomatic relations with the governments of foreign countries on the basis of the principle of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty. In 1955 respected and beloved Premier Zhou Enlai declared that the people of China did not want to be at war with the United States and that the Chinese Government was willing to sit down to talks with the U.S. Government. The two countries then began holding talks at the ambassador level. Due to tremendous changes that had come over the balance of political forces in the world, the United States had to consider changing its policy toward China toward the end of the 1960's and in the early 1970's. Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou made a strategic decision to hold the doors open for the establishment of Sino-American relations. In 1972 China and the United States issued the Shanghai Communiqué. The process of normalizing relations between the two countries had begun. The normalization of relations between China and the United States has now at last been realized. This is a tremendous victory for Chairman Mao's diplomatic line.

Though China and the United States are far away from each other and are separated by the Pacific, profound traditional friendship has still united the people of the two countries. During the struggle of the people of the two countries and during the antifascist war, the people of the two countries showed mutual sympathy and mutual support. The American people are a great people with revolutionary traditions. They went through their 18th century War of Independence which pushed history forward and their 19th century Civil War. The American people are also a people who have shown a keen spirit in seeking truth. In a short period of some 200 years they have developed a modern industry, agriculture and science and technology that rank among the best in the world. Chairman Mao once said that great hopes should be pinned on the American people. After a period of separation, a surge of friendship in recent years has again risen between the Chinese and American people. Normalization of relations between China and the United States has given expression to the common aspirations of the people of the two countries and is in line with the fundamental interests of the people of the two countries.

Our country has insisted all along on establishing and developing relations with various countries on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonaggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. Based on these very principles, our government and that of the United States issued the Shanghai Communiqué 7 years ago. It is also on the basis of these very principles that the two governments have now removed the obstacles to normalization of relations and established diplomatic relations. Continuous observance of these principles in the future can further help develop the relations between China and the United States.

Like the establishment of normal relations between various countries, the normalization of relations between China and the United States is a normal phenomenon in international relations. The question of a so-called "alliance" or "axis" does not exist. The joint communiqué on establishing diplomatic relations has reaffirmed the various principles both sides agreed upon in the Shanghai Communiqué. The present communiqué points out that neither side is prepared to represent any third party in conducting negotiations or is prepared to reach any bilateral agreement or understanding against other countries. Meanwhile, the joint communiqué once again stresses that neither side should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region or any other areas in the world. Each side should oppose the efforts of any other countries or national blocs to establish hegemony. Our socialist China will never lord it over others and will never be a superpower. We oppose any kind of hegemonism, not only global but also regional hegemonism. The reaffirmation of the principle of opposing hegemony in the joint communiqué on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States is undoubtedly favorable to the struggle of the people of various countries against hegemonism.

Today's world is in a time of crisis. Hegemonists are making trouble everywhere, and the international situation is tense. The threat created by the most dangerous source of a new world war is growing ever more serious. To delay the outbreak of a world war and safeguard world peace has become a major common task of the people of all countries. Our activities on the international scene in recent years, including the development of friendly relations with various countries, have been directed toward delaying the outbreak of a new world war. This is what provides a basis for our handling international affairs with the world as a whole. The normalization of relations between China and the United States and the conclusion of a treaty of peace and friendship between China and Japan will help hold any war plotter in check, delay the outbreak of a world war and maintain peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the whole world.

Our country has made it clear that the realization of the great goal--the four modernizations--by the end of this century calls for a long period of peaceful international environment. In socialist construction we have relied on our own resources all along, while striving to obtain foreign help and to learn from foreign countries. For a fairly long period conditions did not allow us to have extensive economic and scientific exchanges with various countries. Such conditions now exist. The overwhelming majority of countries hope that China will become prosperous before long. After the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, the two countries will have more exchanges with regard to economic, trade, science and technology and other fields. We must promote trade and cooperation with various countries on the basis of the principle of equality and mutual benefit. To accelerate the pace of construction in achieving socialist modernization we must be good at learning everything that is advanced from foreign countries.

At a time when we are undertaking a new Long March toward socialist modernization with every confidence, we miss our brethren in Taiwan very much. Bringing Taiwan back to the fold of a united motherland is a sacred task of the people of the whole country, including the compatriots in Taiwan. Our consistent policy has been to let everyone love the country as a member of the same family and love the country regardless of whether they return early or late. In a new situation marked by the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, we fervently hope that the compatriots in Taiwan, like the people of the whole country, will direct still greater efforts toward the great cause of unifying the motherland. We also hope that the military and administrative workers in Taiwan will see the situation clearly, come over to the side of the people and contribute positively to the unification of the motherland.

In the midst of an excellent situation at home and abroad, we must continue to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary diplomatic line in keeping with his three worlds theory. We must support all oppressed people and

nations in their struggle to win freedom and liberation. We must strengthen unity with socialist countries and unity with the Third World, promote cooperation with the Second World and develop relations with various countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence. We must exert every effort to develop a wide international antihegemonist united front and delay the outbreak of a new world war. The people of our country must join the people of various countries in a common struggle to oppose a new world war, safeguard world peace and promote the progress of mankind.

FROM NATIONAL CHAUVINISM TO REGIONAL HEGEMONISM

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 79-81

[Article by Lian Guan [Lien Kuan 6647 6306]]

[Text] World attention is increasingly being drawn to the fact that the Vietnamese authorities, instigated by the Soviet Union, are stepping up their aggression and subversion against Kampuchea, advancing their anti-China activities and posing a serious threat to the peace and security of Southeast Asia and of the whole Asian region. Why is it that the Vietnamese authorities will not be satisfied with anything less than the destruction of the Kampuchean people, despite the fact that those same people sided with the Vietnamese for a long time and shared their common struggle? And why is it that the Vietnamese authorities have such a deep hatred for the Chinese people, who have always given support to Vietnam in its revolution and construction? This demands serious consideration.

The answer to these questions lies in the fact that the Vietnamese authorities have for a long time betrayed proletarian internationalism while stubbornly maintaining a bourgeois national chauvinistic position and becoming regional hegemonists. The Vietnamese authorities' activities are part of the global strategy of the Soviet social imperialists for world hegemony and serve both the aim of Soviet strategy and their own ambition to be dominant in the Southeast Asian region. Our analysis must take into account the confrontation and struggle between proletarian internationalism and bourgeois national chauvinism.

In the "Communist Manifesto" of 1848 the revolutionary teachers of the proletariat, Marx and Engels, issued the fighting call: "Proletarians of the world, unite!" Lenin also proclaimed in 1929: "Proletarians and all oppressed nations of the world, unite!" Practice over the last 100 years or so shows that the two calls are absolutely necessary for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat as well as for the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations. Since the fundamental interests of the proletarians of various countries, the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations are identical, only by uniting, supporting each other and struggling against the common enemy can they win victories in the revolution,

ultimately eliminate the system of man's exploitation of man, and eliminate the social sources of confrontations and conflicts among nations so as to emancipate all mankind. The struggle between Marxists who have adhered to proletarian internationalism and revisionists who have betrayed internationalism has pervaded the international communist movement over the past 100 years or so. The ideas and sentiments of proletarian internationalism have infused hundreds of millions of workers throughout the world and become an invincible force to inspire them to unite in combat.

An unprecedentedly acute struggle is being waged between the proletarians and revolutionary people of the world on one side and Soviet social imperialism on the other. While the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been paying lipservice to "internationalism," it has in fact completely betrayed proletarian internationalism. This has been strikingly demonstrated by its pursuance, in line with the policies of the old tsars, of pan-Russian nationalism and brutal suppression of national minorities at home and big power hegemonism abroad. In pursuing the global strategy of vainly seeking to dominate the world, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is frenziedly expanding its arms and preparing for war. By carrying out aggressive and subversive activities everywhere, interfering with, controlling and bullying other countries, the Soviet Union has become the most dangerous source of a new world war and the most serious threat to world peace and the security of various nations. Under the present circumstances the principle of proletarian internationalism calls for close unity and mutual support among the proletarians of the world, oppressed peoples and oppressed nations in their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, particularly Soviet hegemonism.

Some of the present Vietnamese leaders are national chauvinists. Even before the Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Lao peoples won their victory in the war against U.S. aggression, they had begun to scheme to seize the victory and form an "Indochina federation" under their control by incorporating Kampuchea and Laos. While the Chinese people saved on food and clothing so as to give vigorous support to Vietnam in the war against U.S. aggression, Vietnam fanned up anti-China feelings by talking loudly about so-called ancient "aggression from the north." After winning the war, Vietnam insolently acted as if it were the number one military power in Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese authorities tried to lord it over their neighbors by using their huge troop strength and the millions of dollars' worth of weapons captured from the U.S. military and puppet troops, together with Soviet military aid. Their stand is one of arrogant national chauvinism!

The Vietnamese authorities are carrying out a brutal policy of national oppression. As for the Khmer and other minority nationalities, they not only discriminate against and oppress them but also use them as cannon fodder in their aggression against Kampuchea. To serve this aggression they have driven out or concentrated in remote waste areas the minority nationalities who have lived in the border areas for generations. They

call this a "cleanup." In 1976 they simply did away with the minority nationalities' autonomous region adjacent to China. As regards foreign residents who assumed Vietnamese citizenship of their own will, they are naturally part of the Vietnamese nationality. However, they are also subject to the same discrimination, exclusion and oppression.

As early as 1975 the Vietnamese authorities invaded and occupied some islands in the Nansha Island group and brazenly claimed territorial sovereignty over the Nansha and Xisha [Hsisha] islands. In recent years the Vietnamese authorities have more fiercely intensified their anti-China and anti-Chinese activities. Chinese nationals (the majority of whom are laboring people) who have resided in Vietnam for years and made contributions to Vietnam's national independence and economic development have been subjected to all kinds of persecution and torture. The Vietnamese authorities have stripped them of their rights to residence and employment, canceled their census registration and withheld their food grain quotas until they were deprived of every means of livelihood and driven into a desperate position. To date over 170,000 Chinese residents have been ostracized and driven from their country of residence and into China. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese authorities have committed repeated provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese border, encroached upon our territories, beaten up and killed our civilians and security personnel in areas along the border and forcibly carried away our fishing boats, killing or wounding the fishermen aboard. Their anti-China activities have intensified to an intolerable extent.

As for Kampuchea, Hanoi's initial attempt to gain control of it in the guise of so-called "special relations" failed as a result of the stiff resistance put up by Kampuchea. After that Vietnam began intruding into Kampuchean territories and openly began a large-scale war of aggression against Kampuchea at the end of 1977. At the same time it also committed acts of subversion within Kampuchea. However, all these aggressive acts have met with ignominious defeat, thanks to Kampuchea's counterattacks. Now, having become even more arrogant as a result of the intensified Soviet support following the conclusion of the Vietnamese-Soviet treaty of military alliance, Hanoi has of late launched massive armed attacks against Kampuchea and rigged up a puppet organization as its counter-revolutionary task force to work in coordination with its military offensives. Thus, Hanoi's ambition to annex Kampuchea has been exposed to the light of day.

V. I. Lenin said: "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism-- these are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world and express the two policies (nay, the two world outlooks) on the national question." ("Critical Remarks on the National Question") Bourgeois nationalists may take part in the struggle against national oppression to a certain extent when their own nation is oppressed. However, when the struggle is won and they have gained control of state power, they will, if the time seems

propitious, oppress other nations or help another big power oppress others so as to seek their own gain. While oppressing others they have always sold their own national interests to big powers, for example, by supplying military bases or cannon fodder. The present Vietnamese leaders are specimens of national chauvinism. After winning victory in the protracted anti-imperialist struggle, they immediately went on to invade another country and became regional hegemonists. The phenomenon seems unpredictable and astonishing. However, we can find the answer if in examining it we follow the method of Marxist-Leninist class analysis.

As a matter of fact, in wantonly carrying out aggression against Kampuchea and making provocations against China, the Vietnamese authorities are taking action to deal with their own internal situation.

Lenin incisively pointed out in denouncing tsarist Russia's war of aggression against China: "Governments that must rely on the bayonet to keep themselves in power and those which must occasionally suppress or stop the people's anger have learned this truth: since it is impossible to alleviate the people's dissatisfaction, the dissatisfaction against the government must be shifted to others." ("The War in China," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol I, p 216) Thus, the tsarist government did everything possible to provoke the people's hatred for China by undermining their political consciousness and attacking the Chinese people as barbarians. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique and the Vietnamese authorities are playing the same old trick. The internal and external policies of the Vietnamese authorities since the unification of the country have already aroused dissatisfaction and opposition among the people. Having deliberately unleashed a war of aggression against Kampuchea and made provocations against China, they further resorted to the tactic of thief calling thief and made false declarations in which they claimed that Kampuchea and China had committed "aggression" against Vietnam. This is propaganda based on a myth but is intended to fan up national hatred against Kampuchea and China. In this way the Vietnamese authorities prosecute their aggressive policy and deceive and compel the people to sacrifice themselves.

The criminal acts of the Vietnamese authorities also meet the needs of the Soviet social imperialists in pursuing their global strategy, particularly their aggressive expansion in Southeast Asia. Actually, the Vietnamese authorities and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique have common ideas and political bases, and both of them are national chauvinists who wave socialist flags while carrying out national oppression and external aggression. The Vietnamese authorities cherish the ambition of becoming a small lord dominating the Southeast Asian region. To achieve this they need the backing of the Soviet Union, the big lord. The Soviet Union in turn needs Vietnam as a "Cuba of the East" to undertake expansion in Southeast Asia. No wonder the Vietnamese authorities cast their lot with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union's global hegemonism and the Vietnamese authorities' regional hegemonism belong, in essence, to the

same category. What may be considered a difference, however, is that the former has boasted that it is playing the commander's role while the latter is the willing pawn. As birds of the same feather they traversed the course from national chauvinism to hegemonism and now undertake a joint venture of murder. The Soviet revisionists supply the aircraft and tanks and the Vietnamese authorities offer the cannon fodder.

To coordinate with Soviet expansion in Southeast Asia and achieve their own ambition in the region, the Vietnamese authorities have played the role of a "chameleon." Previously the Vietnamese propaganda machine followed the Soviet Union in attacking ASEAN as an imperialist-controlled "military alliance." Along with their master, the Vietnamese authorities later made an about-face by doing their best to please and woo Southeast Asian countries into participating in a scheme which seeks to make Southeast Asia a "peaceful, truly independent and neutral region." Despite the fact that this program resembles the ASEAN proposal for setting up a "region of peace, freedom and neutrality" in Southeast Asia, the press in Southeast Asia regarded this as an attempt to dish up a refurbished version of the Soviet trash about an "Asian security system," which sought to shift Southeast Asia into the Soviet sphere of influence. Vietnam's aggression against Kampuchea with Soviet backing is also aimed at making Kampuchea a springboard for Vietnam's expansion in Southeast Asia to threaten the peace and security of the region. Therefore, the tricks played by the Vietnamese authorities have naturally alerted Southeast Asian countries and put them on guard.

The Vietnamese authorities have also conducted malicious propaganda on the issue of Overseas Chinese in a vain bid to undermine the relations between China and the countries of domicile of Overseas Chinese, particularly Southeast Asian countries. To advance their anti-China activities, Soviet revisionists have spread rumors about Chinese living abroad, accusing them of being China's "fifth column" for subverting other countries. Echoing the Soviet slander, the Vietnamese authorities have also accused China of "exploiting Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia and using them to make trouble in their countries of domicile," and so forth. China's position on Overseas Chinese is known to everybody. It encourages Chinese living abroad, according to the principle of voluntariness, to choose and acquire the nationality of their country of residence. As to those who retain their Chinese nationality, they are urged to abide by the laws and decrees of the countries where they reside, to respect the customs, habits and religious beliefs of the local people and to get along well with them. China's policy on Overseas Chinese is open and aboveboard; it is consistent in words and deeds. As such, it is welcomed in Southeast Asian countries. Slanders and provocations by Soviet revisionists and the Vietnamese authorities are all in vain.

The Chinese people will concede to nobody on matters of principle. We will never permit the Vietnamese authorities to wage aggression and commit provocations against China. We insist on proletarian

internationalism, staunchly struggle against big and small hegemonism, firmly oppose the Vietnamese authorities' sinister plot to annex Kampuchea and lord it over Southeast Asia, and resolutely support the Kampuchean people's just struggle against Soviet-Vietnamese hegemonism. The Kampuchean people's struggle to resist Soviet-Vietnamese aggression will be a protracted, arduous and ferocious one. The people of China, of the Southeast Asian countries and other countries of the world are on the side of Kampuchea. Relying on their own heroic struggle and with worldwide sympathy and support, the Kampuchean people can certainly defeat the aggressors and attain ultimate victory.

Bourgeois national chauvinism has always passed off the interests of an exploiting class or a ruling group for the interests of the entire nation, without being able to bring any benefits to the nation. What it has brought is simply misfortune. Marx said it well: "A nation that enslaves other nations is making fetters for itself." ("Confidential Circular," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 312) Practicing national oppression at home and seeking expansion abroad by aggressive means, the Soviet revisionists are beset with troubles. Similarly, the Vietnamese authorities will be punished by history for pursuing regional hegemonism. Their aggressive features are being increasingly bared as they are being denounced by countries in Asia and Southeast Asia and isolated among the nations. By permitting the Soviet Union to set up military bases and assign so-called "experts" and "advisers" to Vietnam, that country has fallen increasingly under Soviet control. Vietnam's internal and external policies have resulted in economic setbacks and increased the plight of the people. We believe the Vietnamese people have the glorious tradition of carrying on revolutionary struggle for a protracted period. We believe there is no good end for the perverted acts of the Vietnamese authorities.

VIGOROUSLY ESTABLISH THE STYLE OF INVESTIGATION AND RESEARCH--READING
COMRADE MAO ZEDONG'S 'ON CONDUCTING RURAL SURVEYS'

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 82-84

[Article by Ke Weiran [Ko Wei-jan 2688 3634 3544]]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong's important speech "On Conducting Rural Surveys" was made in 1941 at the Women's Life Investigation Group jointly organized by the Central Women's Committee and the Northwest Bureau in Yan'an [Yenan] after the Central Committee decided to suspend the China Women's University, reorganize the Central Women's Committee and remove Wang Ming from his positions as principal of the China Women's University and secretary of the Central Women's Committee. At that time it served as a sharp ideological weapon to criticize the Wang Ming line, create an anti-Japanese democratic base and wage the national liberation war. Today it serves as our sharp ideological weapon to criticize the revisionist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and pursue our socialist modernization.

In the speech Comrade Mao Zedong said right at the beginning: "To understand the world is not an easy matter. Marx and Engels devoted their entire lifetime to investigation and study before completing scientific communism. Lenin and Stalin also similarly made many investigations." He then said: "China's revolution also requires investigation and study. First of all, we must understand what China is (its past, present and future)." Thus, one can see that investigation and study constitute a momentous matter linked with understanding the world and completing and developing scientific communism and China's revolution and construction.

Investigation and study are important because they constitute the necessary path to understanding and reforming the world. Understanding and reforming the world cannot depart for one moment from the practice of the three great revolutionary movements. We can only rely on science, on investigation; we cannot rely on theology, on illusions. Comrade Mao Zedong said long ago: "Without investigation there is no right to speak." ("Preface and Postscript to 'On Conducting Rural Surveys'") Obviously, without investigation one cannot understand and reform the world.

Furthermore, understanding cannot be completed at one time, and neither can investigation. As Comrade Mao Zedong said, "We believe that matters are moving, changing and progressing. Therefore, our investigation is a long-term job. Today we must investigate, and in the future our children and grandchildren also will have to investigate. Only in this way can we go on learning new things and acquiring more knowledge."

In the speech Comrade Mao Zedong, on the basis of his personal experience in understanding the rural village, vividly and profoundly discussed the importance and long-term nature of investigation and study. He said that when he first came into contact with Marxist theory he "understood only two words, 'class struggle,'" but he did not have a clear idea of "realistic class struggle." Subsequently, after engaging in the peasant movement for 4 months, he learned about some conditions of the various classes, but his knowledge was still very superficial. Thereafter, walking for a month and 2 days, he investigated the five counties of Changsha [Chang-sha], Xiangtan [Hsiang-tan], Xiangxiang [Hsianghsiang], Hengshan [Hengshan] and Liling [Liling] and clarified the essence of the peasant movement at that time, but he still had no clear understanding of the composition of the rural classes. Only after arriving at Jinggangshan [Ching kangshan] and making the Xunwu [Hsunwu] investigation did he clarify the issue of the rich peasant and landowner. He did not clearly understand the issue of the poor peasant and tenant farmer until after the Xingguo [Hsingkuo] investigation. One can see that, to understand, one must investigate; understanding is a process, while investigation must be pursued persistently.

Investigation and study constitute for us the correct path to understand the world and the bridge to link theory and practice. Then does this mean that any kind of investigation will enable us to attain scientific understanding? The problem is not so simple. Comrade Mao Zedong admonished us to pay attention to the method of investigation and study, because investigation is the premise to understanding the world and the method to guarantee a correct understanding. Comrade Mao Zedong particularly wanted us to pay attention to the dialectic unity of analysis and synthesis in investigation and study. He said: "One must analyze and synthesize.... The ancients said: The way of writing is to have a beginning and an end. This view is correct. Su Dongpo [Su Tung-po] studied history with the method of 'engaging the enemy on eight sides.' It was correct to study the Song [Sung] dynasty with the method of 'engaging the enemy on eight sides.' Today, when we study China's society, we must use the method of 'engaging the enemy on four sides,' dividing it into the political, economic, cultural and military aspects and arriving at the conclusion of China's revolution." Meanwhile, Comrade Mao Zedong wanted us to carefully gather material in investigation and study and to seize the crucial points. "If the nine things you investigated are all secondary things, while the principal thing is missing, then you still do not have the right to speak."

The entire life of Comrade Mao Zedong was a model in persevering in investigation and study. During the first and second domestic revolutionary war periods he penetrated the rural villages, cities and towns, and plants and mines many times, made detailed investigations of China's society, wrote historical documents as a guide to China's revolution, including "Analysis of the Classes in China's Society" and "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," and solved the problems of enemy and friend, leadership power and allied army, in the Chinese revolution. In the great Yan'an Rectification Movement he seriously criticized the erroneous attitude of "ambassadors flying all over the skies" and stressed the importance of investigation and study. During the busy campaigns in the Japanese and liberation wars he never slackened investigation and study. After liberation he traveled over the entire country and made investigations and studies of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, technicians, cadres and representatives of all classes and strata. The "Preface and Postscript to 'The Socialist High Tide in China's Rural Villages,'" published in 1955, which had a tremendous effect in hastening the realization of socialist reform and accelerating the progress of socialist revolution and construction, was born on the foundation of voluminous investigations and studies. When we study his other works we often come across criticisms of comrades for neglecting investigation and study. He said: "If you have not made an investigation of a certain issue, your right to speak on that issue will be suspended," because, "since you have not investigated and do not know the details, your statement on the issue will be nonsensical." If one talks nonsense all day long with one's eyes closed, "one will be a disgrace to the Communist Party." He admonished us time and again: "Pay attention to investigation! Oppose talking nonsense!" ("Oppose Book Worship")

When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, the superior tradition of "no investigation, no right to speak" was completely discarded. What replaced it was the "power only theory" and "will only theory." Out of their need to usurp the party and seize power, they resorted to conspiracies and plots and did whatever they pleased. As for the law of objective matters and the appeals of the masses, they were completely indifferent. This was their essence, because they were the sworn enemies of the people. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the party's superior tradition of seeking truth from facts and investigation and study greatly developed. However, due to the remnant poison in their minds, some comrades still worship books or act according to "the will of the higher official," overlooking investigation and study, giving no heed to the appeals of the masses, and causing grave damage to the revolutionary cause. This undesirable trend has become a big enemy to the march toward the four modernizations.

Starting from the book in everything, book worshipers refuse to investigate or study. They feel that anything in the books is an "indisputable law," say and do things only when they are in the books, and absolutely

ignore any changes in the objective process in the development of matters, any problems requiring answers proposed in practice, or whether the theories in the books, after the test of practice, are suitable to the situation today. Books are good things, but they must not be absolutized and made into things which restrict man's mind, block his progress and strangle his vitality. This will completely upset the relationship between theory and practice, giving theory primary importance and subjugating practice to it. This is an idealist ideological line.

Those accustomed to acting according to "the will of the higher official" also refuse to investigate and study. As long as something is arranged by the "higher official," they will copy and transmit accordingly and never coordinate it with the practical conditions of the particular area or unit or with the concrete situation. How does this condition occur? One reason is that they erroneously feel that whoever is in a high position will have more truth in his hands and that position and truth are in direct ratio. Actually, this is not so. Those in high positions may have less truth in their hands, while those in low positions may have more. The possession of truth is not determined by an individual's position but by many conditions. Whether a person heeds the appeals of practice and whether he is skilled in investigation and study and maintains a close link with the masses constitute the minimum condition. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "In a certain sense, the most intelligent and talented are the warriors with the most practical experience." Then, how did the illusion that position and truth are in direct ratio arise? This is connected with the feudal control of China's society for thousands of years. In the feudal society, feudal despotism was the nucleus of the system, and the words of the emperor were "golden laws." The idea that "position is truth" has been influential up to this day. In our party history there have been many who suffered from it. One of the reasons that Wang Ming's "leftwing" opportunist line was so powerful was that Wang Ming was a representative of the Communist International and a so-called theoretical authority. One important reason that the revisionist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" deceived some people for a time was that they usurped the leading position of the party and the state, such as vice commander in chief and Jiang Qing's [Chiang Ching's] special position, making people mistakenly think that they had the truth in their hands. As proved by practice, they did not have the least bit of truth. Here we are enabled to realize the importance of practice as the only criterion for testing truth.

In one period in the past, as democratic centralism had not been truly introduced, some of our comrades dogmatically issued orders, because they refused to investigate and study or to listen to the masses. Why don't we think it over? Is it conceivable that we are more intelligent than Comrade Mao Zedong? His knowledge was so profound and extensive and his experience so abundant, yet he still investigated and studied and followed the mass line in everything. Why do we close our eyes and stop our ears and be so dogmatic? In fact, the principal and fundamental reason that

Comrade Mao Zedong was so wise and great was that he persevered in seeking truth from facts, investigation and study and the mass line. He never considered himself a "sage." He said: "I am this kind of person: Whatever I want to do and whatever big decision I want to make, I always consult the worker-peasant masses, discussing with them and conferring with them and with the cadres close to them, to see whether it is feasible." ("Beat Back the Attacks of the Bourgeois Rightists") In 1961 he personally sponsored and formulated the draft of the "60 Articles" for the rural people's commune. On the issue of the ownership system of the commune, the "60 Articles" first decided on the collective ownership system with the brigade as the basic accounting unit. Subsequently, Comrade Mao Zedong called all kinds of investigative meetings, and someone suggested the production team as the accounting unit instead and gave his reasons. Finding the suggestion reasonable, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed a revision of the article in question. When the document was officially promulgated, the production team was made the basic accounting unit in the people's commune. Comrade Mao Zedong's perseverance in investigation and study, his respect for objective practice, and his scientific attitude of correcting whatever was not compatible with the objective reality after being tested in practice and of seeking the truth from facts are most impressive.

Today the center of the entire party's work has shifted to socialist modernization. To study this speech of Comrade Mao Zedong's and to vigorously promote the trend of investigation and study have become especially important. The four modernizations constitute a brandnew theme, but as long as we start from the practical, reinforce investigation and study, heed the appeals of practice, and seek truth from facts, we will advance from ignorance to knowledge and from less knowledge to more knowledge, gradually understand the objective law of socialist modernization, and accomplish the leap from the "realm of necessity" to the "realm of freedom." Only thus will we truly attain what Comrade Mao Zedong demanded of us: With discoveries, inventions, creations and progress, complete the glorious mission assigned us by history.

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STUDY MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT; PERSIST IN SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 84-86

[Article by Hu Quyuan [Hu Chu-yuan 5170 2575 0954]]

[Text] When commemorating the 85th birthday of Comrade Mao Zedong, I, as a philosophy worker, was very happy to read the three letters to philosopher Comrade Li Da [Li Ta 2621 6671] on philosophical issues. His noble qualities of incomparable warmth toward comrades, modesty, treating others with equality and academic democracy make me feel very close to him and give me great education and encouragement. Though he has departed from this world forever, he has left us Mao Zedong Thought, a priceless treasure, and such brilliant philosophical works as "On Practice" and "On Contradiction." These are the dazzling fruits of the development of Marxism to the present time and the products of the integration of Marxist-Leninist universal truth with revolutionary practice.

Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly exhorted us to adhere to the fundamental truth of Marxism-Leninism and persevere in the fundamental line of seeking truth from facts. He was a bright model in persevering in seeking truth from facts. In his works, the moment he discovered anything not compatible with the facts or any inaccuracy in theoretical generalization, he would immediately correct it. In his first letter to Comrade Li Da he pointed out: "It was not sound to link the Taiping Kingdom movement to antiforeign struggles in 'On Practice,' and it must be revised before the 'Selected Works' are published." In the second letter he said: "Line 3, paragraph 10, chapter 4 of 'On Contradiction' reads: 'In any given contradiction and in any given time, the development of the several aspects of the contradiction is uneven.' Here, 'in any given time' should be omitted. It has been omitted in the second edition of the 'Selected Works.'" Each and every one of us must conscientiously learn from such a strictly scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts.

More than 100 years ago Engels, in "Anti-Duhring," pointed out: "Modern materialism considers history to be the development process of mankind, and its mission is to uncover the kinetic law of the process." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 64) In other words, Marxist philosophy

wants us to adhere to the principle of the unity of materialist epistemology and dialectics and to the epistemological line of seeking truth from facts.

In accordance with the direction shown by Engels, Lenin persevered in and developed the materialist epistemological line. In his struggle he wrote "Materialism and Empiro-Criticism" and "Notes on Philosophy," two great philosophical works. In "Materialism and Empiro-Criticism" he discussed the materialist premise of Marxist epistemology and adhered to the materialist epistemological line from matter to idea. Subsequently, in "Notes on Philosophy" he repeatedly discussed the unity of epistemology and dialectics and expounded the dialectic relationship between practice and dialectics. He also proposed a fundamental dialectic materialist formula to apply dialectics to epistemology: "From vivid intuition to abstract cogitation, and from abstract cogitation to practice--these constitute the dialectic path to understanding truth and the objective reality." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 181) Lenin thus pushed the principle of the unity of materialist epistemology and dialectics to a new stage and further developed the epistemological line of seeking truth from the facts of dialectic materialism.

After the death of Lenin, Comrade Mao Zedong intensively studied his philosophical heritage and the development of Marxist philosophy in the struggle by Lenin and Stalin against Trotsky and Bukharin, summarized the lessons of success and failure in China's revolution, wrote many brilliant philosophical articles, and repeatedly admonished the entire party to adhere to the dialectical materialist epistemological line. The fundamental thought of "On Practice" is to seek truth from facts and adhere to the dialectical materialist epistemological line. Man's correct thinking, in the final analysis, can only come from practice, return to practice, and undergo the test of practice. "On Contradiction" creatively analyzes the contradictions in the objective world and their reflections in our mind. The objective world is filled with contradictions and changes. To be compatible with reality, our thinking must reflect the objectively existing contradictions by seeking truth from facts, scientifically analyze their motions and changes, and uncover the orderliness therein. "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" skillfully expound the principle of the unity of Marxist epistemology and dialectics, greatly enriching and developing the dialectical materialist epistemological line of seeking truth from facts and pointing out ideologically the direction of advance for the victory of China's revolution and the progress of its construction.

Comrade Mao Zedong's spirit of seeking truth from facts was manifested not only in his great revolutionary practice and brilliant philosophical works, but also in his daily life. In his letters to Comrade Li Da he mentioned two passages in "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" which required revision. One can see how he respected objective facts and objective laws! He mentioned many times that there is no one in the

world who commits no error, and that the distinction is in the size and nature of the error and whether it is promptly recognized and corrected. This is because everyone's understanding is restricted to different degrees by the developmental process of objective matters. Whether to admit this point is a fundamental issue of whether one adheres to dialectical materialist epistemology. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong felt that, in regard to the analysis and evaluation of a concrete matter, one must, with the development of understanding, vigorously strive to be accurate and to be compatible with reality; in regard to the generalization and interpretation of fundamental philosophical principles, one must, also with the development of understanding, become even more precise and perfect. This tells us that in the process of understanding, even if it involves a fundamental philosophical principle recognized by everyone, one must also treat it as a new thing not yet understood and constantly intensify and elevate one's understanding by means of "practice, understanding, repractice, and reunderstanding." Comrade Mao Zedong's bright and thorough scientific materialist attitude of being serious and conscientious toward Marxist philosophy, courageous in seeking truth from facts, and strict in his demands on himself is a bright model for those of us engaged in the teaching of philosophy and in scientific research work.

However, the wicked "gang of four," to attain their criminal goal of usurping the party and seizing power, vigorously advocated the ideological style of the reactionary and decadent exploiting class. From Lin Biao's theory of talent to the "gang of four's" fallacy that "theory is the important factor in determining the line," everything they advocated was the idealist trash of the reactionary landowners and bourgeoisie. As a result, idealism inundated the party within and without, and metaphysics went on a rampage. The lies, false charges and counterrevolutionary doubledealing pursued by the "gang of four" and their followers became familiar things. They insanely distorted, revised and fabricated Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and quoted passages from classic Marxist works out of context as clubs to beat and injure people and damage the party and the country. They seriously sabotaged our party's dialectical materialist ideological line of seeking truth from facts long cultivated by Comrade Mao Zedong. What was even worse, they actually created "theoretical" bases for their subjective idealism. The "antiempiricism as the key link" vigorously promoted by them was actually a negation of practical experience serving as the foundation of understanding, of the materialist principle of starting from reality, of the fundamental thought of Comrade Mao Zedong's "On Practice," i.e., seeking truth from facts, and of the dialectical materialist epistemological line. That practice is the only criterion to test truth is a basic principle of Marxist philosophy, yet there are actually those who disagree and launch a dispute. This incident has made us realize that the widespread poison and grave dangers resulting from the "gang of four's" opposing our party's dialectical materialist philosophy with radical reactionary subjective idealism have truly been unprecedented in our party's history. We absolutely must not underestimate such remnant poison and influence.

Today I feel that the best way to commemorate Comrade Mao Zedong is to raise high the great banner of his thinking, inherit and bring to greater fruition the dialectical materialist epistemological line of seeking truth from facts he adhered to and developed, and clarify the theoretical right and wrong disrupted by the "gang of four."

To persevere in seeking truth from facts, we must learn and study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as a science. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are a science, constantly developing in practice. Not only is it intolerant of religious superstition, but it is also a sharp ideological weapon to overcome superstition. It courageously reveals the truth and does not fear the test of practice. It is not a final truth, but instead it continuously opens paths for us to understand the truth. It requires us to liberate our minds, fundamentally and without any forbidden areas, and it does not permit others to set up forbidden areas.

Therefore, we must regard Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought with a scientific attitude. Scientific attitude means seeking truth from facts. To study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought we must comprehend their spiritual essence, search for the standpoint, viewpoint and method therein, and oppose divorcing them from the concrete time, place and conditions and regarding them as immutable dogmas.

To persevere in seeking truth from facts we must, as Comrade Mao Zedong taught, have the revolutionary spirit to adhere to truth and correct mistakes. Truth is not easy to find. In the process of searching for it we may encounter setbacks. At times it is in the hands of a minority or in the hands of the masses in low positions. Therefore, we must not only cogitate calmly and search objectively but also not yield to numerical superiority, high position and power. Thus, we must have the courage to adhere to the thorough materialist standpoint and the spirit to offer our lives to truth. As fully proved by the practice of history, all those attempting to strangle truth with the political power in their hands will not come to a good end.

To persevere in seeking truth from facts we must, as pointed out in Comrade Mao's letter to Comrade Li Da, launch a popular propaganda of dialectical materialism, which is "the urgent need of the working cadres and young students." Our philosophy workers must actively respond to Comrade Mao Zedong's appeal and help the working cadres and young students learn Marxist philosophy, comprehend the dialectical materialist epistemological line, master the general law of man's understanding of "practice, understanding, repractice, and reunderstanding, circulating back and forth, ad infinitum," consciously apply this general law, and persevere in seeking truth from facts!

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CSO: 4004

QUIETLY STUDY MORE NATURAL SCIENCES--CHAIRMAN MAO'S TWO LETTERS TO YOUNG COMRADES

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 87-88

[Article by Li Xue [Li Hsueh 2621 1331]]

[Text] On the new Long March toward the four modernizations we feel very close to Chairman Mao when we study his two letters to five young people--Mao Anying [Mao An-ying 3029 1489 5391], Mao Anqing [Mao An-ching 3029 1489 3237], Cai Bo [Tsai Po 5591 0590], etc.

Chairman Mao pointed out in his letters: "The new China needs many scholars and technicians, and your effort in this direction is very appropriate." In his letter to Mao Anying and Mao Anqing he urged them to "study more natural sciences while you are young and discuss less politics." He stressed that "it is fitting to quietly study more natural sciences." Our era is entirely different from the time when Chairman Mao wrote the letters. If we say that Chairman Mao's demand to "quietly study more natural sciences" was aimed at a few young people in those years, then today it has universal significance.

Currently, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, the crucial point of the work of the entire party has shifted to socialist modernization. What we must pursue is the newest and highest level of modernization--socialist modernization. To us it is a relatively unfamiliar theme, and much territory is still in the realm of necessity. We must learn again and vigorously acquire the knowledge and skill to achieve the four modernizations.

Chairman Mao said in his letters: "In sum, you must pay attention to science. Only science is true knowledge, and its use in the future is inexhaustible." The "future" he mentioned is our present and future. Science and technology are the key to the realization of the four modernizations. If we do not learn and master modern science and technology, we will not be able to build modern agriculture, modern industry and modern national defense, and we will not be able to approach and surpass the world's advanced levels by the end of this century. After

the founding of the nation, Chairman Mao once pointed out that we must fight the battle of science and technology; otherwise the production force cannot be raised. If a country does not master modern science and technology, it will suffer beatings. If an industry does not master modern science and technology, it will drop out of the ranks. If an enterprise does not master modern science and technology, it will be eliminated. Obviously, quietly studying more natural sciences has an extremely profound significance. The natural sciences constitute a revolutionary force producing a promotive effect in history and a sort of weapon for man to strive for freedom. To gain freedom in society we must, by means of social science, understand society, reform society and launch a social revolution. To gain freedom in nature we must, by means of the natural sciences, understand, conquer and reform nature. Naturally, we must understand and reform nature by means of the natural sciences under the guidance of the correct world philosophy. Therefore, we must study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and closely link them with the concrete practice of the four modernizations.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vigorously advocated the fallacy that "knowledge is sinful" and created the lie that "once knowledge is gained the person is snatched away." They equated knowledge with "white expert," learning with being reactionary and science with the bourgeoisie. According to this ridiculous logic, the moment they master scientific knowledge the working people will turn into white experts and bourgeoisie. Does this not imply that the working people must never master science and technology and that they can only serve as the slaves of science and technology and remain forever dull and ignorant? This is completely the bourgeois policy of keeping the people ignorant. The history of the development of human society tells us that the natural sciences develop with the development of social production, that scientific knowledge and the working people were originally one, and that science was only monopolized by the ruling class in the class society. Nevertheless, even those possessing scientific knowledge must not be totally equated with the bourgeoisie. To seize more surplus value the bourgeoisie cannot but permit the working people to acquire a certain amount of scientific knowledge. Can we say that the ordinary engineering and technical personnel and workers with a certain amount of scientific and technical knowledge who are exploited by the capitalists and who participate in creating surplus value all belong to the bourgeoisie? Furthermore, in our socialist society today the workers who are masters in politics must also be masters in culture and science. This is inevitable in the development of history. In a socialist society, as long as one loves the socialist fatherland and consciously and willingly serves socialism, then the greater one's knowledge of the natural sciences, the greater will be one's contributions to the four modernizations.

We want to be solid revolutionary workers, not political demagogues full of exaggerations. Lenin said: "We must utter less empty words, because empty words cannot satisfy the needs of the working people." Empty words

cannot create any wealth. One person with practical skills and able to perform concrete work is 100 times better than 1,000 or 10,000 windbags. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wanted to knock down this expert today and criticize that authority tomorrow. What they wanted were people who could not even read simple mathematical symbols but only bragged and played politics. Now that we are marching toward the four modernizations, is there anyone who is satisfied with talking politics, shouting political slogans and wearing the cap of a scientific ignoramus? We oppose empty political talk, but this does not mean that we should not be concerned about politics. On the contrary, everyone must be concerned about politics. The greatest politics today is to realize the four modernizations and build China into a socialist power. If one is truly concerned about politics, one must be concerned about the four modernizations and quietly learn more natural sciences useful to the four modernizations.

Science is solid knowledge. Without the spirit of learning more concretely and quietly, it is impossible to master science. It requires concentration, determination and diligence. Without arduous labor it will be impossible to master modern science and technology. The leading cadres, in order to take the lead in studying and serve as models while also performing their work successfully and creating the conditions for the broad masses to make scientific studies, must expend even more labor. To turn a little knowledge into more knowledge, to turn oneself gradually from a layman into an expert, one must exhaust all means to overcome the many difficulties in one's progress. What should one do when there is too much work and too little time? If one is too busy, one must squeeze the time out to study. As long as one plans carefully and makes suitable arrangements, one will be able to find the time to study. When Chairman Mao was already advanced in years and busy with affairs of state, he still squeezed time out to study nuclear physics, pedology and foreign languages. When we think of Chairman Mao's diligence in studying, what excuse do we have? Eliminating some of the empty and lengthy meetings and uttering fewer hollow words will produce much time for studying.

We must not only master modern science and technology but also develop them and make discoveries and inventions. Marx said: "There is no smooth highway in science. Only those who have no fear of exertion and climb the steep mountain paths can hope to reach the bright summit." The development of science naturally cannot be separated from the social productive practice of the tens of millions of working people, but neither can it be divorced from individual effort. Among foreign scientists such as Copernicus, who created the theory of the solar system, Newton, who discovered the three laws of mechanical motion, and Watt, who improved the steam engine, and Chinese scientists such as Zhang Heng [Chang Heng 1728 5899], who created the armillary sphere and the tellurian, Zhu Chongzhi [Tsu Chung-chih 4371 0394 0037], who fairly accurately computed pi, and Li Siguang [Li Ssu-kuang 2621 0934 1342], who created geodynamics, every one of them made his accomplishments only after absorbing the wisdom of his predecessors and the fruits of their

study and devoting himself to diligent study and arduous effort. Today, when our country needs large groups of scientific and technical personnel and scientists, collective research and individual effort in the interest of the people are extremely necessary. The young people constitute a shock brigade, courageous in thinking and doing and brave in climbing tall peaks. They must respectfully learn from the scientists of the older generation while making up their mind to excel their predecessors. Green comes from blue, but it excels blue--the pupil excels the teacher. To realize the four modernizations at an early date, our country banks not only on the scientists of the older generation but even more on the younger generation. We must establish our ambitions, study quietly, climb the tall peaks courageously, strive to become first-rate scientists, engineers, educators and experts in managing modern production and scientific research, and endeavor to turn into good workers, peasants and soldiers able to control modern technical equipment.

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HEKOU COMMUNE IN DAWU COUNTY, HUBEI PROVINCE, CONSCIENTIOUSLY STRAIGHTENS
OUT THE WORKING STYLE OF CADRES

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 89-94

[Text] Editor's note: The masses of Hekou [Hokou] Commune in Dawu [Ta-wu] County, Hubei [Hupeh] Province, were deeply inspired in the course of implementing the party Central Committee's important document on the question of the cadres' working style in Xunyi [Hsuni] County. They successively wrote letters to the party committees at various levels and to the editorial department of this journal to expose the serious problem of coercion and violation of law and discipline of a few cadres in their commune. The Hubei provincial party committee, the Xiaogan [Hsiaokan] prefectural party committee and the Dawu county party committee all attached great importance to this problem. This journal also sent members to accompany the investigation group of the provincial party committee to carry out investigations in Hekou Commune and found that the complaints were true. In its investigation and treatment the Hubei provincial party committee's investigation group wrote an investigation report, and the Dawu county party committee wrote a report on how it handled the situation. The Hubei provincial party committee and the Dawu county party committee felt conscientiously responsible for and handled without delay the letters and visits from the masses. This journal now excerpts the investigation report by the Hubei provincial party committee investigation group and the report by the Dawu county party committee on how it handled the situation.

Our cadres are only the servants of the people and are definitely not the lords of the people. The vast majority of our cadres are good or comparatively good. Only a few have a considerable number of problems of a serious nature. Toward the few cadres who had committed mistakes the Dawu county party committee practiced the policies of education and of

learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient, and it helped them to raise their understanding and correct their mistakes. As regards the few cadres who had committed serious mistakes, in addition to demanding that they sincerely examine themselves and conscientiously correct their mistakes, it also apologized to the cadres and masses and their families who had suffered and obtained the latter's understanding. Also, it conducted all-round, historical and concrete analyses, handled appropriately in accordance with the seriousness of each case, thus achieving the dual purpose of educating the person and appeasing the people's indignation. This was entirely necessary and correct. The mistakes committed by the few cadres of Hekou Commune in their working style were a profound lesson for all rural work cadres. The problem of the cadres' working style was not a small problem but a big problem concerning the relationship between our party and the masses and concerning the accurate implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. In our work we must abide by party discipline and state law, accurately position the cadres and the masses, be servants of the people, accept the masses' supervision, straighten out our working style, be able to correct mistakes, continuously raise our level of consciousness, maintain close ties with the masses and conscientiously serve the people wholeheartedly. These are the qualities that a cadre should embrace. In the historical period when the entire party's work has shifted its emphasis to socialist modernization, our cadres should all the more embrace these qualities.

I. The Investigation Report on the Working Style of Cadres of Hekou Commune, Dawu County

Since the latter half of 1977 many members of Hekou Commune in Dawu County had successively complained about the serious problems in the working style of a few cadres in Hekou Commune. They had voiced these complaints to the county, prefectural and provincial party committees, the Supreme People's Court and the journal RED FLAG and had aroused the attention of party committees at various levels. In September 1978 the provincial, prefectural and county party committees successively dispatched investigation groups to carry out conscientious investigations for over 70 days and proved that a great deal of what the masses of people had complained about was true and that some problems were even more serious than originally described. The following were the major ones:

1. Doing work in a simple and crude manner and issuing arbitrary orders in a big way. When cadres of this commune made plans for a task at the lower level, they often did not consult the masses, did not take the party's policies into consideration and disregarded the actual situation. They simply employed the method of imposing administrative decrees, "determined in 3 minutes whether something would work or not," "cut everything in the same way," "practiced indiscrimination" and fixed a deadline for the completion of a task. In the winter of 1977 the commune decided to harness the Sigu [Ssuku] River and needed to move 75 households.

Commune party committee secretary Zhang Kelu [Chang Ko-lu] onesidedly emphasized "harnessing the slopes first and taking care of shelters later." He did not make arrangements beforehand for the commune members but sent the militia to pull down the commune members' houses. The poor and lower-middle peasants criticized the commune cadres, saying: "You are very cruel. You care only about pulling down houses but not about building them. How can you comprehend our bitterness and sorrow!" In the winter of the same year, in order to engage in garden cultivation of fields, Jindun [Chintun] production brigade needed to evacuate people from the place called Mengjia [Mengchia] Bay. But the demand was made so hastily that the masses could not mentally cope with it. Party branch secretary Yang Shengbo [Yang Sheng-po] worked on this several times but ineffectively. Ding Yeliang [Ting Yeh-liang], head of the commune armed forces department, ordered the evacuation to be completed in 3 days. With Ding enforcing from above and the masses resisting from below, Comrade Yang Shengbo could find no way out and finally hanged himself.

2. Violating financial and economic discipline by building an administrative building. The houses of the commune members were pulled down and for a long time were not rebuilt, but the commune cadres ignored that altogether. They did not heed the Central Committee's repeated orders and instructions sternly prohibiting the building of administrative buildings. So in the winter of 1977 they launched a big engineering project to build an administrative building. They used over 107,000 yuan from state and collective funds and exacted 445,000 red bricks, 380,000 catties of sandstone and over 44,000 workers from the various production teams. The splendor of the building was unsurpassed in the entire county. The masses of commune members were very angry when they saw it, and they sent the commune cadres a doggerel: "It's all right if we don't see it, but seeing it makes us sad; we live in barns, while you live in a large building. Can this be revolution? If this goes on, we'll turn revisionist!"

3. Not taking policies into consideration and carrying out struggles and punishments haphazardly. The cadres of this commune frequently employed all kinds of methods to rectify the masses. The commune members were rectified, not because they committed any mistake, but because they violated the "will of the officials." If anyone did that, then no matter who he was, he was punished arbitrarily. In the entire commune, Yangjiao [Yangchiao] production brigade, where deputy commune party committee secretary Cao Xianmeng [Tsao Hsien-meng] was stationed, suffered most miserably. Cao Xianmeng's cant was this: "If we do not seize somebody and parade him through the village every 3 days, then the air will not smell of explosives; and if we do not criticize and struggle against a group of people every 10 days, then we will not be able to suppress the evil." Under Cao Xianmeng's direction, some people were punished and paraded through the village, some were criticized and struggled against haphazardly, some had workpoints deducted and fines imposed, and some were sent to labor study classes. Of those who were sent to the labor

study classes, slight offenders were sent to other production teams and serious offenders to other production brigades. They had to bring their own rations and did not receive any workpoints. Some would stay for 3 to 5 days, while others would go for 3 to 5 months. Some even had fines imposed on them. Once Cao Xianmeng heard that someone had stolen a tree which belonged to the collective. Without any investigation and study, he organized a militia subgroup to search household after household and indiscriminately confiscated all timber materials. Poor peasant and commune member Le Kedian [Lo Ko-tien] had accumulated some 50 pieces of timber to repair his house, and they were all confiscated. Le sought Cao for an explanation. Without giving an explanation, Cao immediately ordered the militia to take him to the water conservancy worksite and make him stay 20 days in the study class there, held three criticisms and struggles against him, and fined him 150 yuan. Young commune member Liu Zufa [Liu Tsu-fa] was charged with "illegal marriage" and fined 10 yuan because he did not follow the collective marriage schedule designated by the production brigade's unified regulation and got married 1 day ahead of schedule.

4. Using various measures to persecute the masses. Of the 17 members of this commune party committee, 10 personally or indirectly beat up the masses of commune members over the past 2 years. Incomplete statistics showed that, of the 71 secretaries and deputy secretaries of the production brigade party branches, 18 beat up the masses. Demobilized armyman and Communist Party member Chen Pangquan [Chen Pang-chuan] of the Sigu production brigade was pushed to such a state by the production brigade cadres that he wanted to commit suicide with his sword. Production brigade cadres lied to Zhang Kelu that "Chen wanted to kill people." Zhang Kelu immediately called the militia to take Chen to the Guangming [Kuangning] production brigade to be criticized and struggled against as a "contemporary counterrevolutionary." When Chen rightfully objected and demanded redress, Zhang Kelu instructed the militia to tie Chen up and beat him and then send him to a production brigade to do forced labor. Worse than the others, Cao Xianmeng would beat people up and rail against people wherever he went. The masses of commune members called him "vicious Cao." Because the commune's leading cadres had already set a bad example, the cadres of army units and production brigades and production teams also became unscrupulous in their beating and scolding of commune members. Between October 1977 and June 1978 the commune ran a "one criticism and two beatings" study class. Specifically in charge of the study class were Cao Xianmeng and Jiang Zujin [Chiang Tsu-chin], organizational member of the commune party committee. In the study class they had their own courtroom and in a big way extorted confessions by torture.

5. Trampling on democracy and retaliating. The base actions of a few cadres of Hekou Commune in violating laws and discipline and beating and scolding the masses had long aroused the strong dissatisfaction of the broad masses of commune members, who steadily sent in reports on the situation to the party committees at higher levels. The commune cadres,

however, regarded this as a "frameup against the commune party committee" and retaliated against commune members who raised their opinions and the masses who paid calls on the higher levels. Wang Wenhou [Wang Wen-hou], a salesman at a supply and marketing cooperative, could no longer suffer the rectification by the "one criticism and two beatings" study class. He ran away from the study class and made his appeal to the provincial and prefectural party committees. When he returned from the county to the commune, Jiang Zujin instructed the militia to arrest Wang Wenhou, labeled him and paraded him through the streets. The next day they called a meeting to criticize and struggle against him. Ding Yeliang heard that some people in Jindun production brigade had complained to the county about his act of coercion which led to Yang Shengbo's suicide. He cherished hatred in his heart and dealt merciless blows to the people who complained about what happened. He sent some to the labor study class and tied some up to be beaten. After being criticized at a meeting, Sun Hongcun [Sun Hung-tsun], teacher of a production brigade people-run school, was tied up, beaten with fists and kicked, and then dismissed from his teaching post.

What were the causes of such a serious problem in the working style of the cadres of Hekou Commune? The analysis of a large amount of facts from the investigation can be summed up in the following few points:

1. The pernicious influence of Lin Biao [Lin Piao] and the "gang of four" was the most important reason why a few cadres committed mistakes. In the Great Cultural Revolution, due to their criminal aim of usurping party and state power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vehemently pushed a pseudo-leftist and genuinely rightist counterrevolutionary revisionist line and passionately advocated such fallacies as "the philosophy of struggle," "struggle leads to progress and failure to do so leads to regression," "chopping off the tail of capitalism," "reform of small production," "all-round dictatorship" and so on and so forth. They used "class struggle" as the big club with which to hit people, undermined the socialist legal system, exploited all the democratic rights of the masses of people and carried out cruel persecution and attacks against the broad masses of cadres and people. The criminal acts of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" reversed the relationship between the enemy and ourselves, confused the two qualitatively different contradictions, confused the distinction between socialism and capitalism, upset the party's policies and confused theory and thinking. They caused a profound pernicious influence and were a great danger. Zhang Kelu, Cao Xianmeng and comrades like them were taken in precisely by these major errors. They forgot the party's mass line, failed to realize from whom they obtained their authority, looked upon themselves as "saviors," looked upon the masses as "slaves" to be ordered about, weakened their concept of the legal system and did everything according to their own will. In leading the movement to learn from Dazhai [Tachai] in agriculture, they attacked some backward thinking among the masses and some general shortcomings and mistakes among the people as though these were capitalist forces; and

they criticized diversified undertakings and proper household sideline occupations of commune members as capitalist stuff. The result of only "criticizing in a big way" and "struggling in a big way" seriously impaired the relationship between the cadres and the masses and dampened the socialist enthusiasm of the masses. After the "gang of four" were overthrown, they did not conscientiously link up with reality, restore what was correct and draw a clear line of demarcation between what was right and what was wrong, but persisted in the erroneous path. This lesson was a very profound one.

2. Another reason why some cadres of Hekou Commune committed mistakes in their working style was that they did not transform their world outlook but nurtured presumptuous self-conceit, arrogance and self-complacency. Hekou Commune is an old revolutionary base area. In the past few years the cadres and masses had made progress in the movement to learn from Dazhai in agriculture. Beginning in 1975 they not only ended the history of needing grain support every year but were able to provide over 3 million catties of marketable grain to the state for a period of 3 consecutive years. Furthermore, they provided the state with a lot of cotton, oil products, hogs and other agricultural and subsidiary products. The income of commune members increased year after year, and the life of the commune members improved correspondingly. They were appraised as an advanced commune in the entire county in learning from Dazhai. These results were originally obtained through the hard work of the broad masses of cadres and people. However, the commune cadres took all the credit. They considered themselves smart and fine, felt happy when they heard agreeable things and became angry when they heard the contrary. The county party committee had long detected their arbitrary orders and violation of law and discipline and had offered criticisms, which not only went unheeded but even caused resentment. The cadres adopted a pragmatic attitude toward instructions from the higher levels, implementing those which were agreeable to their taste and resisting those which were disagreeable. They completely ignored the criticisms from the masses. They even felt this way: We are engaged in socialism, so if you do not heed our opinions, then you are opposed to socialism; and we are the red banner, so if you criticize me, then you are "lopping off the red banner." They overwhelmed people with their power and authority, ignored party discipline and state law, ignored the democratic rights of the people, bullied and suppressed the masses, did what they wanted, undermined the party's fine tradition and working style, and caused serious losses to the party's cause.

3. The bureaucratism, commandism and metaphysics in the leadership style also comprised a reason why the cadres of Hekou Commune committed mistakes. When the leading comrades of the county party committee made arrangements for a task, they very often made too high and hasty demands which were divorced from the masses and from reality. They only assigned the task to the basic-level cadres and did not hand over the methods by which to accomplish this task. When problems came up in the work of the

basic-level cadres, they often did not penetrate them and carry out investigations and make corrections swiftly. Sometimes they even held that these were not big problems or tried in every way to absolve themselves from the problems. Toward the problem of Hekou Commune, although the county party committee did offer criticisms, it did not sufficiently comprehend the seriousness of the problem. As regards the cadres of Hekou Commune who had made mistakes, it simply stressed that "their general orientation is correct and their achievements are primary." Not until May 1978, in light of the complaints from the masses, did the investigation group of the county party committee go to Hekou Commune to carry out investigations. But it still held that "the Hekou commune party committee was bold in criticizing revisionism, bold in criticizing capitalism and bold in grasping class struggle." It did not analyze the problems as to who were criticized and struggled against, with what methods people were criticized and struggled against, and what consequences were incurred. So what it did became a "spiritual support" to those cadres who had made mistakes and prevented the latter from understanding their mistakes and correcting them.

In September this year, in accordance with the instruction of the provincial party committee, the Xiaogan prefectural party committee and the Dawu county party committee dispatched work teams to Hekou Commune to assist the commune party committee in implementing the two documents of the Central Committee by employing the spirit of the rectification of the working style and won initial success. In order to thoroughly solve the problem of Hekou Commune, we propose that:

1. The county party committee should send additional comrades who can maintain close ties with the masses and who have a better understanding of policies to consolidate the commune leading body, to continuously implement in depth the two documents of the Central Committee, to further boldly mobilize the masses to thoroughly investigate the problems and to assist the commune cadres in further eradicating the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," raising understanding, distinguishing between right and wrong, casting off their mental burdens and changing their style of work. On the basis of rectifying the commune leading body, a good job must be done in the rectification and building of the cadres rank in the production brigades and production teams. At the same time the county party committee should make full use of Hekou Commune as a model to organize the cadres and masses throughout the county to conduct conscientious discussions, so as to effect a big change in the style of work of the cadres throughout the county. The enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres and people should be fully mobilized, the emphasis of work should be placed on the path of the four modernizations, and all should strive for the realization of the general tasks of the new period.

2. In handling the cadres who have made mistakes it is necessary to persevere in the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future

ones and curing the sickness to save the patient"; be stern in ideological criticism and be lenient in organizational measures. Cadres who made mistakes must examine their mistakes before the masses, apologize to the latter, do a good job of returning stolen properties and obtain the understanding of the masses. Toward comrades such as Zhang Kelu, Cao Xianmeng, Ding Yeliang and Jiang Zujin whose mistakes were more serious, we must note carefully the extent of their understanding of their mistakes and their correction of them and carry out organizational measures in a down-to-earth manner. The purpose of organizational measures is to educate cadres still further, rescue them from bad influences and strengthen the unity between cadres and the masses.

3. The problem of returning stolen properties must be solved in a practical and thorough manner. Medical fees spent by the masses in obtaining treatment of their injuries as a result of being beaten should be shouldered by the cadres who were engaged directly in beating or who instructed others to do the beating. Cases of those who were driven to their deaths by the crude style of the cadres should be reinvestigated and correct conclusions drawn in doing a good job of compensating the family members. Cases of those who were sent to labor study classes and whose workpoints were thus deducted should be clarified and the workpoints remunerated. It is necessary to investigate and return stolen properties to those commune members whose properties were confiscated, who were fined and whose rations were deducted. A deadline should be fixed to build houses for those commune members whose houses were pulled down. The state and collective funds which the commune took to build the administrative building should be repaid in installments by the commune. Exactions of labor force and materials from the production teams should be fully returned by the commune during the yearend distribution. The county party committee will study and make decisions concerning the usage of the administrative building in the future.

By the investigation group of the Hubei Provincial CCP Committee

II. The Report on the Situation of Solving the Problem of the Working Style of the Cadres of Hekou Commune

Since September 1978, in accordance with the instruction of the provincial party committee and with the concrete assistance of the investigation groups of the provincial and prefectural party committees, we conducted a conscientious investigation of the problem of how a few cadres of Hekou Commune issued arbitrary orders and violated laws and discipline. At the same time, employing the spirit of rectification of the working style, we resolutely implemented the Central Committee's important instruction on correcting the erroneous working style of cadres and assisted the cadres of this commune in correcting their mistakes and changing their working style.

A great deal of facts prove that the problem of the working style of a few cadres that existed in Hekou Commune was indeed serious. These cadres were responsible for the mistakes they committed. But the root of their mistakes lay with Lin Biao and the "gang of four." At the same time, in the light of the work of our county party committee, we, too, are to a certain extent responsible. When cadres committed mistakes, the masses suffered and serious losses were incurred by the party's cause. Our hearts were indeed very heavy.

Now we are reporting on how we solved the problem of the working style of the cadres in Hekou Commune:

1. Taking the Central Committee's document as a weapon, we further boldly mobilized the masses to thoroughly expose the problem of the working style of a few cadres. In the past, as a result of the base style of work of a few cadres in Hekou Commune, the masses dared not speak up for fear of retaliation. In order to remove the worries of the masses, we organized the masses to repeatedly study the Central Committee's document, which made it clear that the masses of people are the masters of the state and that the cadres are the servants of the people; that the masses of people have the right to supervise and criticize the cadres; and that any acts violating the people's democratic rights will not be tolerated by party discipline and state law. The masses studied the document, grasped this ideological weapon and rid themselves of their worries. They said: "We have long believed that the party's fine style would return and that the party would educate those cadres in correcting their mistakes." At the two meetings convened in the commune for poor and lower-middle peasant representatives, the masses dared to say what they wanted to say and dared to voice their opinions. They fully exercised their rights as masters and created favorable conditions for solving the problem of the working style of a few cadres.

2. Toward cadres who had made mistakes we emphasized ideological education, inspired them to make revolution consciously, and enabled them to take the initiative in recognizing and examining their mistakes. From the large amount of facts exposed by the masses, the essence of the mistakes the few Hekou Commune cadres committed was that of a contradiction among the people. The basic reason why they committed mistakes was that, suffering from the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they confused the two qualitatively different contradictions, confused the distinction between socialism and capitalism, regarded the contradiction among the people as a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves, and therefore committed acts that pained the kinsmen and delighted the enemies. But these cadres who made mistakes did not know that they had been poisoned and victimized. They truly felt that they were really criticizing capitalism and carrying out socialism. To discover that they had made mistakes caused them to feel "disconcerted, dejected and mistreated." We held that this thinking was obviously incorrect. At the same time we also held that, toward cadres who made

mistakes, with the exception of some bad people, we must persevere in the viewpoint of "one divides into two" and must correct their mistakes and at the same time protect their socialist enthusiasm. Thus, in treating cadres who made mistakes we must always persevere in taking ideological education as the key and organize them to conscientiously study the document concerned of the party Central Committee, to compare themselves with the situation in Xunyi County, to integrate their thinking with practice in work, to expose and criticize in depth the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in spreading the idealist historical viewpoint that "heroes make history" and in trampling upon the socialist legal system, to draw a clear line of demarcation between right and wrong, to properly place themselves in relation to the masses and to conscientiously sum up the experiences and lessons of their mistakes. At the two meetings convened in the commune for the poor and lower-middle peasant representatives, Comrade Zhang Kelu represented the commune party committee in profoundly examining his mistakes, and the party committee members sincerely listened to the criticisms and opinions of the masses. The masses of commune members said that the Central Committee's document was a document that manifested love for the people as well as a document that manifested love for the cadres. Cadres who made mistakes harmed other people, but they themselves suffered also. We must concentrate our hatred on Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We must assist the cadres in curing their illness and must not kill them. For the sake of the positive party regulations and laws and of educating the cadres in a better manner, we took into consideration the facts concerning the cadres' mistakes and the opinions of the masses, and we separately handled seriously those comrades who had made mistakes and truly achieved the purpose of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient."

3. We apologized to the masses of commune members who had been rectified, did a good job of returning stolen properties, did a good job of making compensations, and further improved the relationship between the cadres and the masses. After the cadres who had made mistakes raised their understanding, they not only conducted self-examinations and offered public apologies at meetings, but also went to the homes of the masses who had been rectified to offer their apologies, listen to criticisms and compensate economic losses. Seeing that the cadres were sincere in correcting their mistakes, the masses of commune members felt very pleased. They said: "Things such as this could be accomplished only by cadres under the leadership of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee." They also said: "What has been returned is not the small amount of money but the party's policy." At the same time, as regards those people who had died as a result of the crude style of work of the cadres, the commune party committee conducted reinvestigations one by one and conscientiously did a good job of compensating the families.

4. We conscientiously implemented the party's policies, correctly handled different cases, united with all forces that could be united with and

strove for the realization of the general tasks of the new period. Due to the adoption of extortion by a few cadres in the "one criticism and two beatings" study class held by the commune in 1978, the truth or falsity of many people's problems remained difficult to distinguish. The commune party committee and the county party committee work group organized a special body of 15 persons to reinvestigate each case at the study class, throw out all false materials, and handle each case properly and in a down-to-earth manner. Regarding those production brigade cadres whose cases had been handled previously, the commune party committee also organized a force to carry out reinvestigations and, in keeping with the party's cadre policy, arranged work for the 14 cadres whose cases had been handled incorrectly.

Furthermore, in order to build an administrative building the commune exacted a large amount of labor force and materials from production teams. Over 16,000 yuan has now been returned. The rest has been acknowledged, and a plan to repay by installments has been drawn up. Over a period of several years, 2,187 houses of the people were successively pulled down because the commune wanted to launch fertilizer-accumulation and garden-cultivation construction projects. Now, 2,052 houses have been rebuilt. In order to harness the Sigu River, the Sigu production brigade pulled down 75 houses of the people. Now they have all been rebuilt. The commune members have moved into the new houses. Everyone is happy and everyone appreciates the concern shown by the party Central Committee headed by Hua Guofeng.

Through the work in the previous phase the relationship between the cadres and the masses in Hekou Commune gradually changed from one of serious antagonism to one of harmony. Work became active instead of passive. The party's fine tradition and working style had been revived and given prominence. However, many problems still existed. Recently we investigated and consolidated the leading body of the commune party committee, summed up the work situation in the previous stage, studied the concrete measures for further changing the working style and implementing the policies, developed the excellent situation and thoroughly solved the problem of Hekou Commune.

In terms of the entire county, problems like that of Hekou Commune also existed in other communes, although to a different degree. In order to implement the spirit of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and to shift the emphasis of work to socialist modernization, we are determined to make full use of Hekou Commune as a model to effect a big change in the working style of the broad masses of cadres throughout the county, give full play to the enthusiasm and creativeness of the broad cadres and masses, and continuously push forward the party's cause.

By the CCP Dawu County Committee

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ROUNDUP OF LETTERS FROM READERS

Beijing [Peking] RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 79 pp 95-96

[Text] Last year, in the 10th issue of this journal, we published articles on the study of three of Chairman Mao's poems, and since then the editorial board has received many letters from our readers. There were varying reactions to the three articles; some expressed approval, some expressed different opinions and some comrades made pointed criticisms. Some readers' views were correct, others enlightening, while a number of views demonstrated a different level of understanding, which can be discussed in detail. In general, all are helpful in deepening our understanding of Chairman Mao's three poems, promoting free discussion and aiding us editors to improve our work. Therefore, we welcome these letters. Because of space limitations, we cannot print all the readers' letters for extended discussion. We can only categorize their opinions and present them in summary form for discussion here, so that our broad readership can exchange views, review different opinions, correct shortcomings and adopt the best opinion in order to arrive at a better understanding and bring the educational value of these three poems into full play.

Regarding the article "Huazhang Yiye Guan Gujin" ["Past and Present Linked in a Single Page"], a reader pointed out that Chairman Mao's poem "Du Shi" ["Reading History"], written to the tune "He Xin Lang," cannot be considered a "historical poem" because "historical poems have their own individual narrative character," while this poem of Chairman Mao's "emphasizes lyricism and description." Other readers also pointed out that the "Shi Ji" ["Historical Records"] and the "Zi Zhi Tong Jian" ["Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government"] do not identify the "Five Rulers and Three Emperors" as the pioneers of Chinese history, and that only the "Shi Ji" has a chapter entitled "Basic Annals of the Five Rulers," while the term "Three Emperors" was added by Sima Zhen of the Tang dynasty. "Zi Zhi Tong Jian" begins with the 23d year of King Lie of the Zhou dynasty (403 B.C.) and makes no mention of the "Five Rulers and Three Emperors." The "Supplements to the Zi Zhi Tong Jian," which starts with the Five Rulers, can in no way represent the original work of Sima Guang, author of "Zi Zhi Tong Jian."

Regarding the article "A Chicken Can Never Fly as High as an Eagle," a reader pointed out that the poem "Mourning Comrade Luo Ronghuan [Lo Jung-huan]," should not be referred to as a "lament for the deceased" because that reference is traditionally used only to lament a dead wife. For example, Pan Yue of the Western Jin dynasty and Shen Yue of the Liang dynasty wrote poems entitled "Lament for the Deceased," and Yuan Zhen of the Tang dynasty wrote the line "laments for the deceased are written on the door-screen." All of these bear the same meaning. We believe that this view is correct. As for the phrase "caoshang fei" [flying about; lit. 'flying over the grass'], a reader pointed out that Wang Mingqing of the Sung dynasty in his "Huizhu Houlu" ["Addendum to Waving the Yaktail Brush"] told a tale from Tao Gu's "Wudai Luan Ji" ["A Record of the Five Dynasties' Chaos"], saying, "The Huang Chao rebels retreated, shaved their heads and became Buddhists." A poem on this event says, "Thirty years ago they crossed the grassland as if flying; Then those in armor all changed to monk's robes; On the Tianjing Bridge no one questioned them; As they stood alone against the railing watching the setting sun." (ZHONGHUA SHUJU, "Huizhulu: Houlu," Vol 5, p 145) Another reader pointed out that a Yuan-Ming short story "Hsu Jingye" says, "Huang Chao was defeated in his rebellion, so he took refuge under Zhang Quanyi as a monk and went to Luoyang." On his self-portrait he inscribed a poem, "I still remember those years when I crossed the grassland as if flying; But now my armor is gone and I am in a monk's robe; On the Tienjing Bridge no one knows me; As I lean alone at the railing watching the setting sun." ("Jiu Xiaoshuo: Jin Yuan Ming," p 95, published by the Commercial Press) For this reason these two readers feel that in Comrade Mao Zedong's poem the line "I remember those years when we crossed the grassland as if flying" must be borrowed, as the similarity is too great for coincidence. As for the phrase "zhan jin," a number of comrades believe that it does not mean "the battle of Jinzhou," but rather "returning home wearing embroidered robes," which expresses the ideas of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The phrase "returning home in embroidered robes" comes from the "Shi Ji" and "Han Shu" ["History of the Han Dynasty"]. The "Han Shu: Xiang Ji Zhuan" ["Biography of Xiang Ji"] contains the line, "Becoming wealthy and powerful and not returning to one's native place is like wearing embroidered robes in darkness." The phrase "returning home in embroidered robes" is from Li Bai's poem "On Visiting Historical Sites in Yue": "The King of Yue, Kou Jian, smashed Wu and returned home; The patriots with him were all in embroidered robes; They had beautiful women crowding the Spring Palace; But now only partridges are seen flying there." These lines describe the leadership's postvictory feelings of pride, self-satisfaction, and the desire for sensual pleasures. This understanding exactly describes the historical background in 1963 when Chairman Mao wrote this poem; internally and externally revisionism was growing at a dangerous pace, and we were working mightily to combat and prevent revisionism. It also accords with Comrade Mao Zedong's teachings, "To win nationwide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li.... The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution

will be longer, the work greater and more arduous." "With victory, certain moods may grow within the party--arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living." (Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China)

In addition, these allusions are much like those "scold the quail" and "great bird" found in the 1965 poem by Comrade Mao Zedong "Niaoer Da Wen" ["Birds Answer Questions"]. From this aspect we feel that to say that "zhan jin" (battle embroideries) refers to combating and preventing revisionism is not unreasonable. However, some other comrades feel that these two allusions have no reference beyond the words "zhan jin." The "Han Shu" says "return home wearing embroidered robes," and the poem "Visiting Historical Sites in Yue" says "the patriots return home all in embroidered robes." Nowhere is there any reference to a "warrior's embroidered robes." Thus, to generalize about "zhan jin" is an excess of imagination. The readers feel that a poem must identify itself with its theme and that all of Comrade Mao Zedong's poems stick close to the topic instead of making broad discussions. The theme of his poem "Mourning for Comrade Luo Ronghuan" ought to present recollections of Comrade Luo's more important achievements and of wartime friendship. This poem is an evaluation of Comrade Luo Ronghuan to be used as a model for other comrades rather than a general discussion of the 1963 political and ideological struggle. Some comrades also pointed out that if "zhan jin" is only a reference to combating and preventing revisionism, then the next verses dealing with quails and chickens would seem to be unrelated to Comrade Luo Ronghuan. For this reason they believe that "zhan jin" is better understood as a reference to the city of Jinzhou.

With regard to another two verses of the poem dealing with "hard time" and "big problem," they believe that there should be no mechanical comparison, because the poet is speaking in extreme terms. Some readers believe that the quails and chickens refer to Chiang Kai-shek and Khrushchev, because the former wanted to "recover the mainland" and the latter was insulting China. They could not refer to Lin Biao, because he was then minister of defense and Comrade Mao Zedong was then only in the process of coming to understand him. Nonetheless, some comrades do feel that the reference is to Lin Biao, though not necessarily to him alone. Comrade Mao Zedong underwent a process to find out Lin Biao's true colors. Nevertheless, facts about Lin Biao were available in the files, and Comrade Mao Zedong knew it very well. To explain poetry in this fashion according to established historical facts is all right.

In addition to this, some other comrades pointed out that according to ancient literature the "chickens" referred to in the poem were a kind of crane which flies very high, symbolizing the good guys, and the eagle in this poem is the bad guys. As for these two differing explanations, we believe that there is no need to press for agreement, but rather prefer to take the research a step further to find out the truth through repeated discussions and investigations.

In regard to the article "The Gifted Pen Portrays True Emotions; the Proud Poplar Will Be Immortal," some readers do not agree that "this poem...expresses Yang Kaohui's [2799 7030 1979] love for Chairman Mao" but rather "expresses Chairman Mao's admirable spirit of loyal love." Some readers do not agree that in the line, "the eyes and brows are full of hate," the hate is "not because of anger but rather is because of sorrowful feelings of separation." They believe that it is a sad feeling of Comrade Yang Kaohui's based on the "misunderstanding" of Comrade Mao Zedong. A number of readers do not agree with the explanation of the verses "If man get sick, Will heaven know it?" and offered various differing explanations. A few readers did not agree with the explanation of "the frost is thick" as a "characteristic of late autumn," saying that "in the north there is frost in late autumn, but in the south only in winter is there any frost." Some readers disagree with the explanation of "fading moon" and "ban tian" [midday or mid-sky], saying that the "fading moon" is not the moon about to set, but rather the moon appearing in the eastern skies at dusk. They believe that "mid-sky" does not mean the moon is leaning westward at the crack of dawn, but rather that it means the moon at daybreak is high in the sky; "ban tian" then means "center of the sky." Still other readers believe that "ping" [0417] means sad and depressed. Yang Xiong (53 B.C.-A.D. 18) in his dialect dictionary "Fang Yan" defined it as "anger." Wang Yi (A.D. 89-158), in annotating the poem "Encountering Sorrow," said, "The Chu people use ping to mean full." In the poem this means that when a person overflows with righteous anger the word ping is used. The turning point of the whole poem is the line, "In anger cut the threads of sorrow and the strands of hate," and "cut" is the very crux of this turning point, while "anger" lends impetus to the line. To annotate "anger" as "to want" is unsuitable. We believe that these views can be presented for further study.

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