

## APPENDICES

# DOCUMENTS FROM THE RIGHT

### INTRODUCTION

The following appendices represent a line antagonistic to the line being promoted by Mao and spearheaded in this general period by the revolutionary Left. Through study and comparison, the reader will be able to see the stark contrast between these appendices and the texts printed earlier.

The most comprehensive concentration of this line is in the documents, "On the General Program of Work for the Whole Party and the Whole Nation," "Some Problems in Accelerating Industrial Development," and "On Some Problems in the Fields of Science and Technology." These documents (Appendices 1, 2 and 3), criticized in 1976 as the "Three Poisonous Weeds," were prepared in 1975 under the guidance of Teng Hsiao-ping, Hua Kuo-feng and others who are now the top Chinese Party and government leaders. They were a declaration of war on the revolutionary Left and their line. These documents concentrated the line Mao was criticizing in a sharp way in 1976 when he stressed, "class struggle is the key link," and when he launched the campaign to criticize Teng and the Right Deviationist Wind. This line—the line of the "General Program," etc.—is now the line in command in China. This is quite apparent both from an examination of the political line of articles subsequent to the coup (some of which are reproduced here) and from the fact that the current leaders claim credit for the basic content of these 1975 documents.

Also included, as Appendix 5, is part of an article written by a Soviet author and published in September 1976, whose similarity to the "General Program" in basic outlook and approach is both interesting and uncanny. In addition, Appendix 6 is Teng Hsiao-ping's speech given at the United Nations in 1974 which clearly represents his revisionist line of putting economics over politics and, as Mao put it, "making no distinction between Marxism and imperialism," extended into the realm of international politics.



## APPENDIX 1

# ON THE GENERAL PROGRAM OF WORK FOR THE WHOLE PARTY AND THE WHOLE NATION

In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, the Second Session of the Central Committee of the Tenth Party Congress and the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress put forward the glorious task of developing our country's national economy in the coming 25 years. The first stage is to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system before 1980. The second stage is to accomplish the thorough modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will advance to the front ranks of the world.

At the same time, Chairman Mao issued the directives to study the theory of the proletariat [sic], to promote stability and unity, and to build up the national economy. These three important directives are not only a general program for all fields of work for the whole Party, the whole army, and the whole country for the present, but also for the entire course of struggle in the next 25 years to attain our splendid goal. To implement these three important directives of Chairman Mao is to implement the Party's basic line, the Party's victorious line for unity, and the Party's general line in building socialism.

Internationally, the factors for both revolution and war are increasing. Either revolution will prevent war or war will give rise to revolution. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and people want revolution. This has already become an irresistible trend in history. The contention between the two superpowers will lead to an outbreak of world war someday. Although the strategic focus of the Soviet revisionists is in Europe, they eventually will want to attack us as well. We must heighten our vigilance, safeguard the motherland and, at all times, prepare to destroy the invading enemy. By carrying out Chair-

---

Translated in *The Case of the Gang of Four* (Cosmos Books, Hong Kong, 1977), by Chi Hsin (pen name of a Hong Kong writing group). This work, along with the two succeeding documents ("Some Problems in Accelerating Industrial Development" and "On Some Problems in the Fields of Science and Technology"), were a prime focus of the campaign to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the Right deviationist wind, during which they were known as the "three poisonous weeds." The translation here is of what was probably the initial version of the "General Program," drawn up in early October 1975. It has never been officially published, but all three documents were circulated within China during the summer of 1976, as part of the campaign cited above.

man Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, we have already won great victories and created favorable conditions for socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country. For many years, Chairman Mao has formulated for us a comprehensive line and a complete series of guidelines, policies, and methods. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it can be said with confidence that the broad number of cadres have already grasped Chairman Mao's line, principles, policies, and methods. The leadership of many industrial and mining enterprises and grassroots units is already in the control of Marxists and the masses of workers and peasants. The socialist consciousness of the masses is increasing day by day; enthusiasm for socialist construction is growing tremendously; and the socialist cause is developing at a lively pace. In short, the situation is excellent and is gathering momentum. We must resolutely and thoroughly carry out Chairman Mao's three important directives, speed up the pace of socialist construction, fulfill our great aims of the next 25 years, and strengthen the material basis of socialism.

## (I)

In his directive concerning the study of theory, Chairman Mao points out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to clarify this question. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation."

The study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thereby combatting and preventing revisionism, occupies the foremost position among the three important directives. Theory is the guide to action. In studying theory, one must first study conscientiously, read carefully the quotations and original works concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, master their essence, and use the stand, viewpoint and methods of Marxism to solve concrete problems of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must be able to master and apply Marxist theory. The whole purpose of mastering it is to apply it." The only criterion for judging whether the results of our study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat have been good or bad, great or small, is to see if we can apply this theory. In our application we must see whether we have implemented the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat down to the grassroots level, whether we have promoted stability and unity in the political situation, and whether we have promoted an even faster development of the national economy.

Based on the Marxist theory concerning the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat, and on summing up the historical experience of the international communist movement and our country's socialist revolution, Chairman Mao formulated our Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. In this directive concerning the question of theory, Chairman Mao further elucidated the theoretical foundation of this basic line.

In this movement to study theory, many comrades have integrated study with practice and their own personal experiences to understand further that the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, and between Marxism and revisionism are, in the final analysis, the main contradictions in this historical period of socialism. Only by closely grasping these main contradictions, persistently carrying out the struggles of the two classes, the two roads, and the two lines, correctly distinguishing and handling the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people, can the proletariat truly carry out an all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and prevent the restoration of capitalism. But in some places and units, quite a few comrades are still very often misled by some incorrect slogans, and forget the Party's basic line. This is due to insufficient understanding of the complex nature of class struggle in this historical period of socialism and the proletarian dictatorship.

The complex nature of class struggle under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship manifests itself mainly in the form of bourgeois agents within the party. Under the cloak of Marxism, they engage in conspiratorial activities to restore capitalism. As Lenin said: "The victory of Marxism in the realm of theory forces its enemy to pose as Marxist. This is historical dialectics."

After the basic completion of the three great socialist transformations in our country, Liu Shao-chi spread the theory of the dying out of class struggle. As a bourgeois agent within the Party, he posed as a Marxist and carried out class struggle against the proletariat. Under the guise of opposing Liu Shao-chi's theory of the dying out of class struggle, Lin Piao raised a hue and cried about "thoroughly improving the dictatorship of the proletariat." As an agent of the bourgeoisie within the Party carrying out class struggle against the proletariat, he also posed as a Marxist and was even more outstanding in his performance. To use his own words, "to rebel under the red flag is not so easily seen through by the people." The masses exposed him with this saying, "The Quotations never left his hand; 'long live' never left his lips. He says good things to your face, but schemes behind your back."

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao, exposed and smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and exposed their counter-

revolutionary double-dealing character. In this struggle, the revolutionary people and cadres strengthened their abilities to distinguish between real and sham Marxism and understood what a sham Marxist political swindler was. On the other hand, anti-Marxist class enemies also learned lessons from their defeat and tried to devise even more cunning ways to disguise themselves. "They are always working on tactics to oppose us, 'observing our directions' so as to achieve their goals."

These anti-Marxist class enemies, Lin Piao's successors, always take our revolutionary slogans, distort and pull them apart, and add their own materials. They do this to mix up black and white, turn truths upside down, cause ideological confusion among some of our comrades and masses, cause disorder in Party organizations in some places and units, and split the Party, the working class, and the ranks of the masses. They wave the banner of combatting revisionism to carry out revisionism, and wave the banner of opposing restoration (of capitalism) to carry out restoration. They topple good Party cadres and progressive model personalities, usurp leadership in some places and units, and exercise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie there. As to the class origins of these people, some were originally landlords, rich, reactionary, bad, and old bourgeois elements, while some are new bourgeois elements degenerated from the small producers, a section of workers, cadres, and Party members. They conspire at home and abroad, engage in corruption and speculation, defy the law, disturb the order, practice capitalism, and wantonly attack socialism. Their actions cause harm to socialist production and construction, and even change the nature of socialist ownership in some places and units. The contradiction between these anti-Marxist class enemies and the masses of the people is an antagonistic one. The struggle between them and the working class, poor and middle peasants, revolutionary cadres, and revolutionary intellectuals is a life-and-death struggle. This kind of struggle is a concentrated expression of the current struggle between the two classes, the two roads, and the two lines. If we don't defeat these class enemies and seize back the leadership which they have usurped, then the task of concretely exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat at every level cannot be completed. The proletariat exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is then nothing but an empty phrase.

It is worthy of our attention that in some places and units, the ring-leaders who stubbornly create bourgeois factionalism would cast aside the main contradiction—the life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. They have no hatred toward the class enemies who furiously attack socialism. They are not a bit sorry when socialist construction suffers losses and not a bit moved when the socialist system is undermined. They have a mania for "creating mountain strongholds"

and engaging in factional fights. They are permanently entangled in the struggle between this faction and that faction, between the so-called rebellious faction and conservative faction, between the so-called new and old cadres, and between the so-called "Confucian school" and "Legalist school." To achieve their extreme individualistic bourgeois aim, some even unscrupulously join in evil doing with those anti-Marxist class enemies. In their minds, there is no longer Marxism, Mao Tsetung Thought, the Communist Party, socialism, and not even patriotism. Now is the time we should shout loudly to those comrades (at the present we still call them comrades): Reform before it's too late, change your ways immediately! They should understand that there are before them only "two possible roads from which to choose: one is to correct their errors and become good party members; the other is to keep sinking down, even to the point of falling into the abyss of counter-revolution. The latter road definitely exists and counter-revolutionary elements are probably there waving at them."

Under the leadership of the province, city, region, and county authorities, and in accordance with the principles, policies, and directives of the Party's Central Committee, some of the above problems in certain places and units have already been solved and some are being solved. We should learn a profound lesson from this, that is, every social phenomenon in class society must go through the class analysis of Marxism. For example, with respect to "rebellion," we must examine which class one is rebelling against, which class one is representing in the rebellion. With respect to "going against the tide," we must examine the nature of the tide one is going against, whether it is a Marxist tide or a revisionist tide, and whether one is going against a correct tide or an incorrect tide. Take the example of "speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates, and writing big-character posters." These by themselves have no class nature. The proletariat can use these weapons to oppose the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie can use the same weapons to oppose the proletariat. In any event, as Chairman Mao teaches us, we must "smell with our nose and distinguish the good from the bad before we can decide whether something should be welcomed or resisted. A communist must question everything, must scrutinize it in his mind, and see if it is realistic and reliable. He should never follow blindly and should never advocate slavishness."

Our comrades should also have learned another profound lesson. To see through sham Marxist political swindlers, one must not look only at their declarations but should also look at their concrete actions. As Lenin said: "Judging a person is based not on what he said or how he saw himself, but on his deeds. Judging philosophers should be based not on the signboards they carry . . . , but on how they concretely solve

basic theoretical questions, whom they ally with, and what they use now and have used in the past to teach their students and followers.” Based on Lin Piao’s concrete actions, our great leader Chairman Mao saw through the extreme rightist nature of his anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary revisionism disguised under such ultra-leftist phrases as “hold high,” “summit,” “genius,” and “absolute authority.” In the criticize Lin Piao and rectification movement, and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, Chairman Mao publicized Lin Piao as a teacher by negative example and let the whole Party, the whole army, and the whole country carry out criticism. This permitted everyone to see clearly that Lin Piao went hand-in-glove with the old and new bourgeoisie, the landlords, the rich, the reactionary, and the bad elements at home, and with the imperialists, revisionists, and reactionaries abroad. They could also see that he used thoroughly reactionary materials such as the “571 Project Outline” to teach his diehards and sworn followers. The ugly face of this careerist, conspirator, renegade, and traitor was thus further exposed.

Lu Hsun once said, “The fighting has not ceased; the old method will continue to be used.” Lin Piao has fallen. Now in some places and units, sham Marxist political swindlers again sing Lin Piao’s old tune. But, as Chairman Mao pointed out a long time ago, “the disguised counter-revolutionary elements give people a fake image and hide their true nature. But because they want to oppose the revolution, it is not possible for them to completely conceal their true nature.” If only we keep in mind the experiences and lessons of the struggle with Lin Piao’s counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique, and remember Lenin and Chairman Mao’s teachings, then it is not difficult to see through the treachery of Lin Piao and his type. Their downfall, just like Lin Piao, is inevitable.

## (II)

Chairman Mao said, “It’s been eight years since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. At present it is best to have stability. The whole Party and the whole army should be united.” The purpose of our studying theory and grasping political line is to promote stability and unity. “Unite for the goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Concretely apply it in every factory, village, organ, and school.”

The first function of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to resolve the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy at home. This means to suppress the domestic reactionary classes, reactionaries and traitors, the anti-Party, anti-socialist new and old bourgeois elements, those who sabotage socialist construction, embezzlers, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, criminal gangs, and other scoundrels who serious-

ly disrupt public order. The second function is to resolve the external contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, which is to guard against subversive activities and possible attacks of foreign enemies. This dictatorship system, however, is not suitable for use amongst the people; the people cannot dictate to themselves and a section of the people should not be allowed to suppress another.

There are also different kinds of contradictions among the people. These contradictions are resolved only by using the formula of unity-criticism-unity put forward by Chairman Mao. From an initial desire to achieve unity, through criticism and struggle and distinguishing between right and wrong, a new unity can be achieved on a new basis. Chairman Mao said, "It is necessary to start out with a desire to achieve unity. If there is no subjective desire to achieve unity, then once struggle begins, things will be chaotic and there will be no end. Is this not 'ruthless struggle and merciless blows'? How then can there be any unity in the Party?"

The Party's basic line clearly stipulates that "we must correctly understand and handle the question of class contradiction and class struggle and correctly distinguish and handle contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people." We must act in accordance with this general policy set down by the Party's basic line and draw a demarcation line between ourselves and the enemy and between right and wrong. "We must be hard on the enemies, suppress them and eliminate them." "Toward our friends, the people, comrades, officials, and subordinates, we want harmony and unity." Only in this way can we unite all the forces that can be united, mobilize all positive factors, divide the enemy, and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

The most malicious tactic that sham Marxist political swindlers like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao used to sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat and oppose Mao Tsetung Thought was to jumble the two types of contradictions and confuse enemies with friends. In the "four clean up" movement, Liu Shao-chi distorted the Party's basic line. By saying that the main contradiction in the historical period of socialism was the "contradiction between the four cleans and the four unclean," and "the intersection of contradictions inside and outside the Party or the intersection of antagonistic contradictions and contradictions among the people," he covered up the main contradiction which was the one between socialism and capitalism. He pushed a revisionist line that was "left in form" but "right in essence." He attacked a large number of cadres but protected a small handful of capitalist-roaders in authority within the Party. Lin Piao, pushing the same revisionist line, was more cunning than Liu Shao-chi. He began by distorting the Party's basic

line and the main contradiction in the historical period of socialism. He babbled that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a "revolution against those who were once in the revolution," thus aiming the struggle at the broad revolutionary cadres and revolutionary masses. Taking advantage of the differences of views within the masses on some particular question at any one time, he instigated struggles among them. He supported and abetted armed struggle, turning many contradictions among the people into antagonistic ones. Employing methods of struggle used against the enemy, and those not even used against the enemy, he carried out "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" against comrades. He recruited renegades and traitors, formed factions to further selfish interests, and organized a counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique in a frantic attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

We must continue to repudiate the counter-revolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and thoroughly clean out their poison. In the places and units where leadership has been usurped by anti-Marxist class enemies, we should mobilize the masses even more broadly and actively to thoroughly expose the anti-Party, anti-socialist old and new bourgeois elements and bad elements of all descriptions. We must thoroughly expose their criminal activities which make use of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics to frantically attack socialism and to try to restore capitalism. Those unrepentant elements who still cling stubbornly to their reactionary stands even after being exposed, criticized, struggled against, and given education should be isolated, suppressed, and toppled. "We should only permit them to behave themselves, not allow them to speak or act in a unruly way." This is our policy in struggling against the enemy, and we must persist in carrying it out. Only in this way can a stable and unified political situation appear in these places and units.

We must love and care for the unity of the whole Party, the whole army, and the people of the entire country the same way we care for our own eyes. Chairman Mao said, "The unity of the country, the people, and the various nationalities is the basic guarantee for victory in our work."

Most important here is the strengthening of the unity of the Party. In the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao had said, "Only through the unity of the Communist Party can the unity of the entire class and all the nationalities be achieved; and only through the unity of the entire class and all the nationalities can the enemy be defeated and the task of the national and democratic revolution be completed." In 1954, after the nationwide victory of the New Democratic Revolution, Chairman Mao again stressed the strengthen-

ing of the unity of the Party, and reminded all comrades in the Party to be vigilant against the danger of the bourgeois agents creating splits within the Party. At the Ninth and Tenth Party Congresses, Chairman Mao repeatedly called on all comrades in the Party to “unite to win still greater victories.” All Party members and cadres—old and new—must obey Chairman Mao’s teachings, strengthen the Party spirit of the proletariat, and take unity as the life of the Party. Say and do things that will promote unity; and don’t say or do things that will harm unity. All the comrades who have committed bourgeois factional errors, whether slight or serious, must resolutely and seriously examine their mistakes and truly mend their ways. All Party members, especially Party cadres, must resolutely adhere to the basic principle put forth by Chairman Mao—“practice Marxism, not revisionism; unite, don’t split; be open and above board, don’t intrigue and conspire.” We must strengthen organizational and political discipline, follow the leadership of the Central Committee and the higher Party levels, and abide by the resolutions of Party organizations and the Party’s democratic centralism. No Party members or cadres are permitted to “build mountain strongholds,” engage in sectarianism, set up their own organizational system or political situation, or build their own independent kingdom in the areas and units they administer. All Party members, especially Party cadres must be open and above board, loyal and honest to the Party. They should not hide their views and should discuss differences openly. We oppose such double-dealing tactics as sham obedience, hypocrisy, and saying nice things in front of people but stabbing them behind their backs. All Party members should place emphasis on the overall situation. They should put the interest of the Party first, and their individual interests should be subordinate to those of the Party. They should loyally carry out the oath they made when they joined the Party: struggle for the communist cause through to the end, earnestly remould their bourgeois outlook, resist erosion by bourgeois ideology, and resolutely oppose bourgeois extreme individualism.

Chairman Mao taught us: “The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line determines everything. With the correct line, the Party will gain everything; even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers; if one has no guns, there will be guns; and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained. With an incorrect line, everything will be lost.” The program used by Lin Piao to carry out his counter-revolutionary coup d’etat was completely opposed to this Marxist program. It was based on the idea that with political power one has everything, but without political power one loses everything. The danger was that under the cloak of Marxism this bourgeois careerist and conspirator raised his reactionary program to

the level of theory. This provided ideological weapons to those followers who "pursue fame in the government and wealth in the market." At the same time, many of our good comrades were deceived and let down their vigilance against these despicable schemes to usurp Party and state power. We must deeply criticize, expose, and repudiate this reactionary program, and thoroughly wipe out its market.

The working class is the leading class in our country. All Party members and cadres must adhere to Chairman Mao's directive, "wholeheartedly rely on the working class," and strengthen the unity of the entire working class. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: "There is no conflict of fundamental interests within the working class. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no reason whatsoever for the working class to split into two big irreconcilable groupings." He also said, "The two groupings should talk less about each other's shortcomings and mistakes; let each talk about its own. They should do more self-criticism and seek common ground on major questions while reserving differences on minor ones. Only thus will it be beneficial to a great revolutionary alliance." Following these directives of Chairman Mao, the overwhelming majority of industrial and mining enterprises and operational units have long brought about a revolutionary alliance and the great unity of the working class. It is now nine years since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, yet in some places and units there are still people who try to split the working class and stir up bourgeois factionalism. They do not rely on the entire working class but rather on this or that "mountain stronghold" built up by them. Within the working class, they still engage in drawing "demarcation lines from one's own position," glorifying those who agree with them as "being in the right camp" and "revolutionary," while branding those who disagree with them as "being in the wrong camp" and "not revolutionary." They even label veteran workers and exemplary people as "conservatives" and "restoration forces." They openly oppose "each doing more self-criticism." They engage in metaphysics in a big way; affirm everything that they do without ever being self-critical, but negate everything other people do, and are always eager to suppress them. Those who do not agree with them are labelled "mediators" who practice "the Doctrine of the Mean." Their aim is to sabotage the unity of the working class, usurp power, and seek hegemony for their group. All of this is completely wrong.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Wherever there are masses, there will always be three groups of people—those who are comparatively active, the middle-of-the-roaders, and those who are relatively backward." A similar situation exists within the working class. In our work, we must

rely on the advanced elements as the backbone, bring forward the middle forces, help and educate the backward, unite with them, and march forward together. The differences among the three groups of people within the working class are not rigid and unchangeable. Under certain conditions, they may change. Among the active groups, some elements will fall behind and even be corrupted. We must "continuously strengthen the backbone by replacing them with new elements brought up through the struggle." The aim of doing things this way is to meet the needs of the revolutionary struggle and the struggle for production, and to continuously raise the level of consciousness and organizing abilities of the entire working class. This is diametrically opposed to the style of work of those anti-Marxist class enemies who sabotage the unity of the working class.

To bring about the unity of the Party, the working class, and the nationalities of the whole country, it is essential to further implement the Party's various policies, including the policies on cadres, intellectuals, scientific and technical personnel, nationalities, economics, and those concerning the resolving of contradictions within the working class. Only in this way can we promote stability and unity in the whole country and "create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, so as to aid socialist revolution and socialist construction."

### (III)

As Chairman Mao pointed out, the goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to "safeguard everybody so that they can work in peace, so that our country can be built into a socialist country with modern industry, agriculture, science, and culture." Studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and concretely implementing its tasks at the grassroots level; correctly distinguishing and handling the two different types of contradictions; and promoting unity and stability in the whole country belong to the tasks of adjusting the socialist superstructure. Developing the national economy belongs to the tasks of strengthening the socialist economic base. The relationship between these tasks is the relationship between revolution and production, between politics and economics, and between the superstructure and the economic base.

Marxism holds that, within the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production, between practice and theory, and between the economic base and the superstructure, the productive forces, practice, and the economic base generally play the prin-

cipal and decisive role. Whoever denies this is not a materialist. But under certain conditions, such aspects as the relations of production, theory, and the superstructure in turn manifest themselves in the principal and decisive role. This does not go against materialism. On the contrary, it avoids mechanical materialism and firmly upholds dialectical materialism.

Our country at present is still a developing socialist country. It is still at the historical stage where classes, class contradictions, and class struggle still exist. Under these conditions, Chairman Mao taught us to place prime importance on the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to combat and prevent revisionism. He repeatedly reminded the whole Party that politics is the commander and soul. "Political work is the life line of all economic work. It is especially so in the period when the economic system in society is undergoing fundamental changes." If we neglect the study of theory and the leadership role played by politics, then all our work will definitely go astray. As Lenin said, "politics, when compared to economics, cannot but occupy the leading role. Denying this means forgetting the very essential knowledge of Marxism." He also said, "The whole question rests on the following (and only on the following from a Marxist viewpoint): a class cannot maintain its rule and hence solve its production tasks if it does not handle questions correctly from a political standpoint."

Adhering to Marxist theory, we criticize the theory of the productive forces peddled by political swindlers such as Liu Shao-chi. The core of their fallacy lies in their saying that after the completion of the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production, the principal contradiction in the country is no longer that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, or between socialism and capitalism, but that between the progressive relations of production and the backward social productive forces. From this, they draw the conclusion that developing social productive forces has replaced carrying out the revolution as the main task. Their vicious motive is to use the theory of dying-out of class struggle to blindfold everyone so that they can restore capitalism. Criticizing this theory of productive forces is completely correct and imperative. We have to criticize it today, and continue to do so in the future.

On the surface, political swindlers like Lin Piao appear to be the opposite of Liu Shao-chi and at the other extreme. But in reality they only follow different paths to achieve the same goal. Lin Piao completely dichotomized politics and economics and distorted the leadership role of politics to mean politics can combat everything. Under the cover of phrases like "never forget class struggle; never forget proletarian dictatorship; never forget putting politics in a prominent position," Lin Piao used bourgeois politics to combat proletarian politics, proletarian

dictatorship, socialist economy, national plans, enterprise management, and discipline in production. This caused serious losses in socialist production and construction in several places and units. While we are criticizing Liu Shao-chi's theory of productive forces, we should also sharply criticize Lin Piao's theory of politics being able to combat everything. We should thoroughly clean out the poison in this type of reactionary fallacies.

We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and understand dialectically the unity-of-opposites between politics and economics. While we must recognize the leading role of politics, we must also recognize that political work is the guarantee for accomplishing economic work and serves the economic base. But some of our comrades are still using metaphysics in dealing with the relationship between politics and economics and between revolution and production. They always separate politics from economics and revolution from production. They talk only about politics and revolution but not about economics and production. As soon as they hear someone talking about properly grasping production and developing economic construction, they put a "theory of productive forces" hat on him and say that he is practising revisionism. This point of view can never stand on its feet.

This point of view is, in fact, nothing new. It was flaunted during that period in the Second Revolutionary Civil War when Wang Ming's "left" opportunism was a dominant political line. Chairman Mao, in his article "Pay Attention to Economic Work," sternly criticized this incorrect point of view. "Some comrades have thought it impossible to spare time for economic construction because the revolutionary war keeps people busy enough, and they have condemned anyone arguing for it as a 'Right deviationist.' " "Therefore it is completely wrong to think that no economic construction should be undertaken in the midst of the revolutionary war. Those who think this often say that everything should be subordinated to the war effort. They fail to understand that to dispense with economic construction would weaken the war effort. Only by extending the work on the economic front and building the economy of the Red areas can we provide an adequate material basis for the revolutionary war, proceed smoothly with our military offensives, and strike effective blows at the enemy's 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns." Even in the difficult years of the revolutionary war, Chairman Mao still placed importance on economic construction and on strengthening the material basis for the revolutionary war. Now that our country has become a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, conditions within the country permit us to carry out peaceful construction. We are, however, facing the threat of subversion and invasion by imperialism and social-

imperialism. Should we not seize the time, redouble our efforts, develop the national economy as quickly as possible, and strengthen the material basis for socialism?

At the end of the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao, in summarizing the experiences of the rectification campaign and the great production campaign, pointed out that these widespread campaigns, "begun in 1942 and 1943, have each played decisive roles in mental and physical lives. If we do not grasp these two links at the appropriate moment, we will not be able to grasp the whole chain of revolution and our struggle cannot continue to advance." While these campaigns were developing, Chairman Mao criticized the incorrect tendency of separating the two links—rectification and production—and ignoring production and economic work. In his report "Economic and Financial Problems," Chairman Mao accurately pointed out the ideological roots of this wrong tendency. He said, "Perhaps they are still not cleansed of the poison from the idealist, deceptive, and decadent words of Dong Zhong-shu such as 'conform to requirements and disregard benefits; brighten up the virtuous road and forget about one's merits.' Or perhaps they believe that politics, the work of the Party, and military affairs are the most important. Economic work, even though important, cannot be that important. They feel that they do not have to spend time worrying about it." He pointed out that in the two tasks of rectification and production, "education (or study) cannot be carried out in isolation. We are not living in a time of 'seeking pleasure out of studying.' We cannot go hungry while 'conforming to requirements and brightening up the virtuous road.' We must earn our meals. We have to pay attention to economic work. It is superfluous nonsense to talk about education or study detached from economic work. If we talk about 'revolution' while leaving out economic work, we are merely revolutionizing against the Ministry of Finances and ourselves. The enemy will not be harmed in the slightest way." How wonderful are these words of Chairman Mao! How accurate, vivid, and lively they are! Shouldn't our comrades who have been neglecting production follow Chairman Mao's directives and seriously examine their own words and actions? If they are still unmoved after hearing these words, doesn't it prove that they are poisoned by the "idealistic, deceptive, and decadent words" of Confucius and Mencius? Shouldn't we then thoroughly cleanse out this poison?

Revolution is liberating the productive forces. Revolution is promoting the development of productive forces. We Chinese Communists must be responsible for revolution as well as for production. We must clear from our heads such muddled concepts as "grasping revolution is good insurance, while grasping production is dangerous"; "revolution

is extremely important, but production is not"; "he who grasps revolution has it made, he who grasps production has had it." We must rely on the working class, the poor and lower middle peasants, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals, and other revolutionary elements; unite all the forces that can be united; resolutely carry out the policy of "grasping revolution, promoting production and other work, and promoting war preparations"; and really grasp revolution and production in our own areas and units. We must not be superstitious nor fearful, but must carry out our tasks boldly. The people in Taching put it rather well. They said, "Struggle with heaven, struggle with earth, struggle with class enemies, and struggle with incorrect ideas." The people in Tachai also made a good point saying, "We must not only talk a lot about revolution, but we must also make revolution in a big way. Only talking revolution is not really revolutionary. We must not only talk a lot about socialism, but we must also build socialism in a big way. All talk and no action is not really developing socialism. This is a truth we learned from twenty-odd years of struggle and practice." We must master the revolutionary thinking and fervor of Taching and Tachai in grasping revolution and promoting production. "We should maintain the strength, the revolutionary fervor and the daring spirit of the Revolutionary War Period and carry out revolutionary work through to the end." We must reach the point where we are doing well in both revolution and production, so that the revolutionary situation in our own areas and units becomes better and better, and production and construction flourish daily.

Lenin once said, "The results of political education can be measured only by the improvement of the economic situation." Chairman Mao also said, "The quality and magnitude of the effect of the policies and practice of all the political parties in China manifested among the Chinese people is determined, in the final analysis, by whether or not, and how much, they help the productive forces of the Chinese people, and by whether they tie up or liberate the productive forces." How does one distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism, between the correct and incorrect line, between making revolution and faking revolution, between making socialism and faking socialism, between good and bad, or big and small, results of our cadres' work? In the final analysis, one can only measure with that standard put forward by Lenin and Chairman Mao.

It is purely nonsense to say that a certain place or work unit is carrying out revolution very well when production is fouled up. The view that once revolution is grasped, production will increase naturally and without spending any effort is believed only by those who indulge in fairy tales.

Chairman Mao said, "Class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experimentation are the three great revolutionary movements in building a strong socialist country. They are the firm guarantee for communists to get rid of bureaucraticism, avoid revisionism and dogmatism, and to remain forever invincible. They are the reliable guarantee for the proletariat to unite with the broad masses of working people to exercise democratic dictatorship." These three revolutionary movements are linked together. We take class struggle as the key link in order to develop the struggle for production and scientific experimentation. However, these three major movements also have their own characteristics and laws governing them. They have their particular contradictions which we have to solve. Even though we have mastered the characteristics and laws of class struggle, and solved its particular contradictions, it still doesn't mean that we have mastered the characteristics and laws of the struggle for production and scientific experimentation. It doesn't mean that we have solved the particular contradictions in these two major revolutionary movements. We have to put in sustained effort and carry out a series of tasks in order to study and solve these contradictions.

Therefore, if we want to develop our national economy, our cadres must learn to carry out the struggle for production and scientific experimentation as well as class struggle. We must know our work as well as politics. Chairman Mao said, "In the relationship between politics and work, politics plays the main and prime role. We must oppose the tendency of neglecting politics. But it also doesn't work if we do not know any business or operational skills. Our comrades, whether they are in industry, agriculture, commerce or culture and education, should learn a bit of business and operational skills so that they familiarize themselves with the field and become both red and expert." All cadres should conscientiously carry out Chairman Mao's directive, set an example for others and lead the broad masses and scientific and technical personnel onto the road of being red and expert.

To develop our national economy, we must follow the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and study seriously the objective laws of our country's socialist construction and the respective order of agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry. We must place agriculture in the lead and properly manage the distribution and relations among the different economic departments. We must achieve an overall comprehensive balance, work out a unified national plan, and carry it out. In the process of implementing our national plan, new contradictions and imbalances will appear every month and every year. These require our continued analysis to resolve the new contradictions and achieve new balances. The continuous emergence and resolution of

contradictions is a dialectical law that must be followed in our economic work.

To develop the national economy, every enterprise, department and work unit must set up and strengthen a strict system of regulations. This system of regulations, so necessary in the struggle for production and scientific experimentation, is the crystallization of the many years of experiences of the working people and scientific and technical personnel, a lot of them are obtained with the price of blood. We certainly cannot regard such things as superfluous. Moreover we cannot condemn without any analysis all systems of regulations as instruments to "control, squeeze, and suppress" the workers. Only by following this system of regulations necessitated by the developing struggle for production can we obtain more freedom in this struggle. Going against this system of regulations will certainly bring disaster.

The designation of responsibilities is the nucleus of the system of regulations for enterprises. We must make the establishment of responsibilities an important link in the rectification of enterprise management. There must be someone responsible for every piece of work and every position. There must be clear responsibilities for every cadre, worker, and technician. We must strengthen political and ideological work. We must increase the sense of responsibility among the cadres and masses and make adherence to this system of regulations a conscious act of the masses.

In the article "On Authority," Engels pointed out: "If man, by dint of his knowledge and inventive genius, has subdued the forces of nature, the latter avenge themselves upon him by subjecting him, in so far as he employs them, to a veritable despotism independent of all social organization. Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel." What he meant is the following: As production, science, and technology become more developed, the required system of regulations which reflects such developments become more tightly knit. Also the demand to strictly follow this system of regulations become greater. Those regulations that do not meet the demands of such developments will have to be reformed in good time. Otherwise, they will hinder the development of production, science and technology. Not only is this so in capitalist society, it is also the same in socialist society and will be the same in the future communist society. Whether we are setting up a new regulations system, or reforming an old one, we have to rely on the masses, gather together collective opinions, and make a decision according to the objective laws of the development of the struggle for production. If we just go ahead following our subjective whims, we will create, in produc-

tion management, an anarchistic situation where no one is in charge and with no organization nor discipline. This will certainly be punished by objective laws. Just as Chairman Mao pointed out, "an anarchistic situation is not in the interests and wishes of the people."

To develop the national economy, the leadership of all levels has to simultaneously grasp production and people's livelihood. We have to pay attention to the political life of the masses as well as their material life, and gradually improve the livelihood of the masses on the basis of developing production. We have to give a place of importance on our agenda to the problems arising in the daily lives of the masses. Anything that can be solved should be done by mobilizing the masses and relying on our own efforts. Chairman Mao taught us a long time ago, "Do we want to win the support of the masses? Do we want them to devote their strength to the front? If so, we must be with them, arouse their enthusiasm and initiative, be concerned with their well-being, work earnestly and sincerely in their interests and solve all their problems of production and everyday life—the problem of salt, rice, housing, clothing, childbirth, etc. If we do so, the masses will surely support us and regard the revolution as their most glorious banner, as their very life." Chairman Mao has repeated many times that as industry prospers, the relative weight of industry in the whole economy will increase, and more attention will have to be paid to the development of agriculture. But even now a few cities and industrial and mining areas are still lacking in non-staple food supply. The leaders in these places do not learn from advanced units like Taching, nor do they work on their own, gather experience, mobilize the masses, and grasp agriculture well. They have consistently ignored and delayed the solution of these problems so important to the lives of the masses. What a difference this is from Chairman Mao's directives on "being concerned about the well-being of the masses" and "working earnestly and sincerely in the interest of the masses." We should all seriously think about this.

#### (IV)

Chairman Mao's three important directives are an interconnected and inseparable entity. Not one of them can be discarded nor should any one of them be grasped in isolation. We must take these three important directives as the key link, sum up the experiences gained since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, set up concrete policies in all fields of work, and use this general program and various policies to direct and rectify all areas of work. Industry, agriculture, communication and transportation, finance and trade, science and technology,

culture, education, health, literature and art, the army, and even the Party must all be rectified. The aim of this rectification is to consolidate and further the successes won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and to greet the Fifth Five Year Plan that will begin next year.

Chairman Mao said: "The core force leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party." In the rectification of the various areas, the rectification of the Party and its work is the most important. "Of the seven sectors—industry, agriculture, commerce, education and culture, the army, the government, and the Party—it is the Party that exercises overall leadership." Party committees in every place and unit must exercise unified leadership over all work and political movements in accordance with Chairman Mao's three important directives and his various concrete policies. The work of the revolutionary committees, unions, youth leagues, and militia must be carried out under the centralized leadership of the Party committees at the same level. No person or organization is allowed to stand above the Party. No Party member or cadre is permitted to violate the following organizational principles and discipline: "The individual is subordinate to the organization; the minority is subordinate to the majority; the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee."

The key to implementing Chairman Mao's three important directives and various concrete policies is the strengthening of the leadership bodies of the Party Committees at all levels. In accordance with Chairman Mao's five criteria concerning the training of revolutionary successors and the principle of integrating the old, middle-aged, and young, these leadership bodies should be composed of comrades who are able to persist in the Party's line, principles, and policies, have a strong Party spirit, good working style, and the ability to unite with people. These leadership bodies must dare to stand in the forefront, exercise leadership, and engage in struggle. They must dare to wage struggles against anti-Marxist class enemies and ringleaders who stubbornly engage in bourgeois factionalism. They must dare to go against all incorrect tendencies that violate the Party's line, principles, and policies. They must be able to distinguish between real and sham Marxism. They must persist in criticizing revisionism, capitalist tendencies, and bourgeois thinking. "A thoroughgoing materialist has nothing to fear." Our comrades who engage in struggles to carry out and safeguard Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for the truth and the interests of the people will definitely have the support of Chairman Mao, the Party's Central Committee, and the broad masses. They should not be afraid of being overthrown, nor can they be overthrown. We should have great confidence in this. The members of the grassroots Party

organizations, and the heads of Party sections within the industrial and mining enterprises and villages, should be the most politically advanced and the most active elements participating in manual labor. In leadership bodies which manifest various degrees of "softness, laziness, and lack of discipline," appropriate adjustments should be made under the leadership of the Party committee at a higher level. As for those who persist in engaging in bourgeois factionalism, refusing to reform after repeated education, we must be firm and transfer them elsewhere or even impose disciplinary measures. Individual bad elements who have sneaked into the Party must be resolutely cleaned out.

In order to implement Chairman Mao's three important directives and various policies, it is necessary to rectify the style of work within the entire Party.

We must criticize the idealist theory of apriorism and persist in the materialist theory of reflection. Party committees at all levels should often carry out investigations, understand situations, and make concrete analyses. We must seek truth from facts and stand against reporting the good but not the bad. We advocate telling the truth and not lies. We must gain some experience and go deeper in order to push forward the whole situation. This way we will truly have the overall situation in mind while keeping typical examples at our fingertips. We should know that there are no born geniuses in the world. Any leading cadre who is floating on the surface and divorced from practice cannot acquire the knowledge and ability to build socialism. Experience is essential for cadres and can only be accumulated after going through many years of practice. As long as one does not take one's partial experiences as the universal truth, and pays attention to summing up experiences and raising them to a higher level, then these kinds of experiences are very precious. We must remember well Chairman Mao's teaching: "The ideology, opinion, plans, and methods of any great person can only be a reflection of the objective world. His raw materials and semi-finished products can come only from the practice of the masses or his own scientific experimentation. His brain can only serve the function of a processing factory making the finished products. Otherwise it has no other usefulness. Whether or not these finished products made by a person's brain are useable or correct must still be tested by the people. If our comrades do not understand this point, then they will certainly run into problems everywhere."

We must criticize the bad style of work of being divorced from the masses and manual labor, becoming an overlord official, and making special exceptions for oneself. We must advocate plain living, hard struggle, and sharing joys and sorrows with the masses. We must persist in the system of cadres participating in collective productive labor.

Chairman Mao said: “The question of cadres participating in collective productive labor is a matter of fundamental importance in the socialist system. If cadres do not engage in collective productive labor, then they will be divorced from the broad laboring masses and revisionism will appear.” Our comrades should always be vigilant against this kind of danger and should, as stipulated by the Party and state, consciously participate in collective labor and maintain the broadest, closest, and most constant contact with the masses.

We should criticize the bad habits of being self-important, self-righteous, conceited, domineering, and hasty in reprimanding people. We should hold on to the fine style of work of being modest and prudent, and shun complacency and impetuosity. It is precious to understand oneself. We should be strict in analyzing ourselves and should always apply the principle of “one dividing into two” to our own work. We should dare to persist in the truth and be brave in correcting errors. We should avoid being fond of hearing only praises but not criticisms. We should not get angry at criticisms and, moreover, should not attack or seek vengeance on persons making criticisms. Our comrades should understand that errors cannot be avoided as long as we are doing work. It is not a bad thing to make a serious self-criticism and sincerely accept other people’s criticisms after making an error. This definitely will not harm, but can only strengthen the confidence comrades and people have in us. This is beneficial both to oneself and to the revolutionary cause. “Don’t be upset after making errors. Our Party allows one to make a self-examination and to correct the error.” All comrades with the Party spirit should handle matters according to this rule.

The Chinese Communist Party, armed with the theory and ideology of Marxism-Leninism, has developed through the Chinese people these fine styles of work: Integrating theory with practice, closely integrating with the masses, and making self-criticisms. Our Party has become a “spirited vanguard organization leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses to battle against class enemies” precisely because we practice these styles of work. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao at one time wantonly tried to sabotage our Party’s fine styles of work. Some of the comrades were certainly affected by this harmful influence. Our task is to clean up Lin Piao’s influence and continue to maintain and foster the Party’s three fine styles of work in accordance with Chairman Mao’s directives, especially the relevant ones made after the Cultural Revolution.

Our great socialist motherland has already gone through 26 glorious years of struggles with enemies at home and abroad. Although imperialism blockaded us for a long time, social-imperialism tried repeatedly to subvert us, and opportunist and revisionist lines in-

terfered and disrupted us several times, the entire people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by our great leader Chairman Mao, did not retreat but continued to advance along the proletarian revolutionary line. The socialist revolution and socialist construction won great victories after victories.

At present, our socialist motherland is at a very crucial period of historical development. If we take Chairman Mao's three important directives as the key link, carry out well the rectification work on all fronts, and continue to be independent and self-reliant, then we certainly can accomplish the lofty goal of building our country into a powerful socialist country, and certainly can liberate Taiwan and complete the great task of unifying the motherland.

Our cause is just. No enemy can subvert a just cause.

## **APPENDIX 2**

# **SOME PROBLEMS IN ACCELERATING INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT**

**(Working Draft—2nd September, 1975)**

### **Contents**

- 1. General Programme of Work**
- 2. Party Leadership**
- 3. Rely on the Working Class**
- 4. Rectify Enterprise Management**
- 5. Two Positive Factors**
- 6. Unified Planning**
- 7. Take Agriculture as the Base**
- 8. Wage a Major Campaign in Mining**
- 9. Develop Hidden Potentials, Make Improvements and Changes**
- 10. Carry Through Basic Construction**
- 11. Adopt Advanced Techniques**
- 12. Increase the Export of Industrial and Mining Products**
- 13. From Each According to His Means, to Each According to His Contribution**
- 14. Concern for the Livelihood of the Workers**
- 15. Both Red and Expert**
- 16. On Discipline**
- 17. On Work Method and Work Attitude**
- 18. On the Method of Thinking**

Following Chairman Mao's directives, the Second Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the CCP and the Fourth National People's Congress proposed the great task of developing our national economy in the next twenty-five years. The first step is to build an in-

---

Translated in *The Case of the Gang of Four* (Cosmos Books, Hong Kong, 1977), by Chi Hsin.

dependent and relatively complete industrial structure and national economic structure. This should be completed before 1980. The second step is to fully realize the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology within this century. This will push our national economy into the front ranks of the world. The coming ten years will be the critical period for realizing these two steps. We must be guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in carrying out this struggle, so that our national economy may make a new leap forward.

A socialist industry is the leading force of our national economy. It is only through accelerating industrial development that we can better support agriculture, stimulate the development of our national economy, strengthen our national defense to prepare against a war of aggression, further strengthen the material base of the dictatorship of the proletariat and support the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world. Currently on the international scene, the causes of revolution and war are both on the rise. A world war is bound to break out someday. Europe remains the strategic focus of Soviet revisionism, although the USSR would still like to move against us. We must spend whatever time we have in serious and concrete work. Accelerating industrial development is a major and sharp political question. The Party and State, while diligently developing agriculture, must at the same time strive to accelerate industrial development.

### **1. General Programme of Work**

Chairman Mao's directives concerning the study of theory to struggle and guard against revisionism, stability and unity, and raising the level of activity of our national economy, form the general programme of work for our Party, Army and Nation. To accelerate industrial development we must firmly grasp this general programme.

On the industrial front, the struggle between two classes, two roads, and two lines is very intense. The old and new bourgeoisie are madly attacking socialism by stealing, corrupting, speculating and conspiring both inside and outside the State. A small number of enterprises have serious capitalist tendencies. They are sabotaging the national plan and undertaking illegal free production and free exchange. Some Party members, cadres, and workers pursue bourgeois life styles. In some enterprises, the leadership is not in the hands of true Marxists or in the hands of the workers and masses.

Some comrades notice all these but simply ignore them. They only give lip-service to the Party's basic line. In reality, the struggle between

two classes and two roads has been pushed aside. Without grasping this principle contradiction, there can be no end to mutual attacks. A number of people are practising bourgeois factionalism, struggling for power and gain, establishing mountain tops, and creating splits. They have caused great confusion in the enterprises, local regions and in the Party. Class enemies have taken advantage of this confusion for private gain, some have even usurped leadership positions. They struggle for restoring the past under the banner of anti-tradition. They struggle for revisionism under the banner of anti-revisionism. They sabotage revolution and production, pull down good cadres, attack model workers and model collectives. Bad people are in power, while good people suffer. In these localities and enterprises, management is in chaos, production has suffered prolonged stagnation, some of the enterprises have actually changed in nature.

In all these localities, bureaus, and enterprises, Chairman Mao's three directives must be thoroughly and persistently implemented. We must organize the cadres and masses to study seriously and to relate to concrete practice, so as to clarify the question of how to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must use the Marxist position, viewpoint, and method to analyze the complicated situation of class struggle today. We must proceed from the outward phenomena to the substructure, and to expose it. We must stringently differentiate and properly handle the two different types of contradiction, pursue the Party's basic line in criticizing the revisionist line, capitalist tendencies and bourgeois factionalism. We must resolutely smash the sabotage activities of the class enemies, pay attention to rectifying our work in industry, adopt practical and effective measures, solve the problems of confusion and slackness in industrial and enterprise management, deepen the mass movement of learning from Taching and raise the level of production and construction.

## 2. Party Leadership

Whether Chairman Mao's three directives can be truly carried out depends a great deal upon the Party's leadership.

Currently, Party leadership of the enterprises falls into four categories:

1. There are those who loyally carry out the Party's line, direction and policy, who dare to lead and to accept responsibility, pursue unity, and perform a good job of grasping revolution and production.
2. Others whose leadership is characterised by varying degrees of "softness, looseness and slackness." These leadership units are frightened, they do not dare to stick to the principles. The good things

are not praised, the bad things are not criticised. Consequently, the Party organisation is weak and ineffective. Some of them are divided and practice bourgeois factionalism, each blowing its own horn and singing its own tune, so that a core group cannot be formed. Some of them show a softening of their revolutionary will, they let things pass, a little sickness is exaggerated. They moan when all is well and conservatively stick to old rules. Nothing is being accomplished.

3. Unreformed intellectuals and "bold elements" are in power. These people are politically ignorant and unexperienced in production. Yet, they make the most noise, pointing their fingers and calling the shots, accusing people and singing a high sounding tune, but never working out concrete problems. All the time they label people as "reviving tradition," "falling backward," "conservative forces," "pulling the cart without looking at the road" or "suppressing the revolutionary zeal of the cadres and the broad masses."

4. Bad people are in power. These elements steal and corrupt, speculate and cheat. Some of them are anti-Party and anti-socialist rightists. They use their positions of power to do bad things. On the one hand, they take in some people and corrupt them in order to develop their power base. On the other hand, they attack and accuse good revolutionary cadres and workers in order to realize the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, to revive tradition and to move backward.

The third and fourth types are only a handful, but they are very dangerous. The reason why there is a prolonged lack of change in the situation in these units is that there is somebody backing them up.

To rectify these enterprises, the Party leadership must first be rectified. The Party Committees of the ministries, provinces, cities and autonomous regions must analyse the individual situation in each of its subordinate units, separate out different situations, employing corrective measures in several stages, so that within one year the leadership of these enterprises, including those that are state-owned and collectively-owned may be rectified. Grasp first the key enterprises and then proceed to the general ones. Particularly, the first and second posts on the Party Committees of the enterprises must be filled by comrades who have a strong sense of Party discipline, good attitudes, and can unite people.

After rectification, the situation in those leadership bodies that are "soft, loose and slack" must be changed. Those leadership bodies that contain unreformed intellectuals and "bold elements" must be reshuffled. The power that has been usurped by bad elements must be restored to the control of true Marxists and the workers and masses.

All enterprises must implement thoroughly the principle of "the old-middle-aged-young three-in-one combinations," to build a leadership

that is trim and effective, not swollen and ineffective; strong and vigorous, not weak and loose; can stand a hard battle and will not crumble upon the first attack. Enterprises are the first line of the battle, all leadership cadres must direct the battle on the front line. Experienced cadres who are old and weak may remain in the enterprises and the industrial departments as consultants.

All work relating to the enterprises, all political movements must be placed under the central leadership of the Party Committees. Revolutionary Committees, workers' unions, and youth regiments must all work under the central guidance of the Party Committees, and no individual or organisation may stand above it. All tendencies that weaken the leading role of the Party must be fought against.

### 3. Relying on the Working Class

Who shall we rely on in the management of enterprises, is a question of class and line.

Chairman Mao has long pointed out: "We must rely completely and whole-heartedly on the working class." Today there are localities and units that are not following this policy. They do not rely on the working class, but rather on this or that backer. They do not undertake class analysis, but blindly follow the "rebel factions" and "go-against-the-tide elements." As a result, they split the working class and lose touch with the workers and broad masses.

It has been nine years since the Cultural Revolution. To continue categorizing the working class into conservatives and rebels is erroneous. The correct thing to do is to differentiate them into progressive, centre, and backward, according to their present concrete performance in socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction. By taking the progressive ones as the backbone, mobilizing the centre, helping and educating the backward, we can continually strengthen revolutionary unity of the entire working class.

As for rebelling and going against the tide, a concrete analysis must be made to see which class is rebelled against and what kind of tide is being fought against. The correct ones must be supported, the erroneous ones must be criticised. The reactionary ones must be firmly stemmed, investigated and then criticised. We must be particularly alert against a handful of bad people sabotaging the work under the banner of "rebellion" and "going against the tide." Leading cadres must uphold the principles at all times and not bend in the wind. They must not be seduced by beautiful phrases or frightened into submission by labels, and thereupon lay down the arms of revolutionary thought and even hand over the power to others.

In drawing the lines between the rebels, the going-against-the-tiders, and the progressive elements of the working class, the criterion must not be that anyone who had once participated in rebellion and going against the tide is a progressive element of the working class. All those who attempt to use "rebel" and "going against the tide" as assets to obtain favours from the Party, and want to become Party members and officials, must not be granted their requests. Not only shall their requests not be granted, they must be criticised too.

A persistent and sharp tit-for-tat struggle must be waged against bourgeois factionalism. To continue practicing bourgeois factionalism now is to practice revisionism and capitalism. Those who do not change after continual reeducation must be dealt with severely. Party members are not allowed to undertake factionalist activity. If they insist on doing so, they will be expelled from the Party.

Implement the Party's policy. Workers, technicians, and ordinary cadres who have been labelled as "conservatives" and "wrong sides," must be cleared. Relevant files must be returned to them personally or destroyed. We must unite over ninety-five per cent of the cadres and the masses, mobilize all positive factors, and develop fully the enthusiasm, intelligence and creativity of the workers and masses to improve the revolution and production in the enterprises.

#### **4. Rectify Enterprise Management**

Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, many enterprises have persisted in the line laid down by Anshan Steel Mill, they have freely mobilized the masses and improved enterprise management and all areas of work have developed well. But a substantial number of enterprises are weak in political and ideological work, management is in chaos, work productivity is low, product quality is poor, maintenance is expensive, costs are high and breakdowns are frequent, causing serious loss to the country and the people. These enterprises, while rectifying and strengthening the leadership, must simultaneously rectify enterprise management practice and lay down rules of operation.

We must continue to deepen the criticism of the revisionist line in enterprise management, we must not be slack in this. The purpose of this is to strengthen, not weaken, socialist enterprise management, production management and operation rules. This is required at all times for ten thousand years. The question is which line to take and whom to rely on to carry it out. Opposition to enterprise management and operation rules will inevitably lead to anarchy. "An anarchist situation is not in accordance with the interest and needs of the people."

All enterprises must stick to the principle of putting proletarian

politics in command, and place political and ideological work in the first priority. We must grasp well the building of the Party organisation and leadership at the grass-roots level, let the party branches play the role of bastions of battle and Party members vanguard models, organize well the theoretical studies of the workers, as well as education in class struggles, the overall political situation and revolutionary tradition. All this must be done in relation to practice. All political movements in the enterprises must be conducted while maintaining production. Abandoning production in order to make revolution must not be allowed.

All work in the enterprises must stick to the mass line. Start mass movements and take a free hand in mobilizing the masses to conduct them. Do not let a few people do it in isolation. We must start socialist labor competitions. Cadres of all levels in the enterprises must participate in the system of collective production work, frequently come together with the masses and discard special privileges. Workers must participate in enterprise management. Broadly implement the three-in-one combination of leading cadres, workers and technicians.

Under the central leadership of the Party Committee, all enterprises must include a strong and independent system of management and production control that will supervise daily production and handle problems arising from production, in order to guarantee the smooth functioning of production. The Party Committee need not handle all problems large and small, thus permitting the Party Committee to concentrate on grasping major issues. Trimmed down functional organs should be created on the basis of production requirements and simplified structures. These organs must face the masses, the grass-roots level, and the front line of production. They must unite closely with the masses, improve the management of planning, techniques, labour and financial accounting.

All enterprises must grasp the following major economic and technical targets: (1) production targets, (2) variety targets, (3) quality targets, (4) materials, fuels, and power consumption targets, (5) work productivity targets, (6) cost targets, (7) profit targets, (8) circulating capital share targets, etc. Units who do not fulfill these targets in quantity, quality and on schedule, cannot be considered as having fulfilled the national plan. Prolonged failure in fulfilling the national plan is the responsibility of the leadership. All enterprises should take pride in achieving large quantities, high quality, low cost, and more fund accumulation. All enterprises should be ashamed of getting small quantities, poor quality, large expenses, and losses (except losses permitted by policy). Those who have not yet reached prevailing standards, must try to reach them as soon as possible. Those who have reached such

standards must try to surpass the national and international standards.

Quality, variety, and requirements must be given first priority. Those products that do not meet the standard must not leave the factories. Departments are allowed to refuse products that cannot be used. Those that have left the factories should be guaranteed maintenance, compensation and replacements.

Production and cutting expenses must be equally emphasised. Try to reduce the consumption quotas on material, fuel, and power. Constant clearing of warehouses is necessary for maintenance purposes, reducing inventories, damages, and losses. Expenses not to be counted as costs should not be included in costs. Unauthorized assignment of tasks to enterprises, removing of products, capital, labour, plants, and materials must be resisted by the enterprises.

Production organization must be improved to assure proper work load and job category assignment. Reduce the number of non-production and off-production workers. Raise work time efficiency. Activities to be performed on overtime schedules must not be undertaken during worktime. Today many enterprises have established a substantial number of sports teams, literary propaganda teams, militia, writing committees, and many other types of similar groups, thus resulting in a substantial number of young workers going off production, especially in the front line. The size of nonproduction workers in enterprise has risen to thirty to forty per cent. All these off-production specialized teams must be discarded. All those who should not go off production must return to their work stations.

All enterprises must rely on the masses. Based on concrete practice, they must build and improve the following production management system: (1) system of responsible work stations; (2) system for evaluating performance; (3) technical operation procedures; (4) quality control; (5) facility management and maintenance; (6) production safety measures; (7) accounting system, etc. The specific content of these systems should vary according to changing objective conditions and should be gradually improved, but they must exist and must be strictly implemented. Abolishing or weakening these systems at will must not be allowed under any circumstances.

A system of responsibility is the core of the system of operational rules in an enterprise. Without a system of tight responsibility, production can only be a battle of chaos. Building a system of responsibility is a crucial aspect of rectifying enterprise management. Each job and each station must have a responsible person. Each cadre, worker, and technician must be assigned a specific job responsibility. Such a system must be well-coordinated with the mass movement. Strengthen political and ideological work so that observing operation procedures becomes a

conscious part of the masses.

### 5. Two Positive Factors

Since 1970, changes in the system of industrial management have resulted in local management of the vast majority of the enterprises. This has strengthened the centralized leadership of the local Party Committees in economic work, and has significantly increased industrial development and industrial aid to agriculture. The facts have clearly shown that "two positive factors are much better than one." We must maintain this type of management.

Decentralization of enterprise management must continue down to the localities. Railways, postal service, inland water transport, civil air transport, oil pipes, shipping lines that cut across provinces, and large oilfields, selected industries, special construction projects, and specialized work teams, shall remain under central management. Other enterprises which have not been decentralized or are temporarily under central management must be gradually decentralized as objective conditions allow, or they may be put under joint management by the central and local leadership, with the latter assuming the major role.

Local Party Committees must strengthen their leadership in industry. Decentralized enterprises and large and medium local enterprises are in principle under the direct supervision of provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional leadership. The major responsibility for management and leadership resides with the provincial and municipal levels. Further decentralization must not be allowed. Currently, many local enterprises do not possess a complete management organisation, staff members are insufficient, and they have difficulty in adjusting to decentralization. Many problems go unattended, and production is not well managed. This impedes the development of production. In these places, the rapid building up of a complete management organisation is required to firmly develop production.

The central and local leadership must make a joint effort to improve the management of and transition to decentralization. They must pay attention to this. Our present task is the building of a national industrial structure, and at the same time to gradually build up an industrial system of mutually supporting regions. It is not yet time to make each province or area an independent system in itself. Therefore, these enterprises that affect the overall national economy are placed under double leadership, and those large scale local enterprises are still placed under central supervision. This is not only with regard to direction, policy, and planning, but also product distribution and the supply of essential materials that cannot be solved by the locality. In these

enterprises, the local authorities must discuss with the central departments on matters of reassigning positions for important leading cadres. The local leadership must first guarantee the fulfillment of the enterprise plan.

Decentralization of enterprises must be accompanied by hierarchical management. Central control must not be weakened. What should be centralized must be centralized, and not divided. The following must be placed under central supervision, and no locality or ministry may do whatever they please: (1) the direction and policy of the national economy; (2) major production targets in industry and agriculture; (3) investment in basic construction and major projects; (4) allocation of essential materials; (5) purchasing and distribution of essential products; (6) national fiscal budget and the supply of money; (7) increases of staff and workers and wages; (8) pricing of essential industrial and agricultural products. Currently, some localities and units ignore the national interest and the plans laid down by the central leadership, changing established policy at will, breaking the national plan, reformulating the production directions of the decentralized enterprises, refusing to co-operate with other units, failing to fulfill product supply quotas, confusing basic construction and expansion, wasting materials and capital funds. They even increase staff, raise the wage bill and change the pricing of products at will. This is not to be allowed.

## **6. Unified Planning**

To guarantee the balanced and rapid growth of industry and the national economy and to realize the target for the coming ten years, it is necessary to strengthen the unified national plan. This must take place both at the central and local level, and in the nationally owned and collectively owned units. Production, construction, and all other major economic activities including work, wages, materials, and accounting, must be approved and balanced at each level, to be incorporated into the national plan, so that the whole nation will be like one chess board. The absence or the destruction of a unified plan will result in blind manoeuvring, thus creating conditions for the spread of capitalism. The end result will be the breakdown of socialism. As for collectively-owned enterprises, leadership must be strengthened to develop the positive factors and avoid unplanned work.

A balanced synthesis of the national plan must be arrived at on the basis of the Party's line, direction and policy, as well as the task and target of the national economic plan and the objective possibilities. Special emphasis must be placed on the balancing ratios of agriculture, light and heavy industries; raw materials industries and manufacturing

industries; accumulation and consumption; economic construction and national defense; production maintenance and the material and facility requirements of basic construction; "skeleton" and "meat," etc.

The formation of a plan must be based on a total mobilization of the masses and broad consultation with the units at the grass roots level. The method of "from low to high, unity of low and high, decentralization as the base, unity in centralization" must be adopted, with balancing on each level, to arrive at a unified national plan.

The formation of a plan must be based on objective evidence, so that it may be both positive and reliable, with sufficient leeway for adjustments.

The plan must be taken seriously. After the central has approved the plan, all ministries and localities must insist on fulfillment. Lack of concern for the overall situation, ignoring the national plan, and working according to private desires must be opposed. Modification of plan must be made through standard procedures, and subject to approval.

Strengthen the planning and accounting bureaus, so that such work will be improved. Statistics must reflect actual situations, all attempts at faking figures must be opposed.

## 7. Taking Agriculture as the Base

Agriculture is the base of the national economic plan. Without agricultural development there can be no industrial development. All industrial ministries must firmly establish the idea of taking agriculture as the base, so as to better serve agriculture, and strengthen the worker-peasant alliance.

The national economic plan, whether it be national or local, must stick to the agriculture—light industry—heavy industry ordering, with first priority given to agriculture. As industry develops, its share will grow, and the more crucial it will be to place special emphasis on agriculture. This major law of development has been borne out by both positive and negative experiences.

Each ministry must grasp the requirements of agriculture, and make the aiding of agricultural modernization their own major task. Every effort must be made to provide agriculture with machinery, chemical fertilizers, fuel, power, construction materials, transport facilities, etc., in order to further increase the contribution of agricultural production. At the same time, more positive efforts must be made to assist the supply of materials for rural light industries. This will increase exchange flows between the cities and the countryside.

The cities must mobilize the countryside. Each industrial city must act according to its means, mobilize one or more counties, and assist

them in developing agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, secondary industries, fisheries, and small scale industries. This will increase the income of the communes and the brigades, and improve the supplies to the cities. These matters must be included in the plans of the industrial cities, with special bureaus in charge. Mining enterprises like Taching with sufficient conditions must learn from Taching to implement the policy of the worker-peasant alliance, and to strengthen co-operation between the city and countryside. They should develop secondary agricultural production in order to raise the level of self-sufficiency in grain and secondary food products. Where there is no possibility of opening up new lands for cultivation, but with a village nearby, then under the unified leadership of the local Party Committee arrangements for bringing one or two communes into enterprise supervision could be made. This could help them develop secondary agricultural products, and become a base for providing mining and industrial enterprises with vegetables, meats, and other secondary food products.

Take initiative in educating the workers on worker-peasant alliance, so as to improve worker-peasant relations.

### **8. Wage a Major Campaign in Mining**

The most serious problem in industry now is that the raw materials, fuel, and power industries are lagging behind the manufacturing industries, particularly the steel industry. Within the steel industry and the entire materials industry, the weakest link is the mining industry. To speed up industrial development it is absolutely necessary to implement the directive of "taking steel as the key link." "Developing manufacturing industries without materials, is like cooking without rice."

Leadership on all levels must attach great importance to mining construction. They must assign competent cadres to supervise mining work, so that the best forces will be gathered to solve the problems of mining and steel production. Independent mining enterprises should be established at sites where there are rich deposits of iron ores.

Machinery production industries must vigorously develop large and advanced mining facilities, transport facilities, and other mining equipment. At the same time some crucial advanced mining technology should be imported.

To implement the coordinated development and utilization of mining resources, the practice of "one on one" must be opposed. Planning committees of each level must take up the task of supervision and management.

While mining development is underway, the problems of production

and manufacturing must be simultaneously solved, so that co-ordinated development of various industrial ministries can be arranged.

### **9. Develop Hidden Potentials, Make Improvements and Changes**

Our national industry has already developed a corresponding base, with well laid out planning... The present problem is to fully utilize this industrial base via improvements and changes in technology, reasonable organisation and the coordination of work efforts, so that it may continue to grow and develop. These methods are more advantageous terms of investment savings, quicker and greater results than in construction of new projects. Future industrial development must rely on developing the potentials of existing enterprises and not by developing new projects. This is an important direction that must be followed.

Each enterprise must take a free hand in mobilizing the masses, to wage a people's war in developing hidden potentials, improving and changing existing enterprises. The tendency to develop new projects all the time and to refuse to fully utilize the existing base and develop its hidden resources must be criticised.

The barriers between enterprises and between localities must be broken to improve socialist cooperation. Management bureaus of each level of industry must fully grasp this task.

The communist attitude must be exalted. The conveniences should be passed to others while the difficulties should be kept for oneself. The attitude of treating factors of production under state ownership as belonging to one's own ministry, locality, or enterprise must be opposed. Otherwise many facilities will become idle rather than participating in cooperative work. The erroneous attitude of starting everything anew by oneself, without relying on anybody else must be opposed.

Improvements, changes, and organisational cooperation must be placed under the supervision of a unified leadership with coordinated planning. Priority should be given to increasing raw materials, fuel, and short process products, as well as increasing the level of co-ordinated utilization and of systematic production. Those manufacturing enterprises with excess production capacity, should organize part of their facilities into producing short process products. Those that already have transformation and improvement capital should spend efforts in planning and spending. Special priority should be given to innovation and modification in industrial planning and allocation of materials, facilities, and capital funds.

## 10. Carry Through Basic Construction

Take decisive steps and employ a tight management scheme to solve these problems.

1. All ministries whether central or local, while arranging investments in basic construction and development of construction projects, must take as their target the basic economic goals of the coming five to ten years. Initiatives that depart from this basic goal must not be allowed. Development should be made according to the limits imposed by resources, finances, and manpower. These limits must not be surpassed. Due consideration must be given to priorities, to avoid undifferentiated development speeds in all areas. A balanced development of large, medium, and small must be concretely implemented, with balanced use of native and foreign skills. This basic direction must not be disregarded in favour of adopting only large, foreign, and complete technologies.

2. Beginning with 1976, the annual work on large and medium scale projects should be firmly placed under the supervision and management of . . . , the annual set up of new projects must guarantee the inclusion of . . . to . . . , to reduce the current building cycle of . . . years to . . . years. The new projects must be separately investigated and firm control must be exercised on those that are on-going, those that are not absolutely required or whose requirements cannot be met should be stopped or slowed down.

3. In all basic construction, including self-accumulated capital by ministries and localities, production must be brought into the national plan. Large and medium scale projects must be approved by the state, small-scale projects must be approved by the province, municipal city, or autonomous regions. No locality, ministry, or unit may initiate, expand, raise the targets of basic construction projects without approval. No person may change the speed of development or take the materials, facilities and capital funds belonging to the state to initiate new projects at will.

4. Rectify the flow of capital funds. Basic maintenance funds, circulating production capital, allowances on depreciation of basic enterprise facilities, state profits and taxes of enterprises and deposits in banks must not be taken away in order to start basic construction projects. Distributing funds to enterprises and communes for undertaking basic construction projects must not be allowed. Basic construction banks with the responsibility for unified management of funds for basic construction should be established to improve the work of supervision. All projects that are in variance with the national plan should not be funded.

5. All construction work must proceed along lines strictly in accordance with established procedures. Projects without prior planning and facility arrangements must not be incorporated into the annual plan and must not be undertaken. All large and medium scale projects must have prior arrangements, and should be adequately supplied as work progresses. These tasks should be the responsibility of special bureaus.

6. Rectify the management of basic construction. Beginning with on the site investigation, everything from design to actual work must be checked. A tight system of operation rules and job responsibility must be established. We must raise the productivity of construction teams, speed up construction, guarantee construction quality, lower construction expenses, raise investment effectiveness, and overcome serious wastage problems.

## **11. Adopt Advanced Techniques**

For an industrially backward country to catch up with an industrially advanced country, it must adopt advanced technology. We must do the same. Each ministry and enterprise must know the advanced standards of the world, and establish plans and procedures to catch up and surpass them.

A great effort must be made to mobilize the masses in improving technology and conducting scientific experiments. Respect the creativeness of the masses. Pay attention to summarizing, raising, and spreading the results of the improvements made by the masses. Develop the strategic positions of research institutions and research teams, so that they may be closely aligned with the masses in solving and developing major and crucial scientific and technological problems. The scientific research units of the Academy of Science and the various ministries that have responsibility at the state level, must implement the system of leadership by the Science Academy and the various ministries. Those that have been decentralized must be brought back. Scientific research and technical management in the mining enterprises must be strengthened. Large and medium scale enterprises must have their own research and experiment organisations. Some enterprises must even establish medium sized test laboratories and factories. Small scale enterprises must have laboratories for research and experiment, either within the limits of the city or in cooperation with other enterprises. Technical personnel within the enterprises must be part of the production staff, they must not go off production. Advanced institutes and universities must fully utilize their scientific research capabilities to implement the policy of "let a hundred flowers bloom and let a hundred schools contend," thus enriching our science and technology.

Persist along the direction of unity in learning and creation. It is necessary to learn humbly from foreign experience and to selectively import advanced technologies from abroad for our purposes. This will speed up the development of our national economy. We must stick to the principle of independence and self-reliance, and oppose the philosophy of slavishly learning from abroad and crawling slowly behind. But we must not be conceited and close our doors to everything and refuse to learn at all from abroad. All industrial ministries and science research units must firmly grasp the favourable opportunity that has been created by the success of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign policy line, and try to learn as fast as possible the new technologies which we need.

We must train a sufficient technical force to grasp quickly the foreign technologies which we have imported. The principle of "one use, two criticize, three change, four create" must be followed. Through utilization we shall become familiar with it and we can then change it and develop it. We must oppose the practice of copying everything, as well as the practice of changing and adjusting things before learning and mastering new techniques.

New technologies and new creations should be subjected to a system of security, to some extent. However, such information should not be withheld from other ministries and enterprises.

## **12. Increase the Export of Industrial and Mining Products**

To increase the importation of advanced foreign technologies, exports must be increased. Hence, the share of industrial and mining products in exports must be increased as soon as possible.

Each industrial ministry must study the demands on the international market, and actively seek to increase the production of products that can earn foreign exchange. Production must be rapidly increased, and so must exports. It is not sufficient to consider only the import side without giving due consideration to the export side. The domestic market is the basis of our country, the foreign market is only supplementary. But the foreign market is also important and should not be overlooked.

To speed up the development of coal and oil in our country, we may consider the adoption of certain practices in international transactions, like long-term credits and contracts, under conditions of equality and mutual benefit. In certain areas of production, we may import from foreign countries entire sets of modern facilities, to be paid back by our production of oil and coal.

### **13. From Each According to His Means, to Each According to His Contribution**

On the problem of wages, the long standing policy of our Party is to oppose great disparities in wages, as well as to oppose egalitarianism.

We must restrict bourgeois rights, oppose enlarging disparities and material incentives. If this is not done we will stimulate the growth of capitalism and endanger the dictatorship of the proletariat.

While restricting bourgeois rights, we must be mindful of the material and moral conditions that are presently in existence. We must not negate the principle of distribution according to contribution. We must not deny the necessity of the existence of disparities and pursue egalitarianism. Egalitarianism is not only impossible now, it is also impossible in the future.

From each according to his means, to each according to his contribution; those who do not work will have nothing to eat. These are the basic principles of socialism. At the present stage, this is in accordance with the requirements of the productive forces, and must be implemented. An egalitarian distribution that does not distinguish between differences in the intensities of work, standards of ability, and magnitude of contribution, is not conducive to the mobilization of the masses for building socialism.

The wages of low-wage workers must be raised, so as to gradually reduce the disparities in wages.

A regular system of promotion should be implemented, using as criteria the attitude towards work, technical and administrative skills, contribution in work and labour. All this must be implemented in accordance with the rules of the national plan, and must be discussed thoroughly among the masses and approved by the leadership. The wages of part of the workforce must be increased every one or two years.

Those with jobs in which work conditions are severe and intense, such as in high temperatures, underground, high above ground, in the wilderness, and in hazardous surroundings, should be further supplemented in wages.

On the basis of investigation and experience, the present wage system must be gradually improved.

All enterprises must insist on letting politics take command and educate the workers on the purposes of building a strong socialist country and supporting the world revolution, as well as the establishment of a communist work attitude, to properly handle the relationship between private and communal interest, short term and long term interest. The issue of each according to his means must not be disassociated from

that of each according to his contribution. We must explain to the masses that we are still a developing country, the standard of living can only be raised on the basis of developing production and increasing productivity, and as such we must continue the excellent tradition of hard work and severe struggle.

#### **14. Concern for the Livelihood of the Workers**

Leadership at all levels must be concerned with both the working conditions and living conditions of the workers. The problems in the livelihood of the masses must be brought onto the agenda and discussed. Problems that are solvable must be solved by mobilizing the masses, so that they may actively participate in resolving their own problems. Indifference to the problems of the livelihood of the masses is a totally erroneous attitude, and must not be adopted. The Party committee of each enterprise must include a comrade responsible for handling the problems of livelihood.

A planned increase of workers quarters and construction of public utilities in cities must be undertaken. Funds allocated by the state for such purposes should not be appropriated for other uses. Localities should allocate a greater share of their self-accumulated funds for this purpose.

Actively improve canteen facilities, day-care centres, health and medical clinics and similar collective social welfare projects. Improve the organisation of educational, cultural, and sports activities. Improve family planning.

Make an effort at improving the supply of secondary food products to cities and mining enterprises. Large and medium-sized cities must build their own bases of supply of secondary food products, and take steps towards establishing large scale pig and poultry farms.

Effective procedures must be taken to solve the problem of married couples being separated for long periods of time, resulting from differences in geographic job locations.

Qualified children may be allowed to continue the work of their parents who are either retired or deceased.

Work safety and protection must be improved, particularly for female workers.

Insist on terminating the “three pollutions—matter, gas, and water.” Protect the environment and the health conditions of the workers. New construction projects that have not solved the problems of the “three pollutions” must not be initiated. Old cities and existing enterprises must systematically solve the problems of pollution.

Pay attention to the issue of the combination of labour and leisure.

### 15. Both Red and Expert

For the great historic task of building our country into a strong modern socialist state, we must have great numbers of personnel with political consciousness, technical and administrative skill.

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: "In the relationship between politics and administrative work, politics takes precedence and is in the first position. The tendency to ignore politics must be opposed, but to be ignorant in technical and administrative matters must also be opposed. Our comrades, whether they be involved in industry, agriculture, commerce, cultural or educational work, must learn something about technical and administrative matters, so that they can become an insider and be both red and expert." All cadres must respond to Chairman Mao's words through concrete action in leading the workers, scientific and technical personnel, along the path to becoming both red and expert.

The workers must arm themselves with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought. They must learn and grasp the technical skills of production, so as to transform themselves into workers with acute class consciousness, strong organisational discipline, and well mastered techniques. As such they will become the main force in the three great revolutionary movements.

Scientific and technical personnel must persist in uniting with the workers and peasants. They must undertake to transform their world view, and dedicate themselves fully to serving the people. They must undertake research in science and technology and be well versed in technical matters. All those who truly wish to serve the cause of socialism must be trusted and must be given help in solving problems that have to be solved, so that they may concentrate on research matters and utilize their skills to make positive contributions. Their results and achievements should be acknowledged. As for their weaknesses, we must give them enthusiastic help. Scientific personnel that have been misallocated must be investigated. Some units do not pay enough attention to scientific and technical personnel, and to developing their potential. This is a wrong attitude.

Party committees of all levels must exalt those who are both red and expert, criticize and educate those who ignore politics, research in technical matters or administrative matters, so as to create an atmosphere of studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought together with research into technical and administrative matters. Particular attention must be paid to the unity of these two aspects so that they do not become opposed to one another. We must actively seek to create conditions so that the broad masses of workers may be both red

and expert.

### **16. On Discipline**

Discipline is the guarantee for the carrying out of the correct line. "Among the people there must be freedom, but unity of democracy and centralization, of freedom and discipline, just as we cannot do without centralization. The unity of democracy and centralization, of freedom and discipline, is our system of democratic centralism."

Currently, discipline is lax in many respects. The effects are bad and the damage is great. Discipline must be strengthened. A struggle must be waged against attempts to violate the policy, the system, unified planning, fiscal and economic discipline, and work discipline.

The broad masses of workers must consciously practice discipline.

Members of the Communist Party and the Youth League, and particularly leadership cadres of all levels must become models in observing discipline.

Support and exalt those comrades who seriously implement policy, enforce discipline and dare to uphold principles. Revenge must not be allowed to be taken against them.

Offenses against discipline must be seriously criticised and those who perform them must be educated. Serious offenses must be punished. Action must be taken against offenders according to Party regulations and State Law.

### **17. On Work Method and Work Attitude**

"Probe deeper, obtain experience, initiate full scale activity." This is our Party's long-tested Marxist-Leninist work method. If industry is to be improved we must adopt such a work method.

Each locality and department possess good models and experiences, they have a large number of socialist new things. Leadership at all levels must go deep among the masses to uncover advanced experiences of the masses. After analysis and synthesis they should spread them so as to encourage further advances by the masses, so that production can continually achieve higher standards. Many localities and departments have persisted in such work. Their performance is good and their work is full of life. But many units are not good at such work, having developed the habit of issuing orders from the office. They do not have the total picture within their grasp, nor do they have models on hand. These units must change their work method and attitude.

While we are grasping the advanced things, we must also pay attention to the transformation of work in the backward units.

We must follow Chairman Mao's directive: "Under the guidance of the general line, a system of concrete directions, policies, and methods must be developed." Through the method of "from the masses to the masses," we must establish a set of rules for managing industry and work rules for enterprise management.

Our work must be concrete and well-grounded, not based on empty speculation and discussion. Reduce the number of meetings, shorten meetings and speeches. We must not discuss and then not decide. We must not decide and then not execute. Our work must be penetrating, refined, and concrete. Oppose shallowness, roughness, and superficiality. We must exalt the Taching work attitude of "three honesty and four seriousness." (Be an honest person, speak honestly, work honestly; serious organisation, requirements, discipline, and attitude). We must dare to take responsibility and oppose mutual irresponsibility. We must emphasise efficiency and oppose laziness and sloppiness. We must be enthusiastic about our work but we must not say false things.

### **18. On the Method of Thinking**

We must encourage the use of dialectical materialism and oppose the use of metaphysics in our thinking. Make an effort at avoiding partiality and narrowness. A problem should be probed from all sides, and not only from one side. We must go beyond the phenomena to the essence. We must pay attention to one kind of tendency covering up another kind of tendency.

An analytical attitude must be taken with regard to all matters. Correct things must be preserved, incorrect things must be criticised. Undifferentiated assertions of the total correctness or incorrectness of all things must not be allowed.

We must state things as they are and strengthen research, so that our ideas correspond to reality. We must continually try to understand and grasp the objective laws of socialist construction.

We must give weight to both positive and negative experiences. By evaluating successes and failures, those with imperfect understanding can gradually achieve better understanding of their work.

## APPENDIX 3

### ON SOME PROBLEMS IN THE FIELDS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

We have been at the Academy of Science for nearly a month, about twenty actual working days. During this time we have reviewed some important historical documents, and have held discussions with a number of comrades, some of whom are from the Academy. Below are some preliminary views on these six questions:

- 1 . On fully recognizing the achievements on the science and technology front. (deleted)
- 2 . On organizational leadership in scientific and technological work. (deleted)
- 3 . On striving to understand the concrete line in scientific and technological work as proposed by Chairman Mao.

The Chairman has formulated our Party's basic line and the General Line in socialist construction for the entire transitional period of socialism. At the same time, he has also formulated the concrete policies for various fields. We have only touched on the policies to be followed in science and technology. Our understanding is only superficial and far from being complete. After preliminary study and investigation, we feel that at the present, there are a number of problems that require clarification.

The first one is the relationship between politics and vocation.

In scientific and technological work, politics must be put in command; we must grasp revolution and promote scientific research. "The line is the key link. Once the key link is grasped, everything becomes clear." If we forget the General Line of the Party, we shall lose our direction. Just to have the General Line is not enough. Under the guidance of the General Line, we must correctly implement the Party's line and its general and specific policies in the fields of science and technology. With an understanding of these policies, we can achieve unity of action.

Our task for the present period is to persist in carrying out the three directives of learning theory to combat and prevent revisionism, promoting unity and stability, and improving the national economy. These three directives must not be separated. If we do not fight and guard

---

Translated in *The Case of the Gang of Four* (Cosmos Books, Hong Kong, 1977), by Chi Hsin.

against revisionism, our concrete work will be led astray. Without unity and stability, production, science and technology will not proceed smoothly. If production, science and technology do not develop, then our material base will be shaky and it will be impossible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrades working in the areas of science and technology must be strong in political leadership as well as being capable at giving direction in matters of concrete work. For Party cadres to know a great deal about vocational and technical matters is difficult, but to be ignorant and unconcerned about them is also wrong. We should aim at being both red and expert.

The second problem is one of the relationship between production and scientific experimentation.

Science develops from production and in turn guides and stimulates production. How can we increase production in a faster, better and more economically way? The decisive factor is man. This calls for people with high political consciousness and revolutionary enthusiasm, and a mastery of advanced science and technology. Science and technology are also productive forces. Scientific research takes the lead in furthering production. The great advances in oil industry have proven this.

The Chairman and the Party Central have proposed the great goal of taking two steps in economic development. If we do not make great strides in science and technology, it cannot be achieved. Without modernization in science and technology, there can be no modernization in industry, agriculture or national defense.

Some comrades think that doing scientific research is like "distant water that cannot quench an imminent thirst." Actually, the very purpose of advancing scientific research is to avoid "digging wells only when one is thirsty." Some comrades are worried that advanced technology is still in its experimental stages—not a sure thing, and therefore may hold up production. In the past we did have such experience, however the lesson to be learnt from this is not to abandon scientific research, but to attach more importance to strengthening it. Maturity always grows out of immaturity, and completeness from incompleteness. To increase production, we must promote scientific experimentation and new technology. Not only must we fix quotas for production output, we must also fix technical and economic targets.

The third problem is one of the relationship between technicians and mass movements.

To develop science and technology, we must rely on two forces, one of technicians and one of the masses. In this way, we shall be walking on two legs and making use of two positive factors.

To concentrate only on training a body of technicians, discard the

masses, neglect the mass movement of scientific experimentation, cultivate intellectual aristocrats, disregard and even suppress the creativity of the masses are the capitalist and revisionist ways of doing things.

Without a body of technicians, it is difficult to sustain the mass movement. Hence, without technicians it will be impossible to raise the mass movement of scientific experimentation to a higher level.

The correct policy is to combine the two. The technicians must learn from the workers and peasants, and from the actual experience gained in production. Such integration will certainly not minimize the role of technicians, but rather will better expand their role as the backbone of the mass movement in scientific experimentation. We must popularize scientific knowledge and introduce research results to the masses. The experiences of the masses in production and experimentation should be raised to a theoretical level, so that science can be advanced and at the same time applied to production. The state also has many important problems in science and technology which will require the concentrated effort of a large body of technicians.

At present, both the rank of technicians and the mass movement need to be improved and expanded. A number of science and research bureaus have been closed down in various places. Many of the personnel have been sent down to work in the countryside for long periods of time, while others are substituting in on production. A large number of special bureaus have not been given new people for many years, the average age of personnel being almost forty. This situation must be remedied promptly. We urgently need to plan and absorb science and engineering university graduates who have been sent down to labour for a period of several years, as well as activists with a certain level of scientific knowledge so as to fill and reinforce the ranks of technicians. We must also gradually build up a series of specialized research centres.

Scientific experiment is also a form of social practice. It can't be substituted by production. A lot of research work calls for field experiments. However, be sure to combine outside experimental research with laboratory experimentation. Some research cannot be conducted outside and must be conducted in laboratories. We must not abolish this type of research. We must not demand that all research work "take the factory and the countryside as the base," and indiscriminately shout the slogan: "open the door to conduct scientific research."

Some research requires massive joint effort while other requires only a small group of people, still others demand individual study. To label the work which involves only one or a few people as "small-scale production" is incorrect, and doesn't help to mobilize the people's enthusiasm for socialism.

The fourth problem is the one of the relationship between self-

reliance and learning from abroad.

Experience shows that under the leadership of the Party, the Chinese people have firmly grasped their own destiny. They are fully capable of relying on their own efforts to develop industry, agriculture, technical innovation, scientific experimentation and so on. Our basic emphasis is on self-reliance.

To speak of self-reliance is not to reject all foreign things and isolate oneself behind closed doors.

Chairman Mao said, "We openly declare, we shall learn from abroad. We shall study all of their advanced and good things, and we shall forever continue to learn from them."

Lenin studied Marxism and led the October Revolution. Chairman Mao studied its universal experience and related it to the Chinese situation, thus leading the Chinese revolution to victory. We study in order to create. Only those who learn well can continue to improve and then surpass other. This is true in the social sciences as well as in the natural sciences.

Our science and technology falls considerably short of world standards. The idea that "everything foreign is good," is incorrect. However, not to introduce foreign achievements and to refuse to face up to the existing gap is also wrong. We admit there is a gap so that more effort will be expended in narrowing it.

In scientific research, we must pay close attention to the developing trends in science and technology all over the world. We must collect, study and analyse foreign materials and documents on this subject, and greatly increase our scientific investigative work. Only by doing this can we really know our position in relation to others. This will enable us to advance on the others' foundation, avoid their mistakes and catch up with them.

In order to gain time and speed, we must import some advanced technology and equipment. We import for the sake of reference, to stimulate our creativity and not to substitute it.

To improve and strengthen international ties in science and technology, we must organize exchanges with the international science community. We must use every opportunity to further our academic knowledge. We can reduce or eliminate general tours. We should learn from Mr. Lu Hsun's "borrowing" motto, borrow advanced foreign technology to serve our own purposes.

In order to learn better from the strong points of foreign countries and to swell the ranks of those engaged in foreign affairs work, we should encourage our young science and technical people to master one or two foreign languages.

The fifth problem is one of the relationship between theoretical and

applied research.

Our Party has always attached importance to theoretical research in natural science. The Chairman and the central leadership made many directives on this subject. We want neither empty theory nor unguided practice.

Many technical problems in production remain unsolved. This is mainly due to the lack of theoretical study and fundamental work.

The bulk of our work in science and technology is copied from abroad, only a small portion is of our own creation. To surpass world standards, to have what others do not, to develop our own innovations, calls for the strengthening of theoretical research.

We have acquired an abundance of practical knowledge from the mass and from experience in production. We also have a rich heritage of science which needs to be analysed and built on. We must recognize the general laws at work, bring our experience to a theoretical level and use this knowledge to direct our further practice.

Another category is theoretical research. Though its utilization is not immediately apparent, it is of great significance to the development of science and to our understanding of nature. Some of it may be crucial to the international political struggle and to the struggle between the two lines in philosophy. This too, must not be overlooked.

Therefore, while we improve our applied research work, we must also emphasize and strengthen our theoretical research. We must not equate theoretical research with "the three divorces"—divorced from production, divorced from politics, and divorced from the workers and peasants. We must not mistakenly believe that only applied research is useful to the state; theoretical research is also needed. Theoretical research often does not yield immediate results, it is therefore vulnerable to attack. Due to this, the support and concern of the leadership at all levels is required, and relevant and concrete arrangements should be made.

The situation varies from ministry to ministry, so we must use discretion. The ministries involved in production, while concentrating their efforts on solving technical problems that arise from production, should also give due attention to theoretical research. Research centres of the Academy of Science and some higher educational institutes with the proper facilities should also share the responsibility for more theoretical research. This should all come under an overall plan.

The sixth problem is one of implementing the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend.

In the fields of science and technology, we should now be aiming at a great increase in academic activities and launching into academic exchanges. We must encourage debate and discussion of different

scholastic viewpoints so as to bring about a change in the current situation of academic laxity and the settling of academic questions simply by administrative methods.

When faced with differences of opinion in scientific and technical work, we must clearly identify the nature of the problem. Some problems may be a matter of political line, others a matter of world outlook. In many cases, it is a matter of different intellectual viewpoints or method. We must see both the relationship between various questions as well as the major and minor factors involved in them. We must not confuse the nature of these problems.

Debates between different opinions in science and technology are a good thing, and not a bad thing. Right and wrong should be settled by academic discussion and scientific practice. We must not simply force conclusions by administrative order, by supporting one faction and suppressing another. We cannot, moreover, judge on the basis of a majority vote, age, or political performance. We cannot accuse all the academic viewpoints of the scientists in the capitalist and revisionist countries of being capitalist and revisionist, thereby negating everything at will.

We must encourage the study of the philosophical thinking of the Chairman, study natural dialectics, be accurate in our analysis and criticize any idealist or metaphysical trends in the natural sciences. We must establish our own school of thought under the guidance of dialectical materialism and support and encourage socialist new things in scientific research. We must make "Scientia Sinica" a scientific journal of research into natural science based on natural dialectics. The standard of all academic journals must also be raised, so that they may become the true ground for academic discussion and truly reflect our academic situation and standards.

- 4 . On our policy on intellectuals in the fields of science and technology. (deleted)**
- 5 . On a preliminary sketch of the ten-year plan for science and technology. (deleted)**
- 6 . On rectification in the departments of the Academy and its subsidiary units. (deleted)**

## APPENDIX 4

### TWO TALKS BY TENG HSIAO-PING

#### TALK GIVEN BY TENG HSIAO-PING ON INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The following is a general outline of a talk on the problems of industrial development given by Teng Hsiao-ping on August 18, 1975:

The enterprise should be rectified. There are quite a few problems to be tackled with. The equipment in our enterprises is generally poor, particularly in heavy industry; things may be slightly better in light industry and transport. Enterprise management definitely needs an overhaul. We should think about concentrating on bringing order to enterprise management and reinforcing equipment maintenance this November and December in preparation for next year. As for the equipment which has been neglected, it should be overhauled, even though production might be slightly affected. It is useless to be over hasty, the more one wants to speed ahead, the longer it'll take to achieve anything. Enterprise management is a matter of major importance which I will discuss below.

1. Stress should be laid on the concept of taking agriculture as the base. The main task of industry is to give impetus to the modernization of agriculture. The industrial cities and zones should promote the development of neighbouring villages, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and help develop small-scale industries as part of their overall plans. Modernization of agriculture is not just a question of mechanization, it also requires the development of science and technology. The peasants should set up some mechanized chicken farms which would bring in additional income and also keep the cities in supply. There are many inland factories dispersed in the rural areas which could help the neighbouring villages to improve production. Each large factory should aid the modernization of its surrounding area. I wrote to the comrades in Szechwan telling them that the more industry develops, the more important it is to give priority to agriculture. Without meat and vegetables how can the cities survive?

2. Use new technology. This involves export policies. We should export in exchange for the most advanced and modern foreign equipment. Dismantle any imported product and you'll find that many of its

---

Translated in *The Case of the Gang of Four* (Cosmos Books, Hong Kong, 1977), by Chi Hsin.

parts are from yet other countries. Raw materials which we lack for the time being should be imported, and more have to be imported. Take for example raw materials needed for the chemical industry, you can have a synthetic fibre plant but without caustic soda and dye you can't produce, so what then? First, we must fully develop the oil industry and export as much as possible, it is our most reliable export. Don't just stick to Japan, seek outlets in Western Europe. Sales to West Germany and France can bring in a variety of quality goods; West Germany has some fine technical equipment.

Petro-chemical products should be considered for export. Everything should be done to export arts and crafts, including traditional products. There's also coal, keep in mind the policy of ten million tons of coal being equal to five million tons of oil—a value of nearly one billion U.S. dollars. Consider bringing in foreign technology for coal-mining, in long-term contracts we can use coal as payment. This is not a case of having a foreign debt. This is an important policy decision that will have to be first approved by the Central Committee before being put into effect. Its merits are three-fold—facilitates export, spurs on coal-mining technology and absorbs labor. Productivity in coal-mining is too low (some say the daily output per person in 0.8 tons), we reached the ton mark before and even that was too low. Export in exchange for sophisticated goods in order to accelerate industrial technological improvement and increase labor productivity. I hear that our geological prospecting techniques can only locate the poorer mines, in other countries they use integrated technology to locate rich mines. Why can't we import some of this type of equipment?

3. Increase scientific research. The more industry develops the greater the number and proportion of personnel engaged in scientific research are required. Large factories should have their own research facilities. Small factories should come under the city's programmes or set up collective facilities themselves. There are some intellectuals who are not doing what they were trained to do. This problem should be resolved. This accords with the principle of more, faster, better and more economical socialist development. Scientific experimentation is one of the three great revolutions. Never mind anything else, packaging alone requires research. The logistics department of the General Command wanted to make lighter weight raincoats, but it couldn't do it alone even though it had its own research centre for army equipment. It was finally done through the combined efforts of several research centres.

4. "Quality first" is an important policy which includes variety, exact specifications and quality. The higher the quality of the product, the easier and more economical it is to find new export outlets.

5. The key to any system of rules and regulations is to have a system of personal responsibility. The problem we now face is one of lack of responsibility. This has to be singled out. The pendulum always swings from one extreme to another. Without swinging a little further to the other extreme the problem won't be resolved. We have to be firm in the beginning. Chairman Mao has always advocated the need for rules and regulations. In agriculture there are sixty points, in industry there are also regulations. Chairman Mao has always spoken of revising existing systems and regulations and not just the simple negation of everything. It is by having rules and regulations that we can give expression to the Party's guidelines, policies and methods. A veteran worker in the defence industry has spoken on the necessity of a strict system of rules and regulations. Material on this will be issued for your study.

## **COMMENTS BY TENG HSIAO-PING ON THE PRESENTATION OF HU YAO-BANG'S REPORT**

*Teng:* It's been a long time since we held a meeting of this nature. You can first give a summary and then explain the main points.

(Hu Yao-bang reported on the revision of the draft of the "Outline Report" and its component parts. The first part contains four basic points.) (When he spoke of great differences,)

*Teng:* Better be more modest on this point.

(Hu Yao-bang then reported on the arrangement of the three tasks, giving priority to production and putting the new fields in second place.) (When he mentioned that he knew very little about them,)

*Teng:* Ask for the help of some experts. I'm completely an outsider with those strange terms and new peculiar words.

(Hu reported that the third aspect was basic science.) (When asked what the three primary sciences were, someone answered that they were the study of elementary particles, the evolution of the universe and the genesis of life.)

*Teng:* I'd say archaeology. Any piece of stone you happen to pick up is archaic. All rocks date back to ancient times.

(Hu continued: the second part is on political line. When he got to the fifth question, which concerned being "red and expert," and did not dare mention "red

expertise”)

*Teng:* Actually it's the word “expertise” which is being suppressed. Please clarify.

(On the organization of dicussions according to the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend)

*Teng:* Mobilize their enthusiasm.

(Hu went on to the third part, the question of rectification. He mentioned that only four and a half days out of the week were spent on vocational work. Hu Chiao-mu added that people also saw films during working hours.)

*Teng:* Isn't that terrific! It's all part of culture and recreation.

(Hu: Everyone's dissatisfied.)

*Teng:* How could they be otherwise? The four half-days are properly spent, but the other eight half-days aren't, not doing any work or doing very little.

(When discussing the living conditions of the science and technology personnel)

*Teng:* This is not a minor matter. The houses of high level people have been taken over, we have to build them others.

(When discussing the implementation of policies)

*Teng:* If the leadership of the research institutes and offices isn't reshuffled, the implementation of policies will be in the hands of others. Who's going to implement policies if the leadership of a county or factory is in a mess? You can implement them but other people will undo all of your work. The crux of the matter is the problem of leadership.

(When Hu mentioned that there were many pigtails, i.e. politically vulnerable points)

*Teng:* That is true. There are some pigtails. I once said that I am like a Uighur girl with many pigtails. The way to tackle this is through mass campaigns and mass discussions. Those people are not afraid of the Chairman, or the Central Committee, let alone the State Council, you don't even count. They are afraid of the masses. The Chairman has always emphasized this fact.

(After Hu had finished his report, Li Chang reported on a few other matters: 1. A request for the Central Committee to reassign some cadres; 2. to consider the setting up of an institute of science and technology, and recruiting high school students on the basis of part-time work and part-time study so as to strengthen the study of basic natural sciences and foreign languages; 3. the setting up of advanced courses to further train those with outstanding ability in the various fields of research;

4. the publishing of a periodical for the propagation of dialectical materialism.)

*Teng:* Those who are not happy with you people are in the minority. You can be sure that 95% of the people want a change in the present state of affairs. In the end it'll be over 99% of the people.

(When Li Chang raised the question of an institute of science and technology,)

*Teng:* What kind of information can you hope to get if you don't know foreign languages? What can you do in the natural sciences if you are a high school or university graduate only in name but in fact have no knowledge of mathematics, physics or chemistry? This is a question directed at the Ministry of Education. Not only must one know foreign languages, but one must also have a basic knowledge of other things. Otherwise, we won't be able to translate foreign publications.

(Li Chang raised the question of putting out a periodical in dialectical materialism,)

*Teng:* Why just one? The Chairman has even commented on "Fossils." How many periodicals were there before, and now? Quantity is not the only thing though, we must print things of quality too.

(After Li Chang had finished,)

*Teng:* This is an important matter which should be thoroughly discussed. We have to put scientific research to the fore. At the Conference to Learn from Tachai in Agriculture we said that agriculture is holding back industry. Well, scientific research is holding everything back. You can give applied science the priority, but applied science in turn is based on theory.

Theoretical research has been weakened considerably, leaving a gap. We have to count on the old people, as well as young ones. The young people are flexible and have good memories. At twenty-five they graduated from university, now, ten years later, they are thirty-five. They're just at the age when they should really be able to achieve something. Lately, they've done next to nothing, except for going to the movies and engaging in factional fighting. There is a small number of people working secretly, as though it were a crime. xxx is one of these people. Some of them really do accomplish something. Are they to be regarded as red or white experts? If China had a thousand of them it would really be something. The one who has been commended by the Centre is a mathematician of international standard. Even if he is a bit of a white expert, so what? He should be encouraged and looked after even if he is a little white! Isn't he representative?

You have a veteran scientist by the name of xx, in the field of semiconductors. Peking University told him to change his field and teach something else, he couldn't. Chou Jung-hsin, you should look in-

to it. The paper he wrote for the Semiconductor Research Institute was very well received. He said that it was done in his spare time. There's a lot of these people around, not working in their own fields; they should be given a chance to do something with their knowledge. Otherwise, it'll be a great loss to the country. That such an eminent man should be in this situation! This man's a committee member of the Study Bureau and all members of the Study Bureau are reputable, so why not let him work in his own field? If Peking University can't use him, make him head of the Semiconductor Research Institute in the Academy of Science. Assign a Party secretary and other back-up personnel.

Veteran scientists are generally very knowledgeable. Take for example the news I heard three days ago. I've told comrade xx about it. That person was teaching some course but had to change his field.

*Teng:* Mao Tsetung thought is theory, Marxism-Leninism is theory, can the study of these be called "blowing the theory wind"? There's a need to make theory respectable again.

*Teng:* The number of scientists and technicians at the Anshan Steel Plant is proportionately less and not more.

*Teng:* Leadership is the crux of ideological rectification. The Chairman's line on scientific research should be genuinely implemented. The vast majority of science personnel are sincere about wanting to do research! Only a minority are engaged in factional fighting. These aren't the ones who will change over and do organizational and ideological rectification.

First, they are ignorant in their own field, second, they are not interested in their work, and third, they form factions. Why keep them on? Why can't the science workers who are up to standard be appointed as heads of research institutes? Those in their forties have over ten years of experience behind them; the bulk of the work depends on them now. The better ones can take care of Party and logistics work. Logistics is very important. It must create conditions for research. Material, data, instruments and machines have to be kept in good order. Only dedicated people can do this work well. This is also part of the political side of research work. Party, research and logistics are the three composite parts. Without logistics, research can't be carried out. You can't expect themselves to run the errands. Reorganization of the leadership should include these three types of people. They too should have scientific knowledge, without which they can't do their work well. Select those with good Party standing and good organizational ability to do logistics. Book-worms won't do. However, among researchers, book-worms are permitted.

The leadership should have three sets of persons. Be sure to select promising people to the leadership. Those engaged in logistics should

also take an interest in research and do their work with honesty and sincerity. I suggest that science and technology personnel should be kept on file, noting the better and promising people. If we have one thousand of them out of ten thousand, that'll be good. If among these there are a few scores who can accomplish something, that would be excellent. Help them create the conditions and improve the conditions for research.

Never mind seniority. When I was in the Soviet Union in 1957, Yugin said that their atomic-bomb was created by three unknown and unaccomplished scientists in their thirties and forties, not famous scientists at all. Don't we have such people? We must create conditions, look after them and show political concern for them; this includes those with queer temperaments and those who have many faults. As for the "white experts," as long as they work for the interest of the People's Republic of China, they are superior to those who just lie idle, cause factional fighting and hold up everything. The factories should also pay attention to bettering conditions. First, the problem of housing has to be solved. Promote them to positions of leadership. Those with family difficulties should be helped, such as those whose children can't get into nurseries or those married couples who are working in different cities.

We must have people to carry on scientific work in the future. The crux of the matter is education. What kind of role, after all, should the universities play? What kind of people should they produce? The Iron and Steel Institute has only the standard of a middle level technical school, why have universities? The Shanghai Machine Tool Plant has its own July 21 University. This is one form and it should be developed, but it can't replace other forms of university. The Science Committee of the Ministry of Defense should run science and technology institutes well. It should recruit students from among those high school graduates who are outstanding in physics and chemistry. Don't cater to the children of cadres. If this is wrong, I'll be the first to bear the responsibility.

What level can you achieve without any knowledge of foreign languages or mathematics, physics and chemistry? You can't even achieve mediocre results and even less than mediocre results might prove difficult. You are right in working on middle-level technology. The Ministry of Education should help, try it out! Mistakes can be corrected. We are on the brink of a crisis which might erupt in the Ministry of Education. It will hold down the level of modernization in general. This is not restoration of the old! The status of teachers is a problem. They're always being scolded, several million of them, how can you give scope to their enthusiasm? Didn't the Chairman say that negative factors should be turned into positive ones? Vacuum metallurgy was devised by seven people who had been undergoing labour reform in Chinchor, that was in the sixties. Just

imagine what could be done by those not in labour camps. Of the x millions, how many are in labour camps?

Positive factors should be put into play in education as well. If we are to raise the level of automation in our factories, we must have more scientists and technicians, better quality and quantity. Greater automation means less labor. Whatever the system, all advanced countries have developed in this way. Are these people working people? If they are productive forces, then they are labourers!

(When Chou Jung-hsin said that the Academy of Science had three branches and five factions and made a self-criticism,)

*Teng:* Give a separate explanation in accord with the spirit of the documents, starting from document number nine. State clearly the relation between philosophy and natural science.

Clarify on the different contingents. Besides the Academy, this should include the whole country as well as defense. As for national defense, make a revision and add some concrete facts. Send it to the Chairman first. Issue it to the Politburo. Ask for the Chairman's advice, he is very concerned about this matter. The Chairman has even concerned himself with "Fossils." That is all for today.

*Teng:* Let them deal with these problems first, we'll see about the next step later. Concentrate on rectification so that everybody can get to work.

## APPENDIX 5

### THE BITTER FRUIT OF MAOISM —“Cultural Revolution” and Peking’s Policy (Excerpts)

*Y. Semyonov*

#### The April Events at the Tien An Men Square

Judging by the fact that the Chinese mass media have stepped up their attacks on those whose views are not to the liking of the Maoists, dissatisfaction with Mao’s policies and the harsh regime in the country is mounting among various sections of the population. According to routine accepted by the Maoist propaganda, the manifestations of discontent are ascribed to a “handful of class enemies.” In fact, however, they mirror the mood of broad sections of the people.

Ever more Chinese working people and officials get convinced from their own experience that economic “leaps” and political campaigns of “purges” cannot bring solution to the task, put forward by the January (1975) Session of the National People’s Congress, of converting China into a “powerful modern socialist state” by the end of the 20th century. This is because Maoism and socialism are incompatible.

One question which constantly evokes sharp differences in the upper crust and among broad sections of the Chinese society is the attitude toward the “cultural revolution.” It is here, as the Maoists have to admit, that the “watershed between revolution and counter-revolution” runs. Peking’s official propaganda laments with irritation that “there still exist people who are hostile to the cultural revolution and who are trying in every way to deny its great results.”

A fresh exacerbation of the people’s discontent with many aspects of Maoist policy and the accompanying fight within the Chinese ruling clique began in the summer of 1975. According to the Chinese press, it was in July, August and September last year that the “Right-wing deviationist whirlwind of revising the correct conclusions made by the cultural revolution” was started.<sup>1</sup>

The Chinese press noted that the people who had fanned the “whirlwind” came out against Mao Tse-tung’s instructions to intensify the class struggle, denied the need to carry out the “cultural revolution” and the importance of the “new phenomena” it had

---

*International Affairs*, September 1976.

engendered. When assessing the home situation, they "said that today it is worse than it was yesterday" and "headed the spear" against Mao Tse-tung and his line.

In response, last autumn, according to Mao's directives and under his personal guidance, a campaign was launched against "capitulationists," i.e., the attempts to depart from the methods of the "cultural revolution" and return to socialist principles of construction. The campaign started with the Maoists taking action in the higher educational institutions against the "revisionist" appeals to return to the socialist methods of education which existed prior to the "cultural revolution." Such appeals were condemned by Maoist propaganda as "ridiculous and monstrous reasoning." Soon, however, the struggle between the supporters and opponents of the "cultural revolution" involved practically all spheres of China's social, political and economic life and culminated in the tragic events in Peking and other cities in April 1976.

As is known, on April 4-6, 1976, the working people of Peking, making use of the official permission to mark the Day of Remembrance and lay wreaths to the Monument of the Heroes of Revolution at Tien An Men (Peking's main square), staged a large-scale demonstration in the centre of the city. This demonstration turned into the spontaneous expression of popular protest against the Maoist regime, and the overt popular dissatisfaction with the endless political campaigns launched by Mao Tse-tung's group all over the country. *Jenmin Jihpao* was forced to admit that the leaflets and verses, circulated in the city, stated that the "Chin Shih-huang epoch has fallen into oblivion" (Chin Shih-huang was a Chinese emperor, whose cruelty Mao Tse-tung liked to set as an example), and that "China is no longer what she was yesterday and the people are not as brainwashed as they were formerly."

At the same time, the Chinese people displayed their support for the line toward stability and order in the country, the consistent economic development and higher living standards for the working people, thereby opposing the anti-popular vicious policy of Mao Tse-tung. That is why the April developments in Peking and some other cities and provinces profoundly alarmed the "Left wingers" of the Peking elite—the principal sponsors of the "cultural revolution"—and were regarded by Mao Tse-tung and his associates as a hostile act menacing the Maoist regime.

The people's demonstrations on Peking's main square, which involved 100,000 men and women, assumed such a serious character that they were discussed at a special sitting of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee and were labelled there as a "counter-revolutionary political incident." The actions of the working people were ruthlessly suppressed by the security bodies, by *minping* and armed forces.

Dozens of people were killed and wounded, hundreds of demonstrators were imprisoned and subjected to persecution. The suppression of the demonstrations at the Tien An Men square were portrayed by the Maoists as a "struggle against the counter-revolutionary violence by applying revolutionary violence."<sup>2</sup> Peking propaganda issued appeals to "defend" Mao Tse-tung (apparently, from the Chinese people) and threatened the population that "if necessary, revolutionary violence will again be used, and freedom of speech will be curtailed."<sup>3</sup> The subsequent political campaign caused a new purge of the Party and state machinery both in the centre and the provinces, with the people "rehabilitated" in recent years being persecuted in the first place.

What were the charges against the people labelled as the "elements of the new and old bourgeoisie" and the "outraging cutthroats"? The charges were that back in July 1975, some of these people "established broad contacts with each other and secretly prepared a letter to the Party Central Committee demanding that Teng Hsiao-ping be appointed Premier," while others stuck up "reactionary slogans and verses" and made "reactionary speeches," appealing for a struggle against the "anti-Marxist class enemies." Summing up the charges against Mao's opponents, *Jenmin Jihpao* wrote that they all "firstly, expressed discontent with the great cultural revolution and, secondly, demanded its reappraisal." They also sought to "split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, striking a blow against the great leader, Chairman Mao, and his revolutionary line."<sup>4</sup>

The scale of this campaign of repression looked too impressive for the object against which it was spearheaded. If one is to believe the Maoist press, then "on such fronts as education, science and technology an extremely small group consisting of several persons emerged and launched a Right-deviationist whirlwind of revising the correct conclusions."<sup>5</sup> Why then should a "handful of class enemies," a "small group" of people, look so dangerous for Mao Tse-tung and his entourage and for the entire enormous machinery of violence and suppression created by them? It seems that this is not a matter of personalities (like Lin Piao or Teng Hsiao-ping) to whom all sins are now attributed, from failures in home and foreign policy to the attacks against the "cultural revolution" and against Mao Tse-tung personally. The nature of the charges against these people reflects the aspects of China's social and economic life which caused massive discontent in Chinese society. The recent large-scale campaigns testify to the nation-wide resistance to the Maoist line and prove that it is not a "handful of persons" but the people as a whole who are coming out against Mao's drive to exacerbate the "class struggle," and who are condemning the "cultural revolution" and the "new phenomena" it has engendered.

The Maoists, who flout legality and the principles of democratic centralism, see a threat even in the demands that, as production and technology develop, "the rules and regulations should be more rigorous and should be more strictly observed." Allegedly opposing the "procedures of controlling, curbing and curtailing, which constitute the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the workers and working people," the Maoists actually ignore both Party and state discipline.

Here are some examples. China's vital issues are being solved either by Mao Tse-tung personally or together with a small group of his entourage. Even the basic provisions of the 1975 Maoist Constitution are being violated: the appointment of the new Premier was done bypassing the constitutional procedure which provides for the candidate's approval at a session of the National People's Congress at the proposal of a Plenary Meeting of the CC CPC. No information is available about the routine activities of the National People's Congress or local people's congresses as envisaged in the Constitution.

Peking propaganda continues to emphasise the "need and importance of limiting the bourgeois right." Under this pretext, however, the Maoists are seeking to take concrete moves at freezing or even lowering the people's living standards. In practice, the most zealous advocates of this Maoist tenet try to abolish the 8-rate wage system in industry and cut the earnings of the relatively well-paid skilled workers with a long term of service to the level of the low-paid workers. The Maoists have not given up their intentions to eliminate the peasants' individual plots, reduce domestic crafts as a source of additional income for the rural population, and limit free-market trade.

Insisting on the earliest possible liquidation of the vestiges of the "bourgeois right," the Maoists intend, through exploiting socialist slogans, to get the most out of the workers and peasants (in particular, through unpaid labour). They are in no way guided by the desire to satisfy the working people's material and cultural requirements to the maximum. All this is naturally bound to cause discontent among the working class and peasantry.

### Growing Discontent

According to the Chinese press, various strata of Chinese society are levelling especially sharp criticism against Maoists' methods of political persecution of their opponents, anti-scientific, voluntarist methods of economic management, an erroneous policy in the sphere of training and distributing cadres, and the negative, destructive activity in education, culture, science and technology.

Maoist propaganda fiercely attacks those who believe that the "sole

task at present, for the coming 25 years and the whole historical period of socialism is production and construction.” *Hung Chi* states that this is “neither the main nor the sole task of our Party. The basic Party line set forth by Mao Tse-tung boils down to an intense class struggle during the whole historical period of socialism.”<sup>16</sup> According to Mao Tse-tung, “in China, in our Party it is apparently necessary to continue this struggle for at least another 20 years or, perhaps, even 50 years. In the final analysis, the struggle may cease when classes are completely destroyed.”<sup>17</sup>

Theoretically, such statements are unscientific and constitute flagrant distortion of the Marxist-Leninist tenets on the building of socialism, on classes and class struggle. Practically, they doom the Chinese people to permanent and senseless political upheavals.

According to the Maoist press, it is widely held in China that since the “cultural revolution” “it has become a tradition to talk about politics and not economics, about revolution and not production.” Those who raise the question of improving production and economic construction are labelled as “revisionists” and adherents of the “theory of productive forces.” Endeavouring to refute this opinion, the Maoists assert that an “immense number of facts” show that the “cultural revolution” is a powerful impetus for developing China’s productive forces.” But it proved impossible to cite such facts. Contentions that the “massive criticism of the revisionist line and the theory of the productive forces gave a powerful impetus to rapid progress in the socialist production and yielded copious fruit” have similarly proved groundless.

Reality shows the reverse to be the case. As a rule, the Maoist political campaigns result in disorganisation of production, decline of labour discipline and, in the long run, unfulfilled plans and recessions in China’s industrial development. According to the Chinese press, in the first two weeks after Teng Hsiao-ping had been dismissed from all his posts, following a directive from above, 55,000 tatzupao were written and 5,800 “meetings of criticism” were held at the Anshan Steel Company alone.<sup>18</sup> Similar developments were registered at other factories as well. Obviously, if nearly 400 meetings were daily held at a single enterprise this is bound to disrupt production.

Chinese propaganda roundly condemns those who state that the revolution in education results in a “denial of knowledge” and a “denial of education.” It also attacks people who dare say that “quality of education is low,” “research is lagging behind” and that “the genuine battle is the struggle for steel, and steel is a hard nut to crack.”

Pointing to the inadmissibly low level of knowledge among students studying according to the “open doors” principle, China’s workers in

education demand higher educational level of future specialists. Profound discontent with Maoist policies has even been expressed among the scientific and technical intelligentsia who are dissatisfied with the arrogant attitude of the Maoist leadership to the development of science and education. Here are some statements demonstrating their critical attitude toward the "cultural revolution": "the successes are, as a matter of fact, rather insignificant," "due to the cultural revolution science and technology are a blank,"<sup>9</sup> and so on. Scientists in the PRC complain that the uneducated "propagandists of the thought of Mao Tse-tung," who are being sent to research institutes, simply impede the work. At the same time, demands are being made to send the specialists who were banished to the rural areas back to the research centres. Also criticised is the Maoist system of enrollment to the so-called "July 21 universities" and "May 7 schools" (the dates of Mao's respective "supreme injunctions") of untrained young people, often lacking secondary education, who are among the "best followers of the cultural revolution." As a result, these "universities" "are unable to give any knowledge, and their diplomas mean nothing."<sup>10</sup> The discontent with the present state of scientific and technical development in China and her obvious backwardness compared with other countries is clearly seen from the following statements made by instructors at Peking higher educational institutions: "Today our science and technology are in the grip of a crisis... They are marking time... they are paralysed and chaotic."<sup>11</sup>

The incessant criticism of Maoist tenets and the appeals to return to the socialist construction, as before the "cultural revolution," show the unsoundness of Peking's present home policies and the Maoist leaders' inability to ensure conditions for China's economic, scientific, technical and cultural development at a high level.

<sup>1</sup>*Jenmin Jihpao*, March 10, 1976.

<sup>2</sup>*Jenmin Jihpao*, Feb. 14, 1976.

<sup>3</sup>*Hung Chi*, No. 5, 1976.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb. 14, 1976.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1976.

<sup>7</sup>*Jenmin Jihpao*, Feb. 29, 1976.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1976.

<sup>9</sup>*Hung Chi*, No. 5, 1976.

<sup>10</sup>*Kwangming Jihpao*, Feb. 11, 1976.

<sup>11</sup>*Jenmin Jihpao*, April 20, 1976.

## APPENDIX 6

### SPEECH AT SPECIAL SESSION OF U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

*Teng Hsiao-ping*

Mr. President,

The special session of the United Nations General Assembly on the problems of raw materials and development is successfully convened on the proposals of President Houari Boumediene of the Council of Revolution of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria and with the support of the great majority of the countries of the world. This is the first time in the 29 years since the founding of the United Nations that a session is held specially to discuss the important question of opposing imperialist exploitation and plunder and effecting a change in international economic relations. This reflects that profound changes have taken place in the international situation. The Chinese Government extends its warm congratulations on the convocation of this session and hopes that it will make a positive contribution to strengthening the unity of the developing countries, safeguarding their national economic rights and interests and promoting the struggle of all peoples against imperialism, and particularly against hegemonism.

At present, the international situation is most favourable to the developing countries and the peoples of the world. More and more, the old order based on colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism is being undermined and shaken to its foundations. International relations are changing drastically. The whole world is in turbulence and unrest. The situation is one of "great disorder under heaven," as we Chinese put it. This "disorder" is a manifestation of the sharpening of all the basic contradictions in the contemporary world. It is accelerating the disintegration and decline of the decadent reactionary forces and stimulating the awakening and growth of the new emerging forces of the people.

In this situation of "great disorder under heaven," all the political forces in the world have undergone drastic division and realignment through prolonged trials of strength and struggle. A large number of Asian, African and Latin American countries have achieved independence one after another and they are playing an ever greater role in international affairs. As a result of the emergence of social-

---

Pamphlet published by Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1974. (Speech delivered April 10, 1974.)

imperialism, the socialist camp which existed for a time after World War 2 is no longer in existence. Owing to the law of the uneven development of capitalism, the Western imperialist bloc, too, is disintegrating. Judging from the changes in international relations, the world today actually consists of three parts, or three worlds, that are both interconnected and in contradiction to one another. The United States and the Soviet Union make up the First World. The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions make up the Third World. The developed countries between the two make up the Second World.

The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are vainly seeking world hegemony. Each in its own way attempts to bring the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America under its control and, at the same time, to bully the developed countries that are not their match in strength.

The two superpowers are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors of today. They are the source of a new world war. They both possess large numbers of nuclear weapons. They carry on a keenly contested arms race, station massive forces abroad and set up military bases everywhere, threatening the independence and security of all nations. They both keep subjecting other countries to their control, subversion, interference or aggression. They both exploit other countries economically, plundering their wealth and grabbing their resources. In bullying others, the superpower which flaunts the label of socialism is especially vicious. It has dispatched its armed forces to occupy its "ally" Czechoslovakia and instigated the war to dismember Pakistan. It does not honour its words and is perfidious; it is self-seeking and unscrupulous.

The case of the developed countries in between the superpowers and the developing countries is a complicated one. Some of them still retain colonialist relations of one form or another with Third World countries, and a country like Portugal even continues with its barbarous colonial rule. An end must be put to this state of affairs. At the same time, all these developed countries are in varying degrees controlled, threatened or bullied by the one superpower or the other. Some of them have in fact been reduced by a superpower to the position of dependencies under the signboard of its so-called "family." In varying degrees, all these countries have the desire of shaking off superpower enslavement or control and safeguarding their national independence and the integrity of their sovereignty.

The numerous developing countries have long suffered from colonialist and imperialist oppression and exploitation. They have won political independence, yet all of them still face the historic task of

clearing out the remnant forces of colonialism, developing the national economy and consolidating national independence. These countries cover vast territories, encompass a large population and abound in natural resources. Having suffered the heaviest oppression, they have the strongest desire to oppose oppression and seek liberation and development. In the struggle for national liberation and independence, they have demonstrated immense power and continually won splendid victories. They constitute a revolutionary motive force propelling the wheel of world history and are the main force combating colonialism, imperialism, and particularly the superpowers.

Since the two superpowers are contending for world hegemony, the contradiction between them is irreconcilable; one either overpowers the other, or is overpowered. Their compromise and collusion can only be partial, temporary and relative, while their contention is all-embracing, permanent and absolute. In the final analysis, the so-called "balanced reduction of forces" and "strategic arms limitation" are nothing but empty talk, for in fact there is no "balance," nor can there possibly be "limitation." They may reach certain agreements, but their agreements are only a facade and a deception. At bottom, they are aiming at greater and fiercer contention. The contention between the superpowers extends over the entire globe. Strategically, Europe is the focus of their contention, where they are in constant tense confrontation. They are intensifying their rivalry in the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. Every day, they talk about disarmament but are actually engaged in arms expansion. Every day, they talk about "detente" but are actually creating tension. Wherever they contend, turbulence occurs. So long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, there definitely will be no tranquillity in the world, nor will there be "lasting peace." Either they will fight each other, or the people will rise in revolution. It is as Chairman Mao Tsetung has said: "**The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.**"

The two superpowers have created their own antithesis. Acting in the way of the big bullying the small, the strong domineering over the weak and the rich oppressing the poor, they have aroused strong resistance among the Third World and the people of the whole world. The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been winning new victories in their struggles against colonialism, imperialism, and particularly hegemonism. The Indochinese peoples are continuing to press forward in their struggles against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national liberation. In the 4th Middle East war, the people of the Arab countries and Palestine broke through the control of the two superpowers and the

state of "no war, no peace" and won a tremendous victory over the Israeli aggressors. The African people's struggles against imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination are developing in depth. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau was born in glory amidst the flames of armed struggle. The armed struggles and mass movements carried out by the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania against Portuguese colonial rule and white racism in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia are surging ahead vigorously. The struggle to defend sea rights initiated by Latin American countries has grown into a worldwide struggle against the maritime hegemony of the two superpowers. The 10th Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, the 4th Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, the Arab Summit Conference and the Islamic Summit Conference successively voiced strong condemnation against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism, demonstrating the developing countries' firm will and determination to strengthen their unity and support one another in their common struggle against the hated enemies. The struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American countries and people, advancing wave upon wave, have exposed the essential weakness of imperialism, and particularly the superpowers, which are outwardly strong but inwardly feeble, and dealt heavy blows at their wild ambitions to dominate the world.

The hegemonism and power politics of the two superpowers have also aroused strong dissatisfaction among the developed countries of the Second World. The struggles of these countries against superpower control, interference, intimidation, exploitation and shifting of economic crises are growing day by day. Their struggles also have a significant impact on the development of the international situation.

Innumerable facts show that all views that overestimate the strength of the two hegemonic powers and underestimate the strength of the people are groundless. It is not the one or two superpowers that are really powerful; the really powerful are the Third World and the people of all countries uniting together and daring to fight and daring to win. Since numerous Third World countries and people were able to achieve political independence through protracted struggle, certainly they will also be able, on this basis, to bring about through sustained struggle a thorough change in the international economic relations which are based on inequality, control and exploitation and thus create essential conditions for the independent development of their national economy by strengthening their unity and allying themselves with other countries subjected to superpower bullying as well as with the people of the whole world, including the people of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Mr. President,

The essence of the problems of raw materials and development is the struggle of the developing countries to defend their state sovereignty, develop their national economy and combat imperialist, and particularly superpower, plunder and control. This is a very important aspect of the current struggle of the Third World countries and people against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism.

As we all know, in the last few centuries colonialism and imperialism unscrupulously enslaved and plundered the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Exploiting the cheap labour power of the local people and their rich natural resources and imposing a lopsided and single-product economy, they extorted superprofits by grabbing low-priced farm and mineral products, dumping their industrial goods, strangling national industries and carrying on an exchange of unequal values. The richness of the developed countries and the poverty of the developing countries are the result of the colonialist and imperialist policy of plunder.

In many Asian, African and Latin American countries that have won political independence, the economic lifelines are still controlled by colonialism and imperialism in varying degrees, and the old economic structure has not changed fundamentally. The imperialists, and particularly the superpowers, have adopted neo-colonialist methods to continue and intensify their exploitation and plunder of the developing countries. They export capital to the developing countries and build there a "state within a state" by means of such international monopoly organizations as "trans-national corporations" to carry out economic plunder and political interference. Taking advantage of their monopoly position in international markets, they reap fabulous profits by raising the export prices of their own products and forcing down those of raw materials from the developing countries. Moreover, with the deepening of the political and economic crises of capitalism and the sharpening of their mutual competition, they are further intensifying their plunder of the developing countries by shifting the economic and monetary crises on to the latter.

It must be pointed out that the superpower which styles itself a socialist country is by no means less proficient at neo-colonialist economic plunder. Under the name of so-called "economic co-operation" and "international division of labour," it uses high-handed measures to extort superprofits in its "family." In profiting at others' expense, it has gone to lengths rarely seen even in the case of other imperialist countries. The "joint enterprises" it runs in some countries under the signboard of "aid" and "support" are in essence copies of "trans-national corporations." Its usual practice is to tag a high price

on out-moded equipment and substandard weapons and exchange them for strategic raw materials and farm produce of the developing countries. Selling arms and ammunition in a big way, it has become an international merchant of death. It often takes advantage of others' difficulties to press for the repayment of debts. In the recent Middle East war, it bought Arab oil at a low price with the large amount of foreign exchange it had earned by peddling munitions, and then sold it at a high price, making staggering profits in the twinkling of an eye. Moreover, it preaches the theory of "limited sovereignty," alleges that the resources of developing countries are international property, and even asserts that "the sovereignty over the natural resources is depending to a great extent upon the capability of utilizing these resources by the industry of the developing countries." These are out-and-out imperialist fallacies. They are even more undisguised than the so-called "inter-dependence" advertised by the other superpower, which actually means retaining the exploitative relationship. A socialist country that is true to its name ought to follow the principle of internationalism, sincerely render support and assistance to oppressed countries and nations and help them develop their national economy. But this superpower is doing exactly the opposite. This is additional proof that it is socialism in words and imperialism in deeds.

Plunder and exploitation by colonialism, imperialism, and particularly by the superpowers, are making the poor countries poorer and the rich countries richer, further widening the gap between the two. Imperialism is the greatest obstacle to the liberation of the developing countries and to their progress. It is entirely right and proper for the developing countries to terminate imperialist economic monopoly and plunder, sweep away these obstacles and take all necessary measures to protect their economic resources and other rights and interests.

The doings of imperialism, and particularly the superpowers, can in no way check the triumphant advance of the developing countries along the road of economic liberation. In the recent Middle East war, the Arab countries, united as one, used oil as a weapon with which they dealt a telling blow at Zionism and its supporters. They did well, and rightly too. This was a pioneering action taken by developing countries in their struggle against imperialism. It greatly heightened the fighting spirit of the people of the Third World and deflated the arrogance of imperialism. It broke through the international economic monopoly long maintained by imperialism and fully demonstrated the might of a united struggle waged by developing countries. If imperialist monopolies can gang up to manipulate the markets at will, to the great detriment of the vital interests of the developing countries, why can't developing countries unite to break imperialist monopoly and defend

their own economic rights and interests? The oil battle has broadened people's vision. What was done in the oil battle should and can be done in the case of other raw materials.

It must be pointed out further that the significance of the developing countries' struggle to defend their natural resources is by no means confined to the economic field. In order to carry out arms expansion and war preparations and to contend for world hegemony, the superpowers are bound to plunder rapaciously the resources of the Third World. Control and protection of their own resources by the developing countries are essential, not only for the consolidation of their political independence and the development of their national economy, but also for combating superpower arms expansion and war preparations and stopping the superpowers from launching wars of aggression.

Mr. President,

We maintain that the safeguarding of political independence is the first prerequisite for a Third World country to develop its economy. In achieving political independence, the people of a country have only taken the first step, and they must proceed to consolidate this independence, for there still exist remnant forces of colonialism at home and there is still the danger of subversion and aggression by imperialism and hegemonism. The consolidation of political independence is necessarily a process of repeated struggles. In the final analysis, political independence and economic independence are inseparable. Without political independence, it is impossible to achieve economic independence; without economic independence, a country's independence is incomplete and insecure.

The developing countries have great potentials for developing their economy independently. As long as a country makes unremitting efforts in the light of its own specific features and conditions and advances along the road of independence and self-reliance, it is fully possible for it to attain gradually a high level of development never reached by previous generations in the modernization of its industry and agriculture. The ideas of pessimism and helplessness spread by imperialism in connection with the question of the development of developing countries are all unfounded and are being disseminated with ulterior motives.

By self-reliance we mean that a country should mainly rely on the strength and wisdom of its own people, control its own economic lifelines, make full use of its own resources, strive hard to increase food production and develop its national economy step by step and in a planned way. The policy of independence and self-reliance in no way means that it should be divorced from the actual conditions of a country; instead, it requires that distinction must be made between different cir-

cumstances, and that each country should work out its own way of practising self-reliance in the light of its specific conditions. At the present stage, a developing country that wants to develop its national economy must first of all keep its natural resources in its own hands and gradually shake off the control of foreign capital. In many developing countries, the production of raw materials accounts for a considerable proportion of the national economy. If they can take in their own hands the production, use, sale, storage and transport of raw materials and sell them at reasonable prices on the basis of equitable trade relations in exchange for a greater amount of goods needed for the growth of their industrial and agricultural production, they will then be able to resolve step by step the difficulties they are facing and pave the way for an early emergence from poverty and backwardness.

Self-reliance in no way means "self-seclusion" and rejection of foreign aid. We have always considered it beneficial and necessary for the development of the national economy that countries should carry on economic and technical exchanges on the basis of respect for state sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit, and the exchange of needed goods to make up for each other's deficiencies.

Here we wish to emphasize the special importance of economic co-operation among the developing countries. The Third World countries shared a common lot in the past and now face the common tasks of opposing colonialism, neo-colonialism and great-power hegemonism, developing the national economy and building their respective countries. We have every reason to unite more closely, and no reason to become estranged from one another. The imperialists, and particularly the superpowers, are taking advantage of temporary differences among us developing countries to sow dissension and disrupt unity so as to continue their manipulation, control and plunder. We must maintain full vigilance. Differences among us developing countries can very well be resolved, and should be resolved, through consultations among the parties concerned. We are glad that, on the question of oil, the developing countries concerned are making active efforts and seeking appropriate ways to find a reasonable solution. We, the developing countries, should not only support one another politically but also help each other economically. Our co-operation is a co-operation based on true equality and has broad prospects.

Mr. President,

The Third World countries strongly demand that the present extremely unequal international economic relations be changed, and they have made many rational proposals of reform. The Chinese Government and people warmly endorse and firmly support all just propositions made by Third World countries.

We hold that in both political and economic relations, countries should base themselves on the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. We are opposed to the establishment of hegemony and spheres of influence by any country in any part of the world in violation of these principles.

We hold that the affairs of each country should be managed by its own people. The people of the developing countries have the right to choose and decide on their own social and economic systems. We support the permanent sovereignty of the developing countries over their own natural resources as well as their exercise of it. We support the actions of the developing countries to bring all foreign capital, and particularly "trans-national corporations," under their control and management, up to and including nationalization. We support the position of the developing countries for the development of their national economy through "individual and collective self-reliance."

We hold that all countries, big or small, rich or poor, should be equal, and that international economic affairs should be jointly managed by all the countries of the world instead of being monopolized by the one or two superpowers. We support the full right of the developing countries, which comprise the great majority of the world's population, to take part in all decision-making on international trade, monetary, shipping and other matters.

We hold that international trade should be based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and the exchange of needed goods. We support the urgent demand of the developing countries to improve trade terms for their raw materials, primary products and semi-manufactured and manufactured goods, to expand their market and to fix equitable and favourable prices. We support the developing countries in establishing various organizations of raw material exporting countries for a united struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism.

We hold that economic aid to the developing countries must strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries and must not be accompanied by any political or military conditions and the extortion of any special privileges or excessive profits. Loans to the developing countries should be interest-free or low-interest and allow for delayed repayment of capital and interest, or even reduction and cancellation of debts in case of necessity. We are opposed to the exploitation of developing countries by usury or blackmail in the name of aid.

We hold that technology transferred to the developing countries must be practical, efficient, economical and convenient for use. The experts and other personnel dispatched to the recipient countries have the

obligation to pass on conscientiously technical know-how to the people there and to respect the laws and national customs of the countries concerned. They must not make special demands or ask for special amenities, let alone engage in illegal activities.

Mr. President,

China is a socialist country, and a developing country as well. China belongs to the Third World. Consistently following Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese Government and people firmly support all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations in their struggle to win or defend national independence, develop the national economy and oppose colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. This is our bounden internationalist duty. China is not a superpower, nor will she ever seek to be one. What is a superpower? A superpower is an imperialist country which everywhere subjects other countries to its aggression, interference, control, subversion or plunder and strives for world hegemony. If capitalism is restored in a big socialist country, it will inevitably become a superpower. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which has been carried out in China in recent years, and the campaign of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius now under way throughout China, are both aimed at preventing capitalist restoration and ensuring that socialist China will never change her colour and will always stand by the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations. If one day China should change her colour and turn into a superpower, if she too should play the tyrant in the world, and everywhere subject others to her bullying, aggression and exploitation, the people of the world should identify her as social-imperialism, expose it, oppose it and work together with the Chinese people to overthrow it.

Mr. President,

History develops in struggle, and the world advances amidst turbulence. The imperialists, and the superpowers in particular, are beset with troubles and are on the decline. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this is the irresistible trend of history. We are convinced that, so long as the Third World countries and people strengthen their unity, ally themselves with all forces that can be allied with and persist in a protracted struggle, they are sure to win continuous new victories.

## APPENDIX 7

### A COMPLETE REVERSAL OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE ENEMY

—Criticizing the “gang of four” for distorting Chairman Mao’s directive on the bourgeoisie being “right in the Communist Party”

*Hsiang Chun*

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the publication of *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao. He pointed out in this work that in the socialist revolution it is imperative to correctly distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from the contradictions among the people and handle them correctly, that it is impermissible to confound these two types of contradictions which are different in nature, still less to turn the relations between ourselves and the enemy upside down.

#### How to Understand That the Bourgeoisie Is Right in the Communist Party?

Who are the targets of the socialist revolution? And where should the spearhead of the struggle be directed? This is a fundamental question for the socialist revolution and Chairman Mao put forward a series of scientific theses concerning it. With the in-depth development of the socialist revolution, he issued another important directive in 1976: “**You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don’t know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road.**” Opposing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique, for ulterior motives, distorted this directive by twisting Chairman Mao’s statement about the existence of capitalist-roaders in the Party to mean the presence of a bourgeois class in the Party. They further alleged that this bourgeois class was composed of what they called democrats who made up 70 or 80 per cent of the veteran cadres and that the democrats becoming

capitalist-roaders was an inevitable rule. Using the mass media in its hands, the “gang of four” churned out numerous articles and statements to publicize this nonsense. The motive was to overthrow, as a reactionary class, a large number of responsible Party, government and army comrades of the central authorities and various localities who uphold Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, thereby clearing the way for them to usurp Party and state power, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and establish a fascist dictatorship.

The “gang of four” frequently clamoured: “The capitalist-roaders who are still on the capitalist road are a whole layer of people” and “this whole layer of people is a problem that needs to be solved.” Just what did they mean by “a whole layer of people”? An explanation of this, nebulous and yet full of import, was given by the counter-revolutionary hack-writer Yao Wen-yuan who remarked: “It is all right to speak of a whole layer of people; but, in writing it is still necessary to refer to it as a class.” The mass media then under the gang’s control put it even more bluntly: “Chairman Mao says the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party. It is our view that the bourgeoisie he is talking about here refers to a class as a whole.”

This absurd view presented by the “gang of four” through the mass media under its control maliciously distorted the meaning of Chairman Mao’s directive that the bourgeoisie is **“right in the Communist Party.”** Having pointed that **“the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party,”** Chairman Mao immediately added these words: **“those in power taking the capitalist road.”** If one reads the whole sentence, it is quite clear that the bourgeoisie referred to by Chairman Mao here means those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Chairman Mao had expounded this idea on many occasions. **“Those in power taking the capitalist road”**—this scientific concept was put forward by Chairman Mao in two previous documents: *Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas* in 1965, and the *Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* in 1966. In the May 16, 1966 *Circular* of the Party Central Committee, he again put forward the scientific concept on **“those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture.”** Those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road and the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Party, as referred to by Chairman Mao, are one and the same concept. Unless someone intentionally wants to distort the meaning, it is quite obvious that when Chairman Mao said that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party, he meant those in power taking the capitalist road or the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the

Party.

Why is it that representatives of the bourgeoisie can emerge in the Communist Party? This is because inner-Party struggle is not isolated but is always a reflection of the class struggle in society. The proletariat and the bourgeoisie are two antagonistic classes coexisting in a single social entity. They struggle against each other and at the same time are interconnected and interpenetrate politically, ideologically and organizationally. Bourgeois representatives inevitably emerge in the Party as a result of bourgeois penetration of the proletariat. Indeed, there have always been representatives of the bourgeoisie in our Party from the day of its founding in 1921. The main political representatives of the bourgeoisie at that time, however, were not in the Party but outside the Party. In the period of the new-democratic revolution, our Party's struggle against imperialism, big landlords and the big bourgeoisie found expression, in a concentrated form, in our struggle against their political representative, namely, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang.

After the Kuomintang reactionaries were toppled, other political representatives of the bourgeoisie outside the Party began emerging, such as the Chang-Lo alliance\* which appeared in 1957. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed in 1956 and the socialist revolution won a decisive victory on the political and ideological fronts, the political representatives of the bourgeoisie outside the Party fell into disrepute. Thus, it became increasingly difficult for them to take command and openly engage the proletariat in a trial of strength in their bid to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under these historical conditions, as the socialist revolution deepens, a question of great importance, both in theory and practice, arises: Is the bourgeoisie still around? Does class struggle still exist? Where after all are the main political representatives of the bourgeoisie? In view of this situation, Chairman Mao advanced the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and brought up the issue of "**those in power taking the capitalist road.**" This points to the fact that the emphasis of our Party's struggle against the bourgeoisie has shifted to within the Party and those Party persons taking the capitalist road have become the chief representatives of the bourgeoisie.

When members of the "gang of four" and the mass media under their control spread the idea that there was a bourgeois class inside the Party, they completely ignored the fundamentals of Marxism. It is

\*This refers to Chang Po-chun and Lo Lung-chi, ringleaders of the bourgeois Rightists who attacked the Party in 1957. The aim of this reactionary alliance was to overthrow the Chinese Communist Party and replace the dictatorship of the proletariat in China with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

common knowledge that a society is divided into classes and political parties are political groupings representing certain classes. It is true that political parties emanate from classes, but never the other way around. Inside the party of the proletariat, representatives of the bourgeoisie or bourgeois factions do and will inevitably emerge, but certainly not a bourgeois class. When the “gang of four” insisted on saying there was a bourgeois class inside the Communist Party of China, they were trying to negate our Party’s proletarian nature.

### **Do Veteran Cadres Inevitably Become Capitalist-Roaders?**

The “gang of four” propagated through the mass media the view that the “bourgeoisie inside the Party” evolved from the veteran cadres who had joined the Party in the period of the democratic revolution. They claimed this was “an irrevocable law” and the “dialectics of history” and so on and so forth. Chiang Ching said: “Over 75 per cent of the veteran cadres inevitably change from being democrats to capitalist-roaders.” What were the democrats like according to the gang and its mass media? They used the strategem of borrowing words from Marx, Engels and Lenin describing the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats of their times to smear our cadres who had joined the Party during the period of China’s new-democratic revolution. Marx and Engels were talking about the old democrats of 19th-century Western Europe and Lenin was speaking of the old democrats of Russia at the beginning of the 20th century. These old democrats of Western Europe and Russia certainly cannot be equated with our Party cadres who joined the Party in the new-democratic revolution before the founding of New China and the revolutionary and historical conditions they lived under were entirely different.

The majority of our veteran Party cadres who joined the revolution during that period took part in the democratic revolution not as old bourgeois democrats but as Communists fighting for the cause of communism. They took part in the democratic revolution not merely to carry out the historical mission of overthrowing imperialism and feudalism in a thoroughgoing way but also to build socialism and finally realize the ideal of communism in China. In *On Democracy* (sic) published in 1940 and his other works, Chairman Mao dealt in an all-round way with the theory, line and policies of the new-democratic revolution. These writings also showed the distinction and the inter-relationship between the democratic and socialist revolutions in China. They further armed the Chinese Communists and revolutionary people ideologically and enabled most Party members to see clearly that their taking part in the democratic revolution was to prepare conditions for the socialist

revolution.

Though varying in degree with one another, most cadres who joined the Party in the period of the new-democratic revolution were ideologically prepared for the socialist revolution that would follow. In that period our Party always attached great importance to educating Party members in communism. Whether in the revolutionary army units, the revolutionary base areas or regions under the rule of the reactionaries, Party cadres and most Party members maintained close ties with the labouring people wherever they worked. They had a strong sense of proletarian organization and discipline and led an extremely hard life in the long revolutionary struggles. All this shows that they had a high-level proletarian consciousness. As the backbone force in the revolutionary struggles in the new-democratic revolution, they united and led the masses in waging most arduous struggles against the class enemies, stood severe tests and tempered themselves.

The revolutionary task of our Party in this period was to overthrow the big bourgeoisie, which was an important component part of the entire bourgeoisie, and abolish bureaucrat capital which accounted for a large proportion of the capitalist economy. We had established the socialist publicly owned economy and the semi-socialist co-operative economy in every revolutionary base area and upheld the leadership of the proletariat represented by the Communist Party. All these were factors of socialism in the new-democratic revolution. It was precisely because the Party members had, to some extent, ideologically prepared themselves for socialism that, in the more than 25 years of socialist revolution since the founding of New China, the majority of the veteran cadres have been able, under the leadership of the Party and working together with new cadres, to lead the people of the whole country in accomplishing the socialist transformation of the means of production and winning victories in many major struggles in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Particularly, they have tempered themselves in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Thanks to all this, their level of consciousness in socialist revolution has been greatly enhanced. Therefore, they have nothing in common with that type of bourgeois democrats of Western Europe and Russia or the old democrats outside the Party in our country.

Does this mean that every cadre who joined the Party in the period of the new-democratic revolution was fully prepared ideologically for the socialist revolution at the time? No. They knew then that a socialist revolution would follow, and as far as this is concerned, they were mentally prepared. But how should the socialist revolution be carried out, what problems might arise in the course of the revolution, how should these problems be solved and other questions can only be raised and

grasped by people through revolutionary practice and in the course of its development. Moreover, owing to the difference in class origin, in background and experience, and in education, tempering and level of political consciousness, their ideological preparation and understanding of various problems arising during the socialist revolution inevitably vary in degree. As far as this goes, they were at that time inadequately prepared ideologically for the socialist revolution. As Chairman Mao pointed out, among the veteran cadres there are some comrades who still remain at the stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution ideologically and who fail to understand the socialist revolution, are at loggerheads with it and even oppose it.

The "gang of four" and the mass media it controlled asserted that cadres who had joined the Party in the period of the new-democratic revolution "have only the experience of taking the capitalist road." The gang could not understand that it is just because our Party has a great number of such veteran cadres who participated in the new-democratic revolution and accumulated a wealth of experience that our country's socialist revolution and construction can have developed rather smoothly. Lenin made the following appraisal of Marx and Engels who took part in the struggle of the democratic revolution: "They both became socialists after being *democrats*, and the democratic feeling of *hatred* for political despotism was exceedingly strong in them. This direct political feeling, combined with a profound theoretical understanding of the connection between political despotism and economic oppression, and also their rich experience of life, made Marx and Engels uncommonly responsive *politically*." (*Frederick Engels*.) Lenin's remark reveals the truth—how very important and valuable it is for people taking part in socialist revolution to have rich experience in democratic revolution.

Chairman Mao said that the prolonged struggles in our country's democratic revolution "have trained not only a large core of cadres capable of running the Party and the state, but also a large core of cadres capable of running the army. These achievements are the flower of the revolution, watered by the blood of countless martyrs, a glory that belongs not only to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, but also to the Communist Parties and the peoples of the whole world." (*Problems of War and Strategy*.) A greater part of this large force later becomes the important core of the leadership of the Party, government and army at various levels in the period of socialist revolution. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, they have played a still greater role for the great cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Moreover, our Party's revolutionary line and fine traditions and working methods are not without their source; they originate from the

practice of the great revolutionary struggle and are the scientific summary of the experience gained in the long and complex revolutionary struggles of the masses led by our Party cadres and Party members.

Veteran cadres are our Party's valuable assets not only because they have taken part in this practice themselves, but also because they have been able to apply this experience to various complicated situations. The "gang of four's" slander that veteran cadres "have only the experience of taking the capitalist road" actually amounts to a total negation of the great practice of China's new-democratic revolution and socialist revolution, and hence a complete denial of Mao Tsetung Thought which integrates the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. This fully reveals that the gang is completely ignorant of the Chinese revolution led by Chairman Mao and harbours inveterate hatred for it.

It is an inevitable historic phenomenon that some people of petty-bourgeois origin who joined the political party of the proletariat during the democratic revolution brought with them various non-proletarian ideas and political demands. As Lenin pointed out: "**And there is nothing bad about that. The historic task of the proletariat is to assimilate, re-school, re-educate all the elements of the old society that the latter bequeaths it in the shape of offshoots of the petty bourgeoisie.**" (*The Faction of Supporters of Otzovism and God-Building.*) Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of the Chinese revolution show that the proletariat is the greatest class in human history and, ideologically, politically and in strength, it is the most powerful revolutionary class and can assimilate elements of petty-bourgeois origin and re-educate them into proletarian revolutionary fighters to augment its own strength. At the same time, it can preserve the purity of its ranks by purging those persons who, in the test of revolutionary struggle, have shown themselves to be retaining their original class stand and have refused to be re-educated. The building up of our Party over more than 50 years under the guidance of Chairman Mao's thinking on Party building has been a process in which the Party has continually replenished and expanded its ranks.

This process of assimilating and culling is particularly marked in our Party building. This is because China is a country with an extremely large petty bourgeoisie and our Party has a very large membership from this class which virtually surrounds it. This unusual social condition makes the struggle to resist encroachment by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and the task of re-educating and remoulding Party members extremely arduous for our Party. At the same time, however, the fact that the main form of China's revolution was armed struggle involving long years of bitter fighting under extremely harsh cir-

cumstances provided favourable conditions for re-educating and remoulding these Party members.

Under Chairman Mao's leadership, the great majority of our Party members have stood the severe test of the protracted revolutionary struggle and unwaveringly followed the Party in continuing the revolution. Some failed to do so. They stagnated and fell by the wayside, and even became renegades. This inevitably occurs in the course of a revolution. It has happened before and will happen again, but always only an extremely small minority is involved. When Chairman Mao made his basic appraisal of Party cadres during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he said: "**We must be confident that over 90 per cent of the cadres are good or comparatively good. Most of the cadres who have made mistakes can correct them.**" This is a Marxist appraisal and completely accords with the actual situation regarding our cadres in the present period of China's socialist revolution.

Representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party may be very few in number but the harm they do to the revolution is very great. Under certain circumstances, they can cause the revolution enormous setbacks, even bringing about defeat. This has happened many times in the history of our Party. As all power is in the hands of our Party in the period of socialist revolution, representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, particularly those in power taking the capitalist road like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and members of the "gang of four" who usurped important Party and government posts, the harm they do to the revolution is even more serious. They present the main danger of a capitalist restoration. This fully explains why Chairman Mao's directive about bourgeoisie being "**right in the Communist Party**" is of extreme importance and great significance.

The "gang of four" wantonly trampled upon the Marxist-Leninist theory on Party building and distorted the history and prevailing situation of our Party. In their view, the majority of our veteran Party cadres were not only all democrats of the old school when they joined the democratic revolution, but during the long struggle of the new-democratic revolution and socialist revolution these comrades stopped where they were politically and ideologically, or even had gone to the extent of being enamoured of developing capitalism. According to the gang's logic, not only were they not remoulded, assimilated or rejected by the political party of the proletariat, their numbers in the Party continually increased and expanded to such an extent that today they have all turned into people in power taking the capitalist road and have emerged in the Party as a whole bourgeois class. If this "theory" of theirs holds water, then doesn't it mean that the constant education the cadres received from Chairman Mao, the ideological struggles within

the Party and the long years of revolutionary practice have had no effect at all in heightening the political-ideological level of Party members and in purifying the ranks of the Party? If this were the case, the victories of the new-democratic revolution and socialist revolution in China would have been inconceivable.

### **The Gang's Motive in Reversing the Relations Between Ourselves and the Enemy**

The “gang of four’s” distortion of Chairman Mao’s directive about bourgeoisie being “**right in the Communist Party**” has turned upside down the relations between ourselves and the enemy in the socialist revolution. The “bourgeoisie inside the Party” they spoke of certainly does not mean the handful of Party persons in power really taking the capitalist road; they were in fact trying to unjustifiably pin this label on the majority of veteran cadres who joined the Party in the period of the democratic revolution. They made it very clear: “The targets of the revolution today are the democrats who lived on chaff in the old society, were wounded in the war against Japanese aggression, fought in the War of Liberation and crossed the Yalu River during the war of resistance to U.S. aggression and aiding Korea.” They wanted to “ferret out a whole layer of people” which included such outstanding senior proletarian revolutionaries as our respected and beloved Premier Chou. Of course, members of the “gang of four” were not limiting themselves to overthrowing veteran cadres. New cadres who did not follow them were labelled capitulationists and indiscriminately overthrown also. In doing this, the gang was not overthrowing just a number of people. In cruelly suppressing Chinese Communist Party members, it was also out to denigrate the history of our great, glorious and correct Party and thoroughly wreck it.

Why was the gang so hostile to the old comrades who had followed Chairman Mao for decades in making revolution? Why were they so hellbent on hounding such comrades to death? It has now become startlingly clear. They were a bunch of ruthless counter-revolutionaries who had secreted themselves inside our Party. As Chairman Hua pointed out: “The ‘gang of four’ is in fact a sinister gang of these new and old-time counter-revolutionaries.” They were typical representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Communist Party, typical representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang hidden in the Communist Party, and unrepentant capitalist-roaders still on the capitalist road. For a long time, they decked themselves out inside the Party as revolutionaries while practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in intrigues and conspiracies in a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the

proletariat and set up a fascist dictatorship and restore capitalism. To realize this counter-revolutionary aim, they cooked up this counter-revolutionary “theory” which made genuine proletarian revolutionaries the targets of “revolution” while prettifying themselves, a bunch of ultra-Rightists, as “revolutionary” leaders.

In collusion with Lin Piao, the “gang of four” long used the counter-revolutionary tactic of “waving Chairman Mao’s banner to attack Chairman Mao’s forces.” They always seized the opportunity to take over Chairman Mao’s directives and wantonly distorted and falsified them so that they came to mean something totally different. At one time or another over the years, they spewed forth counter-revolutionary nonsense such as “the contradiction between the new cultural revolution group and the old government,” opposing “the big Confucianist inside the Party” and “making opposition to empiricism the key link.” Last year, the gang carefully concocted the plot to distort Chairman Mao’s directive concerning bourgeoisie being **“right in the Communist Party”** to mean there was a bourgeois class in the Communist Party. This vastly advanced the counter-revolutionary fallacies the gang had been disseminating for a long time and made their counter-revolutionary “theory” even more deceptive. This “theory” of theirs became central to all their counter-revolutionary utterances. Their 1976 hue and cry about “ferreting out layer after layer of capitalist-roaders,” “ferreting out the bourgeoisie in the army,” their clamour that literary and art works must have as their theme “models of democrats turning into capitalist-roaders” and their maligning the criticism of capitalism as “big capitalism out to fix little capitalism,” and so on were all centred on this “theory.” Their counter-revolutionary propaganda made people very confused. Politically and organizationally, it caused immense damage.

Carrying out Chairman Mao’s behests, our brilliant leader Chairman Hua smashed at one stroke the “gang of four” and exposed their counter-revolutionary features. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country today are holding high the revolutionary banner of Chairman Mao, studying Chairman Mao’s thesis on the two types of social contradictions which are different in nature, thoroughly criticizing the “gang of four’s” distortions of Chairman Mao’s directives, thereby wiping out the gang’s counter-revolutionary influence politically, ideologically and theoretically.

## APPENDIX 8

### C.P.C. CENTRAL COMMITTEE CIRCULAR ON HOLDING NATIONAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE

#### I

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has decided to call a national conference on science in Peking in the spring of 1978.

The tasks of the conference are: Hold high the great banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and implement the line of the 11th National Congress of the Party\*; make in-depth exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" composed of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan; exchange experience; draw up plans; commend advanced personnel, especially scientists, technicians, workers, peasants and soldiers who have made inventions and innovations; and mobilize the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in the country as well as all scientists and technicians to work for the modernization of science and technology.

With the smashing of the "gang of four" and the successful conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, China has entered a new stage of development in the socialist revolution and construction. Guided by the strategic decision of grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, the Central Committee successively called the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture and the National Conference on Learning from Taching in Industry. This has effectively promoted the in-depth development of the movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and speeded up the restoration and expansion of industrial and agricultural production, and a new leap forward of the national economy is in the making. In May this year, Chairman Hua gave important and timely instructions on scientific work and issued a call for simultaneously carrying out the three great revolutionary

\*The line is: Hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism, grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land, continue the revolution and strive to build China into a powerful and modern socialist country.

movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. In the short span of just over three months, a great revolutionary mass movement for modernizing science and technology has developed rapidly and vigorously. China's socialist science and technology is entering a new stage.

## II

Technological revolution is an important aspect of the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1958 the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao pointed out: "**While continuing the socialist revolution on the political front and the ideological front, we should lay stress on the technological revolution in the Party's work. This question deserves the attention of the whole Party.**" He issued this call to the whole Party: "**We must marshal our energies to study and fulfil the great technological revolution that history has entrusted to us.**"

Modernizing agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology means making a technological revolution and providing the national economy and defence with the most advanced achievements in science and technology. Chairman Mao once said: "**The technological revolution refers to the key technological transformations in history, for example, the steam engine replacing hand labour, later the discovery of electricity and now the discovery of atomic energy.**" By the end of the 20th century, we must have machinery in use in every possible department and locality and realize electrification in town and country and automation in the main branches of industry so as to raise labour productivity enormously, develop the social productive forces rapidly, radically change the face of China's economy, greatly strengthen our national defence and ensure that our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat will always remain invincible.

The modernization of science and technology is the key to the realization of the four modernizations. We must build up a contingent of scientists and technicians ranking among the world's best. We must have the most advanced scientific experiment facilities. There should be important theoretical creations and technical inventions, and in the major fields of science and technology we must approach, reach or surpass the world's advanced levels so that our national economy will be in the front ranks of the world. Contemporary natural sciences are now working for new important breakthroughs. New advances in natural science are bound to bring about tremendous changes in techniques of production. Without scientific experiment and without new techniques, there can be no great increase in labour productivity and a new leap forward

will be out of the question, our socialist system will not be able to display its superiority to the full, and there will be the danger of lagging behind and being vulnerable to attacks. Whether science and technology can be pushed forward as quickly as possible is a question of vital importance for socialist construction as a whole and for the destiny and future of our country.

### III

In the sharp struggles between the two classes and the two lines over the past 28 years, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has always been in the dominant position in science and technology. Under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and with their careful attention, the people of all nationalities and the scientific and technical personnel in our country worked diligently in defiance of difficulties, and established and developed a number of new branches of science and technology in spite of the blockade and monopoly by imperialism and social-imperialism. The successful testing of atomic and hydrogen bombs and guided missiles and the launching and accurate recovery of man-made earth satellites are important indications of our new level in science and technology. We have made a number of creative advances in theoretical research and applied sciences which are up to advanced world levels. A mass movement for scientific experiment involving tens of millions of people is developing vigorously and the number of professional scientists and technicians has increased a hundredfold compared to pre-liberation days. We have laid the foundation for big progress in the future.

But science and technology in our country suffered for a long period from interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and especially the "gang of four." The "gang of four" undermined Party leadership in this field, tampered with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and negated the revolutionary movement of scientific experiment. They wrote off the great achievements made in science and technology and negated the fact that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has occupied the dominant position in this field since the founding of New China. They vilified the efforts to modernize agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology as attempts to "restore capitalism" and denied the role of science in promoting production, which led to the destruction of laboratory equipment and the disbanding of research institutions. They spread the nonsense that "the more knowledge one has, the more reactionary one becomes." They slandered intellectuals as the "stinking ninth category" [coming after the eight categories of class enemies, namely, the landlords, rich

peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists, renegades, enemy agents and unrepentant capitalist-roaders], wilfully persecuting them. Negating the role of Marxist philosophy as the guide to scientific research, they advocated substituting philosophy for the natural sciences and repudiated theoretical work in natural science. In opposing the principle of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend," they debased the proper style of study and suppressed views on academic matters. They opposed learning from advanced foreign technology and at the same time strangled efforts to create things in China. This serious sabotage by the "gang of four" greatly dampened the enthusiasm of scientific and technical personnel and the masses, caused a break in the training of scientific and technical personnel, severely damaged scientific and technological work in our country, thereby turning science and technology into a brake on the development of the national economy and widening the gap with the advanced scientific level of the world, which at one time was being narrowed. We should on no account underestimate the grave damage wrought by the "gang of four." We must thoroughly expose and criticize their counter-revolutionary revisionist line, distinguish between right and wrong, eliminate their poisonous influence and advance unwaveringly along the course Chairman Mao charted for developing China's science and technology.

We must combine the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment as Chairman Mao taught us. "**Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will for ever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship.**" Class struggle is the key link. If we busy ourselves only with the struggle for production and scientific experiment to the neglect of class struggle, if leadership is not in the hands of the proletariat and if the people are not energetic and vigorous, we cannot achieve much in the struggle for production and scientific experiment. If we go in for class struggle without carrying out the struggle for production and scientific experiment, without building a substantial material base and making the country prosperous and powerful, we will not be able to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and all the pledges to "support the general line" [referring to the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism] will prove a false one. Is it all right to pay attention only to the struggle for production without scientific experiment? Cer-

tainly not. Scientific experiment cannot be replaced by the struggle for production. We must engage in all the three great revolutionary movements, as Taching and Tachai are doing.

We must follow Chairman Mao's teaching and launch mass movements for scientific experiment. Scientific experiment in our country is a revolutionary movement combining the efforts of both professionals and the masses. This is something no capitalist country has done or can ever do. We must uphold the principles of combining leading cadres, scientists and technicians and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, combining scientific research, production and use, and combining popularization and the raising of standards. The role of the professionals as the backbone force must be brought into full play. The mass movements for scientific experiment must be developed persistently and in a down-to-earth way and increasingly raised to a higher level. Such great mass movements will open up inexhaustible springs of creativity, produce a large number of outstanding scientists and technicians and enable science and technology to flourish as never before.

We must follow Chairman Mao's teaching and build up a vast contingent of working-class scientists and technicians who are both red and expert. Tempered in ideological and political movements and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in particular, the overwhelming majority of scientists and technicians want to serve the socialist cause and are making efforts to do so, they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and are actually doing so. They have made progress to varying degrees in changing their world outlook from a bourgeois to a proletarian one and in gradually fostering and acquiring a proletarian world outlook. The ranks of working-class scientists and technicians who are red and expert have grown considerably. But, on the whole, the number of scientists and technicians is still not large and their level is not high. It is necessary to expand their ranks and raise their level as soon as possible. It is essential to carry out correctly the Party's policy of uniting with, educating and remoulding the intellectuals, earnestly help them transform their world outlook and provide them with conditions so that they can devote themselves to their professional studies and do their work well. All institutions of scientific research must produce results and train proficient scientific workers. The basis for training such scientific workers is education. Primary and middle schools, colleges and universities are important bases for training scientists and technicians, while colleges and universities are at the same time an important force in scientific research. We must do a really good job in the educational revolution and end as quickly as possible the situation in which education is to a serious degree not in accord with our socialist cause.

We must follow Chairman Mao's teaching and energetically promote the Marxist style of study. Scientists and technicians should be encouraged to study dialectical materialism and use it in guiding scientific research. The principle of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" must be implemented. It is criminal to suppress free academic discussion among the people. We should encourage the habit of daring to think, to speak and to act, and promote the style of working conscientiously, with meticulous care and by strict standards. We should foster the communist style and work in co-ordination, learn from one another and make common progress.

We must follow Chairman Mao's teaching and uphold the principle of integrating learning with independent creativity. In the natural sciences we are comparatively backward. We must strive to learn from other countries. It is necessary to improve the work of scientific and technical information, promote international academic exchange and introduce necessary advanced techniques. Only by learning what is advanced can we catch up with and surpass the advanced. We learn from others in order to develop our own creativity. We must proceed from China's concrete conditions, dare to create new things, act upon the principle of independence and self-reliance and take China's own road of developing science and technology.

#### IV

To strengthen Party leadership and mobilize all positive factors to push scientific research work forward as fast as possible, the key lies with the various departments under the State Council, the various units under the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and the Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.

The Central Committee calls on Party committees at all levels to take immediate action and **launch a great Marxist-Leninist movement for the technical revolution in economic work in town and country in a well-guided way, link by link and wave upon wave.** They should, prior to the holding of the national conference on science, deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," take effective measures to solve a number of problems that can be solved with conscious effort, so that the movement to modernize science and technology will surge ahead on a sound basis.

We must do a good job of consolidation without delay, quickly restore scientific research institutions that were disbanded as a result of interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," and put in order those now in disorder. All scientific research institutions must practise

the system of directors undertaking responsibility under the leadership of the Party committees. It is imperative to install as Party committee secretaries those cadres who understand the Party's policies and have enthusiasm for science, to select experts or near-experts to lead professional work, and to find diligent and hard-working cadres to take charge of the supporting work. The Central Committee has decided to set up a State Scientific and Technological Commission, and the various regions and departments should accordingly strengthen their administrative organizations in charge of scientific and technological work. The scientific and technological associations and other academic societies should all vigorously unfold their work. The agro-science network embracing the four levels of the county, commune, production brigade and team and the technical innovations organizations in factories and mines should be strengthened and improved. The work of popularizing scientific knowledge must be done well.

The Party's policy towards intellectuals must be implemented without delay. Measures must be taken to transfer step by step to scientific or technical work those professionals who really know the work but are now in unrelated jobs. We must see to it that those scientists and technicians who have made achievements or have great talent must be assured proper working conditions and provided with necessary assistants. Titles for technical personnel should be restored, the system to assess technical proficiency should be established and technical posts must entail specific responsibility. Just as we ensure the time for the workers and peasants to engage in productive labour, so scientific research workers must be given no less than five-sixths of their work hours each week for professional work.

No time should be lost in mapping out programmes for the development of science and technology. In the light of the needs of socialist construction, all localities and departments should mobilize the masses to draw up plans that are both advanced and practicable. There should be points of emphasis in the plans, and concrete arrangements for three years and eight years and broad outlines for the coming 23 years should be made. The State Planning Commission and the State Scientific and Technological Commission should co-ordinate and balance out the plans made by the various departments and localities and then work out a national programme for the development of science and technology as a component part of the national economic plan. While the plans are being drawn up, all units should proceed immediately with key research items and strive for results at top speed.

The various departments under the State Council, the various units under the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions

should submit to the Central Committee progress reports on all the work mentioned above before the end of the year.

The mass media should do revolutionary propaganda in varied forms for the forthcoming national conference on science and for the task to modernize science and technology.

## V

Our great motherland has a vast territory, a varied climate and an abundance of natural resources. Our great people of various nationalities are intelligent, industrious and brave. Our country produced many eminent scientists and countless skilled craftsmen and created a magnificent science and culture in ancient times. China is the cradle of one of the world's oldest civilizations and has made tremendous contributions to mankind. It is only in modern times that our science and technology ceased to advance and lagged so far behind others as a result of the moribund feudal system, foreign aggression and the dark rule of the reactionary classes.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the people of various nationalities in our country, led by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, have performed new wonders, transforming old China which was poor and blank into new socialist China with the beginnings of prosperity. Looking into the future, we are filled with boundless confidence. We have 800 million people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, we have the revolutionary line laid down by Chairman Mao and the superior system of socialism, we have a contingent of scientists and technicians who faithfully serve socialism, and we have the material base built over the past 28 years and the valuable experience gained in developing socialist science. As long as the people of all nationalities throughout the country unite and work hard under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, our long cultural tradition will certainly be carried forward, our rich natural resources will be put to full use and the wisdom and resourcefulness of the people of our nationalities will be brought into full play. It is certain that China's science will flourish, that reports of successes will keep pouring in and that large numbers of outstanding people will come forward.

The Central Committee calls on all scientific and technical personnel to keep to the orientation of being red and expert, have lofty aspirations and high aims, fear no hardship, strive to make inventions, storm the bastions of science and scale new world heights.

The Central Committee calls on the masses of workers, peasants and other working people to keep raising their level of ideological and

political consciousness, go all out with technical innovations and the technical revolution, use scientific methods in farming, launch socialist emulation drives and achieve a high labour productivity.

The Central Committee calls on the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army to study military science and technique diligently, improve arms and equipment and speed up the revolutionization and modernization of our army.

The Central Committee calls on youngsters throughout the country to work hard, study politics, raise their educational level and foster the style of loving science and applying and spreading scientific knowledge.

The Central Committee calls on members of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League to strive to become models in expediting the modernization of science and technology.

**We can learn what we did not know. We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new.** A Chinese nation with high scientific and cultural levels and a powerful socialist China with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology shall emerge in the world!

## APPENDIX 9

# TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS WORK: SOCIALIST PRINCIPLE IN DISTRIBUTION

*Li Hung-lin*

The principle—to each according to his work—was smeared by the “gang of four” as an “old thing” left over by capitalism.

Has the world ever seen a system of distribution based on the principle “to each according to his work” since human society came into being? Did it exist in primitive society? No. At that time, equal distribution of primitive communism was practised. Was there such a thing as “to each according to his work” in slave, feudal or capitalist society? No. The principle of distribution in societies with private ownership is that the exploiting classes which own the means of production squeeze surplus labour out of the exploited classes. “To each according to his work” is out of the question in these societies.

The principle “to each according to his work” can be practised on a country-wide scale only in a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is because there the means of production originally owned by the landlords and capitalists have been confiscated and turned into property owned by the whole people, and individual ownership by the labourers has been transformed step by step into collective ownership on a voluntary basis through the form of co-operatives.

The principle “to each according to his work” means that individual consumer goods are distributed according to the amount of labour a worker has done after his labour for the common funds has been deducted. In accordance with this principle, everyone, except those who have lost their power of labour or those who have not yet reached the age of a labourer, must work. He who works more gets more, he who works less gets less and he who does not work, neither shall he eat. This is a great revolution in the system of distribution. It is a new thing which can emerge only in socialist society.

### Bourgeois Right and This Principle

Since the principle “to each according to his work” is a socialist new thing, then why did Marx say that equal right is still—in principle—bourgeois right?

Dealing with the distribution system in socialist society in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx wrote: “As far as the distribution of the latter [means of consumption] among the individual producers is concerned, the same principle prevails as in the exchange of commodity-equivalents: a given amount of labour in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labour in another form.” “Hence, equal right here is still—in principle—bourgeois right.” Obviously the phrase “bourgeois right” Marx referred to here concerns only the exchange of equal amounts of labour. In capitalist society, everything is a commodity, the exchange of which is worked out according to the principle of exchange of equal amounts of labour. In socialist society, individual consumer goods are also distributed on this basis. It is only because of this that Marx said that this principle is still—in principle—bourgeois right.

Equal right arising from the principle “to each according to his work” is a right of inequality among different labourers, because the productive capacity of each worker is different and their family burden cannot be the same. As a result, their living standards also vary. This of course is a defect. But this is considered a defect only when it is compared with the principle which will be practised in future communist society—to each according to his needs. If compared with the situation in capitalist society, “to each according to his work” is an extremely equal and highly reasonable principle.

Historical conditions should be considered when speaking of equality or inequality. There was equality in primitive society, yet it was replaced by the unequal slave system, because the latter is more progressive than the primitive communal system and can better promote the development of the productive forces. The same holds true when the feudal system superseded the slave system and also later on when the capitalist system superseded the feudal system. Compared with society with private ownership, the socialist system marks a great leap forward. Nonetheless, it cannot wipe out all inequality overnight. Distinctions between town and country, between industry and agriculture and between physical and mental labour will exist for quite a long time. These distinctions are nothing but forms of inequality. Equal right arising from the principle—to each according to his work—is a defect because the principle recognizes differences, i.e., actual inequality. But this defect is not caused by the principle itself.

### The Principle Is Not the Economic Basis Engendering the Bourgeoisie

The theorists fostered by the “gang of four” said that after the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of

production, bourgeois right (what they meant was the principle “to each according to his work”) was the “soil” on which the bourgeoisie grew. That is to say, due to the practice of the principle “to each according to his work,” those with higher incomes will constitute a new bourgeoisie.

This is a distortion of the socialist system.

The prerequisite for the enforcement of the principle “to each according to his work” is the public ownership of the means of production. Under this, the income of every labourer, no matter whether it is big or small, is created by his labour. No one is entitled to grab the fruits of other people’s labour. How can a new bourgeoisie “emerge” from this kind of distribution!

True, a few newborn bourgeois elements will turn up in socialist society. But these persons do not set themselves up by the practice of this principle. They become upstarts through speculation, embezzlement, theft or appropriating collective or other people’s property by the exercise of various illegal privileges. Wang Hung-wen, a member of the “gang of four,” was a typical example. Could he support his utterly decadent life-style with the income he was entitled to? The “gang of four” and the old and new bourgeoisie they represented were opposed to the principle “to each according to his work” and undermined its application. They became members of an exploiting class through “unearned income.”

According to another notion, a certain amount of savings from a person’s wages may be used in speculation since commodities can still be bought and sold for money. This poses an opportunity for the birth of new bourgeois elements. This viewpoint actually means that the socialist distribution principle constitutes the economic basis for the emergence of a bourgeoisie. The argument is not valid. “To each according to his work” refers to the way a person gets paid for his work. The blame for his using his savings to engage in speculation cannot be laid on how he is paid.

Marxists hold that in socialist society there is the danger of capitalist restoration, but it is not inevitable. Socialism is the first phase of communism, not the higher stage of capitalism. The economic system of socialism, including the principle “to each according to his work,” cannot in any way be the base giving rise to the bourgeoisie.

### **This Principle Should Be Practised At Present**

Chairman Mao said: “**In the last analysis, the impact, good or bad, great or small, of the policy and the 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.” (*On Coalition Government*, 1945)**

The counter-revolutionary revisionist theories and line of the “gang of four” seriously hampered the development of the productive forces in our country. The most powerful of the productive forces is the revolutionary class itself. The key to the growth of production lies in arousing the labouring masses’ enthusiasm for socialism. Arousing the people’s enthusiasm depends on doing political and ideological work on the one hand, and on correct economic policies on the other. Neither of them can be dispensed with. Among the two, politics is the commander. While political and ideological work helps improve the people’s understanding of things, the distribution principle “to each according to his work” solves the practical problem of material life.

The higher the level of a labourer’s ideological consciousness is and the better his life becomes, the more ardently will he love socialism and the more consciously will he plunge into his work. This will help raise labour productivity greatly. On the basis of the growth of production, the income of workers will be further raised and their life will be further improved. By these repeated advances, the material base of the proletarian dictatorship will become ever stronger and the people’s material life and ideological consciousness will be steadily improved and raised. This is the superiority of socialism.

The “gang of four” used a demagogic method to attack the socialist distribution principle, that is, criticizing socialism by “praising” communism, using the principle of communist society—to each according to his needs—to debase the socialist principle—to each according to his work.

Of course we must look far ahead and aim high, and should not forget the lofty ideal of communism. The system “to each according to his work” is sure to be superseded in the future by the more advanced system “to each according to his needs.” But communism can be built only on the basis of socialism which is a long historical period. Not only will our generation live in socialist society, but many generations to come will do so. If we only talk about communism without enforcing socialist policies and building socialism in a down-to-earth way, how can we gradually go on towards communism?

This principle of distribution “from each according to his ability, to each according to his work” conforms to the basic Marxist principle as well as to the Constitution of our country. It fits in with the level of development of socialist production, and is a valid distribution policy for the present stage.