

Thoroughly Expose and Criticize The "Gang of Four"

2nd National Learn-From-Tachai Conference (III)

Party Central Committee

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Peking Review

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AND MAO MAKES 5

***Mao Tsetung's last
great battle***

Edited with an Introduction by Raymond Lotta

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Editor's Note

The texts of all the reprinted articles and documents are reproduced here as they appeared in the various (English) sources cited. Only clear typographical errors were corrected, and some minor typographical conventions have been standardized. As a result the spelling of certain Chinese proper names may vary from text to text, depending on how the translator romanized them. In addition, a few of the translations include some awkward phrasing and border-line cases of grammaticality, but this has been left as is. In the translations from Issues and Studies, the square brackets which occur are reproduced from the original (English) source; elsewhere they have been used occasionally by the editor. Explanatory footnotes appear occasionally in the body of the texts. These are from the original (English) sources.

Not all the texts are from official People's Republic of China sources. Some of the other sources do sometimes reprint documents whose authenticity is highly questionable; however, in the opinion of the editor the texts reprinted here do seem basically accurate, and to reflect the points of view of those to whom they are attributed.

Preface

To even the most casual observer it has become apparent that great changes have taken place in China since the death of Mao Tsetung. Four of the most prominent leaders of the Cultural Revolution, the so-called "gang of four," have been overthrown and this was followed by a major purge of the Communist Party and mass organizations. Many of Mao's long-standing political opponents, perhaps the most notable being Teng Hsiao-ping, now occupy the highest positions of authority. The innovations in education, industrial management, culture, scientific research and other areas forged through the Cultural Revolution have largely been scrapped. The very profound questions to which Mao drew attention in the final years of his life, particularly with respect to the serious danger of the restoration of capitalism, are now either dismissed or his answers are attacked.

The scathing criticism and slanders against the Four are thinly veiled attacks on Mao Tsetung and Mao Tsetung Thought. In fact, this was not a "gang of four," it was a "gang of five" because these revolutionaries were closely allied with Mao and he had placed his confidence in them. And, actually, it wasn't a "gang" at all—it was the core of the revolutionary headquarters within the Chinese Communist Party.

Today exhortations for order, labor discipline and everything for economic development have replaced Mao's basic line of continuing the revolution and his call to "grasp revolution, promote production." The Cultural Revolution has, indeed, come to an end as inscribed by the new rulers of China in the Political Report delivered by Hua Kuo-feng at the 11th Party Congress in 1977—but not for the reasons they would have us believe. It has ended because the opposition which Mao was fighting to his last breath has come out on top, having seized control of the Party, army and state organs.

How could something like this happen? Is it simply the result of the machinations and ambitions of a few leaders? Does this prove that socialism is an unworkable system or an impossible dream? Leaders do count for something, but not apart from the social forces they represent and the political lines they concentrate and rally others around. As Marx taught, socialism is not a pious hope, but neither is it something pure and unrelated to that which preceded it. "What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it *emerges* from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges." ("Critique of the Gotha Programme," Marx

and Engels Selected Works, Vol. 3, p. 17, Progress Publishers, Moscow.)

Marx, Lenin and Mao all emphasized that socialism is a society in which the working class rules, but it is a transitional society. It contains within it the seeds of communism in which all classes and the basis for class divisions have been eliminated, but it also contains the scars of capitalism in the persistence of certain inequalities and social distinctions. It is a society that can either move forward to communism or backward to capitalism; it is not a static or fixed society. Whether society will, in fact, move forward depends on the ability of the working class to continue to make revolution and gradually remove the soil giving rise to capitalism. The outcome of this struggle will be determined over a fairly long time, a period which will be marked by repeated major upheavals.

What does it mean to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and why is this the central issue facing the working class in power? Under socialism there still exist such differences as between workers and peasants, between town and country, and between mental and manual labor. In China, the collective form of ownership as opposed to state ownership predominates in the countryside. Accordingly, peasants will not receive wages, but payment for a portion of the value of what their collective unit is able to produce. Living standards will be unequal as between different agricultural units because crop yields will vary depending on soil fertility, the level of mechanization and so forth. Among urban workers the wage system of payment according to work will tend to perpetuate inequality insofar as people have different capabilities and needs. Finally, as long as there are some people who are mainly engaged in administrative and intellectual labor as opposed to working with their hands, there will be a tendency among these people to demand privileges, to pursue a life of fame and glory, and, most dangerously, to turn their administration of units into personal control over them.

The existence of these inequalities and differences are obstacles to the achievement of classless society—communism. These are the material conditions which give rise to a new bourgeoisie. They cannot be eliminated overnight, but these things must be restricted and gradually overcome. This requires that society be continually revolutionized under the leadership of correct political and ideological line—both to defeat the revisionist line of those who would seek to preserve and widen these differences and to combat their inevitable attempts to grab power. Continuing the revolution also means transforming the superstructure, including the cultural and educational institutions which will be used by the bourgeoisie to create public opinion favorable

to its cause.

Advancing to communism does require achieving material abundance. But during the entire socialist transitional period there will be sharp struggle over which road to take in developing production, which class it will serve, and whether short-term expediency—which may result in temporary spurts in output but in the long-run leads to stagnation—will take precedence over the long-term interests of the working class. These are life and death questions for the working class.

There have been those within the workers' movement—leading members of communist parties—who have denied all this. For these people, once the working class seizes power and establishes socialist ownership of the means of production, the tasks and fate of the revolution hinge on developing the productive forces. In one way or another, these revisionists or capitalist-roaders, as Mao called them, insist that, with the transformation of ownership, classes and class struggle cease to exist. They deny that the working class must continue the revolution and carry it out thoroughly in all spheres of society. The revisionists regard socialism not as an historical stage in which the working class must struggle against the influence of exploiting classes, overcome the disparities that remain—whether it be in terms of income or the social division of labor—and grasp its historic mission of breaking with and uprooting the property relations and ideas of the past. They identify socialism in terms of its ability to produce more, more efficiently. To them, socialism is characterized not by the working class becoming the master of society and consciously striving to eliminate all that stands in the way of completely transforming it. Rather it is characterized by a prescribed level of output and technique.

Mao stated emphatically that the objective struggle occurring in society between dying capitalism and emerging communism is reflected and concentrated within the communist party. In China this struggle has centered on the question of what is the road forward for the Chinese people—to persevere in revolution and on that basis to develop and expand production or to subordinate everything to developing the economy, relying on profits, experts, foreign assistance, and maybe later, after the material foundations have been laid, get around to revolutionizing the relations among people, the institutions of society, and people's thinking. In China's particular conditions this struggle has come down to this: Must a backward country like China retrace the steps of more advanced capitalist countries and wind up in the same situation, must it make use of the same methods and forms or can the working class really make a leap in history and transform society completely?

This struggle has raged inside the Chinese Communist Party, with

Mao arguing not only that it was necessary to take the road of continuous revolution through stages if capitalism were to be defeated, but that it was possible. Not that it was easy—because it's a lot harder than falling back on capitalist methods and the force of habit—but that armed with an understanding of the nature of this struggle the masses could be mobilized for the struggle to achieve communism. The Cultural Revolution was living proof of this. Initiated by Mao in 1966 and led by him throughout, it indicated the forms and methods by which the working class could maintain and strengthen its rule and continue the advance toward communism.

For the first time in the history of proletarian revolution, the problem of how to prevent a restoration was solved—though not finally, as Mao would point out—and this thrust the working class movement to a higher level. The fact that this was reversed in 1976 doesn't lessen the significance of this experience because the Cultural Revolution broke through contradictions and difficulties that the Bolshevik Revolution could not, just as the Bolshevik Revolution had pushed past the obstacles of seizing and consolidating power that the Paris Commune before it had failed to do. Mao Tsetung summarized crucial experiences and lessons of this process of continuing the revolution, and Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought provides the basis for the international working class to solve the new problems arising out of the ongoing struggle to emancipate mankind.

The Cultural Revolution blew a big hole in the arguments of the revisionists who maintained that nothing new and qualitatively different could be created by the working class and that China would have to hew to the old patterns of development. But the changes brought about by the Cultural Revolution met stubborn opposition from powerful forces—concentrated within the Communist Party—who put up fierce resistance and plotted to restore the old order. The danger of restoration, Mao pointed out, had its economic basis in the imperfections and contradictions of socialist society and its political basis in the actual power and ideological influence exercised by high Party officials promoting a revisionist line. And, as he repeatedly stressed, once these people seized power they would set out to remake society according to their class interests and outlook—whereby a handful of exploiters would try to turn the masses into unthinking work-horses.

The struggle in the years 1973-76 was a continuation of the struggles that came to a head in the early years of the Cultural Revolution when the working class successfully resisted attempts at restoration and carried out major transformations of society. But, as Mao emphasized, many more such revolutions would be required exactly because what the working class was fighting for was not just more porridge on its

table, but a whole new world.

The suddenness with which the October 1976 coup happened and the torrent of abuse heaped on the Four caught many people around the world by surprise. Some confusion has also arisen from the fact that the current rulers still in word uphold Mao and his teachings (though it grows increasingly difficult for them to do so as they publish articles which straightforwardly say not to take seriously—or “dogmatically”—all of what he said). But a review of the events since the time of the 10th Party Congress in August 1973 indicates clearly that the two-line struggle within the Party had been intensifying, coming to a climax with the arrest of the Four and the defeat of the revolutionary forces.

The program of those in power today is hardly original. Its main points had been major planks of the revisionist program in China since the founding of the People’s Republic and had been loudly and widely advertised throughout the period since the 10th Party Congress as these revisionist forces sought to create public opinion for their attempts to reverse the revolution. Where they had gained the upper hand they were even able to implement many of their policies. And several times they engaged in trials of strength, hoping to isolate and crush the revolutionaries.

This was a complex and difficult struggle. Mao guided it and gave timely support to revolutionaries, with the Four in their front ranks, who were seeking to uphold and defend the gains of the Cultural Revolution and strengthen the rule of the working class. Yet following his death the forces opposed to Mao and socialism were able to amass the strength for a critical and what ultimately turned out to be a decisive showdown.

This collection of documents has been brought together to trace the development of the two-line struggle in China in the last few years of Mao’s life and the issues and forces involved. These documents are a valuable source of information about key questions which were being debated and the approach of Mao and those close to him—Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching, and Yao Wen-yuan being the most outstanding representatives—to the task of building a movement to resist the influences and encroachments of the enemies of the revolution and their attempts at restoration of the old order. Moreover, they provide important insights into the development of Mao’s thinking on the nature of socialist society and the new problems posed by the deepening of the socialist revolution. For the most part we have included major theoretical articles, because the most important facts to glean in this struggle are not claims about Chiang Ching’s dress habits, but the political lines that were opposing each other and the class forces they represented.

The main body of the book is divided into five sections, correspond-

ing to the different periods and stages of mounting intensity of this struggle. The texts in these sections all basically reflect the line of Mao and the "Four" on various issues involved. (For an explanation of why and how this was true in the main of the Political Reports to the 10th Party Congress [Text 3] and the 4th National People's Congress [Text 15] which were delivered by Chou En-lai—a man who was in basic opposition to this line—see the Introduction, pp. 12-13 and 24-25.) In contrast, the appendices of this book contain documents antagonistic to the viewpoint of these texts. One, "The Bitter Fruit of Maoism" (Appendix 5), is from the Soviet Union. The rest articulate the line of Teng Hsiao-ping, Hua Kuo-feng and others who were united in their opposition to the line of the Left.

To many outside of China, including this editor, the seriousness and intensity of the struggle in the years 1973-76 was not fully appreciated until after the arrest of the Four. Hopefully, this collection will assist those concerned by the recent turn of events in China and all who seek to understand and learn from the experiences of the Chinese Revolution in seeing what was involved in Mao's last great struggle. An introductory essay has been included as background on the events leading up to the counter-revolutionary coup of October 6, 1976.

August 20, 1978

INTRODUCTION

MAO TSETUNG'S LAST GREAT BATTLE

Raymond Lotta

If there was one question that concentrated the contending viewpoints and lines within the Communist Party of China in the years 1973-76, it was how to evaluate the Cultural Revolution. The reasons were two-fold. First, the Cultural Revolution had not been concluded even though it had become commonplace outside of China to assume it was over by 1969. Second, the changes it had wrought became the focus of intense struggle at every level of the Party and society. The revolutionary forces were seeking to preserve and extend these changes and the rightist forces were trying to limit, undermine and ultimately eliminate them.

Great revolutions engender reaction as well as change and progress. Overthrown classes will never reconcile themselves to their fate. But more than this, as the Chinese revolution has demonstrated, with the continuing advance of the proletarian revolution in the direction of rooting out the inequalities and divisions of class society, there are some who cease to move forward with the new tasks of the day. There are communists, especially some leading members of the Party, who try to bring the revolution to a halt, come into opposition to it and become the target since it is they who wield power. They are revolutionaries and communists only in name. The Cultural Revolution gave rise to new struggles and alignments.

As indicated, one's attitude toward the Cultural Revolution became the touchstone of how he stood with respect to the rule of the working class. Mao, needless to say, had been most clear on this question. In 1969, he explained, "It seems that it won't do not to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them—leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers... There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among Party branch secretaries, but they followed that line of Liu Shao-chi's simply resorting to material incentive, putting profit in command, and instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth." "But there are indeed bad people in the factories." "This shows that the revolution is still unfinished." In other words, had this revolution not occurred, power would have been lost. Moreover, it was not over! Some

two and a half years later Mao would say, “We have been singing the *Internationale* for 50 years, yet on ten occasions certain people inside our Party tried to split it. As I see it, this may happen another ten, twenty, or thirty times.”

What Mao was underscoring in these years immediately following the stormiest episodes of the Cultural Revolution was that the question of whether the revolution would stay on course—whether China would stay on the socialist road—was by no means resolved and that, in fact, major struggles would continue to erupt, the outcome of which would determine the very survival of the revolution. These struggles were not simply defensive maneuvers or holding actions on the part of the working class. The Cultural Revolution was an unprecedented event in history in that it marked the first time in socialist society that a mass revolutionary struggle had been mounted against new exploiting elements that had arisen within party and state structures. But the results went beyond knocking these forces down and reclaiming those segments of society they had seized. In the course of these struggles major transformations in the character and functioning of the institutions of society were carried out (in fact, this was the only guarantee that the working class would hold on to them) and the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie, new and old, was challenged in every sphere.

The fruits of the Cultural Revolution were embodied in what came to be called the “newborn things” or “socialist new things.” These included worker-peasant-soldier enrollment in the universities, settling of educated youth in the countryside, revolutionary committees in factories to replace one-man management, the participation of Party cadres in productive labor, model revolutionary theatrical works, a widespread network of health clinics at low or no cost and the emergence of “barefoot doctors” (doctors and medics trained from and living among the peasantry) in the countryside, and so forth. These “new things” struck deep at the influence of capitalism and made it possible for the working class to extend its rule to institutions like the universities which had been run by academic overlords and which nurtured intellectuals and experts divorced from the masses and mass movements, both class struggle and the struggle for production. Precisely because of this such measures aroused strong opposition.

Lin Piao Affair

In 1969, at the time when Mao once again spoke to the need to continue the revolution, a major struggle was beginning to take shape with Lin Piao, Defense Minister and Vice Chairman of the Party, who had succeeded in having himself named Mao’s official successor. Liu Shao-

chi had headed up an encrusted bureaucracy which was severely punctured and challenged through the political upheaval of the Cultural Revolution. Essentially Lin Piao took advantage of this turmoil to fill the vacuum created by the criticism and dismissal of many cadre and officials and the dismantling of old mass organizations. Lin Piao's power base was mainly the army and he sought to fill these vacant posts with his men. The first major clash with Lin occurred over a draft Political Report that he and his forces prepared for the 9th Party Congress in 1969 which basically stated that the Cultural Revolution had achieved its aims and it was now time to push forward the economy. Lin had encouraged upheavals where there were others in his way and pushed revisionism where he had gotten his people into position. He used the masses as a pressure group for his own aims but didn't hesitate to clamp down on them when he had achieved those aims.

Lin was strongly rebuked by Mao, and the Report was rewritten to emphasize the continuing importance and scope of the Cultural Revolution. It is noteworthy that in the period 1969-71 record rates of increase in industrial output were attained under Mao's line of "grasp revolution, promote production." This principle means that politics must be in command of economics and that only by arousing the conscious activism of the masses is it possible to truly unleash the productive forces and transform the world according to the interests of the working class. For example, rules and regulations which confine workers to one post or skill and which make technical innovation or management the prerogative of a select few hamper the development of the productive forces because they stifle the initiative and activism of the masses and even promote antagonisms among them, conflicts over the use of machinery, for example. These are fetters that must be struck down, but this can only happen through the mobilization of the masses exactly because such fetters represent the continuing influence of the bourgeoisie.

As the struggle developed, Lin continued to insist on a wider range of participation of the army in the running of China. Mao was trying to de-emphasize the role of the army and establish the leading role of the Party on the basis of its reconstruction. With Soviet border pressures mounting and serious engagements occurring in April of 1969, Lin pushed for a policy of accommodation with the Soviet Union and reliance upon it for heavy weaponry. Mao recognized that accommodation with the Soviets was nothing more than capitulation. Lin also opposed any sort of rehabilitation of cadre and officials who had been criticized during the Cultural Revolution since it was totally anathema to his ambitions of having the army and his people in general dominate and monopolize the vital sectors.

Lin's power grabs and deception were not the result of some kind of megalomania. These methods flowed from a political line—a revisionist line—of not relying on the masses to change the world. At the Second Plenum of the 9th Central Committee held in the summer of 1970, Lin's forces were madly waving the red flag to oppose the red flag—extolling Mao's “genius” in order to render him a harmless icon while they planned to have themselves installed in various posts. Lin by then had been openly attacking many of the gains and transformations of the Cultural Revolution, labeling cadre participation in productive labor as “forced labor reform” and declaring that the policy of sending youth into the countryside amounted to nothing more than “disguised unemployment.” According to Lin the economy was hopelessly shipwrecked and the masses had suffered long enough. What they didn't need and what they weren't interested in was more politics; the only thing that concerned them was food on the table and wood for the home fires. It was a brazen attempt to play upon and stir up dissatisfaction and resentment among a section of the youth, especially the more highly educated, the cadre, and backward people among the masses, and to attack these new things because they went against his revisionist program.

Increasingly exposed and isolated, Lin was forced to attempt a military putsch in September of 1971. The Lin Piao affair was a traumatic one for China. It occurred at a time when attempts were being made to consolidate much of what had been won through the Cultural Revolution, when the Soviet threat had grown dangerously, and when the right wing that was under attack was beginning to recover from the more jolting blows of the early years of the Cultural Revolution and was regrouping and launching a counter-attack. Moreover, the attempted coup itself and the fact that its principal figure was the man who had been designated Mao's successor, caused great anxiety among the masses of people. It destabilized things, particularly within the army, and also raised questions about the Cultural Revolution since Lin had been so closely associated with it.

There arose the need to reorganize the army and uphold the Cultural Revolution. The situation gave an opening to the Right, however, which quickly seized upon the opportunity in the name of achieving order and stability. For Mao the task was to shore up the Party and army and struggle against the influence of Lin Piao, and to continue to build on the transformations of the Cultural Revolution. Yet at the same time many people who had earlier gone along with the Cultural Revolution now, under the guise of opposing Lin Piao, increasingly fought against the Cultural Revolution.

The struggle against Lin Piao in the period starting in late 1968 and intensifying in 1969 temporarily brought together two forces within the

Chinese Communist Party. There was the Left headed up by Mao, having as its base leaders of the Cultural Revolution. The other force was the old guard from within the Party center, the State Council and the regional and central military hierarchies, who continued to be an influential and numerically powerful section of the Party. These were grouped around Chou En-lai. The Cultural Revolution had exposed and removed Liu Shao-chi and the leaders close to him. Thousands of cadre had been criticized and overthrown in the course of the struggle against Liu. But there were many in the Party who, while basically holding to Liu's policies, were not directly in his camp and had escaped some of the harsher criticism. Others went along with the Cultural Revolution but did so in order to save their hides, while never really accepting its basic tenets.

Many who opposed or were at best half-hearted in their support of the Cultural Revolution, particularly within the State Council, were protected by Chou En-lai. This included people like Li Hsien-nien, Yu Chiu-li (both of whom had long been involved in planning and finance and periodically associated with Liu Shao-chi and his chieftains in these fields) and others. Such "protection" wasn't wrong in every case, but in some it definitely was.

Chou, himself, went along with the Cultural Revolution—after a point and up to a point. There was a bourgeois-democratic streak that ran through his entire career which accounts for the fact that his overall role in the Cultural Revolution was a negative one. Chou was a leading force among veteran cadre for whom the supreme achievement of the struggle of the Chinese people would be the building of the country into a modern state. When the feudal landlords and foreign imperialists obstructed this they fought them, and sometimes valiantly. But once power had been seized they tended to regard the political struggle as done and over and sought to put economic development above all else. This could only mean bourgeois economic development since their schemes rested on foreign technology, experts in command, and keeping the workers and peasants in their place as grateful oxen. By the mid-'60s Chou had concluded that China's defense and economic construction depended on accommodation and alliance with the West. This he saw not as tactical maneuverings and the exploiting of divisions within the enemy camp, but as a strategic orientation through which a "prosperous" China would be assured.

Chou had haltingly and grudgingly supported the mass movements of the 1950s and '60s but never really united with and gave leadership to them because, like other bourgeois democrats, he saw such movements as disruptive of making China powerful and modern. If Chou was ambivalent in the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, as it developed

further he actively opposed it. His sheltering of many rightists as Liu went down contributed to the development of a new bourgeois headquarters which increasingly had Chou, the consummate bourgeois politician, as its prime sponsor. That the revisionists ruling China exalt Chou while lashing out at Mao's line indicates exactly what Chou was up to for some time, perhaps even going back to 1949—promoting and protecting the interests of the Right.

For the revolutionary forces, Lin Piao in this period of 1969-70 posed the gravest threat to the gains of the Cultural Revolution since it became clear that he was not only bent on shoving it aside and seizing power but was in the strongest position to do so in the short run. For the forces who rallied around Chou, Lin also posed the most direct threat since his program basically amounted to sweeping aside all but his own people. The Left and the old guard Right therefore entered into alliance to oppose Lin and, directly related to this, to effect a shift in emphasis on two key policy questions. First, there was the matter of reducing the role of the army. Of the 170 full members of the 9th Central Committee, 74 were representatives of the PLA, and 38 of these were commanders or commissars from the regions. The tendency toward "independent kingdoms" had to be checked along with the military's dominant position in mass and Party organizations.

Second, there was the re-orientation of foreign policy based on the increasing Soviet threat. The handling of the subsequent "opening to the West" and its influence on the domestic class struggle would become the basis for sharp division between these two forces. And just as this unity was far from absolute, so, too, the forces around Chou were by no means in opposition to Lin Piao's position that principal emphasis must be placed on the development of the economy. This would soon become their loudly broadcast credo. In short, each went after Lin Piao for different reasons and would use the campaign against him toward different ends: the revolutionaries did so to get at the counter-revolutionary—and basically rightist—features of Lin's outlook and program, the rightist forces used that attack on him to heap abuse on the Cultural Revolution as "ultra-left" and clear the way for undoing it and the revolution in general.

Right after Lin's fall, 32 key military generals occupying top posts were arrested or dismissed. Twenty-five regional and district commanders were removed in early 1973. The damage Lin had caused the army and Party had been considerable. In light of this and the Soviet threat, it became necessary to rectify the Party and army and reassert the Party's authority. In this context it also became necessary to rehabilitate more cadre—even some who had made serious errors. But how far this should go and on what basis people would be rehabilitated

would be a major bone of contention between the two camps. Many of these cadres harbored deep grudges and sought revenge for what they considered to be mistreatment at the hands of the masses during the Cultural Revolution and were not fully won to the changes of the Cultural Revolution which to them seemed impractical and dangerous. (Wang Hung-wen's speech to the Central Study Class, Text 1, speaks, among other matters, to this problem.)

The Left argued that it was necessary to bring many people back, but this had to be done on a principled basis of self-criticism and support for the Cultural Revolution. And bringing certain people back had not only to do with giving them a chance to prove themselves, but with winning over their social base of cadre who could be pushed into the enemy camp if their "leaders" were not given the opportunity to make a contribution. In sum, it was correct to bring certain people back and, further, it was necessary. Yet on no account could principle be cast to the winds.

The unity between the revolutionary forces and those headed by Chou grew more precarious and fragile by 1972. The Right had blasted Lin Piao as an "ultra-leftist," and in the name of re-establishing Party traditions he had damaged, they clamored for the return of more people who had been knocked down. The Cultural Revolution, because it was such a mass upheaval, undoubtedly had led to some excesses, and Lin had persecuted innocent people. But many people had to be criticized and knocked down, and big changes and transformations—which could only be achieved through revolutionary struggle—were necessary if the working class was to maintain its rule and continue the revolution. For the Right, rectification came to mean not strengthening Party and army organs on the basis of the Cultural Revolution, but restoring many of the practices that had been abolished through it.

Debates were increasing in 1972—in the realm of economic planning over how much initiative should be exercised at the local levels, and in the realm of industrial management over the viability of many reforms in the workplace such as collective leadership and the integration of technical personnel into production. The question of discipline and work norms was raised by the Right. In and of themselves these questions were not unimportant. There was continuing experimentation and the need for assessment; in fact, many of the practices pioneered in the early years of the Cultural Revolution had not been consolidated in many units until 1972, which gives some idea of the resistance to them. But the Right was not talking about protecting and consolidating these gains—and on that basis further improving them—they were questioning their basic feasibility. In March of 1972 they even talked about restoring individual management. Opponents of their attempts to rehabilitate cadre indiscriminately were branded "ultra-left." In debates over wage reform

(an issue that went unresolved in the early years of the Cultural Revolution) the Right put the stress on avoiding egalitarianism and continued to entertain the idea of the usefulness of incentives.

The forces led by Chou began to coalesce around a program of subordinating everything to economic development with specialists and experts in command and the large-scale rehabilitation of and granting of extensive powers to "experienced" cadre whom the Right argued were indispensable if China were to move forward. In the summer and fall of 1972, what was later described as an "evil wind" was stirred up on the educational front. This was the first real assault against a major innovation of the Cultural Revolution. Articles were written complaining of the lowering of academic standards since new recruitment policies and teaching methods had taken effect. Under the influence and pressure of the Right, some of the changes of the Cultural Revolution were undermined.

At the July 21st School at the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant, where workers, students and teachers had devised an examination system to remove the onus of success and failure, tests were now given in which, as a reversal of the policies of educational reform, students were not allowed to use books, discuss questions or even sit two at a desk. This was in direct opposition to Mao, who said examinations should teach and not be attacks on people. The worker-propaganda teams, which Mao said should be a permanent fixture of higher education, had diminished in importance in many universities.

Chou En-lai had a big hand in whipping up this "wind." He is credited by the current rulers of China with having attempted to tackle the question of the "level of education" in 1972, apparently incurring the wrath of the Four. He was said to be acting on the instructions of Mao, which was the exact opposite of the case. Where Mao stood was well known and in the educational debate of 1975-76 Mao came out clearly in support of the continued revolution in education (of which more later).

The tack of the Right was to harp on "ultra-leftism" as the main enemy of the revolution by making it seem that Lin Piao's problem was his excessive revolutionary zeal, and indirectly painting the Cultural Revolution as "ultra-left" and an unmitigated disaster since, they would argue, it gave rise to none other than Lin Piao. On this basis they went on the offensive; actually, they pretty much had the upper hand in the developing Party campaign to criticize Lin Piao through the end of 1972.

The Left went at the Lin Piao question in this period by carrying on criticism and study of his theory of genius which undercut the role of the masses in making history. This was part of the effort to link Party

rectification with criticism of revisionism. In August of 1972 in an article entitled "The Laws of Class Struggle in the Socialist Period" (Text 2) it was explained that "The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the socialist period, therefore, sometimes rises high and sometimes subsides like the waves. In terms of time, it finds expression in a major struggle every few years." The article, in addition to observing the inevitability of major struggles every few years, also slammed those who push a revisionist line in one struggle but escape undetected, only to jump out again. The point of what the Left was saying was obvious. It was not simply past history and Lin Piao that was being summed up but the current situation as well.

The coalition that had united in opposition to Lin Piao was now clearly fracturing and the two forces, those grouped around Mao on the Left and those broadly grouped around Chou on the Right, were coming into sharper conflict. The "evil wind" on the educational front and a string of rehabilitations climaxing in the return in April of 1973 of Teng Hsiao-ping, who had been the number two person in authority criticized during the Cultural Revolution, were dramatic indications of the power of the Right.

Teng could not have been brought back without strong backing from Chou, who from the beginning sought to unleash Teng against the Left. Chou's Confucian "care and concern" for people and institutions criticized during the Cultural Revolution and Teng's unrestrained arrogance suited the Right's needs well in their bid for power. Mao probably acceded to Teng's return, though not without strong reservations and certainly with the full knowledge that Teng would wind up doing what he had always done—organize around his political line in opposition to Mao. Mao's agreement to the rehabilitation of Teng, long a bitter enemy of Lin Piao, was most likely immediately linked to the need to carry out a major transfer of eight regional military commanders. But his return and rapid rise subsequent to all this was a measure of the strength of the Right and added to that strength.

To the revolutionaries it became increasingly apparent that the Right had seized initiative and this called for a counter-attack. In late 1972 and early 1973, the Left fought successfully for the verdict that Lin Piao was a rightist, cut from the same cloth as Liu Shao-chi. An article appeared in December 1972 earmarking Confucius for criticism based on his attempts to turn back the wheel of history. In March the concept of "new things" was elaborated in the Party press, along with the importance of upholding them. In Shanghai and Peking the first local trade union congresses since the early Cultural Revolution were held and strong criticisms were leveled against economism (the strategy of narrowing down the workers' outlook to the most immediate wage and

other economic concerns) and the policy of incentives. (These had come up in the wage reform discussion of 1972.) As 1973 wore on, preparations were being made for a Party Congress to render final judgment on the Lin Piao affair and set the future course of the revolution. In particular, an assessment of the Cultural Revolution and those who opposed it and demeaned its importance loomed as a major question. And there was the question of where people from the two camps would be represented in the Party structures.

10th Party Congress

It was obvious that there was intense struggle going into this Congress. The anniversary of the Party's forming in July was not formally celebrated, and Army Day in August was extremely low-key and perfunctory. There was no mention in the press of a final meeting of the Central Committee to prepare for the 10th Congress. But far more indicative of the intensity of the struggle was the fusillade of articles in the press controlled by the Left just before the Congress convened. There was the account of Chang Tieh-sheng, a student on a commune in Liaoning province who, instead of going through with an examination, had protested the unfair procedures and character of entrance exams. His example of fighting the attempts to undo the innovations of the Cultural Revolution was promoted.

Articles appeared in July and August upholding new Party members and worker-cadre as a vital force in the Party. The May 7th Schools which had been slandered by Lin Piao were defended as enduring achievements of the Cultural Revolution. These were usually farms where cadre would go periodically to engage in productive labor—growing their own crops for food and carrying on light construction—and to study Marxism-Leninism. The importance of carrying out the revolution in the superstructure was widely expounded in the press. In all, it was a rising crescendo of support for the gains of the Cultural Revolution linked, no doubt, with the struggle going into the Congress. The Left would probably have preferred that the Congress be put off some in order to accumulate its forces. The Right probably wanted to get it over with as quickly as possible since the Left was beginning to counter-attack.

The results of this Congress represented an overall victory for the Left. The line adopted at this Congress was a revolutionary one, even if the question of personnel and succession had not been satisfactorily resolved. In fact, on this level it was undeniably a stalemate.

The Political Report given at the 10th Congress resolved the important questions of line that were being battled out in favor of the revolu-

tionary forces. It hailed the Cultural Revolution and cited Mao's 1969 statement that "Probably another revolution will have to be carried out after several years." Lin Piao was branded a revisionist whose political line flowed from Liu Shao-chi's view at the 8th Party Congress that the main contradiction in China was between her advanced social system and backward productive forces. This summation was extremely pivotal to the perspective of the Congress and it would be contested once again in Teng's, Hua's and the whole Right's "General Program" of 1975.

The Report also drew attention to the dangers inherent in the new foreign policy laid down at the 9th Congress and which Chou had been most closely identified with. It stated that "Today, in both international and domestic struggles, tendencies may still occur similar to those of the past, namely, when there was an alliance with the bourgeoisie, necessary struggles were forgotten and when there was a split with the bourgeoisie, the possibility of an alliance under given conditions was forgotten." While both deviations of no struggle and no alliance were mentioned, clearly it was the former being targeted, given that China was undertaking an "opening to the West." The Report upheld the principle of "going against the tide," affirmed support for socialist new things, and vigorously defended the policy of instituting three-in-one combinations of old, middle-aged and young cadres as an important measure for bringing forward new successors to the revolution.

Wang Hung-wen's Report on the new constitution (Text 3) amplified some of these themes. It was emphasized that the three principles of "practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," which Mao had formulated in the wake of the Lin Piao struggle, were predicated on the first, "practice Marxism, and not revisionism." But not only did this Report elaborate on the principles which Party members were to observe, it also warned of problems and incorrect practices. For one, it alluded to the "unhealthy tendencies" of "going in by the back door," which referred to the abuse of position by cadre in which they would pull strings to get their children admitted into college or to get out of work in the countryside. It strongly warned against the leading cadre suppressing criticism.

Mao was obviously responsible for the inclusion of the principle of "going against the tide" in the Constitution. It revealed two things. First, that there was a rather strong conservative tide to go against and, second, that Mao stood against it. The question of the suppression of criticism can only be viewed in the same light. And the positive appraisal of the Cultural Revolution enshrined in this Constitution was a

blow to those conservatives responsible for such a tide and who had been insisting that the Cultural Revolution be stopped.

How was it that Chou En-lai, who was by no means enthusiastic about the Cultural Revolution in these years, would be delivering the Political Report to this Congress with its overall revolutionary thrust? To begin with, the Report itself was not the work of one person, but the result of intense struggle. And Mao had led the struggle to incorporate the lessons and perspectives of the Cultural Revolution into the Report. Lin Piao, as this very Report mentioned, had delivered a Report at the 9th Party Congress which completely ran counter to the line he had been organizing around.

More to the point, the fact that a correct line was embodied in this 10th Congress Report said something about the methods of the two camps in the developing struggle. The Right was whittling away at innovations on the educational front, attempting to restore the regime of specialists and profits in command in the factories, building its strength in the apparatus of government, and sowing doubts about the Cultural Revolution. Yet, they were not prepared nor was it to their advantage to confront Mao and the whole Left directly in order to have a revisionist line adopted. They knew Mao was quite ready and capable of resisting attempts to overhaul the general line. The Left could be forced to compromise on other questions, but not on this. The strength of the Right did not lie in open ideological struggle, especially since sticking to principle is not the hallmark of those who seek to undermine revolution.

Beyond these factors, it was important to the Left that Chou deliver this Report since he was the rallying point for the existing and emerging rightist forces. It was important that he go on record branding as “revisionist trash” Lin’s proposition that the main task was developing production, since that line had great currency in 1973 with Western technology then available, the Soviet menace growing, and eight years of intense class struggle and the trauma of the Lin Piao affair fresh in people’s minds. It was important that Chou endorse revolutionary views because as the struggle sharpened he would either stick to them or openly oppose them. In this way, the basis was being laid for the masses to grasp Chou’s role and position in the struggle from the standpoint of political line.

Moreover, Mao was trying to win over as many as possible, including Chou, to that correct line. In other words, it was a *line* that was being upheld and in which the masses were being educated. When it came under attack, public opinion would have been created to go on the offensive against its enemies. This was not only a principle that Mao had generally applied in past struggles; it was particularly relevant in deal-

ing with Chou, who commanded enormous authority and prestige among great sections of the Party and millions of Chinese people, just as Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao had in the '60s.

The distribution of key posts within the Party hierarchy involved considerable compromise. The question of succession was complicated and neither the Left nor the Right had a decisive edge in these positions. Chang Chun-chiao had been Secretary General of the Presidium but was not appointed a Vice Chairman of the Party Central Committee. Wang Hung-wen had been elevated to the number three position in the Party—a meteoric rise which could only have occurred with the backing of Mao—but was joined only by Chang (not counting Mao) from the Left on the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. Given that Wang was a relative newcomer, the Right reckoned that they could more effectively and easily isolate him as a leading person. Chang was a long-standing nemesis and his promotion was unacceptable to them.

The Central Committee contained many more representatives of the mass organizations which had developed through the Cultural Revolution, but it also contained 20 former Central Committee members who had been dropped in the Cultural Revolution, led by people like Teng and Tan Chen-lin (a former minister of agriculture); in addition, new people were added to the Central Committee who had been criticized and demoted during the Cultural Revolution. This was an index of Chou's strength and his persistent demands to bring experienced cadre back into the fold in order "to run the country well."

Why had Mao turned to the Four and brought them forward? First, because they had proven themselves in the Cultural Revolution, having played an outstanding and leading role in it. The 1967 January Storm in Shanghai with which Chang, Yao and Wang were directly associated was the first seizure of power during this struggle and served as a model for others. Workers united their ranks and overthrew the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and the administrative organs under its revisionist control. This was the first time that the question of removing capitalist roaders in power was resolved by the direct action of the masses. Chiang Ching had made enormous contributions on the cultural front which, it must be added, is a critical and quite difficult battleground for the working class since art has long been a stronghold of the old ruling classes.

The Four had also struggled to defend the gains of the Cultural Revolution in the years in which the disagreements between Mao and Chou were widening over how to proceed in the aftermath of the Lin Piao affair. Powerful pressures had been exerted to slow the Cultural Revolution in the face of Lin's wrecking and the growing Soviet menace and with conscious attempts being made by revisionists within the Party

to hammer away at and subvert the transformations of the Cultural Revolution, especially as more of them came back into the saddle.

The Four emerged as the most reliable people to carry the struggle forward. Many high-ranking veteran cadre could possibly be won over, but they could not be trusted to spearhead the continuing struggle. Mao saw the Four as the core of a revolutionary leadership within the Party and worked to create the most favorable conditions for this leadership to develop and in which the struggle against the Right could be prosecuted.

“Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius”

Following the 10th Congress the Left began to seize the initiative. An editorial in the September 29th *People's Daily* spoke of the need to establish local armed forces with real proletarian leadership, linked closely with the Party and capable of waging class struggle. The policies of sending educated youth into the countryside and struggling against tendencies to sneak out of this service through family connections were upheld in a publicized exchange of letters between parents and children from Liaoning. But the most significant counter-attack of the Left was the “Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius” campaign.

It was in the period preceding the Congress that articles concerning Confucius first began to appear in great numbers, but the campaign itself took shape only after the Congress. In February of 1974, it was announced that “A mass political struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao, is developing in depth in all spheres of life.” It was emphasized that “Whether one is active or inactive towards this cardinal issue of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius is a test for every leading comrade. . . . It is necessary to *link* this criticism with *current class struggle* and the struggle between the two lines, persist in revolution, oppose retrogression, adopt a correct attitude towards the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and enthusiastically support new emerging socialist things.” (Editor's emphasis; see Text 5.) This is the first salvo fired by Mao in the struggle against the bourgeois headquarters of Chou and Teng.

What were the main themes and purposes of this campaign and why did it assume the form it did? To begin with, the historical period that was being scrutinized was that of the replacement of the dictatorship of the slave-owning class by that of the landlord class. This was an important episode in Chinese history insofar as it marked a relatively thorough change in social systems. (The bourgeoisie in China was not able to effect a comparable change in the form of a democratic revolution given its weakness, and it fell to the working class to lead and carry

through this revolution.) This rise to power by the landlord class was accompanied by prolonged and sharp struggles against the declining slave-owners and their political and ideological representatives. As it turned out, there was a recurring struggle lasting over a period of several hundred years between the slaveholding and landlord classes over who would hold power. For the ruling proletariat whose historic mission is to wipe out exploitation and classes, this was an object lesson in two senses. It demonstrated that where an overthrown class has some strength it will attempt a restoration, and that the ability of the new class to hold on to and extend its power depends on its willingness and capacity to carry through with sweeping changes and adopt the sternest of measures against restorationists.

The historical personages highlighted in this campaign included Shang Yang and Chin Shih Huang. Shang was an official who had originated the system of feudal prefectures and country-wide rule through central appointments in place of the old slave system custom of granting territories to local rulers who could do what they wanted with them. Shang Yang also carried out an important land reform which allowed agriculture to develop more rapidly. The Legalists (so named because they advocated that arbitrary rule of slaveowners be replaced by a legal code conforming to feudal society) were those who fought to carry on and defend such reforms. Chin Shih Huang had continued the reforms pioneered by Shang Yang and defended them. He burned the books of Confucius, who had tried everything he could to save the old institutions under the slave system. Most spectacularly, he buried alive those scholars who opposed the reforms. Though what he was defending were the reforms of a landlord class, they pushed forward the development of society against the resistance of the slave-owners and their political representatives.

Confucius was, needless to say, central to the points being hammered at in the campaign. With the newly-rising landlord class stepping onto the center stage of history, Confucius advanced two slogans around 500 B.C.: "Revive states that have been extinguished, restore families whose line of succession has been broken, and call to office those who have retired to obscurity." This was a blatant call to bring back the dying and decadent; in a word, to restore the old order. The philosophical principle he based this on was "benevolence." As an injunction to the slave-owners it meant for them to put aside their differences and unite to defend their embattled system by throwing a few crumbs to the masses. Directed towards the masses, it was a transparent attempt to exact submission and obedience.

But Confucius was more than a contemplative "sage." He was an active counter-revolutionary who would conceal his treachery by his

clever dissembling—by his fraud of sincerity and of concern for the general well-being. He had gone back on a promise to peasants who had risen in revolt. Later, in his capacity as minister of justice and acting prime minister of the state of Lu in ancient China, he had killed one Shaocheng Mou who had attracted a large following on account of his advocacy of reforms. Confucius was a tyrant who had hypocritically decked himself out in the philosophical garb of benevolence and moderation.

The teachings of Confucius were the ideological grist and rallying point for reactionary forces throughout most of Chinese history. Lin Piao himself had taken up Confucian principles and had even taken to training his son in the doctrines of Confucius in order to prepare him to carry on a Lin dynasty. His theory of genius was but a lame extension of the Confucian cant that only the highest are wise. The Confucian kowtowing to authority and the contempt for those who work with their hands were still strongly felt influences in China and, in this respect, the campaign was linked with ongoing struggles against the Confucian legacy. For instance, many folk sayings and proverbs abusive of women have their origins in Confucius, and attention was turned during the campaign to the continuing manifestations of the subordination of women. This applied in their representation in leading positions, pay controversies in the rural areas, customs in courtship and marriage, and to the division of labor in the household.

The main political target of the campaign was the restorationist forces, those who hankered for the old and disparaged the socialist new things, people like Lin Piao who clamored that things had gone to extremes (expressing the Confucian “doctrine of the mean”) under the weight of the mass movement, and that nothing good could come of all this. The aim of the campaign was to arm the masses to understand the danger of restoration and the attempts by the right to reverse the correct verdicts of the Cultural Revolution. Its contemporary meaning was drawn by historical analogy to the restoration attempts by political representatives of the slave-holding class. This was a strong counter-attack against the efforts of the Right to challenge the reforms and transformations of the Cultural Revolution and to bring back cadre who were proven die-hards.

This was a campaign which was generally educational in nature. The goal was to build public opinion against the designs of the Right and to urge on people an understanding of the gravity of the situation. At its inception the purpose of the campaign was not so much to immediately launch a struggle of the sort that characterized the early years of the Cultural Revolution when leading cadre were toppled, but it was connected with and strengthened the continuing efforts to protect the gains

of the Cultural Revolution. On the Shanghai docks, at about the same time this campaign was unfolding, a major struggle occurred in which quotas had once again been put before political work and material incentives reintroduced to bribe workers to work and forget everything else, most of all revolution. Elsewhere workers had raised the slogan "Where are our cadres' hammers?" to protest the fact that in many units leading personnel had grown overbearing and had refused to engage in productive labor. These were struggles explicitly against retrogression.

There were other themes as well. The regionalism and localism that persisted and posed a serious problem in the military and the attempts by some provincial secretariats to oppose the unified line of the Party were attacked by way of upholding Chin Shih Huang's policies of unification. And the campaign also touched on the matter of national betrayal; as Confucians during the Western Han dynasty had slandered its war preparations and resistance to the maraudings of a reactionary slaveowning aristocracy to the north, so Lin had conspired to bring China under the protective umbrella of the Soviets—which meant nothing less than surrendering to them.

Yet, in looking back on this campaign it can be seen that Mao and the Left he led were not simply raising the issue of restoration in the abstract but alluding to and hinting at the actual officials involved through the medium of allegory. This was a long tradition in Chinese politics and a common method of argumentation and polemic within the Chinese Communist Party. In this case the Left was adroitly targeting Chou, Teng and others from their camp. Could it possibly be without significance that this was a campaign to criticize the person Confucius as well as Lin Piao and not just Confucianism—though as mentioned earlier, this was obviously part of it? Confucius, we learn from several articles, had been confined to bed because of a serious illness. Despite his much touted erudition we find that he "narrated but did not write." The parallels and insinuations are quite striking and it is Chou and also Teng who are the modern day Confucius.

Chou was the leading rightist or, at least, the leading sponsor of the Right within the Party and more than anyone else he was responsible for returning many disgraced and unrepentant officials to office. The "rites of Chou" (an ancient dynasty) was the political program of the Confucianists and referred to the policy of strict distinction between the social position of the slave-owners and the slaves, and to maintaining the rank and title of each of the slave-owning aristocrats. The name Chou would be enough to arouse suspicions as to who was being attacked, but the content of these rites is unmistakably analogous to the policies of Chou En-lai: his crash program of rehabilitation and cham-

pioning the old hierarchy of the Party. The Duke of Chou figures as a reactionary figure in the Confucian period and, as indicated, Confucius himself had been acting prime minister, an obvious allusion to Teng. The Right made it clear as to who symbolized what at the riot they incited following Chou's death where they raised the slogan "Down with Chin Shih Huang," who to both the Left and Right stood for Mao.

What gave added force and relevance to the Confucius image was the fact that he was sinister and cunning at the same time that he spoke of righteousness and benevolence. Chou En-lai was exactly this sort of person—pious and sage-like and a self-declared protector of the people—who was conniving against the revolution. Perhaps it seems incredible that Chou En-lai, someone who had long been popularly associated with Mao and who seemed to possess distinguished revolutionary credentials, could function as the chief of the counter-revolutionary headquarters in the Party. But Chou was typical of an entire layer of Party officials and leaders who had come into its ranks out of patriotic and even, maybe, noble (in both senses of the word) aspirations but who regarded the continuing development of the revolution as more bother than it was worth and a threat to their security and position. That people like Chou may have played a positive role in the struggle at one time or another—especially in the early stages of the new-democratic revolution—may be true, but the line of demarcation between revolution and counter-revolution was no longer fundamentally whether you were willing to fight for independence and the abolition of feudalism in China but whether you were for continuing the revolution and upholding the Cultural Revolution. Chou En-lai was the Confucian par excellence, working for restoration everywhere in the guise of self-restraint and righteousness.

The Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius Campaign flowed from the points of principle that Mao would not compromise on at the 10th Congress: that the Cultural Revolution must be defended, that the Right was the main danger and Lin Piao was a rightist, and that "going against the tide is a Marxist principle." It should come as no surprise that the forces grouped around Chou, whose tide was being challenged, never played any sort of active role in this campaign—they had all along wanted a campaign against all they labeled Lin Piao's "ultra-leftism." The muted and somewhat elliptical character of the Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius Campaign was determined by the fact that this was the opening shot of what was clearly going to be a protracted struggle as evidenced by the line-up of forces at the 10th Congress. The struggle needed to unfold in a thorough way and public opinion gradually to be built up so that if a showdown came, it would be under the most favorable circumstances.

The situation that existed in early 1974 was that the Left had re-taken the initiative. But the question that divided the Party was still the Cultural Revolution, and this increasingly came to be interwoven with the struggle over succession. The Right had denounced Lin Piao to denounce the Cultural Revolution, and many officials who returned to power proceeded to attack its policies. With the campaign against Lin Piao and Confucius developing, the Right would cast aspersions on the Cultural Revolution by blaming it for problems and difficulties that existed in different sectors. At the same time, they would try to fortify their position in the central government. On the one hand, this enabled the Right to carry out its policies. (The foreign trade ministry, for instance, was fairly well controlled by them and they were able to introduce new trade policies. They broke with the long-standing practice of maintaining rough import-export equality and entered into long-term purchasing agreements involving disguised interest payments.) On the other hand, they could build up their political strength and squeeze out the Left. Teng was brought onto the Political Bureau in January of 1974.

The Left, by contrast, was building a political movement among the broad masses. But by the summer of 1974 the Right was able to regain the upper hand and the Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius Campaign was snarled. The Right would blame it for production difficulties and inciting workers to turn on each other. The Left insisted on linking it with production. Many units reported increases in output when workers criticized Confucius' idea that only the talented can rule and related this to establishing more comradely relations between workers and managers which further broke down the division of labor between them.

The struggle on the cultural front heated up considerably in late 1973 and early 1974. The appearance in China of symphonic orchestras from abroad stirred great controversy. The Left did not oppose these visits as such; the question was on what terms and on what basis would they be hailed or would such cultural exchanges be recognized as an aspect of necessary diplomatic initiatives to the West which, however, increased bourgeois influences. Chou En-lai, it seems, was responsible for making the arrangements for these visits and the Right was generally accelerating its efforts to open the floodgates to bourgeois culture. In response, Chiang Ching, or those working under her direction, wrote articles analyzing the nature of Western classical music. (See Text 11.) Can such music like untitled sonatas and concertos purporting to be above time and place actually be considered devoid of meaning and without class content? It was explained that this music was bourgeois and must be criticized, though some of the form could be critically assimilated.

These discussions of classical music were not idle academic exercises.

As Mao continually emphasized, the role of the superstructure—not only politics but culture as well as ideology, etc.—is extremely important in socialist society—at times, decisive. Many areas of the superstructure remain strongholds of the bourgeoisie. They will use their influence in certain spheres, like art and literature, to spread reactionary ideology and create public opinion favorable to them. Such influence, if not opposed head on, can undermine and sabotage the socialist economic base. This is why it is an urgent necessity for the working class to occupy and transform all aspects of the superstructure.

At the same time, this involves the very important question of what is the correct policy toward intellectuals—in particular, full-time cultural workers—whom the bourgeoisie tries to cultivate as an element of its social base. The intellectuals are the most inclined to prostrate themselves before this music. They must be struggled with and, on that basis, encouraged to contribute to the revolution by portraying the images and the world outlook of the proletariat—critically assimilating what is useful from the past and from abroad.

The Left was taking up this question in connection with the “opening to the West” and the dangers inherent in the necessary initiatives taken by the Chinese government toward establishing certain ties with capitalist countries. The point they were making was not that it was wrong to deal with the West as a counter-weight to the Soviet threat, but that this could not be taken as a license to swallow the whole thing—bourgeois culture and all its corrosive influence. This fawning before foreign culture went hand in glove with the debasing of new proletarian art—like the revolutionary operas—and obstructing their development. And if there was any doubt as to where this foreign culture would lead, the Left held up the example of Italian film producer Michelangelo Antonioni who ostensibly set out to make an objective documentary about China, which was nothing but a wholesale attack on socialism, even though it was “artfully” and “subtly” executed.

The Right was so emboldened on the cultural front, which the Left controlled, that they brought out an opera called “Going Up Peach Tree Peak Three Times,” a rather undisguised re-make of an opera of a slightly different name, “Going Down Peach Tree Peak Three Times” which Liu Shao-chi had made use of to promote his agricultural policies. It was as if the Right were throwing down the gauntlet and saying “to hell with all your Cultural Revolution.” And speaking of opera, none other than Hua Kuo-feng had a hand in the production and subsequent filming of an opera in Hunan depicting school life called “The Song of the Gardener.” The Left raked this opera over the coals in August of 1974 for its derogatory treatment of students and its view

of teachers as all-knowing.

It was at this time that the Chou forces began to translate their antipathy toward the Cultural Revolution into a more definite program to be consecrated as the "four modernizations." At the same time, further efforts were made through additional rehabilitations and promotions to shore up their flanks and provide for acceptable successors. The Right was not an undifferentiated bloc. It was shot through with feuds and rivalries suggestive of the warlords. There were policy differences over the degree to which concessions should be made to the Soviet Union, over how fast to embrace the West, and so on. But the Right was defined and determined in relation to its opposite—Mao and the Left he led. The glue that held the Right together was its unyielding insistence that Mao's line not be carried out and carried forward by the Four. The leading figures of the Right were Chou and Teng, the former its unifying force and main rallying point, and the latter its hatchet man against the Left.

Who were the forces allied in the camp headed by Chou? First were people like Chou, Li Hsien-nien, Yeh Chien-ying and others whom Chou had protected on the State Council. These were at best wavering elements in the Cultural Revolution who tried at critical junctures to short-circuit it. This was most notable in the February Adverse Current of 1967 which Yeh and Li had been connected with. This was an attempt to call the Cultural Revolution to an end before too many toes got stepped on.

Chou himself, it seems, had been won by Mao to going along with the Cultural Revolution. Back in 1956-57 Chou had dragged his feet and, in effect, opposed the great upsurges that led to the Great Leap Forward, though he later came around to supporting it. So it should come as no surprise that Mao would say that he was a minority of one at times among the old guard on the Central Committee in the period leading to the Cultural Revolution. Chou's eventual support was no doubt conditional on certain limits being placed on the scope of the Cultural Revolution and with assurances that he could maintain some order. But the continuing upheavals and the carnage left by Lin Piao most likely convinced him that Mao's conviction that the Cultural Revolution would continue, admittedly in different forms and with varying degrees of intensity, was reckless and out of touch with the necessity of getting down to building China's economy and thereby strengthening its defense.

Precisely how this break with Mao took shape is, of course, a matter of speculation, but the policies he had been associated with and the forces that Chou turned to—Teng being the most obvious—place him squarely in the camp of reaction. Chou En-lai was a shrewd and cagey

politician, not as the Western bourgeoisie would have us believe because he was a realist, but because he himself had learned something from the two-line struggles that had taken place within the Chinese Communist Party. He was ready to exploit the prestige that was his and play upon the careerism of many Party cadre, along with sentiments for a "return to normalcy" that undoubtedly existed among some sections of the masses as well as a good number of cadres and intellectuals. In a word, he was a condescending savior who epitomized everything the Cultural Revolution was aimed against—which in small measure accounts for the scorn heaped on the Cultural Revolution by the current rulers for whom Chou stands as the archetypal "practical-minded" communist.

In Chou's camp were not only the half-hearted elements among the cadres and intellectuals whom he protected, as well as unrepentant capitalist roaders like Teng. There were also people in his camp like Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, and Hua Kuo-feng. Chi and Hua had been knocked down in the early phases of the Cultural Revolution (in 1966 Hua was attacked as a "royalist" and removed from the Hunan secretariat), but they came back rather quickly and supported the Cultural Revolution to the extent that they didn't have to stick their necks out. These people were not militant partisans of the Cultural Revolution, but they were beneficiaries of it. The Cultural Revolution had destroyed the careers of not a few high Party officials and made it possible for lower-ranking cadres to rise. They profited from some of the changes of the Cultural Revolution and would at times defend them. These people had a certain stake in recognizing its legitimacy.

Hua had come into the State Council in 1971-72 to work under Chou and to work along with people like Wang Tung-hsing in the security network as part of the investigation team around the Lin Piao affair. They were part of a new guard that had not played a major role either in supporting or opposing the Cultural Revolution but whose political sensibility was basically that of the Right. They would fall out differently on particular questions depending on particular interests, how their careers were affected and what the balance of forces was; however, on the fundamental question of where things would go after Mao died and the Four emerged as the leadership core to continue his policies, they lined up with the forces of reaction.

4th National People's Congress

Preparations began towards the end of 1974 for a National People's Congress. The Right went into it with a certain amount of clout. Their base had solidified somewhat with many returned cadres in place, and

the economy had not fared as well as anticipated, providing them with some ammunition that things were getting wildly out of hand. This argument about the dismal state of the economy would rear its head again and again. It was a rather stale one at that, since the Right had been raising the specter of economic disorder and collapse in a big way beginning with the Great Leap Forward in 1958, which saw peasants organize into communes and alter the landscape of the countryside with industry and construction projects that relied on mass initiative. To the Right, the prospects of peasants making steel or workers discarding oppressive rules and regulations was tantamount to the worst sort of anarchy. The revolutionary view, the view of the Left, was that, yes, unleashing mass movements to spur production and raise the technical level of the workers and peasants would unquestionably lead to some dislocations and problems, but the long-term benefits more than justified these difficulties—it meant the rational geographic distribution of industry, the diffusion of skills and the more direct participation of the masses in the running of the economy. Typically the Right would hamper and sabotage these movements, but later when some of these construction projects, for instance, began to pay off, they'd turn around and take credit for them, saying, "Hey, look, we brought back the order that made all this possible."

If one were to gauge the success of revolution on the basis of immediate economic results then it might be better to invite international capital in to exploit and develop resources (something which the current rulers of China seem on the verge of doing). For that matter, one might move to Indonesia which in the late '60s and early '70s had a higher per capita growth rate than China. But since when does a communist predicate his strategy and basic principles on what happens in one or a few years?

The revisionist rulers' attempts to justify their reversals on the grounds that disruptions existed within the economy is merely a circular argument. It was the Right that was actively pushing bourgeois policies (as outlined earlier). The Left mobilized the masses to wage big struggles to prevent the Right from imposing these policies, and then the Right would turn around and say, "See, we need such policies to restore order and get the economy going." As for the health of the economy, although the rate of industrial growth had slipped to 4% in 1974, in the period since 1964 industrial output had increased by over 190%. And the most important point was that the masses were increasingly involved in running the economy, and this provided the basis to solve production difficulties in the interests of the working class, which in the long run would result in more rapid and *socialist* growth.

The political struggle and maneuvering going into the National Peo-

ple's Congress, as with the 10th Party Congress, was quite intense. It was decided at the 2nd Plenum of the 10th Central Committee held shortly before the People's Congress that Teng Hsiao-ping would be made Chief of Staff of the Army and Chang Chun-chiao made head of its Political Department. Mao neither attended this meeting nor the People's Congress and, as his subsequent instructions would indicate, he was unhappy with the direction in which things were going.

Chou delivered the Main Report on the Work of the Government (Text 15). The line in the Report, in the main, upheld the revolutionary program of the Left. The Cultural Revolution was assessed as having far-reaching influence, and the Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius Campaign was affirmed and, most important, declared to be the "primary task," which was mentioned in connection with supporting socialist new things. The Report even underscored a fundamental theme of the Left—the struggle of the Legalists against the Confucianists, that is, the historic struggle against restorationists. Who but Mao could have had this put into the Report, given the fact that Chou and Teng had hardly anything to do with this campaign save being targets of its criticism and doing what they could to obstruct it?

In addition, the Report says "Reactionaries at home and abroad asserted that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution would certainly disrupt the development of our national economy, but facts have now given them a strong rebuttal." (Exactly *who* was asserting this is, by now, no mystery.) The Report underscored that "socialist revolution is the powerful engine for developing the social productive forces." Finally, the Report put forward a plan for economic development spanning the next 25 years. It conceived of a two-stage process of modernization which would culminate in China's "economy advancing in the front ranks of the world" by the year 2000.

In effect, the Report passed judgment on the key question of the significance of the Cultural Revolution and socialist new things, and what the primary task was, i.e., broadening the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius "in line with the principle of *making the past serve the present*" (emphasis in original).

As for the question of modernization, Chou, interestingly, could find no recent statement by Mao in connection with this plan. Mao had in 1974 issued a directive to push the national economy forward, but Chou was forced to predicate his plans for modernization on a 1964 statement by Mao made prior to the last People's Congress in 1964. Mao was not opposed to modernization, but—as later struggle would make even clearer—he was opposed to making it the overall task facing the Chinese people.

These were the terms of the impending showdown between the forces

headed by Chou and those headed by Mao: what was principal, modernization or class struggle? In Chang Chun-chiao's Report on the State Constitution (Text 16) he explained that the inclusion of the right to strike in Article 13 was at Mao's personal insistence. Why? Because although Mao recognized the desirability of unity and stability, he never lost sight of on what terms—the waging of the class struggle. He was quite clearly not of the opinion that it was time to rein in the class struggle for the sake, or in the name, of modernizing.

As conceded by the current rulers, Mao spent a sleepless night before the Fourth People's Congress was to convene and put forward an instruction to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Shortly after the Congress completed its deliberations, Mao released this statement along with several others: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation."

Mao then spoke about the socialist system: "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as capitalism. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed." "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works." "Lenin said, 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life."

Mao issued these statements because he saw the Right beginning to move boldly, and it was necessary to challenge them on the theoretical front. The class struggle focused exactly on grasping why the proletariat must exercise its dictatorship. Mao was concerned that the necessary tasks of economic construction were unleashing powerful bourgeois influences and that the Right was using modernization to liquidate revolution. As Teng would express it, "More hard work, less empty talk." Therefore, Mao re-emphasized the struggle against revisionism.

Central to Mao's plan was the release of two articles, *On the Social Basis of the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique* by Yao Wen-yuan, and *On Ex-*

ercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie by Chang Chun-chiao (Texts 18 and 19), which made important analyses of the nature of the socialist transition period. That these pamphlets were signed indicated that they were to be taken seriously and that a major struggle was brewing. It was similar to Mao's release of a signed article by Yao in 1965 which was an opening shot in the Cultural Revolution. Chang and Yao's 1975 articles were a major counter-attack on the revisionism the Right was pushing, particularly in connection with the Fourth National People's Congress. The Right maintained that the key to China's development and survival as a socialist country lay in the so-called "four modernizations." The Left answered that economic growth in and of itself was no guarantee that socialism would advance. As Chang put it in analyzing the experience of the Soviet Union, "Never should we forget the experience of history in which the satellites went up to the sky while the red flag fell to the ground." What followed was a deeper analysis showing that the very soil of socialist society gives rise to capitalist relations and new bourgeois elements representing them and, consequently, that the key to the survival of the revolution lay in persevering in the dictatorship of the proletariat and waging class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

One of the key things being challenged was the notion that China's weak economic foundation made it impossible to restrict bourgeois right in distribution. This is the principle of payment according to work performed which, though a great advance over exploitation, actually sanctions inequality since people's needs and capabilities differ. (At a wages conference held in the spring of 1975, Teng had argued that the material conditions wouldn't permit the narrowing of wage differentials.)

In addition the Left maintained, in keeping with Mao's statements, that unless the relations of production were continually reformed and differences restricted, capitalism would grow rapidly, enabling new bourgeois elements to grab up more wealth and increase their power over the productive process and society as a whole. The Left insisted that the existence of the *form* of collective ownership was not enough to ensure the rule of the workers and the advance toward communism. What counted was the actual *content* of the ownership—whether the workers were really in charge of enterprises and whether a line of narrowing and restricting or one of expanding differences and inequalities was in command. The dictatorship of the proletariat could not stop half-way, either at a certain level of ownership or only in certain sectors. The working class must exercise all-round and long-term dictatorship if the political, economic and ideological strength and influence of the bourgeoisie were to be defeated and society to move forward. This

could only be achieved through continued revolution. Those who refused to recognize this were not genuine communists.

"Three Poisonous Weeds"

The Right, it goes without saying, would have none of this. It ran completely counter to Chou's prescription of modernization above all else. Teng, who by now was the functioning Premier, geared for a counter-attack. Pivotal to this was the Right's use of the central government organs which were being stacked with their people. Out of 30 appointments to the Center in 1975, 20 had been rehabilitated cadre. The Right's motives for bringing people back in droves by the end of 1974 were now patently obvious.

Teng pushed for conferences in the period between May and October 1975 for the steel and national defense industries, agriculture, education, science and technology, and military affairs. According to wall posters he attended at least six of these and similar conferences. These conferences were in tune with a "General Program" that had been drafted under his supervision in the summer of 1975. (See Appendix 1.) The program was a coherent—if nakedly revisionist—account of what the Right's plan for modernization entailed. At the heart of it was putting the development of the national economy in command of everything else and major (and ruthless) rectification and adjustment in all areas of industry, agriculture, finance, commerce, education and so on.

Essentially the argument raised was that production had been so stymied and impaired by the new and more simple administrative structures and the rational rules and regulations fought for by the workers, so disrupted by the carrying on of political campaigns and education in the plants that only the most drastic of measures, described as "rectification," would enable production to get going at a rapid clip. The crux of this "rectification" was what Teng called the "question of leading bodies." That meant getting rid of people—the revolutionaries. It only made sense: if you're going to impose top-down methods of management and push a revisionist line, then it becomes crucial to have the right people who are steeped in this outlook in the right place, i.e. on the leading bodies. (For a remarkably similar view to Teng's caterwaulings about how the political movements were ruining production the reader is advised to look at the Soviet commentary (see Appendix 5) which puts forward the same analysis as Teng, that is, socialism in China is a failure because the masses are running amuck and must be put back in their place. While the contradictions between the ruling revisionists of China and the Soviet Union are quite sharp, they represent bourgeois nationalist conflicts, and what these revi-

sionists have in common is an unbridled hatred and contempt for the masses, revolution and Mao's line.)

The "General Program" took three instructions that Mao had issued at different times in 1974 concerning the development of the economy, promoting stability and unity, and studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and combined them into one "interrelated and inseparable" whole which was to serve as the general program for the next 25 years, that is it would guide the "four modernizations." This became known as "taking the three directives as the key link" and it was designed to scotch the class struggle, as Mao would later point out. The "General Program" resurrected the summation of Lin Piao as "ultra-left" and challenged the formulation contained in the report given at the Fourth National People's Congress that "only when we do well in revolution is it possible to do well in production," and ridiculed the anti-Confucius campaign. It portrayed the Left as factional disrupters and basically issued a call to attack and purge revolutionary cadre and to pounce on the new things. This was the "rectification" so earnestly desired.

Two other reports, one on Industrial Management and Planning and the other on Science and Technology (see Appendices 2 and 3) slammed the innovations of the Cultural Revolution in these spheres. Taken together these documents proposed a plan for economic development no different in substance from what Teng had been criticized for in the Cultural Revolution. It entailed dependence on the acquisition of advanced technology from abroad, the bartering away of resources to get it, and the reimposition of highly centralized management and strict rules and regulations to push workers harder. These were the "three poisonous weeds" and Hua Kuo-feng was, by acknowledgment of the current rulers in China, directly involved in the preparation of the report on science and technology, while he was linked with the two others.

In the realm of science and technology, the hue and cry raised by the revisionists was "What is the revisionist line in scientific research? Can anyone give a clear answer?" The implication, of course, was that science is science and how can politics possibly have anything to do with it. Well, a revisionist line in science was not so much of an imponderable; Hua and others, in collaboration with the functioning head of the Academy of Sciences, had crystallized such a line in their "Outline Report on Science and Technology." The essence of their Report was that a serious gap existed between science and technology in China and world standards, and that policies which had been established through the Cultural Revolution such as "open door research"—which involves combining study and work in the laboratory with investigation and work in relation to productive labor and sci-

tific experiment by the masses—had been “indiscriminately applied.” The Report then went on to say that scientific research, not the experiences and innovations, and the conscious activism, of the masses, was the leading factor furthering production. On that basis, it proposed that new conditions be established so that scientists and technicians could carry on their research unimpaired by the commanding role of proletarian politics.

What was being called for by the Right was the return to pre-eminence of bourgeois intellectuals, the so-called first-rate authorities, whose lives were being “wasted” because they had to go out and share their knowledge with others, link their work with the concrete needs of socialism in China under the leadership of the Party—putting applied research in first place—and learn from the mass movements of the workers and peasants. Hua’s Report was a paean to professionalism and expertise, to reinforcing the separation of intellectuals from the masses.

Knowledge according to these revisionists was not the product of mass movements and collective experience but was the preserve of individuals. Scientific knowledge was not a weapon to use to change the world; it was a commodity which entitled those who owned it to rank, position and fame. Not only was this line a direct attack on Mao, who had formulated the policy of “imparting knowledge to the working people and requiring the intellectuals to take up manual work,” but it would—and will now that this line is being implemented today in China—have the effect of stifling and distorting scientific work since it flows, not from the actual needs of the masses of people, but from the pursuit of gain and recognition.

There is no better example of what all this means than the hymns of praise that have been sung to some effete mathematician in China who for years has been agonizing over the so-called Goldbach conjecture whose practical application is little if any, but whose value in the eyes of bourgeois intellectual circles is apparently inestimable. So we find articles gushing with admiration for this fellow who spends virtually every waking minute of the day locked up in his study trying to prove the theory which will enable you to understand that 8 equals 3 plus 5. This is the model for scientific work promoted in China today—not that of scientists who go among the people—and just to remove the doubt as to what rewards are in store for these people, the rulers have reinstated the system of titles and regular promotions. In accordance with the recommendations of the Outline Report, scientific workers are now being recalled in droves from the factories and the countryside.

The circulation of these documents, the convening of these conferences, and attacks on and dismissals of revolutionary cadre (perhaps as many as 2000 younger cadre, most of whom had become leading

people during the Cultural Revolution, were ousted in the Peking area between the end of 1973 and the circulation of these weeds in 1975) marked this rightist offensive which would later be known as the right deviationist wind. Teng and his confederates on the State Council were directly rebuking Mao. Nowhere, for instance, in the discussion of wage principles in the Report on Industry is there any mention of, much less agreement with, Mao's statements earlier in the year that the existence of the eight-grade wage system can make it possible for people like Lin Piao to rig up a capitalist system relatively easily if they come to power.

Teng was riding high, proudly and unabashedly broadcasting revisionism. He would bluster that he wasn't afraid to be uttering such counter-revolutionary notions. He called upon others to summon up the courage to "pay attention to production," as though that somehow were a forbidden subject when, in fact, he was hoisting the banner of production above all else—especially revolution. This much must be said about Teng Hsiao-ping: he was as crude in his revisionism as Chou En-lai was refined in his.

The campaign to study the dictatorship of the proletariat and combat and prevent revisionism found expression in new practices and experiences to criticize and limit bourgeois right in various sectors and to gradually remove the conditions which, the Left emphasized, gave rise to capitalism. The Chaoyang Agricultural Institute in Liaoning was put forward as a model in 1975 to illustrate how restricting bourgeois right was being carried out in education (see Text 34). What distinguished this Chaoyang Institute was that it was located in a rural area and most of its students would return to the communes. Even in this period, by contrast, many agricultural schools were based in the cities and substantial numbers of students would not go back to the countryside. The Chaoyang curriculum reflected the actual needs of socialist development in the countryside and insisted on the closest integration of teachers, students and peasants in work and study. Political questions received first attention.

Attempts were also made to restrict the corrosive influence of rural trade fairs—where private trade went on—and an experimental socialist big fair in Liaoning Province was cited as a model to learn from. In a *People's Daily* article (Text 21) explaining the approach in dealing with such questions it was stated that "In the period of socialism, there inevitably exist bourgeois rights such as the trade fair. . . . Their existence is allowed by the Party's policy. But they should not be given oxygen and blood and be allowed to grow unrestrictedly." It then proceeded to recount efforts to establish new kinds of fairs which limited bourgeois rights in the sphere of exchange and to some degree in production.

These models were not warmly received by the Right. The sharpening struggle within the Party was reflected throughout society in 1975 in major struggles, and disruptions occurred in factories in many parts of the country. There had been escalating struggle in 1974 as the anti-Lin Piao/Confucius campaign unfolded and workers had fought to resist attempts to reduce the scope of worker participation in management and cadre participation in labor. But now this began to dovetail more directly with the increasingly open collision between the two headquarters within the Party. In Hangchow in the summer of 1975, major disputes broke out in some 25 factories and the PLA was called in to restore order.

While the exact terms of the struggle (working conditions and cadre participation in labor seem to have been part of it) and the forces represented locally are not entirely clear, the clashing perspectives of the dictatorship of the proletariat campaign and the Teng-led counter-offensive were certainly involved, as were principals from both camps. To blame the Four for disruptions ignores the fact that the Right would try to blunt the cutting edge of various campaigns and use them for their own political purposes by getting workers to form into factions which local leaders could use against their opponents. Moreover, the Right had a vested interest in proving that the reforms of the Cultural Revolution weren't working, which meant sabotaging the development of the new things and causing disruptions. They were the ones mainly responsible, and to the extent that the Left caused disruptions, it was necessary in order to defend the gains the Right was attacking. These were righteous struggles which would be far less disruptive to socialism than a counter-revolutionary seizure of power—exactly what the Right was building towards.

One of the most concerted and concentrated bids to undo the victories of the Cultural Revolution was on the educational front. This only made sense since the educational system is an indispensable link in the rule of one class or another—shaping the outlook of new generations. But the Right was not only trying to reverse policies. It was also attempting to appeal to the intellectuals and teachers who had been subjected to intense criticism during the educational struggles and who were an important element of the social base that could be mobilized by the Right. In July, Chou Jung-hsin, the newly appointed Minister of Education, went on tour and vented his spleen against policies such as open door education in which students would spend time in factories and the countryside as part of their studies. He decried the “lowering” of academic standards (only recently his mentor, Teng, has referred to a whole generation of “intellectual cripples” who were products of the educational reforms). The complaints of “deterioration” and “things are not working” were voiced

more openly. The point, of course, was that as long as these new things were around, bourgeois standards of excellence were bound to "deteriorate."

Criticism of Water Margin

This was the right deviationist wind that was being fanned and in mid-August Mao struck back. He issued an instruction calling for criticism of the classical Chinese novel, *Water Margin*. The merit of the book, Mao pointed out, "lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation." Why was it important to criticize this novel? Because "it serves as teaching material by negative example to help all the people to recognize capitulationists." As in the anti-Confucius campaign, but in a more intense way, Mao was beginning to create public opinion through historical analogy. In this case, Sung Chiang, who is the main figure in the novel, sneaks his way into the ranks of the peasant rebels and seizes leadership. After having put up a show of resistance for a while he capitulates to the emperor and turns on the peasant rebels.

Broadly, Mao was making two points. One concerned the connection between revisionism and national betrayal. A revisionist line of experts in command and relying on assistance from abroad in a poor country like China will ultimately lead to dependency and defeat. By the same token a policy of conciliation towards the external enemy will only invite disaster. Economic and foreign policy issues such as the use of China's resources, trade talks and the border negotiations with the Soviets were certainly involved as was the release that year of several captured Soviet helicopter pilots—with a virtual apology—which Teng had evidently engineered.

Mao was also taking up the question of the conflicting viewpoints on how to deal with the war danger posed by the Soviets in particular. Would it entail a crash program of industrialization and foreign trade and with it a playing down of the class struggle so as not to allow anything to interfere with the execution of this program? Would China be strengthened by the imposition of order, any order? Mao saw things differently. While certainly upgrading of weaponry and further strides in the economy were important, and some compromises with certain imperialists and reactionaries were necessary because of the changing world situation, the strongest possible basis on which China could go into a war situation lay not in attempting to establish some kind of social peace but in mobilizing the people to wage the class struggle and in this way confront enemies at home and abroad. Any other strategy would lead to defeat.

It is not possible to examine Chinese foreign policy under Mao in any

depth here, but clearly the *Water Margin* criticism makes clear that Mao did not regard some sort of grand alliance with the Western powers as the linchpin of China's war preparations. His subsequent criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping for not making any distinction between imperialism and Marxism is aimed precisely at those forces who were glossing over the differences between the interests of the working class and those of reactionary foreign powers. Bringing China under the wing of one superpower today—and perhaps another tomorrow—this kind of bowing down in the name of national security will only lead to capitulation. This was the point Mao was making.

As for the "three worlds" theory which is attributed to Mao, he may have made some references to particular groupings of countries to analyze some secondary conflicts in the world, but he never intended this as a substitute for class analysis within these countries or the waging of class struggle. This is clear from many examples. When the new Chinese government Constitution was adopted by the ruling revisionists at the Fifth People's Congress, the so-called "three worlds" analysis was made the cornerstone or the functional equivalent of proletarian internationalism. Significantly, the last government Constitution, adopted when Mao was alive, contains no such formulation. And it is interesting that this "three worlds" analysis was not put forward as Mao's great strategy until after he died. As a strategy and as it is being put forward by China's rulers today, the "three worlds" theory makes alliances between China and various reactionary governments the starting point for foreign policy. It is a line that obliterates Marxism and revolution and proclaims the defense of China, and the "four modernizations" as the basis for this, the sacred and highest duty not only of China but of revolutionaries everywhere.

As for the Four, the present leadership in Peking accuses them of having cursed the "three worlds" theory. The whole history of the Four in combating the bourgeoisie in China, of resisting capitulation, as well as several statements on this subject (which is by its nature very sensitive) that are available, all argue that Hua and Co. are correct in accusing the Four of not going along with this theory. In Wang Hung-wen's speech to a delegation of Cambodians (Text 14) given a week before Teng's U.N. speech (Appendix 6) which first put out this theory, Wang called for continued support for revolutionary struggles and said that Mao "recently" reminded them, "We are communists, and we must help the people; not to help the people would be to betray Marxism." Similarly, in the course of the Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius Campaign, the Four called attention to the revisionist line of "the liquidation of struggle against the imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists, and the reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggles

and the people of various countries" (see Text 13). Such criticism clearly applied to then-current struggles.

The basic point Mao was making through the campaign around the *Water Margin* was to warn against impostaers like Sung Chiang who infiltrated into the ranks of the revolution only to commit treachery. These people would, like Sung Chiang, fight the corrupt officials but not the emperor. In other words, they would be for certain changes but not for thoroughgoing and continuing revolution. They would not persevere in the class struggle; they would only go so far and then betray it. Sung incidentally—or not so incidentally—was from a landlord background, and this biographical fact was a veiled allusion to the venerable and "veteran" cadre like Chou who were unwilling to fight the emperor—the bourgeoisie in all its forms and stages of development.

The release of Mao's comments on *Water Margin* was a siren that a big struggle was in the wind and that there were dangerous and despicable traitors within the ranks of the revolutionaries whose defeat required the greatest vigilance. It was time to start looking for them. It would come as little surprise, then, that the current rulers of China have precious little and nothing of substance to say about this campaign.

Once again, the methods of the contending headquarters and the programs around which they rallied their supporters came into sharper relief. The Left, using its influence in the media and with Mao as its sponsor, sought to mobilize public opinion against the lines of the Right by initiating these educational political campaigns which would, as they developed, force the issues and ultimately the backers of the rightist lines out into the open. The program around which they rallied people was that of continued revolution, of putting class struggle above all other tasks. The Right resorted to bureaucratic measures—adding to and consolidating its people in the government, Party and military hierarchies—and threatening "rectification" against those who would not comply.

Those like Hua who had come forward through the Cultural Revolution but whose experience was largely administrative (Hua had been linked with Li Hsien-nien for some time) were part of the Right's camp, though not always rigidly attached. There were rivalries and differences among these people, but what bound them together was their opposition to the program of continued revolution. And, especially, they stood opposed to the prospect of Mao's successors, the Four, assuming the reins of authority within the Party because that meant continuing to place the class struggle above and in command of production. The program that united this camp was the "four modernizations"—that is, modernization above everything else.

More "Right Deviationist Wind"

In October 1975 the Right made another major offensive at a "Learn from Tachai Conference."** Hua's Report was part of the rightist wind being whipped up. The significance of this conference and the Report was that this was the first major expression of the line of modernization above everything else which Chou tried but failed to have adopted at the Fourth National People's Congress earlier in the year. The implications of this "modernization" line became more apparent and this Tachai conference was a bellweather for what the Right had in mind for the economy.

It has been said that there was sharp struggle at this conference and Chiang Ching was reported to have branded Hua's Report—and not without good reason—as revisionist. The Report barely mentioned the Cultural Revolution and approached the class struggle at the time it was delivered as basically a mopping up operation consisting of wiping out the few remaining saboteurs and swindlers, most of whom were outside the Party. It was the same theme that ran through the "General Program": great victories have been won and it's time to get on with business—achieving the "four modernizations."

Hua's speech quoted Mao's statement that the country still practiced a commodity system and the eight-grade wage system but chopped off the conclusion that "if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works." In cutting this out, the essential thrust of Mao's statement was lost. The question of restricting bourgeois right was given only passing reference and, in particular, narrowing the differences between production teams was not spoken to. Significantly, Hua's report called for "rectification" at the county Party level—directing people's attention away from the struggle at the highest levels. The issue at this conference was not the importance of farm mechanization just as it was not the importance of modernizing industry, science and technology, and defense. It was on what terms to approach development of the economy and whether revolution would be in the leading position. Hua's speech left no doubt as to where he stood, and it became a key weapon in the Right's arsenal.

That same month some members of the Tsinghua Revolutionary Committee wrote Mao complaining of the decline of the quality of education on account of the innovations of the Cultural Revolution, as

*Tachai was an agricultural brigade which Mao put forward as a national model in the mid-'60s because of its ability to overcome natural difficulties and calamities and achieve high yields through the political mobilization of the masses against the influence of revisionism and bourgeois ideology.

had Chou Jung-hsin earlier in July. Mao sent their written criticisms to the students and staff of the University and called for a big debate around the line on education. Mao knew this would set off major struggles and raise large questions as to who was behind all of this and what was going on. How people lined up on this crucial question of the educational revolution would make it clearer where they stood with respect to other matters of fundamental principle. Mao said in this connection, "The question involved in Tsinghua is not an isolated question but a reflection of the current two-line struggle."

The dictatorship of the proletariat campaign had been slowed—more accurately, sabotaged—by the Right in the summer, and they in turn were attacking. The *Water Margin* criticism and the debate on the educational front were Mao's response to the Right's bolder initiatives. In particular, the "farrago" on the educational front, as it was called, sparked the struggle against the "right deviationist wind" in November.

The Four entered this struggle on the educational front in a big way and played a leading part in it. Chang Chun-chiao spoke at Tsinghua in defense of the principle of working class leadership in education, the continuing reform of the examination system and the importance of combining social practice and investigation with study. It was here that he evidently made the statement, "Bring up exploiters and intellectual aristocrats with bourgeois consciousness and culture, or bring up workers with consciousness but no culture; which do you want? I'd rather have workers without culture than exploiters and intellectual aristocrats with culture." This statement is held up to attack by the current rulers in China as though Chang believed workers didn't need culture. His point was they don't need the elitist anti-working class culture whose restriction the Right bemoaned, and that political consciousness was the principal consideration in schools, laboratories, factories, everywhere.

Where Mao saw all this going and who was being targeted was made even clearer in a statement that he made toward the end of 1975 which appeared in the 1976 New Year's Editorial. In response to Teng's line of "taking the three directives as the key link," Mao says, "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." It was about this same time that Mao said, in direct reference to the Right's attempts to wipe out the changes brought about through the Cultural Revolution, "reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people." Along with these blasts at Teng and Company, Mao brought out two poems (see Text 25), whose themes that the masses want more than just plenty more to eat, that they want a whole new world, and that only by daring to scale

the heights can the world be transformed, were obvious retorts to Teng's efforts to rally the masses around the most narrow concerns and interests and his hankering for the past. By this time the educational struggle had been spreading to other institutions and Mao was expanding the line struggle beyond education. The "General Program" and its line was coming under attack and its sponsors, notably Teng and, behind him, Chou, were being pressed.

On January 6th Chou died. The effect of this on the developing struggle was two-fold. The Left, which was beginning to retake the initiative and beginning to expose Teng more thoroughly, could begin to move decisively now that Chou himself could no longer protect Teng. On the other hand, the issue of succession was forced and the two camps would directly clash on this question. The developing movement against Teng was initiated by Mao, and it could only have been as a result of Mao's intervention that Teng was passed over as Premier. Some wall posters have it that Mao acted in defiance of majority opinion and that Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsien-nien and Chu Teh were not seen for some time after the meeting, indicating their displeasure with the whole thing.

Be that as it may, Hua Kuo-feng was appointed acting Premier. This designation, and the fact that Hua, by himself, did not have any substantial power base, could only mean that this was an expedient measure dictated by the balance of forces. Mao and the Left, who wanted Chang Chun-chiao as Premier, could not prevail. But Teng, having been deflated by Mao already and coming under the gun of mass criticism, could not be pushed forward by the Right. Yet the Right was strong enough to insist on Hua. Though he was part of their camp, he was not the same rallying figure that Teng was and did not command the same personal following. For this reason—and only for this reason—he was "unanimously" appointed.

The situation was volatile and both sides would press their assault. Shortly after, the Left published an article in the Party press about unrepentant capitalist roaders. The Right would soon swing into action. Between the 29th of February and the 5th of April, the Right organized demonstrations in Peking culminating in a riot on the latter date. Military vehicles were overturned and burned, and people were assaulted as the Right massed thousands of people to pay tribute to Chou and his policies, as represented by Teng, and to attack the Left. This Tien An Men Square incident (Text 27) was a rather blatant attack on Mao himself as well as the Left in general. Signs declaring that "the time of Chin Shih Huang has gone already," "down with the Empress Dowager," and "long live the four modernizations" were posted and similar slogans chanted. It took the combined efforts of PLA units,

police and militia to put it down. Similar incidents occurred in other cities as well.

The Right was emboldened to act because it became necessary to disrupt the campaign against the right deviationist wind that was bound to develop into a major assault on its strongholds. And while this demonstration was put down, it did succeed in dramatically hoisting the banner of the Right and making it clear that it was not going to go down without a fight, that in fact it would wage more savage resistance. In short, it was a call to its followers and would-be followers to take heart—the struggle would continue.

The demonstration, therefore, did achieve its aim of making a statement to and actively mobilizing the Right's social base. It was not intended as an actual bid for power. The incident also forced the Left to move immediately against Teng—who was a leading figure behind it. This, strange as it might seem, had the effect of blunting the campaign against him. He was ousted from his posts not as the culmination of a protracted campaign which had thoroughly exposed his line and revealed its revisionist roots through the course of intense ideological struggle and education. He was dealt with organizationally—summarily relieved of his posts—and at a time when the Left could not have someone from their camp appointed Premier.

Teng was dismissed. The Right had to go along with it since opposing this decision would have meant challenging Mao head on—something which, even as sick as Mao was, would not have been to their advantage at the time. On the other hand, they blocked Chang Chun-chiao from assuming the post of Premier and allowed Teng to keep his Party membership. Hua was appointed Premier and first Vice Chairman of the Party on the strength of the Right. Li Hsien-nien, a rightist who previously ranked above Hua in the Party and the State Council, might have been the Right's first choice after Teng, but Hua was right with him. Hua's appointment was part of the compromise made by the Left to get rid of Teng. To suggest that Hua was Mao's choice misses the point that given the balance of forces he was the only choice. The Right got Hua and blocked Chang—going along with the removal of Teng was their end of the bargain. What this demonstrated was that the Right possessed considerable strength, with Mao being their main obstacle to moving decisively against the Left.

Mao's thinking on the question of succession and the continuing fight against the Right (since as he would say “the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road”) was that the best hope for the Left lay in the deepening of the anti-Teng and anti-right deviationist wind campaign which was probably seen as going on not for months, but years. Through the popular mobilization, the Left could build up enough

strength to win over a majority of the Central Committee to unite with, or accept, appointments of the Left to the highest posts of the Party and state when Mao died. The possibility also existed that the Left wouldn't marshal the forces to win it at that level, and this argued even more strongly for developing the political movement. As for the Right, what they had to do was quash the movement.

Hua had to put up a semblance of support for the anti-Teng and anti-right deviationist wind campaign since Mao had launched it. Putting Hua in the situation of having to support this movement was important to the Left insofar as his opportunism would be revealed more starkly in the likely event that he stuck to this rightism. This didn't rule out the possibility that he could be won over as the struggle developed, but the Left was not counting nor relying on it. As for Mao's supposed statements about Hua—his being at ease and so forth—these statements, if they are real, can only be understood in the context of this battle for succession in which the Right had the strength to impose its "compromise" candidate and the Left had the necessity of blocking the proven unrepentant and more powerful elements among the Right. It is important to remember that it was Chou who had brought Hua forward, and Hua's reputation was hardly that of a warrior for the Cultural Revolution. His support for collectivization and the Great Leap Forward (in his characteristically bureaucratic style), and—after a while and after a fashion—the Cultural Revolution, meant that he was less tarnished and blemished than the die-hard elements and in this he was extremely useful to the Right.

Criticize Teng

Against this backdrop of the succession struggle, the Campaign to Criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and Beat Back the Right Deviationist Wind went into high gear. As noted, Mao had said, "Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people" in early 1976 in connection with the struggle on the educational front and others. An all-out campaign was launched to criticize Teng's revisionism on the educational, cultural, scientific and technological, industrial and transport, and foreign trade fronts, for his general capitulation to imperialism and for his policies wrecking socialist agriculture. These were highly important measures in which Teng's views were subjected to thorough analysis and made issues for millions to take up. Articles by workers appeared summarizing the similarity of Teng's management "reforms" and Soviet economic policy, including the widespread establishment of trusts. Philosophical articles on the relationship between practice and theory in scientific work—upholding the former as principal and

decisive—were publicized. Mass meetings were held to discuss these questions.

Mao also issued statements in the spring of 1976 on the emergence and nature of capitalist roaders in the Party. This represented an extension of his thinking that had developed through the Socialist Education Movement in 1964 when he had spoken of an antagonistic contradiction between the bureaucrat class and the working class and of the question of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road elaborated during the Cultural Revolution. Mao explained: “After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials.”

Speaking of these same people he pointed out, “With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. 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.”

There were people, therefore, who joined the revolution at one stage but whose thinking and ideology didn’t advance with its further development. This applied especially to those who had joined the Party during the stage of the democratic revolution. These were the “bourgeois democrats” who constituted a rather large layer of the Party (see Text 39). It wasn’t that all these people were bad from the beginning or that some of them had not made important contributions to the revolution. It was just that many of them did not keep step with the revolution and the new tasks it presented. They had not revolutionized their thinking and got stuck, as it were, in the previous stage of the revolution when the issue was driving out the imperialists and overthrowing the domestic reactionaries, especially the feudal landlord class. In their eyes the revolution had already accomplished its aims—clearing the ground on which to build China into a powerful country. Many of them developed bureaucratic and self-serving airs, falling back on their past exploits as capital to preserve their positions and place themselves above criticism. Many of these veteran cadre threw up resistance to the further development of the revolution both because they could not grasp what remained to be done and had recognized that further changes might upset their privileged positions.

The privileges they sought to protect had their material basis in such

things as bourgeois right in distribution and the difference between manual and mental labor whose restriction was a major task of the revolution if it were to push forward. We must ask, who is it that resents criticizing bourgeois right (as Mao put it)? Who thinks that this is “ultra-leftism” and will only hinder the historic mission of modernization? The Four or people like Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng? And why is this question such a dividing line? Because in the existence of bourgeois right lies the basis for capitalism to re-emerge and where one stands on this question—whether to restrict or expand bourgeois right—has all to do with whether one stands for or against the revolution.

Mao's formulation that the bourgeoisie was in the Party has been lambasted by the ruling revisionists (Appendix 7). Understandably so. Mao was talking about them and their development. As a result of the changes in the balance of class forces and the deepening of the revolution, the bourgeoisie's economic lifeblood is no longer private ownership of factories or interest payments, but the existence of bourgeois rights in the socialist economic base which if allowed to expand can in substance become capitalist ownership. For instance, if inequalities in distribution as between managers and production workers are not restricted, and as the former exempt themselves from participation in productive labor, then the higher salaries and bonus payments of these managers will increasingly take on the character of exploiting the labor of others even though private ownership does not exist formally. Politically, the bourgeoisie's strength resides not in separate organizations calling for the return of capitalism, but in factions and headquarters within the communist party, where they organize around a revisionist line.

The social position the capitalist roaders occupied—situated in the ruling structures of society—and the ideology they pushed, made them the core of the bourgeoisie and the commander of its social forces. Mao's line was an admonition to guard against the emergence of revisionism at the highest levels of the Party and to look there for the most dangerous source of restoration. It was a blow to those “condescending saviors” like Chou, Teng and Hua who would instruct the masses to stick to their posts, be diligent and obedient, and least of all worry about who's leading the Party and where they're leading it and the country as a whole.

It was the criticism of the “three poisonous weeds” (see especially Texts 30, 31, 32 and 35) and this concept of the bourgeoisie inside the Party (see Texts 39 and 40) that were the principal themes, ideologically and politically, of this campaign to criticize Teng and the right deviationist wind. This was a struggle to defend the new things and to

prepare people for a more serious trial of strength with the capitalist roaders. But the ante had been upped. In contrast to the previous campaigns—anti-Lin Piao/Confucius, the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and combating and preventing revisionism, and the criticism of capitulationism as represented by the hero of the novel *Water Margin*—this new campaign was characterized by open, at times violent, battles with the forces of the Right on a major scale. The class struggle had developed such that by early 1976 there was all-out confrontation between the two headquarters within the Party. The economy would be affected as would the functioning of various other institutions. There were strikes in many parts of the country and sit-ins at government and Party offices, and the ministers of education and railways were toppled.

The campaign against the revisionist wind was obstructed from the beginning by the Right. Provincial authorities in many instances poured cold water on it. And contrary to the conventional wisdom dished up by the rulers in China today, it was the Right that had the most to gain from disruptions and disorder, from creating anarchy that would muddle the issues involved, take the heat off themselves and increase the masses' desire for order which the Right would translate as "let's put a stop to it all." They would seize on any and everything to hinder the prosecution of this campaign and attack the Left—even earthquakes.

In fact, the earthquakes of late May provided them with a pretext to dump the campaign. After all, they would argue, how could politics take precedence over human suffering and life. The Left countered by insisting that anti-quake work be linked with the campaign (Text 42). It was a perfectly consistent Marxist position since man struggles with nature through the medium of society—class society in this epoch of history.

Apart from the Right's political attempts to use the earthquake to crush the developing mass movement, there were, in fact, important political questions thrown up by the earthquake whose resolution would affect relief work. Should workers receive extra pay for overtime work performed to help the stricken areas? Should people be reimbursed for material used for the construction of shelters and to whom ought these shelters belong? The Right used the quake to spread fears of continuing disorder and played upon traditional superstitions to do so. The Left retorted through the press that earthquakes don't dishearten revolutionaries; such disasters can actually steel and temper them. This was an extremely sharp struggle. The Right also used the earthquake to tighten their hold in the army, which was deployed widely in the relief work. And they seized upon the earthquake to build up the image of Hua as someone who, rather than being absorbed in "fruitless bicker-

ing," was ostensibly out there solicitous of people's needs, or so they would picture it as they took charge of the work.

Hua had decisively cast his lot in with the Right both because he (and others he was linked with) knew that if the struggle the Left was waging deepened they would eventually come under attack, and because the balance was being tipped in the Right's favor. The crucial issue that drew the lines by this time was simply which line and which group—the Four or the Right—would win out. This question concentrated the debates of the last few years—in particular, the issue of modernization or class struggle as the key link—that had now boiled over into open warfare. Differences and rivalries, of which there were undoubtedly many on the Right, paled beside the question of smashing the Four and the revolutionary line they represented. The struggle had been intensifying when Mao died on September 9th. The Right took that as their signal to move; Mao, after all, had been the protector of the Four. According to usually reliable sources, Mao did two things just before he died. He met with the Politburo and wrote a poem to Chiang Ching in which he castigated the Right for waiting for him to die so they could get on with their plots, explaining that Chiang Ching had been wronged and must carry the struggle forward. Moreover, he warned that both superpowers, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., must be fought.

The Coup

The key figures in the coup were obviously Yeh Chien-ying, Hua, Chen Hsi-lien and Wang Tung-hsing, with Teng playing a powerful behind-the-scenes role. Yeh had effectively been in control of the armed forces since 1971. He was closely allied with Chou and a bitter enemy of the Left. More than any other figure, he was most likely the architect of the coup. He enjoyed the loyalty of many military commanders and was best placed to move against the Left. Without Yeh's support, Hua was nowhere.

Chen Hsi-lien was the People's Liberation Army commander of the Peking region. Wang Tung-hsing commanded the elite unit 8341 which guarded the compound where high ranking Party leaders resided. It was Wang who would arrest the Four, and his alliance with Yeh and Chen Hsi-lien assured that Peking would be taken from within and without a major uprising. Pulling off the coup and preserving the appearance of continuity with Mao made it desirable for the Right to have Hua—though they would have gone ahead without him. It would seem that he was presented with a *fait accompli* by Yeh and other diehard forces of the Right and more than rose to the occasion. On October 6th the Four were placed under arrest. And so a temporary end was brought to the era of Mao and proletarian rule in China.

It is not the purpose here to make a thorough analysis of why the Left was defeated, but some tentative conclusions can be reached. The most obvious fact is that the Right was quite strong, more so than had been thought by many, given the victories of the Cultural Revolution. It was Mao who had said that more revolutions would be required, and it was Mao who in the final years of his life was warning of the very serious danger of capitalist restoration. The Right could stage the coup because they had the army leadership in the main in their camp. This included the central military hierarchy, many of whom had been disgraced during the Cultural Revolution, and leaders of some of the field armies who joined with the Chou forces in the anti-Lin Piao campaign. There were some regional commanders like Chen Hsi-lien who early in their careers were associated with Teng, but who later apparently supported Mao during the Cultural Revolution. At times, he also appeared to side with the Left in the most recent years. As the crunch came he went with who looked to be the winner.

But generally, the army was a stronghold of the Right. The Cultural Revolution had not penetrated deeply into the army. The Lin Piao affair gave the Right a further pretext to try to keep major political movements out of the army. The Right would seize upon certain particularities in conducting political movements in the army to deny their need altogether, and this reinforced tendencies toward professionalism that would inevitably rise within the army. Most of the changes that had taken place in the army in these years had to do with reducing the scope of its involvement in running things, but this was not the same thing as reducing revisionism within its ranks. Finally, the Right's arguments that modernization was essential if the country were to survive a Soviet invasion found a sympathetic hearing in many quarters of the military where demands for advanced weaponry had been mounting and where some of the leading officers regarded Mao's doctrine of people's war as outdated and suicidal.

The Left recognized this problem and was able to get Chang Chun-chiao appointed as head of the PLA General Political Department. But he was not able to make substantial inroads. In March 1975 he convened a forum among officers to discuss the dictatorship of the proletariat campaign, but it encountered tremendous resistance and interference. The Left launched some campaigns in the navy, but in all these campaigns the Left was not able to build up a substantial base of support in the military. The militia which had been reorganized and strengthened at the initiative of the Left following the 10th Party Congress was not intended as a substitute for the PLA, though the fact that the Shanghai militia put up resistance to the PLA after the October 6th coup says something about the revolutionary influences within it.

Beyond the immediate military dispositions, the Right had other ad-

vantages. First, they had strength at various levels of the state and Party apparatus during this entire period. While the Left could marshal the forces to have its line upheld at the Tenth Congress and launch its campaigns over the years, it was quite another thing to have these decisions implemented. The Right would resist and interfere with political campaigns and hack away at the gains of the Cultural Revolution through their entrenched positions. Mao did not have a free hand.

Second, the Right had Chou En-lai, who was a symbol of the continuity of the Chinese Revolution and, most importantly, of stability. He was a rallying point for many cadre, intellectuals, and those among the masses who were tiring of the struggles that had continued through the 1970's. The line he represented and promoted was that the economy was faltering, the new things weren't working, and the incessant struggles of the last few years were leading nowhere and only causing anarchy. Things were a mess and, especially in the face of the Soviet menace, a new course was called for; it was embodied in the "three poisonous weeds" and it is enshrined as official line in China today. Chou served the Right well. In the face of resistance and opposition, they could raise the specter of Chou being attacked to whip up emotional support for their policies.

The Right took full advantage of the real threat from the Soviets and actual difficulties of the economy to argue that time was running out for China to pull herself back together again. The class struggle was interfering with more important things, they would say, proceeding to "rectify" with a vengeance. As Mao points out, those who preach the dying out of class struggle invariably wind up attacking the revolutionary forces.

All in all, the Right was a powerful force to contend with, and Chou could even exploit his popular identification with Mao to disarm the opposition. The situation was made more difficult for the Left by the fact that many cadre who had been criticized during the Cultural Revolution would not respond to the calls to unite with the forward motion of the revolution. Those who had been rehabilitated without having changed were obviously just waiting to get back at their tormentors. But among the many honest forces there were those who worried that any mass movement would result in their getting knocked down again. During the "farrago" on the educational front, many professors who went along with the reforms of the Cultural Revolution showed themselves unwilling to stand up and defend them when these reforms were challenged.

Mao's role in the great struggles during the years 1973-76 boils down to this: he initiated the major political campaigns in this period and gave strong backing to forces of the Left whose leadership core was the Four. The anti-Lin Piao/Confucius campaign, the study of the theory

of the dictatorship of the proletariat and combating and preventing revisionism campaign, the *Water Margin* campaign, and the campaign to criticize Teng and beat back the right deviationist wind—each of these targeted the Right as the main danger. Mao issued important instructions with regard to them and intervened at crucial moments assuring, for example, the publication of Yao's and Chang's pamphlets and the dismissal of Teng in 1976. Mao was none too unambiguous about Teng: "This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of 'white cat, black cat,' making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism." "He knows nothing of Marxism-Leninism; he represents the bourgeoisie. He said he would 'never reverse the verdict.' It can't be counted on."

Is there any indication that Chou, Teng or Hua played any kind of major role in supporting the anti-Confucius campaign, in studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the *Water Margin* campaign? No, there is not, nor could there be, since these campaigns were taking aim at their lines. And how do the current rulers of China regard these campaigns? They are either ignored or vilified and must be since, again, they were directed at the very lines that are now palmed off as Marxism. And as for the struggle against Teng and the right deviationist wind, it is rather clear what role Teng played in this—and the same was true of Chou before he died.

The personal calumny and invective hurled at the Four speaks volumes to the bankruptcy of the current rulers in China. The method of attack was first to single out four communists who had been most closely associated with the Cultural Revolution and Mao, and to focus not on political line but fabricated horror stories: the Four were "usurpers" and ne'er-do-wells who had nothing better to do than lead decadent and dissolute lives and grab for power; Chang Chun-chiao was a KMT agent and Chiang Ching was a long-time renegade who lived the life of a prima donna (the suggestion that she was a prostitute lingered barely below the surface). A volley of groundless accusations was repeated so often and threateningly that it was expected, in the fashion of the big lie technique, that they would be believed as a matter of course.

"The 'Gang of Four' paid no attention to production." Where is the evidence for this? Certainly not in Shanghai where major technical innovations were pioneered and new ground broken in establishing co-operative relations between enterprises. (See Text 10, 20 and 33.) This was a city, by the way, which supplied great numbers of skilled workers to other parts of the country. So, again, where is the proof? In some statement distorted or ripped out of context.

"The 'Gang of Four' didn't want the trains to run on time." It's hard to say what's more incredible—the charge, itself, which is so

patently ridiculous, or the fact that the revisionists ruling China really expect people to believe this nonsense. What did the Four do, get hold of train schedules and then radio engineers and conductors with instructions to pull in 15 minutes late? What's the point of this, that the Four didn't understand what Mussolini did, that the trains must run on time?

Even assuming the Four made the statement that they'd rather have late socialist trains than capitalist trains that run on time, it should be perfectly clear what and who this was directed at. It was the Right that was saying that the masses couldn't get the trains running on time and that only experts in charge and strict rules shackling the masses could. Typically, these revisionists, awash in eclecticism, erect some straw man like "one-sided opposition to profits" or "one-sided opposition to discipline" (perhaps "one-sided opposition to punctual trains" will be cited soon) and fire away so that these supposed deviations become the main problem—which clearly they were not—and so their revisionism then becomes a proper and acceptable corrective.

The accusations levelled at the Four barely conceal the true motives of those in power for whom modernization and "great order" are the supreme goals to which the working class can aspire. The Four, we are told, liquidated production and wouldn't allow people to speak their minds. Isn't it obvious that these charges are designed to justify liquidating revolution and suppressing those who dare to speak their minds and act against this counter-revolution? But more than this, the phrase "Gang of Four" is a code-word for Mao Tsetung, for the Four upheld and fought for his line and were at the forefront of the campaigns he initiated. It is of more than passing interest that while Mao was alive Teng could be brought down, while only after his death could the Four be overthrown—and Teng ride high, unencumbered by Mao's struggle against the Right. In short, the attacks on the "Gang of Four" are unbridled attacks on Mao and his line. Having made the Four the embodiment of all that is evil, the revisionists can now attack Mao's line by associating it with the Four—which, in fact, it was.

This struggle against the Right did not at the beginning and for the most part assume the form of great upheavals and rebellions that characterized the early years of the Cultural Revolution. One of the most striking characteristics of these campaigns was their largely educational orientation, i.e., study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, criticize Confucius, etc. This was dictated both by international and domestic circumstances. The war danger had grown considerably since the early years of the Cultural Revolution when the U.S. was bogged down in Vietnam and the Soviets were just beginning to contend on a world scale with the U.S. as a superpower. The situation in the mid-1970s required that the struggle be waged in a somewhat dif-

ferent fashion insofar as that was possible.

It was also because of the situation in China itself that the struggle took on this largely educational character; time was needed to prepare the masses ideologically so that when the struggle came to a head they would be in the strongest possible position. This was related as well to the truth that mass movements cannot be sustained indefinitely at the same level of intensity. There was some uneasiness among the masses with Lin jumping out in 1971 and other rightists creating a lot of confusion. And then there was Chou. He would not be easy to get at. Wasn't it true that it took many years and different forms of struggle to build up a mass movement that could thoroughly expose and dislodge Liu Shao-chi? It didn't just start in 1966-67.

For Mao what was principal, always, was line—not summarily purging, but developing movement through which the masses could grasp the questions involved, unleash their strength and enthusiasm, and heighten their awareness of right and wrong. This was also the most fertile ground on which to win over many who held incorrect lines. Furthermore, from a tactical point of view, it is not always to the advantage of the revolutionaries to precipitate a decisive showdown with the forces of the Right when the two camps have not yet been fully formed and consolidated. So Mao saw unfolding a political movement which was mainly educational as creating the most favorable conditions for the revolutionary forces to take on powerful internal enemies.

Mao's instruction in late 1974 on the desirability of stability and unity was a reflection of this necessity to proceed in this fashion. This did not preclude major struggles in individual units and the overthrow of particular officials; nor, it goes without saying, did it (or could it) mean that the Right would not go for broke at any given point. And it emphatically did not mean, as Mao made clear in his denunciation of Teng, putting unity and stability on a par with class struggle. Nevertheless, the best chance for winning lay in developing the movement in this form.

The struggle against Teng and the right deviationist wind marked a transition to a more open and all-out contest with the Right, though it still did not assume the same form as the 1966-68 period. The Four continued to focus on the critical line questions after Teng went down, and they stepped up efforts to draw broader ranks of the masses into the movement. But the Right had gained the upper hand when Mao died and was able to put a stop to it, though not without resistance.

The People's Liberation Army had to be called in to Shanghai and Peking and other areas as well. In the key railway juncture, Paoting, just south of Peking, it was reported that thousands of troops sided with the rebels, and even the current rulers acknowledge that it wasn't until March of 1977 that the opposition was subdued. Provincial radio

broadcasts monitored abroad between November 1976 and June 1977 reveal frequent incidents of attacks on Party offices and military installations and acts of armed resistance. In some areas traffic on the railways was not resumed until March of 1977, and strikes had been reported in several large plants in different parts of the country. In Wuhan there were reports of massive absenteeism in protest against the imposition of pre-1966 rules and regulations. And, recently, reports have filtered out of struggles in the universities. Yet it must be acknowledged that the Right is firmly in command at this point.

About one quarter of the Central Committee (including alternates) was purged in the wake of the coup. Some 51 of these people were mass leaders from the working class. Six ministers associated with the Four were removed from the State Council and 13 out of the 29 Party leaders of the administrative units (provinces, autonomous regions, etc.) were ousted. The most sweeping changes occurred in the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee and the central information media, which from the early days of the Cultural Revolution had been a bastion of the Left with Mao's active support. Fourteen of the leading officials now occupying key posts in the reconstituted media apparatus had been overthrown during the Cultural Revolution. But it was at the most basic levels that the repression was directed, since this is where the revolutionary forces had their greatest strength.

By March 1977 reports of executions were first made on wall posters, and a year after the coup a joint editorial in *People's Daily*, *Red Flag* and the PLA newspaper called for "greater efforts in criticizing the 'Gang of Four'" and for the "complete destruction of its bourgeois factional network," which is not only an indication of continuing resistance but also of the wave of terror being carried out on the grass roots level (as well as factional fighting within the Right itself). The new state Constitution adopted in early 1978 calls for a major reorganization of the militia and for the dismantling of the revolutionary committees on the basic levels, which were mass structures in individual units. These measures, the enforcement of a new legal code, and the reappearance of what amounts to prosecutors' offices point to what the current leaders have in store for any opposition. As for those Party members who still may have qualms about this coup, the new Party Constitution adopted in August 1977 has conveniently omitted the article calling for active ideological struggle that was a fruit of the Cultural Revolution and incorporated into the 9th and 10th Party Constitutions.

What congealed the various forces of the Right into a bloc was their shared hatred for the Cultural Revolution and their common cause in putting down the Four who stood for it and with Mao. Now that this has been accomplished this bloc will undergo division and realignment.

There may be major struggles over how quickly to undo the transformations of the Cultural Revolution, though the pace has been frankly astonishing. Those like Hua may want to preserve some veneer of these new things, since his legitimacy rests to some degree on his identification with Mao, whereas Teng is impelled to remove even the pretense of upholding Mao's line. But there is no real choice here. To put it bluntly, the "three poisonous weeds" and the socialist new things cannot be reconciled. They embody different world outlooks and different class interests. Production cannot be organized, for instance, around the principle, "if it works, then it must be all right," and at the same time continue to develop the initiative of workers and establish more advanced socialist relations since these things cut against the grain of convention and the force of habit. The socialist new things were not some sort of adornment—they were concrete expressions of the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat, of the revolutionary transformation of all aspects of society.

Mao's policies must now be dropped and attacked for the simple reason that they reflect and serve the mobilization of the masses to advance towards the elimination of classes and all differences that can give rise to class division. The consolidation of revisionist rule requires that the masses be ideologically disarmed and politically deactivated, and this is precisely what is happening in China today. There will, necessarily, be sharp struggle over the spoils of the coup—the distribution of posts, who moves aside for whom. There is an inevitable conflict between the old cadre trying to get back what was taken from them and newer cadre trying to advance their careers. This revanchism and careerism and the struggle for survival among all of them will make for intense infighting. This is not the product of human nature. It is the inevitable consequence of the replacement of a proletarian line by a bourgeois line and with it the return to the laws of the jungle.

With respect to Hua, one of his biographers has cited a statement by Marx that certain historical moments turn the most mediocre of men into heroes. Actually a man of enormous mediocrity has emerged as one of history's most despicable scoundrels and traitors. As for the Chinese people, they are faced with a very difficult situation. But the experiences and lessons of the struggle to push forward against all enemies and odds towards a future which is inevitable for all mankind will not be lost. Mao has left a rich legacy and as he himself predicted in 1966, "If the Rightists stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90% of the population."

I

BACKGROUND TO THE STRUGGLE

TEXT 1

REPORT AT THE CENTRAL STUDY CLASS

Wang Hung-wen

I would like to discuss the question of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Some events I have seen recently indicate that some provinces cannot solve many long-standing and thorny problems. The primary reason for this is their failure to take correct lines. In some areas, most of those in leadership positions did not take correct lines chiefly because they did not correctly treat the Great Cultural Revolution, the masses and the campaigns. The initial shocks, such as the one produced by the twelve factories in Szechwan, are an important question, universal to the whole country. It is hoped that the discussion today will cause all of us to review Chairman Mao's instructions issued since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Our comrades have touched upon this question in their study of Chairman Mao's recent five instructions and the New Year's Day joint editorial of the two newspapers and one magazine of the Central Committee. It is very necessary to make some time available to study and discuss the question of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

I. Why Should We Correctly Understand the Significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution?

The answer to this question is that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great event concerned with consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and prevention of the capitalist restoration. All comrades know that the Great Cultural Revolution was noted in the Political Reports to the Ninth and Tenth National Congresses of the Party and even in the Constitution of the Party. The resolutions adopted by the national congress of the Party should be observed and accomplished by all members of the Party. The new year has begun with excellent conditions at home and abroad. For the revolution, the situation is favorable and generally excellent. We should develop this excellent situation by having our work at home well done and the base areas well built. In order to solve the problems in some provinces and municipalities, we should first of all be able to solve the problem of lines. And, in turn, to correct the problem of lines we should primarily

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solve the problem of how to correctly treat the Great Cultural Revolution. From historical and practical points of view, the Great Cultural Revolution was and is necessary. To protect the Great Cultural Revolution is to protect Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. All of us members of the Communist Party, especially the middle-level cadres, should undertake this responsibility.

To fully understand the great significance of the Great Cultural Revolution, it is necessary first to re-study Chairman Mao's series of important directives concerning the Great Cultural Revolution. These are the key to the understanding of the Great Cultural Revolution. However, some people now have forgotten these directives of Chairman Mao's, and a few areas still are practicing bourgeois dictatorship.

As early as the end of 1965 when the Great Cultural Revolution was just unveiled or when *Hai Jui's Dismissal from Office* was criticized, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The key point of *Hai Jui's Dismissal from Office* is dismissal. Emperor Wan Li dismissed Hai Jui from office; in 1959 we dismissed P'eng Te-huai so that P'eng Te-huai is Hai Jui." This clearly indicated that the Great Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, but by no means a pure academic discussion. In the initial stage of the campaign, some people were misled, thinking that it was an academic discussion; and the whole thing was actually manipulated by Liu Shao-ch'i. Later, P'eng Chen and his entourage jumped up and threw out a revisionist "February Outline," which was in effect designed to protect the rightists and hit the leftists in an attempt to lead the movement toward the bourgeois orbit of pure academic discussion. Chairman Mao resolutely told P'eng Chen and his entourage to stand aside and pointed out that the old Propaganda Department was the court of hell and that we must "overthrow the king of hell and liberate the little ghosts." Chairman Mao said, "We always maintain that whenever the central agencies do bad things, I will call on the local organizations to rebel and attack the central." The "do bad things" here refers to the practice of revisionism. Once Chairman Mao asked Comrade Hsu Shih-yu in Hangchow: "What would you do if revisionism appeared in the Central Committee?" Chairman Mao has repeatedly commented on this question. In May 1966, he personally formulated the "May 16" Notice, a program for the Cultural Revolution, containing many important directives. Chairman Mao stated: "Representatives of the bourgeoisie that sneak into the party, the government, the Army and the cultural circles are a batch of counter-revolutionary revisionists, who will seize political power and turn the proletarian dictatorship into bourgeois dictatorship once the opportunity ripens. Some of these personages have been spotted by us, some have not, and some, like the

type of Khrushchev, are being trusted by us and being cultivated to be our successors and are sleeping beside us. Party committees at various levels should sufficiently notice this point.” This directive has been published; it is very important. But some people present at the Ninth Congress and Tenth Congress forgot it, and some people denied the existence of capitalist roaders.

When the broad revolutionary masses responding to the call of Chairman Mao actively threw themselves into the Great Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i and his cohorts were caught in a fright, hurriedly produced the bourgeois reactionary line, and came out to personally repress the revolution. At this juncture, Chairman Mao personally called the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, formulated the Sixteen Articles, and wrote “My Big-character Poster: ‘Bombarding the Headquarters.’” The sensational Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was thus unfolded. Chairman Mao rated highly the Great Cultural Revolution movement, considering that this revolution was large in scale and that it mobilized the masses, which was of paramount importance to the revolutionization of the thinking of all people. Chairman Mao urged that, “you should show concern about the major events of the state and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end.” He encouraged the revolutionary youth to experience the storms and face the world in the Great Cultural Revolution and temper themselves to become successors to the proletarian revolutionary undertakings in the struggle. In the meantime, Chairman Mao was also very much concerned about the broad masses of cadres. He cordially advised that “you should put politics in command, go into the masses, work together with the masses and carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a better manner.” Chairman Mao warmly hoped that we veteran proletarian revolutionaries would keep our revolutionary careers clean in old age and strive for new merits in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Toward the end of 1966, the Great Cultural Revolution emerged in an excellent new situation. As 1967 approached, Chairman Mao delivered the speech on “All-out Development of the Class Struggle in the Whole Country” (Note: There is a sentence here that “The whole country develops it at the same time next year”) which can be considered as an attempt to seize power from a handful of the persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road. Early in October 1966, Chairman Mao resolutely supported the workers’ movement in Shanghai and supported them to rebel against the bourgeoisie. He was very pleased with the workers’ movement. The 16 Articles said, “The youths and teens are fighters of the Great Cultural Revolution; the workers, peasants and soldiers are the main effort of the Great Cultural

Revolution.” At that time, [Chairman Mao] sent a leading comrade (Chang Ch'un-ch'iao) to support the workers' movement in Shanghai and to handle the Ant'ing Affair. He agreed that workers could set up their own rebel organizations. Chairman Mao directed that he “may execute before reporting.” This is an instance where fact comes before a concept. At the end of 1966, Chairman Mao commented, “Shanghai has great prospects: workers have risen, students have risen and government cadres have risen.” Under the cordial concern of Chairman Mao, the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and the support by the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Shanghai, the struggle for seizing power from the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party was unveiled.

It was not a matter confined to Shanghai but a matter of the whole country, a power-seizure struggle led by the Central Committee under Chairman Mao. Otherwise, the power could not have been seized. On January 16, 1967, Chairman Mao presided over a Standing Committee meeting and enthusiastically supported the power-seizure struggle that developed from the lower level to the higher level. He gave a very high appraisal of the power-seizure struggle waged by *Wen Hui Pao* and *Liberation Daily*, and pointed out: “It is a great revolution, in which one class overthrows another class; it will have a great effect on the development of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the whole of East China and various provinces and municipalities in the whole country.”

On January 26, Chairman Mao sent another great call to all people: “The People's Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left.” Personally summarizing the basic experience in the power-seizure struggle, he said, “proletarian revolutionaries [should] unite to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.” He also pointed out, “where there is a need for seizing power, we must practice a three-in-one revolutionary organization to establish a revolutionary, representative and proletariat-authoritative provisional revolutionary organ which should be called ‘revolutionary committee’.”

When the January seizure of power in Shanghai repelled the counter-revolutionary economist evil wind, the Central Committee, the Central Military Affairs Commission, the Central Cultural Revolution Group and the State Council cabled their felicitations, advocating that the fate of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and of the proletarian dictatorship be placed in the hands of the proletariat.

In August-September 1967, Chairman Mao inspected three large areas and gave important instructions on how to further develop the Great Cultural Revolution. In high spirit he reported, “the situation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the whole country is excellent, not just good; the entire situation is better than any time before.”

During the high tide of the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao far-sightedly stated, "The current Great Cultural Revolution is only the first one, and we are to carry out many later ones. The victory of a revolution can only be decided after a long historical period. It is likely that capitalism may be restored any time if we do not have our work done well. Members of the whole Party and people of the whole country should not think that three or four Great Cultural Revolutions are sufficient to bring peace to the nation. You must be always on guard and never for a moment slacken your vigilance."

Comrades, I invite you to reflect upon it. How important this instruction of Chairman Mao is! At that time, we were in the ninth line struggle, which was followed shortly by the tenth struggle. Many of us did not quite grasp the meaning of the instructions when we first studied it, but we gradually learned. Therefore, it is necessary for us to study Chairman's instructions, which are important to heightening our consciousness on class struggle. Recently the Central Committee has prepared to collect in book form Chairman Mao's instructions on the Great Cultural Revolution and have it published and distributed. Only through learning from Chairman Mao's instructions, can we distinguish the Marxist struggle from the revisionist struggle. This will facilitate our struggle against revisionism. Why should I deliberate it as such? It is because some comrades in the Party do not understand it, especially the section I have just mentioned.

II. The Great Victory of the Proletariat

From the series of Chairman Mao's instructions, one can see that Chairman Mao took great resolve to ignite and guide the Great Cultural Revolution. Now the revolution has terminated in a very great victory by first smashing the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i. It was the greatest victory. Besides this, the revolution has trained broad masses of cadres and people, promoted the revolution in the superstructure and the development of industrial and agricultural production, and greatly liberated productivity. Many comrades have seen [these achievements], but some others have not. Very soon, there will appear a mass movement for popularizing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought in the whole country. Now this movement is gradually developing. The practice over the past eight years has sufficiently verified this instruction of Chairman Mao: "This Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is completely necessary and very timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalism from restoration and constructing socialism." Had it not been for this revolution, what would our country have been? Recently the Central

Committee prepared to distribute to the whole Party material for criticism on *Lin Piao and the Doctrine of Confucius and Mencius*. Lin Piao and his wife Yeh Ch'un plus Ch'en Po-ta greatly detested socialism. When I talked about the above-mentioned material to my colleagues in the office, we were all indignant. It is not surprising to see that the class enemies at home and abroad would slander this revolution. Chiang Kai-shek has reproved the Great Cultural Revolution; the Soviet revisionist radios and newspapers have cursed it for seven or eight years. And in his counterrevolutionary program for political coup, "Outline of Project 571," Lin Piao also cursed us with the language of the Soviets. Chairman Mao has told us "What is opposed by the enemy is a good thing, not a bad thing." This proves that our Great Cultural Revolution is correct. As our criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is deeply developed, Chiang Kai-shek, South Korea, South Vietnam and Soviet revisionism all abuse our criticism of Confucius. From the class standpoint it is not strange. The problem is that some comrades in our ranks, including Party and non-Party members, still do not fully understand and do not as seriously and effectively implement the Great Cultural Revolution as they did seven or eight years ago. Some even confound right and wrong and turn things upside down, or even describe the Great Cultural Revolution as a dark night or as a ravaging flood and a savage beast. Still others say that they have their hairs stand on end at hearing of the Great Cultural Revolution. Both the Party Constitution and the resolutions adopted at the Tenth National Congress state that the Great Cultural Revolution will be conducted again several times. But some say the Great Cultural Revolution is [was] completely unnecessary and therefore should not be [have been] conducted any more. In particular, the senior and middle-level cadres speak of the revolution varyingly. Some of them say, "The Great Cultural Revolution has achieved a great victory in the whole country, but we cannot see it here." What they mean is that the victory cannot be seen here and there, and that this being added, it cannot be seen in the whole country. Then why is it necessary? As I mentioned before, the Great Cultural Revolution defeated two bourgeois headquarters, which was the greatest victory. Why cannot they see it? If they said they could not see it, they must have placed themselves outside the Party and all the people. Had Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao come to power, capitalism would have come back, the Chinese society would have returned to a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society or become the colony of the Soviet social-imperialism, and thousands of people would have been beheaded. At that time, would you still say you cannot see it? When we say that the Great Cultural Revolution is necessary and timely for the whole country, we mean that it is necessary and timely for a fac-

tory, a school or a unit. Chairman Mao stated, "Whether the line is correct ideologically and politically decides everything." The line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao has an impact on every unit to a varying degree. In most of the areas, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is dominant, while in some places the revisionist line is rather rampant. For example, the two important departments, namely, the old Central Propaganda Department and Central Organization Department, were not in our hands. Even on the industrial front, the revisionist line had a deep influence, not to mention the cultural front which had been under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie for many years. The situation has greatly improved since the Great Cultural Revolution. Without casting away the administration of factories by experts, control-restriction-pressure and the philosophy of servility to things foreign, how can the working class become the master of the factories? It was exactly because of the interference of the revisionist line, our steel industry has stagnated for ten years. Some enterprises were in our hands nominally but actually were gripped by the proxies of the bourgeoisie and some were even in the hands of the capitalists (some factories in Shanghai actually had capitalists as their production managers). Without such a revolution, what would these units have become? And how could we have leadership moved into the hands of the proletariat? Chairman Mao far-sightedly launched a Great Cultural Revolution and solved this problem. But this revolution alone is not enough. Currently some provinces and municipalities [still have problems], the key to which is leadership. We cannot blame the masses or say that the masses are no good. Neither can we say that all those [who created problems] are bad men, for some of them are good people who are revisionist and capitalist only ideologically and who would correct their mistakes once their problems are identified. Since the Cultural Revolution was started seven or eight years ago, the problems in some places should be dealt with. To solve the problems, we should first locate the causes so that we can apply the right course. Some people handle things indiscriminately; some units impute all the bad things to the Great Cultural Revolution or take them as residuals of the Great Cultural Revolution. This is wrong. For they are residuals of revisionism, how can we take them for residuals of the Great Cultural Revolution? These problems squarely indicated that the Great Cultural Revolution was absolutely necessary. Where the line is incorrect, unity will not exist, and the bad men will have to be singled out by the cadres and masses. In some areas the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is not carried out. Recently we have faced the problems of the twelve factories in Szechwan province. What are their problems? They did not deepen the criticism of Lin Piao, which should be the key. We believe that only if we handle things

in accordance with the spirit of the Great Cultural Revolution, will the problems be solved. The Tatung Tank Factory had been inflicted with problems for eight years, but this time those problems were resolved in two months. The primary cause of those problems was a mistaken line. Certainly we will not deny that in some units the bad men stir up the disturbances. Again it is necessary to mobilize the masses for singling out the bad men. To describe these problems as residuals of the Great Cultural Revolution is in effect to restore the situation before the revolution, only to create more disorder. At a cadre conference in Kiangsi province, there was someone spreading this counter-revolutionary rumor: "Sweep the temple; invite the real god; old marshals must return to their posts; little soldiers must go back to their barracks." He wants to suppress all little soldiers. From a recent telegram, I learn that a group of little soldiers rose up to rebel for two hours, causing a great commotion. They did not yield to suppression and believed what they pursued was the truth. I have told some comrades in Kiangsi that what they were doing was to reverse the verdict of the Great Cultural Revolution. I told them before the Tenth Congress; it was of no use. And again I told them at the Tenth Congress; it was of no use either. But do not worry about this, because the Central Committee knows these things well (Note: there is no respectable cadre at the upper level).

Still others commented that the Great Cultural Revolution was good, but we might not have had to do it that way. In other words, we should not have practiced the "great blooming, great contending, big-character posters and great debate." They do not agree to having millions of revolutionary masses and the united proletarians seize power from those Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road. What they oppose is nothing but this, for if this was negated, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution would be negated. In one of his talks in 1967, Chairman Mao pointed out: "In the past, we engaged in struggles in the countryside, factories and cultural circles, carrying out the socialist education campaign. But we did not succeed in solving the problems. The reason for this was the failure to find a formula or a method to mobilize the masses from the upper level to the lower level, in an open and all-out manner, to expose our dark side. Now we have found the solution: the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." Honestly, without the Great Cultural Revolution, how could we have dug out Liu Shao-ch'i, a traitor who hid himself so deeply? In the past, we could not completely grasp Liu Shao-ch'i's treacherous characteristics, especially pertaining to his history. It was in the Great Cultural Revolution that the Red Guards found them through a thorough investigation. (Of course, we did grasp all the revisionist

stuff that he had published.) Besides, without the formula of the Great Cultural Revolution, how could we have had a series of new-born things such as the revolutionary committees, the May 7th Cadre Schools and rustication of educated youths? It is impossible. Neither would it be possible to have the industrial and agricultural production develop so fast. Without the Great Cultural Revolution, a mass movement so large in scale, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought would not have been popularized. Of course, the Great Cultural Revolution itself, as a new-born thing, has had an ideal process of development. Chairman Mao stated, "historical experience is worth attention; a line and a viewpoint should be regularly and repeatedly explained to all the broad masses, but not only to a few people." Now the instructions from Chairman Mao and the Central Committee are stuck at some places or some individuals who do not transmit them to the masses or transmit indiscriminately without indicating which are from Chairman Mao, which are from the Central Committee and which are from themselves.

Some people "praise" the Great Cultural Revolution, saying that the masses in the revolution were not obedient, wrote big-character posters on impulse and were talkative at meetings. What is wrong with this? Actually this was one of the achievements brought forth by the Great Cultural Revolution.

Chairman Mao has stated many times, "Our work within the Party should be made lively, active and vigorous, not spiritless and languid." Chairman Mao once told Wang Hai-yung that "students should be allowed to sleep and read novels in the class sessions." Some people do not quite understand what this means. My interpretation of it is that we should not make the students too spiritless and that students should be called upon to rebel against revisionism.

The same problem exists in the armed units. Soldiers are told to obey orders unconditionally and absolutely. We must know that they are required to obey your orders conditionally, not unconditionally. They should obey whatever conforms to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and rebel against whatever does not. We all members of the Communist Party execute the instructions of the higher level on the basis of self-consciousness. We should judge the correctness of the line that the orders reflect. We only execute the correct line and correct orders. They will not be implemented if they are not correct. Some people are not used to this style, complaining that enlisted men are difficult to administer and are fond of submitting opinions. This is natural. Many recent political accidents in the military units were caused by rough and cruel administration and failure to do fine political-ideological work, which resulted in stacks of problems and

deteriorating contradiction. The key here again is the question of line, such as how to treat the masses. The situation now has developed to a different level. We must study how to do ideological work. The old style, if completely unchanged, cannot do the job.

This situation is a good thing to us but not for some others. In our country which practices socialism, we must not forget that the workers, peasants and soldiers are the masters. The reports of the Tenth Congress pointed out that we should have the revolutionary spirit of going against the tide. Recently, the newspapers printed reports of two little students, one called Huang Shuai and the other from Kwangtung province. They wrote a letter to *People's Daily*, asking for support. Their letter indicated a high level of culture and was full of sentiment. After reading it, we feel that they should be given support.

Chairman Mao recently enquired, "Why does the buffalo have two horns? It needs them for struggle." These remarks were made first in 1955. He also advised us, "Since we all are members of the Communist Party, why should we hesitate at our speech?" We should boast less and criticize more; we should rely on the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers who have horns on their heads and have the courage to rebel against the revisionist line. Some units are afraid of the "four greats" [great blooming, great contending, great big-character posters and great debates] advocated in the Tenth Congress. They are so scared of the "four greats" that they have not dared to organize the masses for study up to now. We should approve of the masses' practicing "four greats" and going against the tide. Why do we fear them? Only those pursuing revisionism will be afraid of the "four greats," and those pursuing Marxism-Leninism should support the revolutionary rebellious spirit of the revolutionary masses. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We do not even fear imperialism, why shall we fear the people? Those who fear the people or consider that the masses immune to reasoning can only be repressed but not persuaded are not genuine members of the Communist Party or genuine Communists." Some people do not accept this teaching of Chairman Mao. They like repression or resort to arrest if repression does not work.

Someone said, "veteran cadres fought the battles in the north and the south in the past, but struggled in the Great Cultural Revolution randomly." This statement is not correct; neither does it conform to the wish of the veteran cadres. It should be said that veteran cadres are precious treasures of our Party. In fighting the battles in the north and the south in the past, some of them were wounded. But they do not feel that they can divorce themselves from the masses or can put on an air of bureaucracy. Instead they actively participated in the Great Cultural Revolution and criticized themselves once they found in themselves

shortcomings or mistakes. Hence, they achieved merit in the Great Cultural Revolution. There are a great number of such veteran cadres, not one or two. They really represent the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. As to the question whether some [veteran] cadres received more attacks during the Great Cultural Revolution, this needs detailed analysis. Chairman Mao stated in his inspection of three large areas: "Why were some cadres criticized and struggled against by the masses? One reason is their implementation of the reactionary bourgeois line which provoked the masses. The other reason is that they had a conceit of their own importance as they had become high ranking officials with high salaries. As a result, they put on an official air, did not consult with the masses, treated others unequally, ignored democracy, blamed or cursed others and seriously divorced themselves from the masses. These actions invited the criticism of the masses, who did not have the opportunity [to retaliate upon the cadres] at time of peace. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution broke out, the cadres were flung into trouble." Should these individuals referred to by Chairman Mao be criticized? You can blame others. Why can't the masses criticize you? This instruction from Chairman Mao is familiar to everyone, but some people forgot it. The above-mentioned veteran cadres that were flung into trouble can also be divided into two categories: One is those who accepted the experience and lessons from the active side and have become veteran cadres really trusted by the masses. There are many such good cadres. For instance, Comrade Ma Tien-shui of Shanghai who emerged with a new spiritual face after the Great Cultural Revolution, works in the depth of the masses and has had his line corrected. In the other category are those who summarized the experiences and lessons from the passive side, being superficial and hesitant. Actually they have divorced themselves from the masses in a different form.

Still others totally do not think of the success of the Great Cultural Revolution in overthrowing the two bourgeois headquarters, an event that related to the change of color in our country. However, they are deeply occupied with the attacks by the masses. Once liberated and in power, they seek every opportunity to liquidate the masses. That is what the cadres of Kiangsi are doing. The result is that liquidation will come to them instead. Without correcting the three *ch'i* [referring to three undesirable attitudes: grudge, despair, disaffection], one is sure to fall. And without solving this problem, he will be overthrown again even though he is liberated now.

Someone said: "The account will have to be settled on being struggled against during the Great Cultural Revolution. To get even with those who struggled against us without taking the interest should be con-

sidered lenient. What is wrong to vent the spleen?" We must yell our warning to such a comrade: it is too dangerous; what do the masses owe you? Chairman Mao told us: "Who gave us the authority? The working class and poor and lower-middle peasants or the broad masses of laboring people who represent over 90 per cent of the population. The people will support us if we stand for the proletariat and the masses of people and overthrow the enemy of the people... The most basic principle of the Communist Party is to place reliance upon the broad masses of the revolutionary people." If you must settle accounts with the masses, they have the right to retrieve power from you.

There is another speculation that considers Lin Piao's revisionist line as the "ultra-left" in essence. In fact his revisionist line is the "ultra-right" in essence, not "ultra-left," and is as right as the right can be. Only recently someone from a certain university said, "While the ultra-left is not criticized, right and wrong are confounded." The biggest proof he offered is that no one has ever evaluated the merits and demerits of the seventeen years [before the Cultural Revolution]. It has been evaluated. The evaluation was done by many big-character posters in the Great Cultural Revolution and in the summary of the Educational Work Conference for Sent-down Youths convened by the Central Committee. The conclusion tells that the education front for seventeen years did not basically carry out Chairman Mao's line but was governed by the dictatorship of the revisionists. In his letter to Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, Chairman Mao pointed out, "Peking University and Tsing Hua University are the wrong knots deeply rooted." Now someone said the "summary" is no longer correct or is a product of the ultra-left. And this remark has been spread everywhere. To some people, the criticism of the ultra-left and Lin Piao is fictitious, while the Great Cultural Revolution is the real target. Our conclusion is: "While the ultra-right is not criticized, right and wrong are confounded." In the current stage, in order to consolidate the results of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is necessary to criticize the ultra-right essence of Lin Piao's revisionist line. Without doing so, it is absolutely impossible to consolidate and develop the great results of the Great Cultural Revolution. Last year, one unit wrote an article, saying that all the youths in that unit were ultra-rightists and describing them as wrong and bad through and through. If that is the case, what is the hope of the Chinese Revolution? Who can we rely on to succeed us? On the request for convening provincial Youth League Congresses, the Central Committee instructed: Most of the youths are good, otherwise our revolution will have no future or a gloomy future. Worthy of note is that in some areas counterrevolutionary rumors are spread, such as "Sweep the temple; invite the real god; old marshals must return to their posts;

little soldiers must go back to their barracks." Most vicious are the latter two sentences "old marshals must return to their posts; little soldiers must go back to their barracks." They mean that all those traitors, enemy agents, capitalist roaders including Liu Shao-ch'i will return to their posts and that all the new-born things of the Great Cultural Revolution will be abolished. It is a typical restoration of the old, a counterattack, or a liquidation. This rumor was first started by two high ranking cadres in a military unit. The spread of these things is very harmful. Another instance is that [cadres of] Kiangsi province took Liu Shao-ch'i's counterrevolutionary rumors for Chairman Mao's instructions and transmitted them to millions of people at the cadre conferences. However, this was not strange. Some of our cadres have rumor markets in their brains. They sell rumors once they receive the goods. From the class stand point of view, this is not strange.

Some people are not bad but are already disarmed ideologically and deprived of the ability to distinguish sweet flowers from poisonous weeds. Chairman Mao severely criticized this counterrevolutionary rumor and changed it to read: "Sweep the temple; invite the real god; old marshals return to the line; little soldiers are promoted." Chairman Mao's instructions sufficiently reflect the revolutionary line, on the question of cadres. It is important that we should exploit the effect of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and, at the same time, make great efforts to train thousands of, not one or two, successors to the proletarian undertakings. It would be a mistake not to exploit the talents of veteran cadres, and it would also be a mistake to determine their position by experience and age regardless of their performance in the realistic class struggle. Their ability to fight in the north and south in the past is important, but we should also see their consciousness and performance in the realistic class struggle. If their thinking is revisionist, can they fight for the proletariat? We believe that especially at this major turning point, the evaluation of cadres should not be based only on history without consideration of the present facts and that primary emphasis should be placed on their consciousness in the line struggle. This should apply to all cadres whether they are local, military, old or new.

For the mistakes committed by the veteran as well as young cadres, the practice of "watch and help" should be adopted and the cadres should be allowed to correct their mistakes. But in some places, veteran cadres who committed mistakes are allowed to correct their mistakes through "watch and help," while the young cadres, once making mistake, are condemned to death. Why can the erring veteran cadres be educated and young cadres not? It is not fair! It is harmful to the unity of the Party! Chairman Mao criticizes many people for belittling the

Children's Corps, for they commented that "How can you teen-agers and 20-year-olds be so smart?" The young cadres must be humble and prudent and should guard against self-conceit and arrogance, and should respect and learn from the veteran cadres. On the other hand, the veteran cadres should teach, help and lead the young cadres. They should bear in mind the question of teaching, helping and leading in dealing with young cadres.

The cultivation of millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary undertakings is a great strategic measure and a hundred-year, long-range plan. We must grasp this great work and train successors at various levels. The training of successors has encountered few obstacles in local areas but more in the military. I always advocate that we should find several men in their thirties to be the commanders of large military regions.

With respect to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, is it good or bad? This question has been controversial throughout the process of the revolution. P'eng Chen's February Outline and Liu Shao Ch'i's bourgeois reactionary line were all designed to choke the Great Cultural Revolution to death. In essence Lin Piao also engineered a set of revisionist lines identical to those of Liu Shao-ch'i. Before the Ninth Congress, he collaborated with Ch'en Po-ta in making a political report based on the theory of putting productivity first, saying that the primary task after the Ninth Congress should be the development of production in an attempt to counterattack and liquidate the Great Cultural Revolution through a legal approach. Chairman Mao negated this political report and personally formulated a line for the Ninth Congress, which persisted in the continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. After the Ninth Congress, a great victory was achieved in smashing the Lin Piao anti-Party clique under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and the struggle-criticism-transformation campaign was gradually more deeply developed. However, whether the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is very good or very bad is still controversial. Following the Second Plenary Session, there was a rightist tide emerging intermittently here and there. Those associated with this tide were, for example, Lung Shu-chin of Sinkiang, Liang [Liang Hsing-chu] and Ch'en [Chen Jen-ch'i] of Szechwan and cadres from Honan. They tried to shift the general orientation of the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao in an attempt to counterattack and liquidate the Great Cultural Revolution. What they were doing was actually the struggle between two classes and two lines, a continuation of the struggle. This struggle will come up again in the future. Chairman Mao said recently, "On the question of the Great Cultural Revolution, we have to wait and see for another ten years." This was to

remind us that we should be ideologically prepared for long-term struggle. Comrades, you must have read the articles on criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius recently and must have learned that Ch'in Shih Huang was cursed for 2000 years for replacing an exploiting system with another exploiting system. Will our Great Cultural Revolution be cursed? Certainly some people will curse it. And even ten years or several decades later, there will be some people who curse it and come out to reverse the verdict on Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Confucius died several thousand years ago; yet some people still worship him. But Ch'in Shih Huang, who was a revolutionary then, was cursed for 2,000 years.

To oppose the Great Cultural Revolution is to oppose the Ninth and Tenth Congresses but this is not an ordinary question. It is an attempt to restore capitalism and practice revisionism. My understanding is this: those who oppose the Great Cultural Revolution must advocate a capitalist dictatorship. Comrades, we should not think that there are no longer capitalist roaders, or even that there is no need to mention capitalist roaders. Some areas, in discussing revision of the constitutions of the state and Party, did not wish to include the phrase "capitalist roaders." What queer talk! As long as class struggle exists, the bourgeoisie will plant a proxy in our Party and there will be capitalist roaders. If there had been no capitalist roaders, all the campaigns in the past should have been negated. The three-anti and five-anti campaigns, the anti-right campaigns in 1957 and the four-clean-up movement should be all negated. That was the reason for writing them into the Party constitution. These were great events, not small ones. Some individuals committed the mistake of taking the capitalist road, but they have been corrected through our help. The correction is good. However, we cannot say the capitalist roaders no longer exist after the correction. Not only were there capitalist roaders in the past, but there will be in the future. A few men still implement the bourgeois dictatorship over the masses now or even say that there is no good man among the rebels! Their remarks smack of no Communist Party members. "The thousands of principles of Marxism can be summarized in one sentence: To rebel is justified." Our old father Marx led us to rebel. Some people abuse us for rising up in rebellion. What is wrong with rebellion? It was through the rebellion led by Chairman Mao against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism that members of the Communist Party of China achieved the victory of revolution and succeeded in seizing political power. In the Great Cultural Revolution, we rebelled against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is wrong with it? Some people were rebels in the past, but now they swear at the rebels.

This indicates that their thinking has changed and that they have forgotten the past. Was it a rebellion when we liquidated the local gentry and partitioned the land of the landlords in the past? Again was it a rebellion when we fought against Chiang Kai-shek? Some people have forgotten these. Of course, there must have been some fish as well as dragons, mud as well as sands slipping into the Great Cultural Revolution. It is not strange that a few bad men have sneaked in among the rebels. When we first organized the Red Army, was our Army very pure? Impossible! It is an unavoidable phenomenon. How can we say that there is no good man among the rebels? He who says there is no good man among the rebels is in fact negating himself. He has forgotten who led us to rebel and has forgotten the old father of the rebels.

What would a Communist do if he does not rebel against the capitalist roaders? A Communist making such a statement intends to betray Communism. We Communists must rebel against the bourgeoisie and the exploiting classes. Most of the people in question were discovered in our handling the internal problems and analyzing the problems. Through studying Chairman Mao's instructions and the ten great spirits, they may reform themselves. In the meantime, they should also look for the mainsprings from their world outlook and transform their world outlook with Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's thought. A few men may not be transformed. The contradictions may change in two ways: some will change for the better and some for the worse. Some Party members may learn the problem and change for the better or completely change. Thus, some contradictions between the enemy and us may change into those among the people; and some contradictions among the people may change into those between the enemy and us.

In the minds of some comrades, the Great Cultural Revolution is not viewed as a consequence of the class struggle that has been engaged in since the liberation. Instead, it is looked upon as a thunder in the clear sky of an early morning. Some people even described it as a great misunderstanding, very reactionary in nature. They have a saying: "Veteran cadres return to their posts, young cadres return to their offices, and those who support the left return to their units. The Great Cultural Revolution is a great misunderstanding." This deviation is an ideological problem, typically reflecting idealism. As they view the Great Cultural Revolution as a great misunderstanding, they are discontented with everything in existence, anxiously waiting for the situation to get back to normal. Instead of seeing the development as a spiral ascent, they look upon it as a turning movement within a circle. In the factories, they practice control-restriction-pressure; in schools, they put intellectual education in the fore and everything in an old

frame. What is this ideology? It is a typical vulgar theory of evolution. According to Marxist materialist dialectics, everything is moving forward and developing continuously. These people clinging to the old admit the truism of dialectics verbally but oppose the dialectics in deeds. At the mention of business administration, they urge the resumption of old rules and systems which have been discarded by the masses. They are enthusiastic for paying wages by the hour and giving monetary reward by the time, saying that in so doing activity may be promoted. However, they do not reflect what we have relied on for the revolution in the past decades. Did we rely on monetary rewards, wages by the hour or the time? No. We relied on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, millions of revolutionary masses, millet and rifles. Speaking of material incentives, Soviet revisionists have applied them vigorously, but they have rendered their industry stagnated and brought difficulties at home and abroad. If those things had been effective, why did the workers in Leningrad want to rebel? Did the Great Cultural Revolution rely on material incentives or the consciousness of the masses? Didn't it rely on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to mobilize the masses? Certainly we do not mean to neglect the life of the masses. But to take care of the life of the masses is one thing, and to stress material incentives is another. To raise the labor productivity, we should do something on renovation of technology and mechanization. It is necessary to properly elevate the living standard of the masses, but it would be a great insult to the working class, not a benefit to the life of the masses, if we practise what is called wages by the hour and monetary rewards. Our Railroad Corps has built many railroads. Did we rely on the wages by the hour? The enlisted men of the corps receive eight *yuan* per month without any additional monetary reward. We entirely relied on Chairman Mao's thought. These problems do not involve everyone. There are two departments in the Central Committee that pursued this line. They conducted an experiment in Shanghai but were dispelled by the workers. This problem is directly related with the Great Cultural Revolution. Today we discuss it here in the hope that our comrades in the study class, after returning to their units, will observe this problem and dare to engage in struggle, or at least report the situation to the Central Committee. Some areas ask whether they can resume the rules and systems adopted before the Cultural Revolution. At a planning work conference, one worker gave a clear-cut answer: "no." He mentioned three conditions: first, we do not want control-restriction-pressure; second, we oppose full payment of monthly wages; and third, those things correct in the past cannot be adopted intact because now our production has developed just as a grown-up boy can no longer wear his old clothes. This worker is versed in dialectics. He is right:

things have developed and the thinking of leaders should catch up with the new situation. We resolutely oppose retrograde movement. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should strive for discovery, invention, creation and advance. The propositions for standstill, pessimism, arrogance and complacence are all wrong." We must deepen the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, vitalize the movement for criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and integrate the efforts for criticizing Confucius. In order to criticize the pernicious influence of Lin Piao we must overthrow the Confucian shop. Confucius was the first thinker in Chinese history that systematically and totally advocated idealism. All those clinging to the old eulogize him, and Lin Piao was the Confucius of the modern age. Hence, the criticism of Lin Piao and that of Confucius can and must be integrated in order to overthrow the Confucian shop in our mind. Confucius lived in an age of great transition from the slave to feudal system. He hated the change of the social system, desperately defended the slave system and opposed the feudal system in an attempt to stop the rolling wheels of history. Seven days after he became the premier of Lu State, he executed Shao Cheng-mao, a revolutionary. When he found one of his students called Jan Yu cherishing thoughts of renovation, he instigated some other students to attack him. Thus, Chairman Mao said, "Confucius's working style much resembled that of the tyrant and smacked of Fascism." Because of his perverse acts, he stepped down from his position three months after. Though he was not in office, his heart for restoration did not die. He went on to preach his ideas everywhere and cried "The propriety is deteriorating! the music is collapsing!" when ever he saw the situation turning better and was worried about the situation. Yesterday, *People's Daily* published an article by Che Chun. The article was very well written; I hope that all of you will read it carefully.

Some people have no affection towards Marxism-Leninism but hanker after revisionism with tacit affection. They are not accustomed to seeing the new-born things of the Great Cultural Revolution and hanker after the old things.

Chairman Mao said, "Capitalism and the capitalist system 'are in the sunset, breathing their last, and may die at any moment.' On the other hand, Communism and the Communist social system are spreading to the whole world like overwhelming waves and thunders and are in their wonderful prime of life." Why does a Communist Party member with Communism as his aim so hanker after old things? This is a question that deserves careful study by all comrades present today.

Our chief purpose is to urge our comrades to seriously study the series of Chairman Mao's important instructions issued since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, and remember the three principles of

practicing Marxism-Leninism but not revisionism. Only recently Chairman Mao warned us, "Comrades, beware! Revisionism will soon appear in China." He also pointed out that many people criticize politics without knowledge of political situations and that the Military Affairs Commission know neither the military nor the politics. These instructions apply to government workers, soldiers and students in all areas. They tell us to grasp the major events that deserve our study. Revisionism, if it is to appear in the future, will be seen in the superstructure.

Chairman Mao also directed recently that we should all sing the song *Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention*. In the main, he wishes us to remember that only unity can lead to victory. On Chairman Mao's instructions, we must have a correct understanding and comprehension so that the spirit of the "Tenth Congress" may be better carried out and that we may better unite to win still greater victory.

TEXT 2

THE LAWS OF CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE SOCIALIST PERIOD

Chi Ping

In the historical period of socialism, how do class contradictions and class struggle develop and change? What are their laws?

To master the laws of class struggle in the socialist period, we must first understand the main contradiction in China during this period. As far back as 1949, on the eve of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out at the Second Plenary Session of the C.P.C.'s Seventh Central Committee that, after the seizure of power throughout China and the solution of the land problem, the principal contradiction inside the country is "**the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie.**" On many occasions since then, Chairman Mao has pointed out that, throughout the historical period of socialism, there exists the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration.

In 1962, at the 10th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, Chairman Mao put forward even more comprehensively the Party's basic line for the whole historical period of socialism and admonished that we must "**never forget class struggle.**" Leading the Chinese people forward in the struggle of socialist revolution and socialist construction, he has employed the stand, viewpoint and method of dialectical and historical materialism to grasp the main contradiction—that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, summed up the experience of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and ceaselessly revealed the laws of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Class Struggle Is Inevitable

In 1957, Chairman Mao pointed out: "**The class enemies will invariably seek opportunities to assert themselves. They will not resign themselves to the loss of state power and of their property. However much the Communist Party warns its enemies in advance and makes its basic strategic policy known to them, they will still launch attacks.**

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Class struggle is an objective reality independent of man's will. That is to say, class struggle is inevitable."

All class enemies, all ghosts and monsters will, without fail, come out into the open, this is decided by their reactionary nature. There has never been nor will there ever be a single instance in which the overthrown reactionary classes will leave the stage of history of their own accord without organizing resistance. Their reactionary class nature and idealist world outlook invariably mislead them into overestimating themselves and underestimating the forces of revolution. They mistake the absolute superiority of the proletariat for absolute inferiority. Whenever there is a chance, therefore, they cannot help showing themselves off. Despite severe blows and shameful defeats, they will continue to act according to this law.

Practice in the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat over the past 20 years or more has testified to the correctness of Chairman Mao's thesis. In the early period after the founding of New China, when the Chinese people were carrying out the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, unlawful capitalists ruthlessly engaged in bribery of cadres in government offices and enterprises, tax evasion and other illegal activities to undermine socialism and sabotage the state sector of the economy. They launched a frenzied attack against the proletariat by "pulling out our cadres" and "sneaking into our ranks." The Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique vainly attempted to subvert the proletarian power by worming their way into the revolutionary ranks and undermining it from within. In 1955, they came up with a counter-revolutionary "memorandum" running to 300,000 Chinese characters. In 1957, the bourgeois Rightists took advantage of the Party's rectification campaign, which was meant to overcome shortcomings in the Party, to plot its downfall, negate the socialist system and usurp power themselves. All these and other examples show how the class enemies came out to attack us of their own volition, and this is an objective law independent of man's will.

Bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party also will not go against this law. They represent the interests and will of the overthrown exploiting classes and all reactionary forces. They will assert themselves stubbornly. All conspirators and careerists from Kao Kang to Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers, of their own accord, launched attacks against the Party in a vain attempt to usurp Party leadership and seize power and change the Party's line and policies and the socialist system. Their reactionary class nature and double-dealing tactics and their deep-rooted reactionary world outlook determined that they would be enemies to the Party and the people. It is impossible to stop them from doing so, and nobody could have saved them. When

the anti-Party activities of political swindlers like Liu Shao-chi were exposed, out of the largeness of mind of a proletarian revolutionary, Chairman Mao time and again did his best to save them. However, not showing the least repentance, they madly continued their counter-revolutionary crimes and brought about their own destruction. Now, the situation of our socialist revolution and construction is getting better and better, the proletarian dictatorship has become further consolidated and ever fresher fruits have been borne by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on foreign affairs. All this has elated and inspired the people of all nationalities in China.

International Background

As Lenin pointed out: "**Revisionism is an international phenomenon.**" (*Marxism and Revisionism.*) The fact that chieftains of the revisionist line in the Party will inevitably make a show of themselves has its international roots. To subvert China's proletarian dictatorship, imperialism and social-imperialism will always try to find their agents within our Party. Revisionists and opportunists hidden in our Party, on their part, will always go to them for backing. The anti-Party conspiracies of political swindlers like Liu Shao-chi are not isolated or accidental; they, too, have an international background. The great victory of the movement to criticize revisionism and rectify the style of work has dealt a severe blow to social-imperialism. The facts of class struggle tell us that "**it was a case of reactionaries inside a socialist country, in league with the imperialists, attempting to achieve their conspiratorial aims by taking advantage of contradictions among the people to foment dissension and stir up disorder.**" (Mao Tsetung: *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) Only by using the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint to study class struggles at home in connection with international class struggles can we correctly grasp the laws of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in the socialist period.

A Major Struggle Every Few Years

There is a law with respect to time governing the development and change of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the period of socialism. Reviewing the history of our country, we can see that there has been a major struggle at intervals of several years. This is true of class struggle in society and of inner-Party struggle between the two lines. In the early years following the birth of New China when socialist revolution and construction had won initial victory and continued to develop in depth, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih rigged up an

anti-Party alliance in a futile attempt to seize power. At the 1959 Lushan Conference, Peng Teh-huai came up with an open letter of challenge, attacking the general line for the building of socialism, the great leap forward and the people's commune in a bid to usurp Party leadership. But his attempt was crushed. Later on, pushing a revisionist line, Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers engaged in intrigue and conspiracy in a big way and set up a bourgeois headquarters in a vain attempt to split our Party and restore capitalism. However, they ended up in even more disastrous defeat.

Why is there a major struggle every few years? This reflects stages of development of the principal contradiction in the socialist period. Chairman Mao has taught us: "**The fundamental contradiction in the process of development of a thing and the essence of the process determined by this fundamental contradiction will not disappear until the process is completed; but in a lengthy process the conditions usually differ at each stage. The reason is that, although the nature of the fundamental contradiction in the process of development of a thing and the essence of the process remain unchanged, the fundamental contradiction becomes more and more intensified as it passes from one stage to another in the lengthy process.**" (*On Contradiction*.) In our country socialist revolution has deepened step by step; the basic completion of the socialist transformation of ownership of means of production was followed by socialist revolution on the ideological and political front. Each step forward and every victory gained by us invariably hurt the bourgeoisie and its agents in the Party and was, therefore, strongly opposed by them. Thus in the long process of contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, specific stages take shape as the socialist revolution deepens step by step. Like the motion of other contradictions, each specific stage takes on two states of motion, that of relative rest and that of conspicuous change. Under given conditions, it transforms itself from the first into the second state, that is, from comparatively moderate to comparatively intense; the contradiction is resolved through the second state and another new specific stage begins. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the socialist period, therefore, sometimes rises high and sometimes subsides like the waves. In terms of time, it finds expression in a major struggle every few years. Of course this is only the general situation. As to each particular major struggle, whether it takes place after a comparatively short or a much longer duration depends on the domestic and international situation and on our work.

After each major struggle, the defeated class enemies are compelled to shift from attack to retreat. Out of their reactionary class nature, however, they cannot be expected to wash their hands and turn over a

new leaf. But it is also impossible for them to make an all-out counter-attack immediately after a defeat. This is because in each major struggle, they are badly battered, their bourgeois headquarters is demolished, their revisionist programme and line as well as all their reactionary fallacies which they use to deceive and dupe the people are thoroughly criticized, while the handful of counter-revolutionary diehard followers they mustered together have fallen apart under our blows and their double-dealing tactics, seen through by the people, no longer work. In a word, they need a breathing-space. In our country, the prestige of the Party is so high, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has taken such deep root in the hearts of the people, the Party, government, army and people are so united and the dictatorship of the proletariat is so rock-firm that the class enemies can only carry out counter-revolutionary preparatory work covertly and clandestinely, and it is very difficult for them to do so. In face of the iron bastion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they require several years to rally their forces again and have another major trial of strength with us. Needless to say, struggles sometimes intertwine. There was such an instance: some of the chieftains of the revisionist line in this struggle are none other than the actual ringleaders or backbone elements who pushed the revisionist line in the last struggle but had escaped undetected. However, no matter what preparations the overthrown reactionary forces may make or when they will jump forth, nothing but utter defeat is in store for them.

When we say that a major struggle takes place every few years, we do not mean that there is peace and tranquillity at other times and we can sit back and relax. That class struggle rises and falls in a wave-like manner is not tantamount to saying that it now appears and now disappears. Each major struggle is a continuation and development of day-to-day struggles—a process of development from quantitative to qualitative change. This is why we must remind ourselves of class struggle every year, every month and every day. Only by retaining a sober understanding of class struggle and its laws can we take the initiative in waging struggles.

Upheaval Inevitably Transforms Itself Into Order

In the socialist period ghosts and monsters constantly make trouble and the proletariat keeps on wiping them out. Order is achieved after a big upheaval. This is yet another law of the development of class struggle.

Dialectical materialism tells us that upheaval and order constitute a unity of opposites. In the absence of upheaval, order is out of the question; upheaval inevitably transforms itself into order. Chairman Mao

has said: “**Disturbances thus have a dual character. Every disturbance can be regarded in this way.**” (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) It is a bad thing that class enemies come out and make trouble, but once they do so, they expose their counter-revolutionary features in broad daylight. As a result, class alignment becomes clearer than before, and the masses of the people can wage struggles against these enemies in a better way and take actions to annihilate these scoundrels, thereby further strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this sense, a bad thing can be turned into a good thing. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, ghosts and monsters came out to make trouble and in some places there was confusion for a time as if things were really getting serious. But what was the result? The handful of class enemies were ferreted out and the masses were tempered in the struggle. Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers who had formerly put on the appearance of men of integrity unmasked themselves and revealed their ferocious true colours once they came out and plotted to usurp Party leadership. The cadres and people then rose in action to expose and criticize their crimes of opposing the Party, and this has immensely enhanced their ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism. Thus it can be seen that the class enemies are approaching their doom once they come on stage to bare their fangs. Over 95 per cent of the people and cadres will never tolerate their perverse acts.

Marxism holds that class struggle is the motive force propelling the advance of history. It is only in the course of class struggle that socialist society develops. Each time ghosts and monsters make trouble and are defeated by the revolutionary people, the forces of the exploiting classes and all reaction are weakened while the dictatorship of the proletariat is further consolidated. With the forces of the reactionary classes becoming weaker and weaker after repeated tests of strength, the proletariat will be able to finally fulfil the great historical mission of eliminating the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Of course, each round of upheaval and order does not simply repeat itself, nor does it move in a cycle mechanically, but it invariably has new content. After each struggle, the people’s knowledge is raised to a higher level and the socialist cause takes another victorious step forward. In our country, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been continuously consolidated and the socialist cause has been developing with each passing day precisely because the proletariat has won victory in one struggle after another against the landlord and capitalist classes and against all the reactionary forces and their representatives who constantly made trouble and carried out disruptive activities.

To turn bad things into good things is conditional. Class enemies

would not step down from the stage of history of their own accord; upheaval would not of itself transform into order. “**In given conditions, each of the two opposing aspects of a contradiction invariably transforms itself into its opposite as a result of the struggle between them. Here, the conditions are essential. Without the given conditions, neither of the two contradictory aspects can transform itself into its opposite.**” (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) To transform upheaval into order in our country, it is of key importance to resolutely implement Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, strengthen Party leadership and unite the broad masses of the people. With this condition, in the sharp and complex class struggle and struggle between the two lines, we are able to see clearly the orientation, draw a sharp line of distinction between ourselves and the enemy, correctly distinguish and handle the two types of contradictions and rally all forces that can be united with so as to hit hard at the class enemies and enable the revolution to advance along the correct path. It is precisely because of the wise leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line that the various chieftains of opportunist lines failed to destroy our Party over the past decades. Without this condition, upheaval cannot give way to order. Historical development is after all independent of the will of the reactionaries who will surely be overthrown by the people.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line, we must grasp the laws governing class struggle in the socialist period and step by step carry the proletarian revolution through to the end.

TEXT 3

REPORT TO THE TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

*delivered by Chou En-lai**

Comrades!

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is convened at a time when the Lin Piao anti-Party clique has been smashed, the line of the Party's Ninth National Congress has won great victories and the situation both at home and abroad is excellent.

On behalf of the Central Committee, I am making this report to the Tenth National Congress. The main subjects are: On the line of the Ninth National Congress, on the victory of smashing the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and on the situation and our tasks.

On the Line of the Ninth National Congress

The Party's Ninth Congress was held when great victories had been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao.

In accordance with the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Ninth Congress summed up the experience of history as well as the new experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, criticized Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and reaffirmed the basic line and policies of the Party for the entire historical period of socialism. As comrades may recall, when the Ninth Congress opened on April 1, 1969, Chairman Mao issued the great call, "**Unite to win still greater victories.**" At the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee on April 28 of the same year, Chairman Mao once again clearly stated, "**Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.**" "**We must ensure that the people throughout the country are united to win victory under the leadership of the proletariat.**" In addition he predicted, "**Probably another revolution will have to be car-**

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (Documents) (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1973). (Delivered on August 24 and adopted August 28, 1973.)

*Although this Report was delivered by Chou En-lai it represents, in the main, the line the Left had been fighting for and that Chou had in fact been opposing. The reader is advised to refer to the Introduction pp. 12-13 for an explanation.

ried out after several years." Chairman Mao's speeches and the political report of the Central Committee adopted at the congress formulated a Marxist-Leninist line for our Party.

As we all know, the political report to the Ninth Congress was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance. Prior to the congress, Lin Piao had produced a draft political report in collaboration with Chen Po-ta. They were opposed to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, contending that the main task after the Ninth Congress was to develop production. This was a refurbished version under new conditions of the same revisionist trash that Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta had smuggled into the resolution of the Eighth Congress, which alleged that the major contradiction in our country was not the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but that "between the advanced socialist system and the backward productive forces of society." Naturally, this draft by Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta was rejected by the Central Committee. Lin Piao secretly supported Chen Po-ta in the latter's open opposition to the political report drawn up under Chairman Mao's guidance, and it was only after his attempts were frustrated that Lin Piao grudgingly accepted the political line of the Central Committee and read its political report to the congress. However, during and after the Ninth Congress, Lin Piao continued with his conspiracy and sabotage in spite of the admonishments, rebuffs and efforts to save him by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee. He went further to start a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, which was aborted, at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee in August 1970, then in March 1971 he drew up the plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled *Outline of Project '571,'* and on September 8, he launched the coup in a wild attempt to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao and set up a rival central committee. On September 13, after his conspiracy had collapsed, Lin Piao surreptitiously boarded a plane, fled as a defector to the Soviet revisionists in betrayal of the Party and country and died in a crash at Undur Khan in the People's Republic of Mongolia.

The shattering of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique is our Party's greatest victory since the Ninth Congress and a heavy blow dealt to enemies at home and abroad. After the September 13th incident, the whole Party, the whole Army and the hundreds of millions of people of all nationalities in our country seriously discussed the matter and expressed their intense proletarian indignation at the bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao and his sworn followers, and pledged resolute support for our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee which he headed. A movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work has been

launched throughout the country. The whole Party, Army and people have been conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, conducting revolutionary mass criticism of Lin Piao and other swindlers like him, and settling accounts with the counter-revolutionary crimes of these swindlers ideologically, politically and organizationally, and have raised their own ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. As facts showed, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was only a tiny group which was extremely isolated in the midst of the whole Party, Army and people and could not affect the situation as a whole. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique has not stemmed, nor could it possibly have stemmed the rolling torrent of the Chinese people's revolution. On the contrary, what it did further aroused the whole Party, Army and people to "unite to win still greater victories."

Thanks to the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work, the line of the Ninth Congress is more deeply rooted among the people. The line of the Ninth Congress and the proletarian policies of the Party have been implemented better than before. New achievements have been made in struggle-criticism-transformation in all realms of the superstructure. The working style of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line, and the glorious tradition of modesty, prudence and hard work, which were for a time impaired by Lin Piao, have been further developed. The Chinese People's Liberation Army, which won fresh merit in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has made new contributions in strengthening the preparations against war and in taking part in revolution and construction together with the people. The great revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance is stronger than ever. Having rid itself of the stale and taken in the fresh, our Party, with a membership of 28 million, is now an even more vigorous vanguard of the proletariat.

Spurred by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work, the people of our country overcame the sabotage by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, surmounted serious natural disasters and scored new victories in socialist construction. Our country's industry, agriculture, transportation, finance and trade are doing well. We have neither external nor internal debts. Prices are stable and the market is flourishing. There are many new achievements in culture, education, public health, science and technology.

In the international sphere, our Party and government have firmly implemented the foreign policy laid down by the Ninth Congress. Our revolutionary friendship with fraternal socialist countries and with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations of various countries and our co-operation with friendly countries have been further streng-

thened. Our country has established diplomatic relations with an increasing number of countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The legitimate status of our country in the United Nations has been restored. The policy of isolating China has gone bankrupt; Sino-U.S. relations have been improved to some extent. China and Japan have normalized their relations. Friendly contacts between our people and the people of other countries are more extensive than ever; we assist and support each other, impelling the world situation to continue to develop in the direction favourable to the people of all countries.

Revolutionary practice since the Ninth Congress and chiefly the practice of the struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique have proved that the political and organizational lines of the Ninth Congress are both correct and that the leadership given by the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao is correct.

On the Victory of Smashing the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique

The course of the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the crimes of the clique are already known to the whole Party, Army and people. So, there is no need to dwell on it here.

Marxism-Leninism holds that inner-Party struggle is the reflection within the Party of class struggle in society. The Liu Shao-chi renegade clique collapsed and the Lin Piao anti-Party clique sprang out to continue the trial of strength with the proletariat. This was an acute expression of the intense domestic and international class struggles.

As early as January 13, 1967, when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was at high tide, Brezhnev, the chief of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, frantically attacked China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in his speech at a mass rally in Gorky Region and openly declared that they stood on the side of the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique, saying that the downfall of this clique was "a big tragedy for all real communists in China, and we express our deep sympathy to them." At the same time, Brezhnev publicly announced continuation of the policy of subverting the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and ranted about "struggling... for bringing it back to the road of internationalism." (*Pravda*, January 14, 1967) In March 1967 another chief of the Soviet revisionists said even more brazenly at mass rallies in Moscow that "sooner or later the healthy forces expressing the true interests of China will have their decisive say," "and achieve the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideas in their great country." (*Pravda*, March 4 and 10, 1967) What they called "healthy forces" are nothing but the decadent forces representing the interests of social-imperialism

and all the exploiting classes; what they meant by “their decisive say” is the usurpation of the supreme power of the Party and the state; what they meant by “victory of ideas” is the reign of sham Marxism-Leninism and real revisionism over China; and what they meant by the “road of internationalism” is the road of reducing China to a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. The Brezhnev renegade clique has impetuously voiced the common wish of the reactionaries and blurted out the ultra-Rightist nature of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique.

Lin Piao and his handful of sworn followers were a counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique “who never showed up without a copy of *Quotations* in hand and never opened their mouths without shouting ‘Long Live’ and who spoke nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back.” The essence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line they pursued and the criminal aim of the counter-revolutionary armed coup d’etat they launched were to usurp the supreme power of the Party and the state, thoroughly betray the line of the Ninth Congress, radically change the Party’s basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, turn the Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party into a revisionist, fascist Party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Inside China, they wanted to reinstate the landlord and bourgeois classes, which our Party, Army and people had overthrown with their own hands under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and to institute a feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship. Internationally, they wanted to capitulate to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and ally themselves with imperialism, revisionism and reaction to oppose China, communism and revolution.

Lin Piao, this bourgeois careerist, conspirator and double-dealer, engaged in machinations within our Party not just for one decade but for several decades. On his part there was a process of development and self-exposure, and on our part there was also a process of getting to know him. Marx and Engels said in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that “all previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority.” Chairman Mao has made “working for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world” one of the principal requirements for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, and it has been written into our Party Constitution. To build a party for the interests of the vast majority or for the interests of the minority? This is the watershed between proletarian and bourgeois political parties and the touchstone for distinguishing true Communists from false. Lin Piao joined the Communist Party in the early days of China’s new-democratic revolution.

Even at that time he was pessimistic about the future of the Chinese revolution. Right after the Kutien Meeting [December 1929—Tr.], Chairman Mao wrote a long letter *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire* to Lin Piao, trying seriously and patiently to educate him. But, as the facts later proved, Lin Piao's bourgeois idealist world outlook was not at all remoulded. At important junctures of the revolution he invariably committed Right opportunist errors and invariably played double-faced tricks, putting up a false front to deceive the Party and the people. However, as the Chinese revolution developed further and especially when it turned socialist in nature and became more and more thoroughgoing, aiming at the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism, Lin Piao and his like, who were capitalist-roaders in power working only for the interests of the minority and whose ambition grew with the rise of their positions, overestimating their own strength and underestimating the strength of the people, could no longer remain under cover and therefore sprang out for a trial of strength with the proletariat. When under the baton of Soviet revisionism he attempted to have his "decisive say" in order to serve the needs of domestic and foreign class enemies, his exposure and bankruptcy became complete.

Engels rightly said, "**The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles.... And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as a *class* and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out....**" (Frederick Engels' letter to August Bebel, October 28, 1882.)

Comrades!

In the last fifty years our Party has gone through ten major struggles between the two lines. The collapse of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique does not mean the end of the two-line struggle within the Party. Enemies at home and abroad all understand that the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. It is much more convenient to have the capitalist-roaders in power who have sneaked into the Party do the job of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat than for the landlords and capitalists to come to the fore themselves; this is especially true when the landlords and capitalists are already quite odious in society. In the future, even after classes have disappeared, there will still be contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces. And there will still be two-line struggles reflecting these contradictions, i.e., struggles

between the advanced and the backward and between the correct and the erroneous. Moreover, socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. For a long time to come, there will still be two-line struggles within the Party, reflecting these contradictions, and such struggles will occur ten, twenty or thirty times. Lin Piao will appear again and so will persons like Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Teh-huai and Kao Kang. This is something independent of man's will. Therefore, all comrades in our Party must be fully prepared mentally for the struggles in the long years to come and be able to make the best use of the situation and guide the struggle to victory for the proletariat, no matter how the class enemy may change his tactics.

Chairman Mao teaches us that "**the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.**" If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable, even with the control of the central, local and army leadership. If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained. This is borne out by the historical experience of our Party and by that of the international communist movement since the time of Marx. Lin Piao wanted to "have everything under his command and everything at his disposal," but he ended up in having nothing under his command and nothing at his disposal. The crux of the matter is line. This is an irrefutable truth.

Chairman Mao has laid down for our Party the basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism and also specific lines and policies for specific work. We should attach importance not only to the Party's lines and policies for specific work but, in particular, to its basic line and policies. This is the fundamental guarantee of greater victories for our Party.

Having summed up the experience gained in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party and particularly the experience acquired in the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao calls on the whole Party, "**Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.**" He thus puts forward the criterion for distinguishing the correct line from the erroneous line, and gives the three basic principles every Party member must observe. Every one of our comrades must keep these three principles firmly in mind, uphold them and energetically and correctly carry on the two-line struggle within the Party.

Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: It is imperative to note that

one tendency covers another. The opposition to Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism which advocated "all alliance, no struggle" covered Wang Ming's "Left" opportunism which advocated "all struggle, no alliance." The rectification of Wang Ming's "Left" deviation covered Wang Ming's Right deviation. The struggle against Liu Shao-chi's revisionism covered Lin Piao's revisionism. There were many instances in the past where one tendency covered another and when a tide came, the majority went along with it, while only a few withstood it. Today, in both international and domestic struggles, tendencies may still occur similar to those of the past, namely, when there was an alliance with the bourgeoisie, necessary struggles were forgotten and when there was a split with the bourgeoisie, the possibility of an alliance under given conditions was forgotten. It is required of us to do our best to discern and rectify such tendencies in time. And when a wrong tendency surges towards us like a rising tide, we must not fear isolation and must dare to go against the tide and brave it through. Chairman Mao states, "**Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle.**" In daring to go against the tide and adhere to the correct line in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party, Chairman Mao is our example and teacher. Every one of our comrades should learn well from Chairman Mao and hold to this principle.

Under the guidance of the correct line represented by Chairman Mao, the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has had prolonged trials of strength with the class enemies both inside and outside the Party, at home and abroad, armed and unarmed, overt and covert. Our Party has not been divided or crushed. On the contrary, Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line has further developed and our Party grown ever stronger. Historical experience convinces us that "**this Party of ours has a bright future.**" Just as Chairman Mao predicted in 1966, "**If the Right stage an anti-Communist coup d'état in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population.**" So long as our whole Party bears in mind historical experience and upholds Chairman Mao's correct line, all the schemes of the bourgeoisie for restoration are bound to fail. No matter how many more major struggles between the two lines may occur, the laws of history will not change, and the revolution in China and the world will eventually triumph.

On the Situation and Our Tasks

Chairman Mao has often taught us: We are still in the era of im-

perialism and the proletarian revolution. On the basis of fundamental Marxist principle, Lenin made a scientific analysis of imperialism and defined "**imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism.**" Lenin pointed out that imperialism is monopolistic capitalism, parasitic or decaying capitalism, moribund capitalism. He also said that imperialism intensifies all the contradictions of capitalism to the extreme. He therefore concluded that "**imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat,**" and put forward the theories and tactics of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism. Stalin said, "**Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.**" This is entirely correct. Since Lenin's death, the world situation has undergone great changes. But the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated; they remain the theoretical basis guiding our thinking today.

The present international situation is one characterized by great disorder on the earth. "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." This aptly depicts how the basic world contradictions as analysed by Lenin show themselves today. Relaxation is a temporary and superficial phenomenon, and great disorder will continue. Such great disorder is a good thing for the people, not a bad thing. It throws the enemies into confusion and causes division among them, while it arouses and tempers the people, thus helping the international situation develop further in the direction favourable to the people and unfavourable to imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction:

The awakening and growth of the Third World is a major event in contemporary international relations. The Third World has strengthened its unity in the struggle against hegemonism and power politics of the superpowers and is playing an ever more significant role in international affairs. The great victories won by the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation have strongly encouraged the people of the world in their revolutionary struggles against imperialism and colonialism. A new situation has emerged in the Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. The struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against aggression by Israeli Zionism, the African peoples' struggles against colonialism and racial discrimination and the Latin American peoples' struggles for maintaining 200-nautical-mile territorial waters or economic zones all continue to forge ahead. The struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to win and defend national independence and safeguard state sovereignty and national resources have further deepened and broadened. The just struggles of the Third World as well as of the people of Europe, North America and Oceania support and encourage each

other. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution—this has become an irresistible historical trend.

Lenin said that “**an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony.**” Today, it is mainly the two nuclear superpowers—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.—that are contending for hegemony. While hawking disarmament, they are actually expanding their armaments every day. Their purpose is to contend for world hegemony. They contend as well as collude with each other. Their collusion serves the purpose of more intensified contention. Contention is absolute and protracted, whereas collusion is relative and temporary. The declaration of this year as the “year of Europe” and the convocation of the European Security Conference indicate that strategically the key point of their contention is Europe. The West always wants to urge the Soviet revisionists eastward to divert the peril towards China, and it would be fine so long as all is quiet in the West. China is an attractive piece of meat coveted by all. But this piece of meat is very tough, and for years no one has been able to bite into it. It is even more difficult now that Lin Piao the “superspy” has fallen. At present, the Soviet revisionists are “making a feint to the east while attacking in the west,” and stepping up their contention in Europe and their expansion in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and every place their hands can reach. The U.S.-Soviet contention for hegemony is the cause of world intranquillity. It cannot be covered up by any false appearances they create and is already perceived by an increasing number of people and countries. It has met with strong resistance from the Third World and has caused resentment on the part of Japan and West European countries. Beset with troubles internally and externally, the two hegemonic powers—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.—find the going tougher and tougher. As the verse goes, “Flowers fall off, do what one may,” they are in a sorry plight indeed. This has been further proved by the U.S.-Soviet talks last June and the subsequent course of events.

“The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.” The ambitions of the two hegemonic powers—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.—are one thing, but whether they can achieve them is quite another. They want to devour China, but find it too tough even to bite. Europe and Japan are also hard to bite, not to speak of the vast Third World. U.S. imperialism started to go downhill after its defeat in the war of aggression against Korea. It has openly admitted that it is increasingly on the decline; it could not but pull out of Viet Nam. Over the last two decades, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, from Khrushchov to Brezhnev, has made a socialist country degenerate into a social-imperialist country. Internally, it has restored capitalism, enforced a fascist dictatorship and enslaved the people of all na-

tionalities, thus deepening the political and economic contradictions as well as contradictions among nationalities. Externally, it has invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia, massed its troops along the Chinese border, sent troops into the People's Republic of Mongolia, supported the traitorous Lon Nol clique, suppressed the Polish workers' rebellion, intervened in Egypt, causing the expulsion of the Soviet experts, dismembered Pakistan and carried out subversive activities in many Asian and African countries. This series of facts has profoundly exposed its ugly features as the new Czar and its reactionary nature, namely, "**socialism in words, imperialism in deeds.**" The more evil and foul things it does, the sooner the time when Soviet revisionism will be relegated to the historical museum by the people of the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

Recently, the Brezhnev renegade clique has talked a lot of nonsense on Sino-Soviet relations. It alleges that China is against relaxation of world tension and unwilling to improve Sino-Soviet relations, etc. These words are directed to the Soviet people and the people of other countries in a vain attempt to alienate their friendly feelings for the Chinese people and disguise the true features of the new Czar. These words are above all meant for the monopoly capitalists in the hope of getting more money in reward for services in opposing China and communism. This was an old trick of Hitler's, only Brezhnev is playing it more clumsily. If you are so anxious to relax world tension, why don't you show your good faith by doing a thing or two—for instance, withdraw your armed forces from Czechoslovakia or the People's Republic of Mongolia and return the four northern islands to Japan? China has not occupied any foreign countries' territory. Must China give away all the territory north of the Great Wall to the Soviet revisionists in order to show that we favour relaxation of world tension and are willing to improve Sino-Soviet relations? The Chinese people are not to be deceived or cowed. The Sino-Soviet controversy on matters of principle should not hinder the normalization of relations between the two states on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Sino-Soviet boundary question should be settled peacefully through negotiations free from any threat. "**We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack**"—this is our consistent principle. And we mean what we say.

We should point out here that necessary compromises between revolutionary countries and imperialist countries must be distinguished from collusion and compromise between Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism. Lenin put it well, "**There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyse the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise. One must learn to**

distinguish between a man who gave the bandits money and firearms in order to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture and execution, and a man who gives bandits money and firearms in order to share in the loot.” (“Left-Wing” Communism, an Infantile Disorder.) The Brest-Litovsk Treaty concluded by Lenin with German imperialism comes under the former category; and the doings of Khrushchov and Brezhnev, both betrayers of Lenin, fall under the latter.

Lenin pointed out repeatedly that imperialism means aggression and war. Chairman Mao pointed out in his statement of May 20, 1970, “**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.**” It will be possible to prevent such a war, so long as the peoples, who are becoming more and more awakened, keep the orientation clearly in sight, heighten their vigilance, strengthen unity and persevere in struggle. Should the imperialists be bent on unleashing such a war, it will inevitably give rise to greater revolutions on a worldwide scale and hasten their doom.

In the excellent situation now prevailing at home and abroad, it is most important for us to run China’s affairs well. Therefore, on the international front, our Party must uphold proletarian internationalism, uphold the Party’s consistent policies, strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and with all countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and in particular, against the hegemonism of the two superpowers—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over, and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end. On the domestic front, we must pursue our Party’s basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, unite with all the forces that can be united and work hard to build our country into a powerful socialist state, so as to make a greater contribution to mankind.

We must uphold Chairman Mao’s teachings that we should “**be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people**” and should “**dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony,**” maintain high vigilance and be fully prepared against any war of aggression that imperialism may launch and particularly against surprise attack on our country by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Our heroic People’s Liberation Army and our vast militia must be prepared at all times to wipe out any enemy that may invade.

Taiwan Province is our motherland's sacred territory, and the people in Taiwan are our kith and kin. We have infinite concern for our compatriots in Taiwan, who love and long for the motherland. Our compatriots in Taiwan can have a bright future only by returning to the embrace of the motherland. Taiwan must be liberated. Our great motherland must be unified. This is the common aspiration and sacred duty of the people of all nationalities of the country, including our compatriots in Taiwan. Let us strive together to attain this goal.

Comrades!

We must be aware that although we have achieved great successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction, we are always lagging behind the needs of the objective situation. We still face very heavy tasks in our socialist revolution. The tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution need to be carried on in a thoroughgoing way on all fronts. More efforts are required to overcome the shortcomings, mistakes and certain unhealthy tendencies in our work. Our whole Party must make good use of the present opportune time to consolidate and carry forward the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and work well in all fields.

First of all, we should continue to do a good job of criticizing Lin Piao and rectifying style of work. We should make full use of that teacher by negative example, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, to educate the whole Party, Army and the people of all nationalities of our country in class struggle and two-line struggle, and criticize revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook so that the masses will be able to draw on the historical experience of the ten struggles between the two lines in our Party, acquire a deeper understanding of the characteristics and laws of class struggle and two-line struggle in the period of socialist revolution in our country and raise their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism.

All Party members should conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, adhere to dialectical materialism and historical materialism, combat idealism and metaphysics and remould their world outlook. Senior cadres, in particular, should make greater efforts to "**read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism**," try their best to master the basic theories of Marxism, learn the history of the struggles of Marxism against old and new revisionism and opportunism of all descriptions, and understand how Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the course of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution. We hope that through sustained efforts "**the vast numbers of our cadres and the people will be able to arm themselves with the basic theories of Marxism**."

We should attach importance to the class struggle in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, transform all parts of the superstructure which do not conform to the economic base. We should handle correctly the two types of contradictions of different nature. We should continue to carry out in earnest all of Chairman Mao's proletarian policies. We should continue to carry out well the revolution in literature and art, the revolution in education and the revolution in public health, and the work with regard to the educated youth who go to mountainous and other rural areas, run the May 7th cadres schools well and support all the newly emerging things of socialism.

Economically ours is still a poor and developing country. We should thoroughly carry out the general line of "**going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism,**" and grasp revolution and promote production. We should continue to implement the principle of "**taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor**" and the series of policies of walking on two legs, and build our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift. Marx pointed out that "**the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself.**" One basic experience from our socialist construction over more than two decades is to rely on the masses. In order to learn from Taching in industry and to learn from Tachai in agriculture, we must persist in putting proletarian politics in command, vigorously launch mass movements and give full scope to the enthusiasm, wisdom and creativeness of the masses. On this basis, planning and coordination must be strengthened, rational rules and regulations improved and both central and local initiative further brought into full play. Party organizations should pay close attention to questions of economic policy, concern themselves with the well-being of the masses, do a good job of investigation and study, and strive effectively to fulfil or overfulfil the state plans for developing the national economy so that our socialist economy will make still greater progress.

We should further strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party. "**Of the seven sectors—industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the Army, the government and the Party—it is the Party that exercises overall leadership.**" Party committees at all levels should study *On Strengthening the Party Committee System, Methods of Work of Party Committees* and other writings by Chairman Mao, sum up their experience and further strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party ideologically, organizationally as well as through rules and regulations. At the same time the role of revolutionary committees and mass organizations should be brought into full play. We should strengthen the leadership given to primary organizations in order to en-

sure that leadership there is truly in the hands of Marxists and in the hands of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other working people, and that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled in every primary organization. Party committees at all levels should apply democratic centralism better and improve their art of leadership. It should be emphatically pointed out that quite a few Party committees are engrossed in daily routines and minor matters, paying no attention to major issues. This is very dangerous. If they do not change, they will inevitably step on to the road of revisionism. It is hoped that comrades throughout the Party, leading comrades in particular, will guard against such a tendency and earnestly change such a style of work.

The experience with regard to combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in the leadership, which the masses created during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has provided us with favourable conditions for training millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in accordance with the five requirements put forward by Chairman Mao. Party organizations at all levels should keep on the agenda this fundamental task which is crucial for generations to come. Chairman Mao says, "**Revolutionary successors of the proletariat are invariably brought up in great storms.**" They must be tempered in class struggle and two-line struggle and educated by both positive and negative experience. Therefore, a genuine Communist must be ready to accept a higher or lower post and be able to stand the test of going up or stepping down many times. All cadres, veteran and new alike, must maintain close ties with the masses, be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and impetuosity, go to any post as required by the Party and the people and firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies under every circumstance.

Comrades! The Tenth National Congress of the Party will have a far-reaching influence on the course of our Party's development. We will soon convene the Fourth National People's Congress. Our people and the revolutionary people of all countries place great hopes on our Party and our country. We are confident that our Party, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, will uphold his proletarian revolutionary line, do our work well and live up to the expectations of our people and the people throughout the world!

"The future is bright; the road is tortuous." Let our whole Party unite, let our people of all nationalities unite, "**be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!**"

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

TEXT 4

REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE PARTY CONSTITUTION

delivered by Wang Hung-wen

Comrades!

As entrusted by the Central Committee of the Party, I will now give a brief explanation of the revision of our Party's Constitution.

In accordance with the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee concerning the revision of the Party Constitution, a working conference of the Central Committee which was convened last May discussed the question of revising the Party Constitution adopted at the Ninth National Congress. After that conference, the Party committees of the provinces, the municipalities directly under the central authority, and the autonomous regions, the Party committees of the greater military commands and the Party organizations directly under the Central Committee all set up groups for the revision of the Party Constitution, extensively consulted the masses inside and outside the Party and formally submitted forty-one drafts to the Central Committee. At the same time, the masses inside and outside the Party in various places directly mailed in many suggestions for revision. The draft of the revised Constitution now submitted to the congress for discussion was drawn up according to Chairman Mao's specific proposals for the revision and on the basis of serious study of all the drafts and suggestions sent in.

In the discussion on the revision, all Party comrades were of the view that since the Party's Ninth National Congress, the whole Party, Army and people, guided by the line of that congress, which was formulated under the personal direction of Chairman Mao, have done the work of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a deep-going way, smashed the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and won great victories in all aspects of the domestic and international struggles. Practice over the past four years and more has fully proved that both the political line and organizational line of the Ninth Congress are correct. The Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress upholds our Party's consistent and fundamental principles, reflects the new experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolu-

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (Documents) (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1973). (Delivered August 24 and adopted August 28, 1973.)

tion and has played a positive part in the political life of our whole Party, Army and people. The stipulations in the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress regarding the nature, guiding ideology, basic programme and basic line of our Party have been retained in the general programme of the present draft. Some adjustments have been made in the structure and content. There are not many changes in the articles. The number of words has been slightly reduced. The paragraph concerning Lin Piao in the general programme of the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress was completely deleted. This was the unanimous demand of the whole Party, Army and people. It was also the inevitable result of Lin Piao's betrayal of the Party and the country and his own final rejection of the Party and people.

Compared with the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress, the present draft is mainly characterized by its richer content with regard to the experience of the struggle between the two lines. This was a common feature of all the drafts sent in. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party has been victorious in the ten major struggles between the two lines and accumulated rich experience of defeating Right and "Left" opportunist lines, which is most valuable to the whole Party. Chairman Mao says, "**To lead the revolution to victory, a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidity of its own organization.**" All the comrades of our Party must pay close attention to the question of line, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthen our Party building and ensure that the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism is carried through.

What has been added in the draft in this respect?

One. Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and it is also a deep-going Party consolidation movement. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the whole Party, Army and people, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, have smashed the two bourgeois headquarters, the one headed by Liu Shao-chi and the other by Lin Piao, thus striking a hard blow at all domestic and international reactionary forces. "**The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.**" The draft fully affirms the great victories and the tremendous significance of this revolution and has the following statement explicitly written into it: "Revolutions like this will have to be carried out many times in the future." Historical experience tells us that not only will the struggle be-

tween the two classes and the two roads in society at home inevitably find expression in our Party, but imperialism and social-imperialism abroad will inevitably recruit agents from within our Party in order to carry out aggression and subversion against us. In 1966 when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was just rising, Chairman Mao already pointed out, "**Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And so once again every seven or eight years. Monsters and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out.**" The living reality of class struggle has confirmed and will continue to confirm this objective law as revealed by Chairman Mao. We must heighten our vigilance and understand the protractedness and complexity of this struggle. In order to constantly consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and seize new victories for the socialist cause, it is necessary to deepen the socialist revolution in the ideological, political and economic spheres, to transform all those parts of the superstructure that do not conform to the socialist economic base and carry out many great political revolutions such as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Two. Adherence to the principles: "**Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.**" Of these three principles—"the three dos and three don'ts"—put forward by Chairman Mao, the most fundamental is to practise Marxism and not revisionism. If one practises Marxism and wholeheartedly serves the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world, one is obliged to work for unity and be open and aboveboard; if one practises revisionism and exclusively serves the small number of exploiting class elements, one will inevitably go in for splits, intrigues and conspiracy. Revisionism is an international bourgeois ideological trend. Revisionists are agents whom the bourgeoisie, and imperialism, revisionism and reaction plant in our Party by means of sending them in or recruiting them from our ranks. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and similar careerists, conspirators, double-dealers and absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders, though they manifested themselves in somewhat different ways, were all essentially the same; they were all chieftains in practising revisionism and thoroughly turned bourgeois ideologically, politically and in their way of life. They were rotten to the core! Chairman Mao says, "**The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie.**" This is absolutely true. The principles of "the three dos and three don'ts" have been entered into the general programme of the draft in accordance with suggestions sent in. In Point (1) under Article 3 concerning the requirements for Party members and in Point (1) under Article 12 concerning the tasks of the primary Party organizations, the words

“criticize revisionism” have been added in accordance with the views expressed by the worker, peasant and soldier comrades at the forum held by the Peking Municipal Party Committee on the revision of the Party Constitution as well as suggestions from some provinces and municipalities. Revisionism remains the main danger today. To study Marxism and criticize revisionism is our long-term task for strengthening the building of our Party ideologically.

Three. We must have the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide. Chairman Mao pointed out: “**Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle.**” During the discussions on the revision of the Party Constitution, many comrades, reviewing the Party’s history and their own experiences, held that this was most important in the two-line struggle within the Party. In the early period of the democratic revolution, there were several occasions when wrong lines held sway in our Party. In the later period of the democratic revolution and in the period of socialist revolution, when the correct line represented by Chairman Mao has been predominant, there have also been lessons in that certain wrong lines or wrong views were taken as correct for a time by many people and supported as such. The correct line represented by Chairman Mao has waged resolute struggles against those errors and won out. When confronted with issues that concern the line and the overall situation, a true Communist must act without any selfish considerations and dare to go against the tide, fearing neither removal from his post, expulsion from the Party, imprisonment, divorce nor guillotine.

Of course, in the face of an erroneous trend there is not only the question of whether one dares go against it but also that of whether one is able to distinguish it. Class struggle and the two-line struggle in the historical period of socialism are extremely complex. When one tendency is covered by another, many comrades often fail to note it. Moreover, those who intrigue and conspire deliberately put up false fronts, which makes it all the more difficult to discern. Through discussion, many comrades have come to realize that according to the dialectic materialist point of view, all objective things are knowable. “**The naked eye is not enough, we must have the aid of the telescope and the microscope. The Marxist method is our telescope and microscope in political and military matters.**” So long as one diligently studies the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and those of Chairman Mao, takes an active part in the actual struggle and works hard to remould one’s world outlook, one can constantly raise the ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism and differentiate between correct and wrong lines and views.

In waging struggle, we must study Chairman Mao’s theory concerning the struggle between the two lines and learn from his practice; we

must not only be firm in principle, but also carry out correct policies, draw a clear distinction between the two types of contradictions of different nature, make sure to unite with the vast majority and observe Party discipline.

Four. We must train millions of successors for the cause of the proletarian revolution in the course of mass struggles. Chairman Mao said, "**In order to guarantee that our party and country do not change their colour, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution.**" As stated above, those to be trained are not just one or two persons, but millions. Such a task cannot be fulfilled unless the whole Party attaches importance to it. In discussing the revision of the Party Constitution, many elder comrades expressed the strong desire that we must further improve the work of training successors, so that the cause of our proletarian revolution initiated by the Party under the leadership of Chairman Mao will be carried forward by an endless flow of successors. Many young comrades on their part warmly pledged to learn modestly from the strong points of veteran cadres who have been tempered through long years of revolutionary war and revolutionary struggle and have rich experience, to be strict with themselves and to do their best to carry on the revolution. Both veteran and new cadres expressed their determination to learn each other's strong points and overcome their own shortcomings. In the light of the views expressed, a sentence about the necessity of training successors has been added to the general programme of the draft, and another sentence about the application of the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading bodies at all levels has been added to the articles. We must, in accordance with the five requirements Chairman Mao has laid down for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, lay stress on selecting outstanding persons from among the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants and placing them in leading posts at all levels. Attention must also be paid to training women cadres and minority nationality cadres.

Five. We must strengthen the Party's centralized leadership and promote the Party's traditional style of work. The political party of the proletariat is the highest form of the organization of the proletariat, and the Party must exercise leadership in everything; this is an important Marxist principle. The draft has incorporated suggestions from various units on strengthening the Party's centralized leadership. It is laid down in the articles that state organs, the People's Liberation Army and revolutionary mass organizations "must all accept the centralized leadership of the Party." Organizationally, the Party's centralized leadership should be given expression in two respects: First, as

regards the relationship between various organizations at the same level, “**Of the seven sectors—industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the Army, the government and the Party—it is the Party that exercises overall leadership**”; the Party is not parallel to the others and still less is it under the leadership of any other. Second, as regards the relationship between higher and lower levels, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee. This has long been a rule in our Party and it must be adhered to. We must strengthen the Party’s centralized leadership, and a Party committee’s leadership must not be replaced by a “joint conference” of several sectors. But at the same time, it is necessary to give full play to the role of the revolutionary committees, the other sectors and organizations at all levels. The Party committee must practise democratic centralism and strengthen its collective leadership. It must unite people “from all corners of the country” and not practise mountain-stronghold sectionalism. It must “let all people have their say” and not “let one person alone have the say.” The most essential thing about the Party’s centralized leadership is leadership through a correct ideological and political line. Party committees at all levels must, on the basis of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, achieve “**unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action.**”

The style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism has been written into the general programme of the draft. Communists of the older generations are familiar with this fine tradition of our Party as cultivated by Chairman Mao; however, they still face the question of how to carry it forward under new historical conditions, whereas for the many new Party members, there is the question of learning, inheriting and carrying it forward. Chairman Mao often educates us with accounts of the Party’s activities in its years of bitter struggle, asking us to share the same lot, rough or smooth, with the broad masses. We must beware of the inroads of bourgeois ideology and the attacks by sugar-coated bullets; we must be modest and prudent, work hard and lead a plain life, resolutely oppose privilege and earnestly overcome all such unhealthy tendencies as “going in by the back door.”

Now, I would like to discuss with special emphasis the question of accepting criticism and supervision from the masses. Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of working people are the masters of our country. They have the right to exercise revolutionary supervision over cadres of all ranks of our Party and state organs. This concept has taken deeper root throughout the Party, thanks to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, there

are still a small number of cadres, especially some leading cadres, who will not tolerate differing views of the masses inside or outside the Party. They even suppress criticism and retaliate, and it is quite serious in some individual cases. In handling problems among the people, Party discipline absolutely forbids such wrong practices as resorting to "suppression if unable to persuade, and arrest if unable to suppress." In the draft, the sentence that "it is absolutely impermissible to suppress criticism and to retaliate" has been added to the articles. We should approach this question from the high plane of two-line struggle to understand it, and resolutely fight against such violations of Party discipline. We must have faith in the masses, rely on them, constantly use the weapons of arousing the masses to air their views freely, write big-character posters and hold great debates and strive "**to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, so as to facilitate our socialist revolution and socialist construction, make it easier to overcome difficulties, enable our country to build a modern industry and modern agriculture at a fairly rapid pace, consolidate our Party and state and make them better able to weather storm and stress.**"

Six. It is our Party's consistent principle to uphold proletarian internationalism. This time we have further included "Oppose great-power chauvinism" in the draft. We will forever stand together with the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world to oppose imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, and at present to oppose especially the hegemonism of the two superpowers—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The danger of a new world war still exists. We must, without fail, prepare well against any war of aggression and guard against surprise attack by imperialism and social-imperialism.

Chairman Mao says, "**In our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.**" Our country has a large population, vast territory and abundant resources. We must make our country prosperous and strong and we are fully capable of doing it. However, we must persist in the principle of "**never seek hegemony**" and must never be a superpower under any circumstances. All Party comrades must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings that we must never be conceited, not even after a hundred years, and never be cocky, not even after the 21st century. At home, too, we must oppose every manifestation of "great-power" chauvinism, and further strengthen the revolutionary unity of the whole Party, the whole Army and the people of all the nationalities of the country to speed up our socialist revolution and socialist construction and strive to fulfil our due internationalist obligations.

Comrades! Ours is a great, glorious and correct Party. We are confident that the whole Party, acting according to the political line defined by the Tenth Congress and the new Party Constitution adopted by it, can surely build our Party into a stronger and more vigorous one. Let us, under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, “**Unite to win still greater victories!**”



II

CRITICIZE LIN PIAO AND CONFUCIUS

Introduction

The campaign to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius was launched by Mao in the wake of the 10th Party Congress in August of 1973. Why were the two so closely linked? Lin Piao, of course, had attempted an armed coup in 1971. This was the culmination of a desperate struggle waged against Mao and the continuation of the Cultural Revolution, which Lin said had long since outlived any usefulness and was only creating disaster. He based his program for counter-revolution on the proposition that things had been better before than now, and that the revolution had gone to extremes.

Confucius some 2500 years ago had fought to defend the institutions of slave society from attack, harping that the slaves were creating havoc everywhere. He lectured extensively and organized against the political reforms directed at the slave system. His followers came to be known as the Confucianists, and they preached that everything should be based on strict obedience to the old system complete with its rites, ceremonies, and rigid social distinctions. Their opponents were the Legalists who represented the feudal forces that were rising at the time. They represented the progressive historical trend of the day, seeking to uphold reforms against the slave system.

Lin Piao, like the Confucianists, was a restorationist. He even draped himself in Confucian philosophy, including advocating the doctrine of the mean (things ought not be allowed to get too far out of hand). Confucius and Lin Piao stood against the revolutionary changes of the period in which they lived and did everything they could to turn the clock back. The Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius campaign was aimed at underscoring the persistent and recurrent danger posed by

those who seek to restore the old order and exposing their hypocritical airs of concern for the good of everyone. The campaign was designed to put people on notice that this was, under present circumstances, an urgent question to take up. The achievements of the Cultural Revolution must be safeguarded. And, of course, the campaign would hit at Confucianism, long an ideological prop of the reactionary forces in China and a fetter on the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people.

It was clear who Lin Piao was, but was there someone else who fit the description of Confucius, a contemporary equivalent of this condescending defender of the slave system? Yes there was. While different contemporary leaders often figured in the analogy, it was Teng Hsiao-ping and ultimately Chou En-lai who were targeted by Mao and the Four for opposing the transformations of the Cultural Revolution and for suppressing those who defended these transformations.

By September 1973, study groups started forming in factories, and workers began in earnest to take up this historical study and sum up its contemporary relevance. In different forms, this study continued through 1976. The selection "History Develops in Spirals" (Text 13) demonstrated by way of analysis of the Chinese Revolution that victories were won only through repeated struggle and that twists and turns—even reversals—were part of the normal development of history, though they could not alter its general forward direction. It also contains criticism, by way of reference to Liu Shao-chi, of the line of reducing support to revolutionary struggles in other countries. The articles on culture written at this time (Texts 11 and 12) point to specific struggles on a key front where the Right began to make a concentrated bid to reverse the important changes wrought by the Cultural Revolution.

The speech to the Cambodians by Wang Hung-wen (Text 14) was delivered a week before Teng Hsiao-ping's speech to the U.N. at which Teng enunciated the theory of the "three worlds"; however, it appeared in the same issue of *Peking Review* in which Teng's speech was reprinted. Wang's speech emphasizes the importance of supporting the revolutionary struggles of the people and mentions a recent statement from Mao that not to do so would be to betray Marxism. Even taking into account that the speeches were delivered in different contexts, their thrust is totally different and, interestingly, Teng's speech (Appendix 6) makes no reference to Mao.

TEXT 5

CARRY THE STRUGGLE TO CRITICIZE LIN PIAO AND CONFUCIUS THROUGH TO THE END

A mass political struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao, is developing in depth in all spheres of life.

Both at home and abroad, the reactionaries and the ringleaders of various opportunist lines have been worshippers of Confucius. Chairman Mao has repeatedly criticized Confucianism and the reactionary ideas of exalting Confucianism and opposing the Legalist school in the course of half a century in leading the Chinese revolution and struggling against reactionaries at home and abroad and against opportunist lines. The bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao was an out-and-out disciple of Confucius. Like all reactionaries in history on the verge of extinction, he worshipped Confucius and opposed the Legalist school, attacked Chin Shih Huang, the first emperor of the Chin Dynasty, and used the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius as his reactionary ideological weapon in plotting to usurp Party leadership and seize state power and restore capitalism. Therefore, only by criticizing the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius advocated by Lin Piao can we repudiate the ultra-Rightist nature of his counter-revolutionary revisionist line penetratingly and thoroughly. This is of great immediate significance and far-reaching historic importance in strengthening education in ideological and political line, adhering to and carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, consolidating and expanding the tremendous achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration.

A political swindler who did not read books, did not read the daily press and did not read documents, Lin Piao was a big Party tyrant and warlord who had no learning at all. He feverishly advocated the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius in dark corners behind people's backs, among his sworn followers and even in public. He hung Confucian canons on his walls and inscribed them in his diary as maxims. Why did he feverishly advocate the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius? Because it is a doctrine for restoring the old order. Lin Piao's reactionary

ideological system was identical with that of Confucius and Mencius. Both wanted to restore the old system and attempted to turn back the wheel of history.

Confucius and Mencius dished up a reactionary programme for restoring the slave system—"restrain oneself and restore the rites." Confucius said: "Once self-restraint and restoration of the rites are achieved, all under heaven will submit to benevolence," that is, all under heaven will submit to his rule. On many occasions after the Party's Ninth National Congress, Lin Piao advertised the notion: "Of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and restore the rites." This fully shows how anxious he was to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and that he regarded the restoration of capitalism as the most important thing of all.

Confucius and Mencius preached that some are "born with knowledge." Mencius said: "If all under heaven are to have peace and order, who is there but me at the present day to bring it about?" Lin Piao made the reactionary concept of "innate genius" his theoretical programme against the Party. He compared himself to a heavenly horse, regarding himself as the "noblest of men," a superman. He spoke of "the heavenly horse flying through the skies, free and alone," plotting to usurp Party leadership and state power and set up a personal dictatorship.

Confucius and Mencius held that "only the highest, who are wise, and the lowest, who are stupid, cannot be changed." Lin Piao played up the same idealist conception of history and vilified the working people as capable only of wishing each other "good fortune and wealth" and thinking only about "oil, salt, sauce, vinegar and firewood."

Confucius and Mencius praised "virtue," "benevolence and righteousness" and "loyalty and forbearance," and Lin Piao clamoured that "those who rule by virtue will thrive; those who rule by force will perish." Here he viciously used Confucian language to attack revolutionary violence and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Confucius and Mencius advocated the "doctrine of the mean," and Lin Piao blustered that this doctrine was "reasonable" and opposed the Marxist philosophy of struggle. He attacked the anti-revisionist struggle as "going to the extreme" because he wanted to surrender to Soviet revisionism and turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism.

Confucius and Mencius advocated the philosophy of "recoiling in order to extend." Lin Piao wrote that he was "constrained to lodge for a time in the tiger's lair" and "quick to change miraculously according to circumstances." This is an unintentional confession that he was a bourgeois careerist and conspirator who nestled beside us and that the

method he used was counter-revolutionary double-dealing.

Confucius and Mencius advocated the fallacy that "those who labour with their minds govern others; those who labour with their strength are governed by others." And Lin Piao lashed out at the "May 7" road, slandering cadres' going to take part in physical labour as a "disguised form of unemployment," and educated young people settling in the countryside as a "disguised form of reform through forced labour." His aim was to undermine Chairman Mao's great strategic plan for opposing and preventing revisionism and bringing up successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Disciples of Confucius and Mencius "revere the doctrines of Confucius and ban all other schools." And Lin Piao taught his son to worship Confucius and read Confucian classics and wrote an inscription for his son in which he enjoined him to learn from the experience of ruling passed on by King Wen of the slave-owning Chou Dynasty before his death to his son, King Wu. Here Lin Piao dreamt of establishing a hereditary Lin dynasty.

All this shows that criticism of Confucius is indeed an important component of the criticism of Lin Piao. It is aimed at destroying the roots of Lin Piao's revisionist line and doing a better job in criticizing Lin Piao. The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is a serious class struggle and a thoroughgoing revolution in the realm of ideology in China today. It is a war declared on feudalism, capitalism and revisionism and a heavy blow to imperialism, revisionism and reaction. It is a matter of prime importance for the whole Party, the whole army and the entire Chinese people.

Whether one is active or inactive towards this cardinal issue of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius is a test for every leading comrade. "**The philosophy of the Communist Party is the philosophy of struggle.**" To continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must carry the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end. To struggle is to advance. Not to struggle is to retrogress, to collapse, to go revisionist. Those engaged in military affairs should study and learn book knowledge, while those engaged in work in the economic base should learn to understand the superstructure. The vital question is whether to undertake the criticism or not. If you are determined to make criticism, you will be able to emancipate your mind and do away with all fetishes and superstitions, and you will press ahead in the face of difficulties.

Leading comrades at all levels should stand in the forefront of the struggle and discuss and grasp the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius as a matter of paramount importance. They should earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's

writings and instructions concerning this matter and take the lead in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. It is necessary to arouse the masses, compare the reactionary viewpoints of Confucius and Mencius with Lin Piao's reactionary fallacies and counter-revolutionary crimes, and to refute them item by item. It is necessary to link this criticism with current class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, persist in revolution, oppose retrogression, adopt a correct attitude towards the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and enthusiastically support new emerging socialist things. The ranks of those working in Marxist theory should grow in the course of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. Leading cadres should go to the grass-roots units, test things at selected points, train a backbone force and grasp typical examples well. They should constantly analyse new trends in the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, strictly differentiate between the two types of contradictions which are different in nature and, in particular, correctly handle contradictions among the people, and keep firmly to the general orientation of the struggle.

The worker-peasant-soldier masses are the main force in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, they are most resolute in breaking with old, traditional ideas and best know how to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. "Confucius wanted to restore the rites and Lin Piao wanted to restore capitalism; they were one of a kind." Well said! With one vivid expression, the workers, peasants and soldiers have hit at the nub of the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius which Lin Piao preached. Only when the workers, peasants and soldiers rise in action can the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius be carried out in a deep, thoroughgoing way. The revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals should take an active part in this struggle and make conscientious efforts to transform their world outlook. The workers, peasants and soldiers will welcome the progress made by some intellectuals who were quite deeply affected by the poison of Confucius and Mencius but who are educating themselves in the struggle.

"I care not that the wind blows and the waves beat; it is better than idly strolling in a courtyard." We must act in the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide, advance in the teeth of storms and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, carry the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end.

TEXT 6

DARE TO THINK AND DO

Renmin Ribao published a commentary on July 5 praising the study and dissemination of the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools by the Tientsin Railway Station workers as “another pioneering undertaking of the working class and a good method of deepening the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius.”

The commentary said: “Chairman Mao has taught us: It is necessary to know ‘not only the China of today but also the China of yesterday and of the day before yesterday.’ The current class struggle is a continuation of the class struggle throughout history. The struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools over the last 2,000 years or so still has its influence at present and has continued to this day. Using the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to sum up the past experience of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools is of great significance in further criticizing Lin Piao’s counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. In order to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, it is necessary to study diligently Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, conscientiously study some history books, study the history of the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the history of class struggle as a whole, read some books by the Legalists and integrate still better the historical experience with the current class struggle and two-line struggle to serve the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

“As far as the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are concerned, there are a great many difficulties for them to study history. But this is only one part of the problem. The other is that they have the style of daring to think and do and of dauntlessly going forward, and that they dare to shatter old conventions and break with traditional ideas. ‘The reversed history must be set right!’ ‘If we do not study the struggles between the Confucian and Legalist schools, who will?’ Such heroic words by the Tientsin station workers fully manifest the fearless revolutionary spirit of the Chinese working class. Facts have proved that the workers, peasants and soldiers can use Marxism to study and learn history.

Liberate history from the confines of the historians' lecture rooms and textbooks, and turn it into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses—this is not only absolutely necessary but entirely possible.

"Much work remains to be done to carry out the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a deep-going, popularized and sustained way. We should bring into full play the role of the workers, peasants and soldiers as the main force. We should make a big effort to encourage their revolutionary heroism of dauntlessly going forward, advancing despite difficulties and never giving up until the goal is reached."

TEXT 7

STUDY THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE CONFUCIAN AND LEGALIST SCHOOLS

Liang Hsiao

The history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole is now being extensively studied by China's workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. Such a wide-ranging mobilization of the masses for studying and summing up the experience and lessons of class struggle in the past is a matter of great practical and far-reaching historical significance.

Making the Past Serve the Present

Discussing the proletariat's historical task of preventing capitalist restoration after seizing political power, Lenin pointed out: "We do not know whether or not our victory will be followed by temporary periods of reaction and the victory of the counter-revolution—there is nothing impossible in that—and therefore, after our victory, we shall build a 'triple line of trenches' against such a contingency." (*Revision of the Party Programme*.) To successfully carry out the historical mission entrusted to the proletarian dictatorship and win victory in the prolonged and complicated class struggle, the proletariat not only should be adept at accumulating experience through its own struggles, but should study past class struggle and two-line struggle and the struggle between revolution and reaction and between restoration and counter-restoration in the periods of big social change, and use the Marxist method to make a critical summing up so as to accumulate experience and draw lessons and make the past serve the present.

The development of Chinese history has its own characteristics. Because the Chinese bourgeoisie living in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society was extremely weak economically and politically, the task of leading the bourgeois democratic revolution historically fell on the shoulders of the proletariat. Led by the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have thoroughly carried

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out the bourgeois democratic revolution and, following this, carried on the revolution to the socialist stage and founded the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Except for the revolution led by the proletariat, only the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system actually constituted a social change in China's history which saw the dictatorship of one class replaced by that of another class in its full sense. The struggle between the Confucian and Legalist lines took place during that social change. The struggle between worshipping the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school on the one hand and between worshipping the Legalist school and opposing the Confucian school on the other hand never ceased throughout feudal society, and this struggle still has its influence up to the present time.

All the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship have taken the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as their tool for restoring capitalism in China. The chieftains of the opportunist lines in our Party all worshipped the Confucian school and opposed the Legalist school. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao even went so far as to call Confucius and Mencius the "former sages" and Marx and Lenin the "later sages," and did all he could to peddle the idea that "both the former and later sages follow the same principles." To adhere to Marxism and oppose revisionism, we must thoroughly criticize this reactionary view and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

In the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods (770-221 B.C.) when the feudal system was replacing the slave system in China, the Legalists—the political and ideological representatives of the new emerging landlord class—in the course of seizing and consolidating political power waged prolonged and sharp struggles against the declining slave-owning class and its political and ideological representatives, the Confucianists. More than 130 years had elapsed from the time Shang Yang (?-338 B.C.) carried out reforms in the State of Chin to 221 B.C. when Chin Shih Huang unified China. If we reckon from the time when the State of Lu began to collect the land tax*, it was more than 370 years. During those centuries the newly rising landlord class seized and then lost political power many times. The unification of China by Chin Shih Huang did not spell the end of struggle. From the founding of the Chin Dynasty to the fall of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-8 A.D.), the struggle continued unabated for nearly 250 years between restoration and counter-restoration although the restorationist forces of the slave-owners were weakened step by step.

*This refers to the system of collecting a tax based on land area first introduced in the 15th year of Duke Hsuan in the State of Lu, or 594 B.C. Its adoption signified China's transition from slavery to feudalism in land ownership.

The struggles between revolution and reaction and between restoration and counter-restoration in that entire era (including open and covert, bloody and bloodless, political and economic, and military and cultural struggles) have provided us with extremely rich experience and lessons in class struggle and the two-line struggle. The experience and lessons have a vivid and profound nature special to the history of Chinese society. Communists and the working masses who are making revolution in China must sum them up from the Marxist viewpoint and make them serve the current struggle in our socialist revolution and construction.

Putting the Line First

The history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools tells us that a correct line does not appear spontaneously but emerges and develops in the course of struggle. In a deep-going social change, the progressive class can further develop and perfect its revolutionary line and make good preparations for the next battle only through criticizing the reactionary line and trend of thinking and summing up the experiences and lessons in class struggle. The rising landlord class started its full-scale attack in the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) and a high tide of reform swept the ducal states. The thoroughness of Shang Yang's reform shocked these states.

A sharp struggle ensued between the Confucian and Legalist lines around the question of negating or affirming this social change. Flaunting the banner of "speaking in the interests of the people," Mencius (390-305 B.C.), a representative of the Confucian school, came out with the theory peddling "benevolent rule" in an attempt to negate and overthrow the political power of the new emerging landlord class and restore the dictatorship of the slave-owners. (See "Mencius—a Trumpeter for Restoring the Slave System," *Peking Review*, No. 37, 1974.) Hsun Kuang (c. 313-238 B.C.) and Han Fei (c. 280-233 B.C.), representatives of the Legalist school, firmly refuted Mencius' absurd theory of "benevolent rule." They pointed out that the so-called "benevolence and righteousness" merely aimed at "deceiving and keeping the people ignorant" and was a restorationist theory opposing reform and change; they thus enthusiastically defended reform in the various states. This debate covered a wide field involving social and political questions as well as world outlook, and it helped further develop and perfect the Legalist line. Chin Shih Huang resolutely put the Legalist line into practice and founded the first unified feudal state under centralized authority. His victory over the six other states and in unifying the country was not only a military victory but a direct result

of the Legalists' criticism of the Confucian doctrines in the big debate.

The struggle between restoration and counter-restoration was still very sharp after the founding of the Chin Dynasty. (See "Struggle Between Restoration and Counter-Restoration in the Course of Founding the Chin Dynasty," *Peking Review*, Nos. 17 and 18, 1974.) Whether the upcoming landlord class could hold political power or not hinged on whether it could guarantee the continual implementation of the Legalist line. In this respect, the Chin Dynasty had both experiences of success and lessons of failure. Not willing to quit the stage of history of its own accord, the overthrown slave-owning class attacked the present with the past and launched one attack after another against the Chin Dynasty, doing whatever it could to change Chin Shih Huang's Legalist line and subvert the dictatorship of the newly rising landlord class. Chin Shih Huang firmly adopted such revolutionary measures as "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive" (see "Clarifying 'Burning Books and Burying Confucian Scholars Alive,'" *Peking Review*, No. 19, 1974), smashed the attacks by the slave-owners' restorationist forces, adhered to the centralized system of prefectures and counties and persisted in the Legalist line.

But, precisely as Chairman Mao has profoundly summed up, "**except for the revolution which replaced primitive communes by slavery, that is, a system of non-exploitation by one of exploitation, all revolutions ended in the replacement of one system of exploitation by another, and it was neither necessary nor possible for them to do a thorough job in suppressing counter-revolutionaries.**" (Introductory note to "Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique.") Chin Shih Huang was no exception. When he became rather complacent about peace and order in the country, Chao Kao (?-207 B.C.), a representative of the slave-owners' restorationist forces, sneaked into the core of the Chin court under the Legalist cloak and followed the "tactics of undermining from within" against the landlord class' political power. No sooner had Chin Shih Huang died than Chao Kao launched a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, substituted the reactionary Confucian line for the former's Legalist line, unleashed bloody class revenge against the political representatives of the landlord class and spared no effort to foster the slave-owners' restorationist forces.

The history of this period showed that after the landlord class seized political power, both the open and hidden struggles waged by the slave-owners' restorationist forces were all aimed at changing the Legalist line followed by the central authorities. Once the line was changed, the door would be open to restoration. After seizing state power, therefore, the revolutionary classes must give first place to the question of line and maintain high vigilance against the reactionary classes' intrigues and

conspiracies to change the revolutionary line. Bearing in mind this experience and lesson of class struggle gained from the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools helps us understand and persist in Chairman Mao's teachings that "**the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything**" and "**practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.**"

Relying on the Masses

The statesmen of the landlord class were in a quandary after Chao Kao usurped power. But a new situation arose immediately after the outbreak of a peasant uprising. While handing out blows to the rule of the landlord class, the peasant uprising army led by Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang (see "Working People's Struggle Against Confucius in Chinese History," *Peking Review*, No. 13, 1974) drove Chao Kao's restorationist political power into the grave in less than three years. This proved that the ascending landlord class could not carry the struggle against restoration through to the end with its own forces. The masses of the people were the main force in fighting against restoration. As the new emerging landlord class after all was an exploiting class and constituted a minority in society, it was in an antagonistic position with regard to the masses of peasants and naturally could not really rely on the masses to struggle against restoration. This was precisely the inevitable weakness of its political power.

In summing up the historical experience of the bourgeois revolution, Engels pointed out: **Even the most splendid achievements of the bourgeoisie in 17th century England and 18th century France were not made by it, but by the common masses, that is, the workers and peasants.** ("*Crisis*" in Prussia.) Similarly, the main force against the restoration of slavery in the big social change which saw feudalism replacing slavery was also the masses of peasants and those slaves who had not yet become peasants. This was decided by their class status, because once the slave system was restored, it meant first of all the return of the peasants to the extremely miserable status of slaves again. Without the forces of the masses, no revolution or counter-restorationist struggle in the past could be accomplished.

The proletarian dictatorship is the dictatorship of the overwhelming majority of people over the small number of exploiters. The proletariat can and must rely on and unite with the working people, unite with all the forces that can be united with and smash the class enemy's restorationist intrigues. Chairman Mao's theses that "**direct reliance on the revolutionary masses is a basic principle of the Communist Party**" and

“a line or a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It won’t do to explain them only to a few people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses” point out the great significance of relying on the forces of the masses and continuously consolidating the proletarian dictatorship.

Prolonged and Complicated Nature of Struggle

The great peasant uprising at the end of the Chin Dynasty swept away the slave-owners’ restorationist forces. It was on this basis that the Western Han Dynasty of the new emerging landlord class came into being. However, the declining slave-owning class’ strength was still bigger than that of the newly rising landlord class in certain fields, and the slave-owners’ experience of struggle in certain respects was richer than that of statesmen of the new emerging landlord class. The slave-owners were sure to use these to pit their strength again and again against the landlord class that was coming up.

Taking advantage of the economic difficulties in the early days of the Western Han Dynasty, a group of big handicraft and commercial slave-owners hoarded goods and sent prices up, and they vied with the landlord class to seize land and labour power, undermining that feudal society’s economic base. At the same time, these slave-owners colluded with conservatives in the landlord class (local forces that controlled certain places and had their own armies) to turn some areas into independent states. They gathered together a large number of Confucian scholars to create public opinion for restoration in the ideological realm and used their military forces to stage armed rebellions. They also often colluded with the slave-owning aristocrats of Hsiung Nu* in Chinese territory in an attempt to subvert the centralized Western Han Dynasty of the landlord class by attacking it from both sides. All this made the counter-restorationist struggle in that dynasty a prolonged, complicated and arduous one. Sharp struggles were fought on these fronts in the early and middle periods of the Western Han Dynasty. The landlord class’ centralized dictatorship became stable only after Emperor Ching of Han (whose name was Liu Chi and was on the throne from 156 to 141 B.C.) had put down the “rebellion of Wu, Chu and five other states” (see note on page 22 in *Peking Review*, No. 18, 1974) and Emperor Wu of Han (whose name was Liu Cheh and was on the throne from 140 to 87 B.C.) had launched an all-round counter-attack against the slave-owning merchants and had triumphed in the war against the Hsiung Nu.

*A nationality in the northern part of China in the Western Han Dynasty.

This showed that even in a social change whereby one exploiting system replaced another, the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration was of long duration and complicated and took place in every single field. As long as the overthrown class has some strength, it will always attempt a restoration. This law of class struggle will never change. Chairman Mao said in 1955: "**If to this day representatives of the Royalists are found in the French bourgeois National Assembly, then it is highly probable that years after the final elimination of all exploiting classes from the face of the earth, representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek dynasty will remain active here and there. The worst diehards among them will never admit defeat.**" (Introductory note to the "Third Batch of Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique.") In our study of the history of struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, we get a deeper understanding when we restudy this scientific summing up of historical experience by Chairman Mao. Never for a moment should the revolutionary classes and people forget that the enemy still exists in the world.

Need for a Leading Group Adhering to the Correct Line

The Western Han Dynasty was able to win victories in the struggle against restoration in its early and middle periods because it persisted in the Legalist line. The implementation of this line was interrupted after the death of Chin Shih Huang. But following the death of the first ruler of the Han Dynasty Emperor Kao Tsu (whose name was Liu Pang and reigned from 206 to 195 B.C.), the Legalist line was basically upheld for 140 years by six succeeding rulers. The landlord class in these two periods was equally in the ascendant, and yet the results were different. Why?

Obviously what happened in the early and middle periods of the Western Han Dynasty was affected by the peasant war at the end of the Chin Dynasty which swept away the remnants of the slave-owning aristocrats and by the balance of class forces in the early years of the Han Dynasty. At the same time, it could not be denied that the long-term preservation of a Legalist leading group in the central political power of the Western Han Dynasty also played an important part. From the overthrow of the Chin Dynasty, Liu Pang came to understand the central leading group's extreme importance. He held fast to the Legalist line of selecting officials in the course of struggle. After his death, Queen Lu, Emperor Wen and several succeeding emperors continued to follow Liu Pan's Legalist line; they set great store by the opinions of such Legalists as Chao Tso (200-154 B.C.), Chang Tang (?-115 B.C.) and Sang Hung-yang (152-80 B.C.) and put them in important

posts in the central government. Adherence to the Legalist line was ensured because of the existence of such a leading group which continued to carry out the Legalist line. So even when armed rebellions broke out, they were promptly quelled.

This was the specific reason why the slave-owners' restorationist forces considered the Legalist leading group in the central organ their biggest obstacle in the way of restoration. Liu Pi (215-154 B.C.), who was prince of Wu and a nephew of Liu Pang and one of the princes in the early years of the Han Dynasty, put forth the counter-revolutionary strategy of "cleaning up those around the emperor" which, under the facade of supporting the central authorities, aimed at removing the policy-making Legalists in the central organ and putting an end to the Legalist leading group at the central level, thereby basically changing the Legalist line in the political power of the Western Han Dynasty as a whole.

After summing up this important experience in the history of struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, Chairman Mao pointed out: "**Ever since Liu Pi, Prince of Wu of the Han Dynasty, invented the well-known strategy of cleaning up those around the emperor by a request to kill Chao Tso (chief brain-truster of Emperor Ching), many careerists have regarded it as invaluable, and the Hu Feng clique has inherited this legacy, too.**" Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, those bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party often will adopt this counter-revolutionary strategy of "cleaning up those around the emperor" in order to bring about a fundamental change in the Party's basic line. In his *Outline of Project "571,"* didn't the counter-revolutionary careerist and conspirator Lin Piao rave about flaunting the revolutionary banner to attack the revolutionary forces that persevered in Chairman Mao's correct line? "**As members of a revolutionary party, we must get to know these tricks of theirs and study their tactics so that we can defeat them.**" (Introductory note to the "Third Batch of Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique.") We must be adept at detecting these careerists, conspirators and double-dealers and ensure that the Party and state leadership be always in the hands of the Marxist revolutionaries.

Persist in Continuing the Revolution

The feudal rulers carried out the Legalist line up to the end of the middle period of the Western Han Dynasty. In its struggle against restoration, the landlord class, however, aimed only at maintaining feudal rule and could not raise new revolutionary tasks for itself. After succeeding Hsiao Ho (?-193 B.C.) as prime minister in the early years

of the Han Dynasty, Tsao Tsan (?-190 B.C.) told Emperor Hui: "Emperor Kao Ti [Liu Pang] and Hsiao Ho have brought stability to the country and made laws clearly known to the people; now Your Majesty should just take the reins and Tsan and others should hold our posts by following what already has been established without change. Isn't this all right?" This typical case showed that though the landlord class at that time still adhered to the Legalist line, it lacked the clear-cut revolutionary spirit of the Legalists in the stormy periods of class struggle. Its revolutionary vigour and strength were gradually declining.

With the gradual disappearance of the danger of restoration of slavery after the Western Han Dynasty, the contradiction between the landlords and peasants daily grew sharper and the landlord class was being transformed from a real tiger to a paper tiger. The landlord class began to detest the Legalist ideas and found that the somewhat modified Confucian ideas suited its needs. This transformation was the inevitable historical destiny of an exploiting class.

However, the proletariat is different; it is most thoroughly revolutionary and its final goal is to wipe out classes and realize communism. Therefore, it persists in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Precisely as Lenin pointed out: "**Our 'guarantee against restoration' was the complete fulfillment of the revolution.**" (*Report on the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.*) Chairman Mao also pointed out: The new socialist system can be "**consolidated step by step**" only in the course of socialist revolution. "**To achieve its ultimate consolidation, it is necessary not only to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and persevere in the socialist revolution on the economic front, but to carry on constant and arduous socialist revolutionary struggles and socialist education on the political and ideological fronts.**" (*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.*) This tells us that only by persevering in long-term socialist revolution and socialist education in the political, ideological and economic fields can the proletariat that has seized political power prevent capitalist restoration and fulfil the historical task of proletarian dictatorship.

The class basis of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools changed in the middle and later periods of feudal society. The Confucian doctrines became the dominant ideology of the landlord class while the Legalists ceased to represent the newly rising class and became reformers in the landlord class. In view of the serious social and national crises at different times, they did come out with various proposals for reform which, for instance, stressed unity and waging wars of resistance and opposed splits and capitulation. Their proposals and exposure and criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were

beneficial to the development of the social productive forces, culture and science and the country's unity and independence, and were therefore progressive in nature. However, it was impossible for the Legalists to solve the daily sharpening basic contradiction in feudal society and find a way out for the feudal system. Although they criticized the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in varying degrees, they were unwilling to or dared not make a radical rupture with these doctrines and, moreover, they dared not openly raise the Legalist banner. They carried on the struggle, but they no longer had full confidence in the future as the Legalists before the Western Han Dynasty had.

Because the Confucianists became increasingly dominant in feudal society, the Legalists were more and more oppressed, attacked and persecuted by them. This was more so the case after the Sung Dynasty (960-1279). Any minimal reform was regarded as a calamity and struck fear into the feudal rulers who immediately strangled it; any new idea was regarded as heresy by the feudal rulers who would stamp it out by every means. The struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools throughout feudal society shows that the trend of thinking in China which worships the Confucian school and opposes the Legalist school represents the interests of the most reactionary and darkest forces and always hinders social change and social progress. Unless great efforts are made to criticize this reactionary trend of thinking, revolution cannot advance and society cannot move forward.

Purpose of Studying the Struggle Between The Confucian and Legalist Schools

Going with the tide of historical development, the Legalists of the past played a progressive role to a certain extent in different periods and under various conditions. But it was impossible for them to grasp consciously the objective law of historical development and understand the great role of the people in making history. Guided by the Marxist world outlook, the proletariat is able to understand and consciously grasp the objective law of historical development and carry out thoroughgoing revolution. The basic line of our Party formulated by Chairman Mao for the entire historical period of socialism is the scientific expression of the objective law of class struggle in the period of socialism. Although the task of struggle is arduous and the road of struggle tortuous, the future is bright. The replacement of the bourgeois dictatorship by the proletarian dictatorship and the supersession of capitalism by socialism is the inevitable law of historical development and cannot be changed by any force in the world.

By applying Marxism in studying the historical experience of the

struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and summing up the general law of class struggle and the two-line struggle in history, we can deepen our understanding of the law of current class struggle, further strengthen our concept of class struggle and raise our consciousness of carrying out the Party's basic line; this will help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and accomplish the great historical mission of the proletariat. This is the basic purpose of our studying the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the class struggle as a whole.

TEXT 8

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS THE PHILOSOPHY OF STRUGGLE

—Refuting Lin Piao for peddling Confucius' doctrine of the mean

Chiang Yu-ping

The doctrine of the mean is a reactionary philosophy used by Confucius more than 2,000 years ago in stubborn defence of the slave system. Lin Piao and his gang completely betrayed dialectical materialism by describing this doctrine as "rational" and "a dialectic idea" and even listing it as "one of the great virtues of our nation."

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "**The philosophy of the Communist Party is the philosophy of struggle.**" Marxist dialectics hold that "**the law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the fundamental law of nature and of society.**" The unity of contradictions is relative whereas the struggle of contradictions is absolute. When the struggle develops to a certain stage and goes beyond a certain limit, it inevitably will destroy the old unity, resulting in the extinction of the old things and the birth of the new. Genuine dialectical materialists should not only recognize this law but also support and foster with full enthusiasm the new emerging things and strive to help them defeat the decadent things. They should persist in reforms, revolution and progress and oppose conservatism, restoration and retrogression, so that human society will constantly progress and develop in the storms of class struggle and the struggle for production and eventually realize communism.

Always persisting in applying the Marxist philosophy of struggle in the new-democratic revolution and in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, our great leader Chairman Mao has led the entire Party, the whole army and the people throughout the country in surmounting numerous obstacles, marching forward courageously and winning one great victory after another. "**Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but they all boil down to the one sentence, 'It is right to rebel.' . . . And from this truth there follows resistance, struggle, the fight for socialism.**" Restudying this great teaching of Chair-

man Mao and reviewing every advance in the Chinese revolution, we deeply realize that to struggle is to progress and triumph while not to struggle is to retrogress, collapse and go revisionist.

But Confucius and the Confucian school after his time advocated “*chung yung*” (the doctrine of the mean), regarding unity as absolute and describing decadent old things as sacred and inviolable. According to them, “not leaning to either side is called *chung*; being unchangeable is called *yung*.” Everything should be done in accordance with the slave system’s moral standard of “letting the king be a king, the minister a minister, the father a father and the son a son,” and there should not be the slightest deviation. To act otherwise was to go against the doctrine of the mean. Obviously, this doctrine was a reactionary philosophy used by Confucius and Mencius to oppose reforms and social progress and to protect the old slave system. How can it be “rational” and “a dialectic idea”? In peddling Confucius’ doctrine of the mean, Lin Piao and company fully proved that they were not only a gang of political swindlers in the true sense but also out-and-out devout disciples of Confucius.

Falsehood is dressed up as truth, just as fish eyes are palmed off as pearls. In picking the doctrine of the mean out of the garbage heap of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and passing it off as, and tampering with, Marxism, Lin Piao tried to use this reactionary philosophy to oppose the Marxist philosophy of struggle and the surging revolutionary movement of the proletariat and drag society backwards. In 1958 when the people of the whole country, guided by the Party’s general line for socialist construction, were launching the vigorous movement for the Big Leap Forward and the people’s communes with soaring enthusiasm and boundless creativeness, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao dished up the reactionary philosophy of the doctrine of the mean to attack the general line, the Big Leap Forward and the people’s communes. One babbled that “things have gone wrong because they have been carried too far” while the other said that “things have gone beyond the limit” and “have destroyed individual initiative.” When Chairman Mao led the entire Party and the people of the whole country in adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and opposing Soviet revisionism, Lin Piao again employed the doctrine of the mean to viciously curse our anti-revisionist struggle, alleging that it “went to extremes.” This has fully exposed the ugly features of this renegade and traitor who attempted to throw himself into the lap of the Soviet revisionists.

Guided by Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and holding high the great banner that “**it is right to rebel against reactionaries**,” the revolutionary masses in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution demolished the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its

ringleader, dealt shattering blows at the old ideas, old culture, old habits and customs of the exploiting classes and smashed the dream of the landlord and capitalist classes of staging a come-back. Socialist new things mushroomed. harbouring inveterate hatred for all this, Lin Piao and his like once again picked up the doctrine of the mean as a weapon with which to frenziedly attack the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, socialist new things and the proletarian dictatorship. Their vilification was most vicious and their techniques most despicable. They even conspired to stage a counter-revolutionary armed coup to put the landlord and capitalist classes' desire for restoration into action.

One criminal purpose of Lin Piao's advocating the doctrine of the mean is he hoped in vain to use it to erode the militant will of the people and undermine the revolutionary forces. This is another point meriting our high vigilance. If you wanted to display the spirit of thoroughgoing revolution in the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment—Lin Piao would preach to you that you should “never go to extremes in anything” and that “going to extremes is wrong.” If you stood for reforms, advocated revolution and upheld social development and progress, he would assume the air of a philosopher and admonish you to “guard against exceeding proper limits in antagonism, or unity will be destroyed” and that only the doctrine of the mean was most “rational.” If you upheld the proletarian principles and waged a ruthless struggle against the class enemies, he would come out at once and spread the absurd fallacy of class reconciliation that “when two sides fight, they become enemies; when two sides live in harmony, they become friends,” echoing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius that “in the application of the rites, harmony is to be prized.” In a word, revolutionary principles can be discarded, revolutionary struggles must be stopped; only the restoration by the class enemies is permissible while the broad masses are not allowed to make revolution—this is what Lin Piao and his kind really meant when they peddled the doctrine of the mean to the people.

All the revolutionary fighters of the proletariat shoulder the great task of emancipating all mankind and realizing communism. For Lin Piao to peddle the doctrine of the mean in an attempt to restore capitalism is something we will never tolerate! Not only in the present movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius but in the entire historical period of socialism, we must always adhere to the Communist Party's philosophy of struggle, thoroughly repudiate the doctrine of the mean and display the proletarian spirit of thoroughgoing revolution. What joy it is to struggle with heaven! What joy it is to struggle with earth! What joy it is to struggle with man! Certainly communism will be realized amid struggle!

TEXT 9

WORKING WOMEN'S STRUGGLE AGAINST CONFUCIANISM IN CHINESE HISTORY

Inequality between men and women is not a social phenomenon dating back to time immemorial, but it emerged together with the slave system. Oppression of working women is, first and foremost, class oppression. Inequality between men and women is created by class antagonism. Precisely as Engels pointed out: “**The first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamian marriage, and the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male.**” (*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*)

Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius Are Ropes Binding the Working Women

Towards the end of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.) in China, the Confucian school represented by Confucius feverishly trumpeted the reactionary fallacy that man was superior to woman. He regarded women as low as slaves and preached that “only women and inferior men are difficult to keep.” Confucius held that the relations between husband and wife, like those between king and minister and between father and son, were all between master and servant and that this principle was universal under heaven. During the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) Mencius, a devotee of Confucius, arbitrarily drew a line between men and women and advocated that “between men and women things should not personally be given and taken.” He regarded a wife as a husband’s slave and prattled that for a woman morality meant only obedience. Under the influence of the reactionary preachings of Confucius and Mencius, some of the so-called Confucian classics went even further. They formulated many reactionary dogmas such as the “Three Obediences and Four Virtues” (obedience to the father and elder brothers when young, obedience to the husband when married, and obedience to the sons when widowed; women’s virtue, speech, appearance and chores), women taking part in political affairs would give rise to the danger of national subjugation and “separation

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of men and women" was a "major moral principle of a country." They thus imposed numerous spiritual shackles on the masses of working women. All these reactionary fallacies spread by Confucius and Mencius were entirely for the purpose of upholding and trying to restore the slave system.

With the daily sharpening of the contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class after the middle of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-8 A.D.), the landlord class gradually switched from respect for the Legalist school and opposing the Confucian school to worshipping the latter and opposing the former. As a result, reactionary Confucian ideas on the question of women developed further. A devotee of Confucius, Tung Chung-shu babbled that relations between husband and wife, like those between king and minister or father and son, were decided by the *yin-yang* relationship. The husband represented *yang* (male or positive element) and the wife *yin* (female or negative element). Pan Ku of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220) epitomized this idea as follows: "The sovereign guides the ministers, the father guides the son and the husband guides the wife." They alleged that the difference in status between men and women following the appearance of class antagonism was absolute and eternal like "*yang* being superior to *yin*" or the sky above the earth. This fallacy of deciding the status of men and women by the *yin-yang* principle put a theological cloak over the reactionary theories for oppressing women.

Ardent followers of Confucius in the Tang Dynasty (618-907) turned out many reactionary works such as *Analects for Women* and *Filial Piety for Women* to inculcate among the masses of working women the idea of man being superior to woman. These writings did everything possible to spread ideas that women must keep to their "chastity" and "submissively accept all unfair treatment" and that "between men and women things should not personally be given and taken." Some even prescribed that a woman "should not look back when walking, twitch her lips when talking, move her knees when sitting, rustle her skirt when standing, laugh when happy and shout when angry." If she followed these rules in all her acts, could she look like a living person?

As the peasants' struggle against the landlord class mounted wave upon wave in the Sung Dynasty (960-1279), the latter became more and more reactionary. Some followers of Confucius and Mencius made big efforts to elaborate the reactionary canon that "the sovereign guides the ministers, the father guides the son and the husband guides the wife." They said this was prescribed by heaven long before the appearance of humanity. An apologist for the landlord class called Cheng Yi demanded that women strictly keep to their "chastity" and shouted that "starving to death is very insignificant, while loss of chastity (for a

widow to remarry was regarded as loss of chastity) is a great matter." He thus openly preached that women should become willing sacrifices to the feudal ethical code. Countless numbers of women in the ensuing 800 years were victims of this reactionary idea advocated by Cheng Yi.

The Ming (1368-1644) and Ching (1644-1911) Dynasties were in the late period of feudal society. To stave off their decline and fall, the reactionary rulers were even more frantic in propagating the idea of male superiority. For more than 500 years a great many books preaching this idea were put out. They included systematically edited collections, popular readers and writings promulgated for the whole nation in the name of the supreme feudal rulers. This motley collection of books made the victimization of women more barbaric than ever before.

After the Revolution of 1911, Yuan Shih-kai who dreamt of restoring the monarchy and the autocrat and traitor to the people Chiang Kai-shek completely inherited the mantle of the previous reactionary rulers. They preached that "relations between husband and wife" and the "separation of men and women" advocated by the Confucian school were "immutable principles of social life." Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, revisionist chieftains in the Party, and their gangs also took over all that Confucius preached and continued spreading the reactionary idea of men being superior to women. Slandering women as "backward" and "useless," they tried to continue putting Chinese women in bondage to the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius so as to restore capitalism in China.

Working Women—a Great Revolutionary Force

Where there is oppression, there is resistance. Numerous facts in Chinese history have proved that the working women not only can shatter the bonds of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, but are a great revolutionary force in the fight against feudalism, Confucianism and imperialism.

Struggle Against Feudalism. Men in China were generally subjected to the domination of three authorities: political, clan and religious. As for women, in addition to being dominated by these three authorities, they were also dominated by men or the authority of the husband. Chairman Mao has said: "**These four authorities—political, clan, religious and masculine—are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology, and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants.**" "**The political authority of the landlords is the backbone of all the other systems of authority.**" (*Report on an In-*

vestigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan.) In their struggle for liberation, the working women made feudal rule of the landlord class their first target of attack.

Towards the end of the Western Han Dynasty, Mother Lu of Haichu (present-day Jihchao County, Shantung Province) had bitter hatred for the exorbitant taxes and levies of the reactionary government. When her son was unjustly killed by the magistrate, this aggravated her pent-up hatred and enmity and she organized more than 1,000 impoverished peasants to stage an uprising in 17 A.D., proclaiming herself the general. Under her leadership, they took Haichu by storm, executed the magistrate, continued fighting the reactionary government and soon their army expanded to more than 10,000 people. After the death of Mother Lu, most of her units joined the rebellious peasant armies in other places. This formed a big nationwide peasant uprising which overthrew that reactionary regime.

The heroine Tang Sai-erh from Putai (present-day Pohsing County, Shantung Province) was a leader of a peasant uprising in Shantung in the early Ming Dynasty. By propagating revolution and organizing the masses, she assembled the armed peasant forces in the surrounding areas and established a rural revolutionary base area in 1420. The Ming government hurriedly dispatched troops to suppress the uprising. Spurring on her horse, Tang Sai-erh killed the enemy commander with her sword, and the enemy troops were completely annihilated. Terror-stricken, the Ming ruler immediately sent a senior officer to put down the uprising. Though encircled, she directed her troops to feint an attack on one place while striking at another, thus enabling the peasant forces to break through the encirclement and move to a place of safety. After the failure of the uprising, the Ming ruler twice issued orders to search for and arrest Tang Sai-erh, but the enemy never found her, for she was well protected by the masses.

Great Force in Criticizing Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are spiritual pillars to uphold and restore the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes and ropes to enslave and bind the working women. In their struggle against this reactionary rule, the working women of China have heavily pounded and swept away these doctrines.

During the early period of the Tang Dynasty, Chen Shuo-chen from Muchow (present-day Chienteh County in Chekiang Province) and her brother-in-law Chang Shu-yin led an armed uprising in Chekiang in 653 A.D. She proclaimed herself Emperor Wen Chia and appointed Chang Shu-yin her prime minister. She threw overboard the Confucian fallacy that women should only stay at home and cook and "not take part in political affairs," and so by her actions she criticized the reactionary

Confucian concept that the “right to rule comes directly from heaven.” She was the first woman emperor of a revolutionary political power founded by the working people in Chinese history.

During the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolutionary movement in the mid-19th century, working women actively took part in the armed struggle and in the movement opposing Confucianism.

The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom firmly opposed the idea and practice of male supremacy and stood for four great equalities—political equality, economic equality, equality among nationalities and equality between man and woman.

Politically, women in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom took part in extensive political activities and many held important official posts up to the highest ranks. Economically, the kingdom stipulated that “land shall be distributed according to the number of persons, irrespective of sex.” Militarily, men and women were armed alike to fight the enemy and the Taiping Army recruited a large number of soldiers from among the working women. There were about 100,000 women soldiers and many women generals, marshals and commanders. In the cultural and educational spheres, both men and women could take part in government examinations. In one special examination for women, the examinees exceeded 200 and both the chief and deputy examiners were women.

Heroines Resisting Imperialist Aggression. As a result of imperialist aggression after the Opium War in 1840, China was gradually reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. The calamity-ridden Chinese working people at that time shouldered the herculean task of opposing imperialism, feudalism and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Chairman Mao has pointed out: “**The history of China’s transformation into a semi-colony and colony by imperialism in collusion with Chinese feudalism is at the same time a history of struggle by the Chinese people against imperialism and its lackeys.**” (*The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*.) Many working women’s heroic deeds are listed in the records of the Chinese people’s struggle against imperialist aggression.

After British troops had invaded and occupied Kwangchow in 1841, they went to pillage in Sanyuanli on its northern outskirts. Raising banners with the characters Ping Ying Tuan (Quell the British Corps), the heroic Sanyuanli people took up arms and gave the British invading troops a sound beating. Men and women, old and young, tens of thousands of people from 103 neighbouring villages joined forces to chase the retreating panic-stricken enemy. Ah Feng, wife of Chou Chun who was one of the Ping Ying Tuan leaders, was a courageous and skilful fighter in the corps and was warmly acclaimed by the masses.

The enemy dared not go near her. The women of Sanyuanli played a positive role in the struggle against the British invaders and proved through their own actions that the Chinese working women were an important force in the struggle against imperialism.

The Small Sword Society of Shanghai staged an armed uprising in 1853 to fight tit for tat against U.S., British and French imperialism and their lackeys. Chou Hsiu-ying, daughter of a leader of the rebellious army, Chou Li-chun, was adept at using a big sword and the masses called her Big Sword Girl Hsiu. At 17, she and her father joined in the struggle against the feudal landlords by refusing to pay the land rent. She was made a general after the uprising and heroically resisted the Ching government troops in the campaign to defend Chiating near Shanghai. When the Ching troops attacked Shanghai, she enticed the enemy to advance deep into a trap and large numbers of enemy troops were killed. In the fierce battle to break out of Shanghai, she fought courageously against the U.S., British and French aggressors and gave up her young life.

An Anglo-French allied army occupied Peking and Tientsin in 1860 and burnt and reduced the Yuan Ming Yuan Summer Palace in Peking's western suburbs to ashes. The British troops twice invaded Hsiehchuang Village, five kilometres from the palace. When the enemy came to the village the second time, Feng Wan-chen, a 19-year-old daughter of a hunter's family, and the village's young hunters decided to take action. By launching a surprise attack, they killed more than 100 enemy troops and made the rest flee helter-skelter, leaving their guns and ammunition behind. Not fearing a strong enemy and daring to struggle, Feng Wan-chen personified the Chinese working women's glorious tradition in fighting tyranny.

Revelations of History

First, China's working women are a great revolutionary force. Not willing to be bound by the "four ropes," they are firm in putting up resistance, in making revolution and in transforming society. That was why they took part in every one of the hundreds of peasant uprisings in Chinese history. Marx said: "**Anybody who knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment.**" (*Marx to L. Kugelmann.*) Although past revolutionary struggles by the working people, including the working women, did not win final victory, their struggles alone were the real force propelling the development of history in feudal society.

Second, male superiority is the product of private property and class oppression. The woman question is a question of class struggle.

Women's emancipation can be realized only by first overthrowing the social system in which there is exploitation and oppression of man by man. Working women in the past fought heroically in the forefront of the struggle, but because of the limitations of historical conditions they could not win real equality between men and women. It was only under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party that Chinese women together with men overthrew the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism weighing down on the Chinese people, toppled the criminal system that caused all kinds of suffering to China's women, and fundamentally removed the class origin of exploitation and oppression of women. Today they are vigorously playing their great "one-half" role in the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

Third, only with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can we thoroughly triumph over the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and smash the spiritual shackles imposed on women. Working women in the past boldly pounded at these doctrines by their own actions and strove to free themselves from feudal oppression. But owing to the limitations of their times and class, they could not thoroughly expose and criticize the class content and reactionary essence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Later, the bourgeoisie took part in the struggle against Confucianism in the May 4th Movement of 1919, but it also could not thoroughly criticize these doctrines. The task of doing this is entrusted by history to the proletariat armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Together with all the other working people of China, our working women are earnestly studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, taking an active part in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, thoroughly criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, occupying with Marxism all of the superstructure, including philosophy, history, education, literature, art and law, and carrying the class struggle in the realm of ideology through to the end.

TEXT 10

TO DEVELOP INDUSTRY WE MUST INITIATE TECHNICAL INNOVATION

Kung Hsiao-wen

Chairman Mao says: "In developing technology, we cannot follow the old road of other countries in the world, trailing behind them step by step. We must discard all conventional practice and apply up-to-date techniques as much as possible, so that we can, in not too long an historical period, build our country into a strong, modernized socialist state." Chairman Mao's instruction serves as a profound criticism of the philosophy of servility to foreign things, of the mentality of trailing behind others, and of the ideas of Chia-kuei [a character in a novel by Lu Hsun who poses as a foreigner], all of which allege that China must always trail behind Western science and technology. It also greatly enhances the initiative and creativeness of the working class, the scientific and technical personnel, and all the people of our country, giving a mighty impetus to the development of technical innovation.

To initiate technical innovation is a reliable approach to fully tapping the latent capacities of existing enterprises and to developing production with greater, faster, better, and more economical results. It also serves as an effective means for persistently developing industry along our own road, so that we can catch and surpass the advanced level of the world. To persist in revolution and adhere to the road of socialism in the realm of productive skills requires us to rely on the masses and motivate them to take part in technical innovation and technical revolution. Whether or not we emphasize technical innovation and whether or not we reform backward production techniques is a significant indicator of our adherence to the policy of working with independent effort and through self-reliance. It is also the concrete expression of the acute ongoing struggle between the two ideologies and two lines in the realm of productive skills. At present, the broad masses of workers, tempered by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Campaign to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, display an ever-growing revolutionary enthusiasm. Confronting us is the important task of launching in greater depth and breadth a drive for technical innovation and of bringing into full play the socialist initiative of the broad masses in order to promote great strides in the socialist construction in our

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country and to further develop the excellent situation in both revolution and production.

Whenever the issue of increasing production becomes the topic of the day, some comrades tend to reach out their hands to higher authorities for more factory buildings, more equipment, and a greater work force. They hold that "the size of the egg determines the size of the chicken." To double output, we must double the input of factory buildings, labor force, and equipment. It appears that without "doublings" in these categories it is impossible to "double" production. This mentality puts a restriction on the mass drive to initiate technical innovation in a big way. Naturally, we cannot dismiss out of hand the contention that some addition of equipment, factory buildings, and labor force is required for increasing production. But the fact is that the current production level in some factories is far behind that of their more advanced counterparts. Only by digging out the potential capacity of these factories can we achieve more with less money, or even with no additional cost whatever. Besides, be it now or in the future, state funds for construction are always limited. The industrial labor force cannot be permitted, and is not permitted, to expand without restraint and without any connection to agriculture, which is the foundation of the national economy. Any factory which runs into difficulty and only reaches out its hand, "waiting, demanding, and relying on" the higher authorities for more, will merely dampen the socialist initiative of the broad masses. "The more one waits, the laxer his spirit; the more one relies on others, the lazier he grows; and the more one demands, the less enterprising he becomes." In units and departments where such a mentality prevails, the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses is barred from coming into play, and technical innovation and technical transformation become empty talk.

Will the "addition" of capital, equipment and whatnot lead necessarily to a proportionate increase in production? Not always. The experience of many units tells us that when the line is wrongly oriented and devoid of the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, the broad masses are fettered in their actions and production will not rise even when more money and equipment are made available. When the line is properly directed, when the socialist initiative of the broad masses is fully mobilized and technical innovation is in full swing, then production rockets upward although little or no equipment and labor force have been added. The Shanghai steel industry, harassed by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line in the days before the Cultural Revolution, hung back from progress for many years. The steel plants remained the same in number after the Cultural Revolution and basically had no expansion in labor force. However, since they have corrected the direction of the

line, they have initiated full-scale technical innovation through their own efforts and by relying on the masses. With the application of the new technique of oxygen blast, the converters increased their smelting power by 75 percent over the designed capacity. The old open-hearth furnaces with a volume of fifty tons doubled their output following this innovation. The smaller electric furnaces with a five-ton capacity accepted more and more input until they were handling fifteen tons each. In 1973, the entire city's steel output showed a rise of 70 percent over that of 1965. This fully illustrates that there is no limit to the development of production through technical innovation and technical transformation. This insistence that "the size of the egg determines the size of the chicken," this assumption that production cannot be increased without an expansion of equipment, factory buildings, and labor force, is therefore groundless. At the same time, it also illustrates that in order to persist in reform in the realm of productive skills and to push production forward rapidly, it is imperative that we first settle the issue of ideology and line. Only by solving the ideological and political question of following the socialist road or the capitalist road from the height of the Party's basic line can we find a solution to the issue of reformation or conservatism in the realm of productive skills.

Why is it that some units seem unable to get technical innovation underway? Some comrades have argued: "The masses in our unit have great enthusiasm. A little extra work won't prevent them from accomplishing the job. Innovation or no innovation, we can get along fine." Others have held: "We are hard pressed by production tasks. We have no time for introducing innovations." All this constitutes still another mental barrier to the progress of technical innovation. It is a good thing when the masses have great enthusiasm and can accomplish their jobs even when assigned more work. However, as socialist construction in our country presses forward, production tasks gain in volume. If we fail to initiate technical innovation but rather try to complete production tasks by taxing the strength of the masses, our energies cannot long be sustained. You can "get along fine" at present, but you cannot expect to do so in the future. The great enthusiasm of the masses is a prerequisite to the launching of technical innovation. We must fully mobilize the masses and go in for technical innovation in a big way so that we can complete production tasks with better results. Is it impossible to initiate technical innovation while taxed by heavy production tasks? Not at all. The pressure of the tasks can be transformed into mobilizing power. A good many major technical innovations are rushed into being under the "pressure" of heavy production tasks. The workers in some units, hard pressed by production tasks, offered this suggestion: "Let two men take the jobs assigned to three so that one

can be spared for the work of technical innovation." Thus, technical innovation not only provides a mighty impetus and boosts production, but also raises the techniques of production to a much higher level. From this it can be seen that heavy production tasks, far from precluding innovation, make full-scale technical innovation a necessity, and thus production and innovation each serve as a stimulus to the other. Because technical innovation becomes a major force for boosting production, we must persist in our efforts toward it whatever the circumstances. The tendencies to exaggerate difficulty and let matters drift actually result from the evil influence of passive, conservative, and conventional thinking.

Chairman Mao says, "Mankind makes constant progress, and Nature undergoes constant change; neither remains at the same level." Two different mentalities are represented by those who rest content with things as they are and those who, on the other hand, persist in their efforts to change reality. Marxists hold that in a socialist society, classes and class struggle are facts. Like all other revolutionary struggles, the production struggle develops out of contradictions and conflicts. Our present-day level of productive skill represents tremendous progress as compared to that of the era preceding the Cultural Revolution. This progress did not come about naturally, but was, in simple fact, the result of struggle. As Chairman Mao's revolutionary line prevails over the revisionist line pursued by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, the broad masses, fostering the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, have surmounted one difficulty after another, ceaselessly seeking changes in production conditions and consequently attaining today's high level. Without innovation and change, there can be no progress. It has been so from the past to the present day, and it will remain so in the future. After there has been progress in production, new contradictions will arise and require new solutions. It will not suffice simply to continue as of old. The revisionists hold that to develop industry, science, and technology, we have no alternative but to trail behind others step by step. They have the bourgeoisie of the West on their minds, never giving a thought to the proletariat of the East. They refuse to recognize the existence of classes and class struggle in a socialist society and try to suppress the emergence of new things on the fronts of industry, science, and technology. They go by their old ways and oppose change, an attitude which actually indicates stagnation, retrogression, and restoration. The struggle over this issue will be a lengthy one.

Legalists, who represented the emerging classes in history, advocated progress and stood for change. Under the slogan "Do not copy the old or uphold what is customary," they launched a vehement onslaught on the old and backward relations of production. With the mighty strength

of the laboring people as the major force propelling history, they served as an impetus for the promotion of change in production techniques and spurred production forward. The Confucians preached that "to copy the old will lead to no harm and to observe the rites will ensure against evil." Their precept was nothing but the spiritual yoke that restrained the laboring people from changing the conditions of production. Lin Piao followed Confucius in his pursuit of the counterrevolutionary program of "restraining oneself and restoring the rites" and in his advocacy of the "concept of destiny" and the "theory of the summit" in order to meet the demand of the overthrown exploiting classes for restoration and retrogression. Clearly, in the realm of productive skills, there has always been an acute struggle between two different ideological lines in the form of a conflict between progress and retrogression, between seeking change and sticking with the old. In its revolution, the proletariat aims to end the old world and the old things. It must fight politically and ideologically against the reactionary forces representing the exploiting classes and their influence. With respect to productive skills, the proletariat must combat the conservative tendency to let matters drift and must contend with the mentality of cowards and lazybones who cherish no ambition in their lives. They must be brave enough to seek change and daring enough to introduce innovations. The standardized parts industry in Shanghai is comprised mostly of small factories. They are poorly equipped and hard pressed by production tasks. In the past, some were of the opinion that these factories were in no position to plunge into technical innovation. But the workers said: "We fear no obstacle but indolence. We are afraid not so much that conditions are poor as that we lack ambition." They broke through the barrier of conservative thinking and plunged into transformation with full force. After having made several technical innovations since the Cultural Revolution, the whole industry, at no cost of capital to the state, has realized semiautomation or automation on 90 percent of their lathes. Furthermore, they have also created a batch of combined automatic lathes which have attained the advanced technical level of the world. The total number of staff and workers in the entire industry has decreased by 18 percent at present, while their output value has more than doubled. Obviously, the question is not whether changes can be made or whether there are difficulties. People need only to free themselves mentally from the bondage of conventional custom in order to be able to open up a new world of technical innovation, a world in which they can continue to discover, invent, create, and advance.

There are still other comrades who maintain that if technical innovation is to be launched, it ought to be done in a proper way. This "proper way" is no more than verbiage, an expression of their lust for

expansion and sophistication. In their eyes, only the reproduction of what has been recorded in a "foreign book" or what has been done by foreigners can be regarded as "proper." As for innovations and creations achieved by indigenous methods and coming forth from the broad masses, they hold them all in contempt, terming them "improper," "irregular," or "unreliable." If technical innovation is to be launched in the "proper way" as they define it, there will be nothing to do but imitate and copy things foreign. This will inevitably strangle innovation and creativity on the part of the masses and throw cold water on their enthusiasm. If we are to launch an extensive drive for technical innovation, it is imperative that we overcome ideas founded on blind faith in things foreign, feelings of inferiority, and contempt for the masses.

The broad masses achieve innovations and creations by simple and indigenous methods. Are their devices "irregular" or "unreliable"? Absolutely not. The masses seek innovations and creations in order to meet practical needs stemming from the progress of production. They find them by summing up their rich experience of practice and adapting them to local conditions, and thus the devices they create are marked by low cost, quick application, and effective results. These devices are handy and expedient when employed, easily applied to production, and easily popularized and implanted among the masses. They are the crystallization of the collective wisdom and experience of the broad masses, and they result from self-reliance and hard struggle. Much evidence testifies to the fact that innovations and creations that begin with the simple and indigenous methods of the masses will undergo a ceaseless process of improvement. Fragmentary innovation may result in wholesale technical revolution. The reform of a single gadget may lead to the revamping of a whole installation. The mechanization and automation of one working process might eventually shape itself into the streamlining of automatic production, which may in turn bring about a complete change in production and technology in the entire enterprise or the whole industry. Among our new devices are quite a few items that have caught up with, and even exceeded, the advanced level of the world. These are not the fruits of imitation or copying, but are achievements bearing a Chinese character and ranging from the form of products to the technical approaches employed in their making. With this in mind, we can open a new road for the development of science and technology, a road corresponding to the conditions in our own country and ensuring greater, faster, better, and more economical results. To begin to innovate by applying simple and indigenous methods does not mean that we must exclude all foreign methods. On the contrary, it will be effective to closely integrate foreign methods with indigenous ones and thus "absorb what is useful, reject what is

useless, and add what is peculiar to us," making foreign things serve our purposes and play a greater and better role. Prior to the Cultural Revolution, the sweater industry in Shanghai was engaged in a project of automation. Influenced by the revisionist line, they tried to accomplish this in a "proper way" and entrusted the project to a few persons working behind closed doors. The project continued for quite a number of years, but without result. Last year, two young electricians in a sweater factory, taking the practical needs of production as their starting point, set out to create an innovation by simple methods. At a cost of only seventy-two dollars they created a "light and electricity control box" that automated four working processes. Due to its low cost and quick effectiveness, it was warmly received by the workers. In half a year's time, the device was popularized sufficiently to be found on some 1,500 knitting machines in the industry and was responsible for raising production efficiency by 15 percent. Since the beginning of this year, this simplified process-control device has been further popularized and is now employed in twenty factories in the city, including the industries of steel rolling, steel forging, metal cutting, and rubber goods. This episode illustrates vividly that innovations introduced by the masses from simple methods have great vitality. As simple methods gain prestige, the road to technical innovation and technical transformation ever broadens. The workers said it well: "Simplicity, simplicity; we must stick to it as an unshakable method." This they said because to seek technical innovation initially through simple methods is in keeping with the objective law under which technology develops from lower to higher levels, from quantitative change to qualitative change. Simplicity comes into existence relative to complexity. In the course of the development of technology, the contradiction between simplicity and complexity will always be a fact, and they will undergo reciprocal transformation under certain specific conditions. We must seek innovation initially through simple methods under the present conditions, and we will continue doing so as the conditions of the production techniques grow even better in the future. Indeed, we will be doing the same thing ten thousand years hence—but the "simplicity" of that time will be of a higher level than the "simplicity" of today.

As a matter of course, in launching technical innovation, we must comply with objective laws and emphasize effectiveness, paying attention to combining our revolutionary spirit with a scientific attitude. Technical innovation is a painstaking job, often involving many aspects of production and scientific research. Nothing will be accomplished if we fail to abide strictly by objective laws. Some units have done a fine job of technical innovation. Their experiences prove that in the course of innovation it is necessary to fully mobilize the masses and attentively

sum up their advanced experience. Simultaneously, we must also emphasize study, investigation, and repeated scientific experimentation. We can thus avoid going astray and achieve greater results in a relatively short period of time.

"The leadership must advance ahead of the movement and not fall behind it." Spurred by the Campaign to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, mass technical innovation in various industrial departments is now forging ahead. It is the pressing demand of the broad masses that we make great efforts and effect great changes. Leading cadres at different levels on the economic front should keep pace with the forward strides of the masses and lead them enthusiastically forward. They must strive to do still better in organizing the initiative of the broad masses and must voluntarily readjust those aspects of the relations of production which do not conform to the progress of the productive forces. They should deftly employ the superstructure as an energetic, impelling force and promote the drive for technical innovation more extensively and profoundly. Chairman Mao points out: "Our people should have a farsighted, overall plan. We must strive to change economic, scientific, and cultural backwardness in our country within a few decades and quickly pull abreast of the advanced level of the world." Anyone who cherishes the socialist new China, any revolutionary who adheres to Chairman Mao's policy of independence and self-reliance while rejecting the traitorous line pursued by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, is bound to give warm support to this instruction from Chairman Mao. The existing foundation of our industry has been continually reinforced by the construction carried out during the past five-year plans, and the conditions for undertaking technical innovation have become more favorable than ever. In accordance with the General Line of "Go all out, aim high, and achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results," we must foster the high aspiration of making our country strong through vigorous effort and must engage ourselves in solid, hard work. By doing this, we are certain to raise the production skills in our country to a still higher level. Each industrial department must work out its own plan, clearly defining its direction and goals for future technical innovation and transformation. And, beginning from the current, actual conditions of production, they should strive to strengthen the weak links in production. Envisioning what lies in the distant future and grappling with what arises in the present, they are to exert themselves to effect some small changes in the techniques of production each year. By the accumulated effort of several years, they can bring about major changes in production. With ceaseless change, they will move forward ceaselessly. Meanwhile, they must lend wholehearted support to the new things created by the masses and must energetically encourage

those who are more advanced. By earnestly summing up and popularizing the experience of those who are advanced and by consolidating and improving already existing technical innovations, they will ensure that mass technical innovation will surge forward in the right direction and that greater victories will be scored in the socialist construction of our country.

TEXT 11

HAS ABSOLUTE MUSIC NO CLASS CHARACTER?

Chao Hua

With the deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and new victories being continually won in the struggle-criticism-transformation in the realm of the superstructure, an excellent situation prevails in the country. But the class struggle and the two-line struggle on the art and literary front remain very sharp and complex. The recent weird contention that so-called absolute music has no social content but simply expresses contrasting and changing moods is a sign of a return to the revisionist line in art and literature.

Should the reactionary nature of this erroneous view be exposed or not? This is a cardinal issue of right and wrong and we cannot treat it casually. It involves the question of whether or not the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle should be recognized as a universally applicable truth, whether or not the proletarian dictatorship should be exercised in the ideological realm, and whether the Marxist critical attitude should be adopted towards the bourgeois arts or whether they should be "taken over wholesale" as the revisionist fallacies of Chou Yang and his like advocated; it involves the question of whether the proletarian revolution in art and literature can be carried through to the end.

Absolute music in general refers to instrumental music without a descriptive title as to theme or content and it usually is designated by its musical form or tempo. For example, "Symphony in F Major," "Concerto in C Minor," "Largo," "Allegro" and so on.

Bourgeois theorists have long spouted that absolute music is a form of "pure music," devoid of social content and class nature. They fallaciously contend that music is "simply fantasy, not reality" and that "music is music, and nothing else." The modern revisionists, while paying lip-service to music's ties with social life, actually blur the class distinction between proletarian and bourgeois music by describing absolute music as "of the people," "realistic" and so forth. Why should both the bourgeoisie and the revisionists concoct all sorts of arguments to obscure the class character of art? It is because bourgeois ideology, including bourgeois art and literature, serves to prop up the capitalist

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system. They dare not openly acknowledge the exploiting class character of their art and literature. Instead, to disguise the essential substance of capitalist exploitation, they pose as representatives of the whole people in order to deceive the labouring masses.

Marxist-Leninists hold that all works of music, both absolute and programme music, as a form of ideology "**are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society.**" Music without titles descriptive of their theme or content is by no means merely "a form of the flow of sounds." Not giving their works a descriptive title is only a means by which composers cover up the class content of their works. In fact, a composer clearly has in mind what he wants to praise or oppose and what content and mood he means to convey, when he is composing absolute music.

When the German bourgeois composer Beethoven (1770-1827) was asked the meaning of his *Sonata No. 17*, a composition without a descriptive title, he replied: "Please read Shakespeare's *The Tempest*." That play, we know, preaches the bourgeois theory of human nature. Of course, the means of expression of music are different from those of literature. Music uses melody, rhythm and harmony to evoke scenes, tell a story or convey emotion, thereby expressing quite plainly or relatively subtly and deviously the composer's world outlook, ideas and feelings. But in any case, the social and class content, thoughts and feelings so expressed can never be abstract, unintelligible "fantasy," for they can be grasped by applying the Marxist theory of knowledge and method of class analysis.

Take for instance the representative work *Symphony in B Minor* (the *Unfinished Symphony*) by Schubert (1797-1828), an Austrian bourgeois composer of the romantic school. The class feelings and social content it expresses are quite clear, although it has no descriptive title. This symphony was composed in 1822 when Austria was a reactionary feudal bastion within the German Confederation and the reactionary Austrian authorities not only ruthlessly exploited and oppressed the workers and peasants, but also persecuted and put under surveillance intellectuals with any bourgeois democratic ideas. Petty-bourgeois intellectuals like Schubert saw no way out of the political and economic impasse, and lacking the courage to resist they gave way to melancholy, vacillation, pessimism and despair, evading reality and dreaming of freedom. This work of Schubert's expressed these class feelings and social content. The opening phrase is sombre and gloomy. The whole symphony continues and expands on this emotion, filling it with petty-bourgeois despair, pessimism and solitary distress. At times the dreaming of freedom does come through, but this, too, is escapist and negative.

Absolute music composed in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries are products of the European capitalist society, upholding the interests of the bourgeoisie and serving the capitalist system. The content and the ideas and feelings with which they are saturated have an unmistakably bourgeois class nature. Marx pointed out: “**Capital comes [into the world] dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt.**” And it is this blood and dirt that bourgeois music extols. Although certain compositions were to some extent progressive in the sense of being anti-feudal, they failed to mirror proletarian thoughts and feelings of their time; and they are, of course, still more incompatible with our socialist system today under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Then why dismiss their class content and extol them? Yet even today there are some who would feed our young people on these musical works uncritically and intact. Where would this lead our young people?

Some devotees of bourgeois absolute music often try to cover up its class nature by holding forth in empty terms on the contrasting, changing moods it presents. This is a reactionary viewpoint of the bourgeois theory of a common human nature transcending classes. For these moods are none other than those of delight and anger, joy and sorrow which vary, as do all men’s ideas and feelings, according to the times and society people live in and the class they belong to. Lu Hsun mercilessly repudiated this bourgeois trash that all men share common emotions and feelings. He said: “Of course, it is human nature to know delight and anger, joy and sorrow but the poor are never worried about losing money on the stock exchange, an oil magnate cannot know the trials of an old woman collecting cinders in Peking, and victims of famine will hardly grow orchids like rich old gentlemen....” Are there any feelings that are not stamped with the brand of a class?

“Joy” can be presented in sharply contrasted ways. Thus the music for the despotic landlord’s birthday celebrations in the third scene of the modern revolutionary dance-drama *Red Detachment of Women* uses frivolous melody and erratic rhythm to expose the landlord’s wanton extravagance and profligacy built on the suffering of the working people. In contrast, the magnificent stirring music of the dance by soldiers and civilians in the next scene presents the brilliant sunshine and jubilation in the revolutionary base. Did these two musical passages project the same emotions?

Again, take the subject of “sorrow.” The grief of a feudal monarch after his overthrow is expressed in the verses written by Li Yu, the last king of the Southern Tang kingdom in the 10th century, as he hankered in captivity after his former decadent life in the palace.

*Carved balustrades, jade flagstones still remain,
But those rosy cheeks are gone.
How great my lord's grief?
Endless as the spring river flowing to the east!*

But the proletarian fighter Lu Hsun portrayed sorrow of a very different kind when he wrote:

*A host of dark, gaunt faces in the brambles,
Yet who dare shake the earth with lamentation?
I brood over our whole far-stretching land
And in this silence hear the peal of thunder.*

This indignant denunciation of the savage oppression of the people by the Japanese invaders and Kuomintang reactionaries conveys the class hatred and national enmity of millions of working people. This militant lamentation has nothing at all in common with the grief of a feudal monarch over the loss of his kingdom. To claim that one melody could be used to express these two diametrically opposed feelings would be sheer charlatany.

As for empty talk about "bright," "healthy" melodies, devoid of class content, this is the metaphysical approach which the revisionists usually resort to when peddling their bourgeois wares. Chou Yang once brayed that the American bourgeoisie whom Walt Whitman extolled was "the new man," "healthy, broad of mind, with high ideals, a pair of working hands, and eternally optimistic" and that that "shiny example" was "worthy of emulating and copying." But we are aware if the proletariat really were to "emulate" and "copy" the bourgeoisie, then what awaits us is not "bright skies" but the darkness of the dungeon.

The bourgeoisie may well believe that the works of the 18th-century Austrian bourgeois composer Mozart embody "bright" and "healthy" sentiments. But we working people know clearly that these sentiments cannot compare with the exuberant and impassioned feelings expressed by the chorus *The Sun Rises* in the seventh scene of *The White-Haired Girl*. Brimming over with jubilation, this chorus extols Chairman Mao, the red sun in the hearts of the Chinese people, as well as the Communist Party, and evokes the soul-stirring scene "**of the land of hibiscus glowing in the morning sun**" and the emancipation of the downtrodden peasants. No bourgeois music can even remotely compare with this unrestrained healthy burst of joy evoked by this chorus.

Chou Yang and company also raved that "music is a universal language," in order to concoct a theoretical basis for their attempt to peddle the wholesale Westernization of music. In fact, every class

speaks its own language and there is no such thing as a so-called universal language transcending classes. *The Internationale* which rings throughout the world is the common language of the proletariat only. The bourgeoisie trembles at the sound of this melody. Lenin aptly said: “**In whatever country a class-conscious worker finds himself, wherever fate may cast him, however much he may feel himself a stranger, without language, without friends, far from his native country—he can find himself comrades and friends by the familiar refrain of the Internationale.**”

For over eighty years this stirring song has inspired workers of all countries to unite to smash the old world and fight for the realization of communism. All reactionaries, however, regard this battle-song of the proletariat as a fearful menace and do all in their power to prevent *The Internationale* from circulating among the people. Hence, do the reactionaries share a common language with the proletariat?

Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, Chou Yang and their gang, however, shared a common language with the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries at home and abroad, for these renegades, like all imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, opposed proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship and vainly tried to restore capitalism in China. This was like the futile efforts of Confucius, the mouthpiece and defender of ancient China’s slave-owning class, who, grieving that “the rites were lost and music was ruined,” tried desperately to propagate reactionary music aimed at benumbing and enslaving the people while frantically attacking the new rising folk music in order to preserve the collapsing slave system.

Like the other forms of art, music has always been an instrument of class struggle, and on the art and literary front the class struggle and the two-line struggle have always been extremely acute. In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, great victories have been won on this front and intellectuals have made much progress, but the pernicious influence of revisionist wares peddled by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, Chou Yang and company for a long time, such as “art and literature of the whole people” and “art and literature to nourish people,” is deep-seated and still far from being eliminated. Some people talk about bourgeois classical music with great relish, are mesmerized by it and prostrate themselves before it, showing their slavish mentality for all things foreign. They are nihilists with regard to national art. Their reverence for foreign things is actually reverence for the bourgeoisie. If this erroneous thinking of extolling foreign things and belittling Chinese things is not criticized and repudiated, then proletarian art and literature will not be able to develop and Chairman

Mao's revolutionary line in art and literature cannot be implemented.

We do not exclude foreign things indiscriminately. We should conscientiously study the revolutionary theory developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We should learn from the revolutionary experience of the working class and revolutionary people of all countries and learn from and acquire advanced sciences and technology. We should critically assimilate certain techniques from classical bourgeois music, but we must not uncritically swallow anything and everything. And we must never throw ourselves at the feet of bourgeois artists. As Engels said: "**The characterization of the ancients no longer suffices today.**" We must adhere to the principle of "**making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China,**" learn from the experience in creating the model revolutionary theatrical works and turn out proletarian music and art worthy of our time.

Comrade Chou En-lai pointed out in the political report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China that "we should attach importance to the class struggle in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture" and that "we should continue to carry out well the revolution in literature and art." The historical experience of the class struggle on the art and literary front shows that the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes cannot be buried and done away with by a criticism or two. We must conscientiously study the documents of the Tenth Party Congress, implement the spirit of the Tenth Party Congress, take the Party's basic line as the key link, further deepen the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and link them to reality in criticizing revisionism and bourgeois world outlook; we must continue to advance along the revolutionary path pointed out by Chairman Mao, and we must never go backwards. We must be on guard and resist a return of the revisionist line in art and literature. We must resolutely defend and develop the fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and carry the proletarian revolution in art and literature through to the end!

TEXT 12

A DECADE OF REVOLUTION IN PEKING OPERA

Chu Lan

Led by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian line in literature and art, the revolution in Peking opera has traversed a militant course over the last ten years. Though a decade is not a long time, there have been tremendous and fundamental changes on China's literary and art front.

Ten years ago the revisionist line in literature and art pushed by Liu Shao-chi, Chou Yang and their gang put us under their dictatorship. Under their control, the whole literary and art field was in a miasma of laying more stress on the past than on the present, worshipping what was foreign and negating what was Chinese, and praising the dead and having contempt for the living. The literary and art arena was occupied by emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties as well as all sorts of ghosts and monsters. Practically everything was feudal, bourgeois or revisionist trash. It was quite an abnormal phenomenon: the landlord and capitalist classes which had been politically overthrown were still swaggering in our literature and art, while the workers, peasants and soldiers who are masters of the country as yet had no place in this field. This seriously undermined the socialist economic base and endangered the fundamental interests of the proletariat and other revolutionary people.

A decade later, this situation has been fundamentally changed today. With the revolution in Peking opera as its start and with the model revolutionary theatrical works as its landmark, the proletarian revolution in literature and art has won great victories after ten years of hard struggle. There are now 17 model revolutionary theatrical works created and cultivated by the proletariat. Like spring thunder, the birth of the first group of eight model revolutionary theatrical works in the early years of the Peking opera revolution announced that the revolutionary line in literature and art formulated by Chairman Mao in his *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* had obtained brilliant results through practice, the new era of socialist literature and art in China had come, the domination on the stage by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters for so many centuries had come to an end, and the era had arrived in which the worker-peasant-soldier

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heroes lift their heads and occupy the centre of the stage. This was a change of great significance in the history of Chinese literature and art.

Following the creation of the eight model revolutionary theatrical works*, many new ones have been brought forth in the last few years. They are the piano music *The Red Lantern* with Peking opera singing, the piano concerto *The Yellow River*, the revolutionary modern Peking operas *Song of the Dragon River*, *Red Detachment of Women*, *Fighting on the Plains* and *Azalea Mountain*, the revolutionary modern dance-dramas *Ode to Yimeng* and *Children of the Grassland* and the revolutionary symphonic music *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*. Their birth has consolidated and expanded the fruits of this great revolution and further promoted the vigorous development of the movement to create socialist literary and art works throughout the nation. Whether in literature, drama, the cinema, music, fine arts, photography, dancing or *quyi* (ballad singing, story telling and cross-talk), a large number of good or relatively good works have appeared and more and better ones will be created. The tendency in the development of the past ten years has proved that our socialist literature and art are becoming increasingly thriving year after year.

Revolution in Peking Opera—Strategic Measure to Consolidate the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The tremendous changes in the last decade are by no means accidental. The revolution in Peking opera in China is determined by the fact that there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the historical period of socialism. This revolution is also an inevitable result of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism and a proletarian strategic measure, under the guidance of the Party's basic line, for preventing capitalist restoration and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Class struggle at home and abroad tells us that when the proletarian revolution enters the socialist stage, the overthrown classes which are unreconciled to defeat always use their influence in the ideological sphere, formed over a long period, to corrupt and sabotage the socialist economic base and attack the proletariat. The literary and art sphere, in particular, is used by them as a bridgehead for propagating the reactionary world outlook and restoring capitalism. In the course of its all-round restoration of capitalism, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique

*The eight model revolutionary theatrical works are the revolutionary modern Peking operas *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *On the Docks* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, the revolutionary modern dance-dramas *Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl* and the revolutionary symphonic music *Shachiapang*.

has made literature and art an important sector for creating counter-revolutionary public opinion. For the same purpose, representatives of the landlord and capitalist classes in China such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their like spared no effort to lay hands on ideology and on literature and art.

These facts show that with socialist revolution on the economic front alone but without a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, including literature and art, the socialist system is still not consolidated and the dream of the bourgeoisie for a restoration may become a reality. To carry the socialist revolution through to the end and shatter the class enemy's plot for restoration, the proletariat must battle the class enemy tit for tat, firmly occupy the positions of literature and art, attach importance to the class struggle in the ideological sphere and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure including all cultural spheres.

Chairman Mao has always attached great importance to the socialist revolution in the ideological field and has personally initiated and led all the past major struggles on the literary and art front. At the working conference of the Central Committee at Peitaiho in August 1962 and at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September of the same year, Chairman Mao summed up in a profound way the historical experience of the Chinese revolution and the international communist movement, more comprehensively put forward the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism and called on us never to forget classes and class struggle. In 1963 the international open polemics between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists and the socialist education movement which was unfolded on a wide scale in China pushed to a new stage the proletariat's struggle to oppose and prevent revisionism. With the intensified class struggle and the two-line struggle at home and abroad, the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration in the literary and art field became sharper than before.

Against such a historical background and focusing on the existing problems in our drama and other art sectors under the control of the revisionist line in literature and art, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: "**The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure, which serve this base, still remain a serious problem. Hence we should proceed with investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest.**" This set the task for the proletarian revolution in literature and art and pointed out its orientation.

At the call of Chairman Mao, the proletariat first launched a revolution in the fields of Peking opera, the ballet and symphonic music. In

July 1964, Comrade Chiang Ching delivered her talk "On the Revolution in Peking Opera" at a forum attended by participants in the Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes. This important speech is full of the Marxist spirit of going against the tide and has become a declaration of war on the revisionist line in literature and art. For a decade it has always inspired the revolutionary literary and art fighters to march forward victoriously in their struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The old Peking opera was a stubborn stronghold of the landlord and capitalist classes in the ideological field. The main content of its repertoire may be summarized as feverish propagation of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius*. Reactionary ideas such as the "Three Cardinal Guides and Five Constant Virtues**," the "Three Obediences and Four Virtues***," "loyalty, filial piety, chastity and righteousness" and "loyalty, forbearance, benevolence and love" were all made into images to be praised on the old Peking opera stage. This was the reason why the reactionary rulers of the Ching Dynasty and the

*The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius refer to the reactionary political line and idealist system of thought of the Confucian school represented by Confucius (551-479 B.C.) and Mencius (c. 390-305 B.C.). Stubbornly defending and trying to save the slave system, both opposed social change and advocated returning to ancient times and retrogression. Modified and elaborated by successive rulers from the Han Dynasty onward, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius had become an ideological weapon for maintaining reactionary rule and the spiritual bondage of the working people for more than 2,000 years in China's feudal society and semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Even up to the present these doctrines are still used by reactionaries in China and abroad and by chieftains of the opportunist lines in the Party.

**The "Three Cardinal Guides" meant that "the sovereign guides the subjects, the father guides the son and the husband guides the wife." That is to say, the sovereign, father and husband had absolute authority to rule, while the subjects, sons and wives could only obey unconditionally. This was said to be the will of Heaven. The three "guides" were, in other words, the political, clan, religious and masculine authorities, the four thickest ropes binding the Chinese people, especially the peasants, for more than 2,000 years.

The "Five Constant Virtues" meant the five so-called eternal principles—"benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and sincerity." They were the reactionary moral concepts used by the Confucianists to support and regulate the "Three Cardinal Guides."

***The "Three Obediences" meant female "obedience to the father and elder brothers when young, obedience to the husband when married, and obedience to the sons when widowed." Women were thus placed under rule by men from cradle to grave.

The "Four Virtues" meant women's virtue, speech, appearance and chores. Specifically, women's virtue meant a woman must know her place and behave and act in every way in compliance with the feudal ethical code. Women's speech demanded that a woman must not talk too much and not be a bore. Women's appearance meant that a woman must pay attention to adorning herself with a view to pleasing the opposite sex. The meaning of women's chores was that a woman must willingly do all the household work.

later northern warlords and Kuomintang reactionaries all extolled the old Peking opera as “national essence” and “national opera,” and the imperialist robbers invading China also praised it to the skies. Though they all said they honoured this opera, it would be more appropriate to say that they made use of it. They used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius spread by the old Peking opera to corrupt and poison the minds of the Chinese people and enslave them.

Taking the reactionary class stand, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Chen, Chou Yang and their gang turned the Peking opera world into an impenetrable and watertight “independent kingdom.” They continued to poison the masses with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius on the stage and at the same time used the Peking opera form to manufacture one anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous arrow after another. Could such absurd and strange things be allowed to go on? Certainly not. If they were tolerated, it would have meant permitting them to undermine the foundation of socialism and letting China return to the dark semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. That is what the Chinese people will never tolerate.

The selection of Peking opera as the place to make a breakthrough by the proletarian revolution in literature and art is itself a major struggle to criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius; it aims at dismantling the spiritual props on which the reactionary classes have relied for centuries to create a hell on earth. Capturing the stubborn fortress of the old Peking opera makes it possible for us to accumulate experience in struggle and promote the revolution in other fields of literature and art and the superstructure as a whole, so that it will conform to the socialist economic base and help consolidate and develop this base.

Laying the Foundation for Developing Proletarian Literature and Art

The tremendous changes in the last decade have not been easily won. The revolution in Peking opera is the first great campaign of the socialist revolution on all fronts in the realm of the superstructure over the last ten years. The difficulties and obstacles it met and the efforts it exerted were exceptionally large. This is a thoroughgoing revolution to firmly eliminate exploiting-class literature and art and energetically foster proletarian literature and art, the first of its kind in history. How to overcome the old Peking opera and its influence in people’s minds, how to create an entirely new revolutionary Peking opera and how to make the heroic figures of the workers, peasants and soldiers firmly occupy the stage—the solution of a series of such questions had no precedents to follow. It should be noted that after painstakingly fostering Peking opera on the stage for 100 or 200 years, the landlord and

capitalist classes had turned the old Peking opera into a dramatic art with the highest technical and artistic skills in China. Therefore, it was certainly no easy job for the proletariat to remould it, surpass it and overwhelm it in the shortest possible time.

Whether the proletariat can firmly occupy the positions of literature and art or not depends on the creation of model theatrical works with "**the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form.**" Only with such model theatrical works can we convince people and firmly occupy the positions. From the very beginning, therefore, the struggle between the occupation and anti-occupation in the revolution in Peking opera raged around the model revolutionary theatrical works. In the face of this revolution, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Chen, Chou Yuang and their gang who represented the interests of the bourgeoisie considered it a big calamity for themselves and vented their anger against it. Making use of that part of the power they had usurped, they spared no effort to sabotage, openly or secretly, the revolution by every vicious means. Every step forward by the revolution at the time was made through struggle; the process of creating every model revolutionary theatrical work was a history of soul-stirring struggles. But new-born things are unconquerable. The proletariat triumphing over the bourgeoisie in the literary and art field is an irresistible law of history.

Shouldering the historical mission, Marxists leading a group of revolutionary literary and art fighters boldly pressed forward and blazed the trail, waging extremely arduous struggles, politically and artistically. In every model theatrical work, from script writing to stage production, from every rhythm in the music and singing to every dance movement, every detail was repeatedly revised and improved and carefully polished. The proletariat persevered in setting high standards and strict demands on the model revolutionary theatrical works because the latter would lay the foundation for developing socialist literature and art. The strength of models is unlimited, and the strength of the model revolutionary theatrical works will always inspire us to triumphantly march forward along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art.

The central issue in creating model revolutionary theatrical works lies in wholeheartedly portraying typical proletarian heroes in the best possible way. Historically, which class' heroic images should be created and which class' representatives should be the masters of the stage reflect in a concentrated way the political struggle in literature and art and constitute the main indication showing which class' political line they serve. The revolution in Peking opera calls for emphasis on portraying the artistic images of the proletarian heroes, making the

workers, peasants and soldiers the masters of the stage, reversing the history which had been reversed by the landlord and capitalist classes for many centuries, and thus restoring the truth of history. The proletariat has clearly put forward portraying typical proletarian heroes as the fundamental task of socialist literature and art. This draws a basic line of demarcation between our literary and art movement and that of all exploiting classes in the past.

The revolution in Peking opera has proved in practice the following: Only by portraying typical proletarian heroes well can we use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in literature and art and transform the world in the image of the proletariat. Only by portraying typical proletarian heroes well can we present on the stage the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, sing the praises of the great victories won by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the different revolutionary periods and on various fronts, and inspire the masses to push forward the advance of history. Only by portraying typical proletarian heroes well can we exercise proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in literature and art. Adhering to this basic task means adhering to the orientation that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. This is a question of principle on which we must never waver.

The question of how to work out a good solution in inheriting the artistic form of Peking opera and introducing changes in it is a major issue closely related to portraying typical proletarian heroes. The Peking opera had always been used to depict old times and characters of the past. It can easily be used to depict negative characters, but there are numerous difficulties when it is used to portray the new era and new characters. The revolution in the ideological content of Peking opera inevitably necessitates basic reforms in its artistic form. A good solution to this question will ensure firm occupation of the Peking opera stage by the images of worker-peasant-soldier heroes, while an unsuccessful solution will bring about the reappearance of emperors, kings, generals and ministers and scholars and beauties.

It is obviously going against revolution to adopt the reformist method of putting "new wine in old bottles" with regard to old Peking opera's artistic form. If the worker-peasant-soldier heroes of our time were made to sing the old tunes and melodies suited to the ancient people and imitate the behaviour and movements of the dead, it would inevitably distort the new life and discredit the new characters. On the other hand, it would also be going up a blind alley by completely throwing overboard the special artistic features of Peking opera and adopting a nihilist attitude. To put the Peking opera's artistry in singing, acting,

dialogue and acrobatics in the service of portraying proletarian heroic images, it is necessary to proceed from life, do away with the old tunes and melodies and critically assimilate and remould whatever is useful.

The revolution in Peking opera over the past decade has adhered to the principles of “**making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China**” and “**weeding through the old to bring forth the new,**” and has correctly solved the question of critically inheriting the Peking opera’s artistic form and creating a new one. The past and the present, foreign and Chinese, and weeding through the old and bringing forth the new are examples of the unity of opposites. They manifest the relationship that puts destruction first, and in the process there is construction. “**There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution.**” The musical and dance images of proletarian heroes in the model revolutionary theatrical works all result from critically inheriting and remoulding the useful elements of the art of the old Peking opera and creating something new. In composing the arias for every heroic character, we have revolutionized the traditional melodies and singing and succeeded in bringing forth the powerful spirit of our era while carrying forward the special artistic features of the Peking opera’s melodies.

Today the masses—men and women, old and young, professionals and amateurs—all like learning and singing melodies from the model revolutionary theatrical works; the powerful and inspiring tunes sung by our heroic characters have now spread to all parts of our motherland. Could the so-called “most excellent” singing portions of the old Peking opera spread as far and wide as those of our model revolutionary theatrical works? Facts have convincingly proved that our model revolutionary theatrical works have triumphed artistically over the old Peking opera, overwhelmed it and opened for the proletariat the revolutionary road of critically inheriting and remoulding classical artistic forms.

Through sharp class struggle and arduous artistic practice in the last decade, the revolution in Peking opera has gradually trained a contingent of proletarian literary and art workers. They fight together with the revolutionary literary and art workers on the musical and dance fronts and, together with spare-time worker-peasant-soldier literary and art workers, constitute the main force of the proletarian revolution in literature and art. Contingents of proletarian literary and art workers are formed through revolutionary and artistic practice. The contingent trained in the course of the revolution in Peking opera far excels that trained by the old art colleges and schools in the past both in political and ideological level and in artistic standard. This shows that “**learning warfare through warfare**” should be our main road and method for

training contingents of literary and art workers. From now on, we should continue persevering in forming, uniting and expanding our contingents in the course of struggle. As long as we pay close attention to building up our contingents ideologically and organizationally in the course of struggle, seriously remould their world outlook and conception of literature and art, and attach importance to ideas guiding creation, we can surely develop and expand the ranks of proletarian literary and art workers.

China's proletariat now has its own model theatrical works, experience in creating them and contingents of literary and art workers. This has laid a firm foundation and opened a broad road for proletarian literature and art. In the literary and art movement under the leadership of the Party, the last decade may be said to have been the pioneering period of proletarian literature and art. Reviewing the history of mankind's literature and art, we see how many years it took the exploiting classes to create their own literature and art. The feudal class took thousands of years and the bourgeoisie hundreds of years, yet only a limited number of representative works have been handed down. By the time capitalism reached the stage of imperialism, there was complete decadence and decline. The literary and art field is filled with such degenerate rubbish as the modernist school, fauvism and strip-tease. The essence of this numerous and varied junk is to poison and benumb the minds of the people. Besides continuing to develop this vicious garbage, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has in recent years shouted loudly about writing on the "theme of military patriotism" to promote militarism so as to serve its expansionism and aggression against the territories of other countries and create public opinion for its struggle for world hegemony.

Like their social and ideological systems, the literature and art of imperialism and social-imperialism resemble a dying person who is sinking fast, or like the sun setting beyond the western hills. They can no longer produce works worth anything. Contrasting our last decade with the thousands of years or hundreds of years of the landlord and capitalist classes, we find that "**the landscape here is beyond compare.**"

Carrying the Revolution in Literature and Art Through to the End

While victory has been won through struggle, there will still be struggle after victory. Although the proletariat has smashed the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their like, occupied the positions in Peking opera and won great victories, the struggle between occupation and counter-occupation in the field of literature and art has not ended. Amid the present reactionary trend of thought trying to

negate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, there are a handful of people who are pointing the spearhead of their attack against the Peking opera revolution.

Some say that “‘The fundamental task’ is not proper.” To make portraying typical proletarian heroes the fundamental task of socialist literature and art is the inevitable demand of the workers, peasants and soldiers in this field after they have become masters of the country and meets the needs of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship. But some people have gone so far as to consider it “improper” and describe it as “mixing the means with the goal of literature and art.” This is an absurd argument! Throughout the ages, every class has used literature and art to portray the images of its own heroes and propagate its own world outlook so as to remould the world in its own image. When the stage is dominated by the images of heroes of a certain class, it means that class exercises dictatorship in literature and art. When some people disparage portraying typical proletarian heroes as one of the “literary and art means” and even make the slander that current literary and art creation “suffers from the ‘fundamental task,’ ” they simply are trying to negate the occupation of the stage by workers, peasants and soldiers and making a wild counter-attack against the proletarian line in literature and art.

We should like to ask: When the emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties ruled the old stage for several centuries, did these people ever say this was “improper”? When, under the rule of the revisionist line in literature and art in the past, poisonous plays dominated the stage and ghosts and monsters danced on it, why didn’t they say anything about “improper”? Now, soon after the heroic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers have mounted the stage, they shout that things are “improper.” This contrast reveals that what they consider “proper” is to put back on the stage the representatives of the landlord and capitalist classes, who were driven from it, and restore their domination.

There are others who say that “the standards of the model theatrical works are too high and they drive the others off the stage.” Are “the standards too high”? Every class has its own political and artistic standards. They want us to give up the proletarian political standards. Doesn’t this mean preserving the legitimate positions for feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art? They want us to lower proletarian artistic standards. Doesn’t this mean encouraging the production of rough and slipshod works and providing chances for the bourgeoisie to counter-attack. The so-called “standards are too high” is only a pretext to attack the model revolutionary theatrical works. Since these works came to the stage, they have indeed driven feudal, bourgeois and revi-

sionist literature and art off the stage. This is fine. Otherwise, the situation would have been serious. Had they not been driven off, how could we have brought forth the thriving scene of socialist literature and art? The purpose of lamenting what has been “driven off the stage” by the model theatrical works is nothing but to reinstate feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art and “drive off” the model theatrical works instead. Now that the model revolutionary theatrical works have occupied the stage, we will never permit the reappearance of feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art on it.

There also is the talk about “breaking down the stereotypes of the model theatrical works.” This is a variety of the theory of “discarding the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy” under the new circumstances. Isn’t it clear which class’ language it is to slander everything—the orientation, road, principles and methods of creation followed by the model revolutionary theatrical works and the experience accumulated in practice—as “stereotypes” and to clamour for “breaking down the stereotypes”? It is precisely Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line in literature and art that they want to “break down.” Literature and art in the world today either serves the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. Where would they go after “breaking down”? It is evident that they want to go back to the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art. “Breaking down the stereotypes” means, in essence, carrying out “restraining oneself and returning to the rites” in the field of literature and art and dragging history back!

It is not at all strange for the class enemies to slander and attack the revolution in Peking opera. This is an inevitable reflection of class struggle. Their reactionary hullabaloo shows by their negative example that our revolution in Peking opera has been correct and fine, and has hit them where it hurts. The more violent the enemies curse us, the more we should persist in struggle, make further efforts to popularize and develop the model revolutionary theatrical works, consolidate and expand the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and carry our revolution in literature and art through to the end.

TEXT 13

HISTORY DEVELOPS IN SPIRALS

Hung Yu

The People's Republic of China has triumphantly travelled a militant path for 25 years.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line over the past quarter of a century, our Party, by uniting the people of all nationalities in our country and overcoming all sorts of difficulties, has beaten back repeated attacks by class enemies at home and abroad and won great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction. In particular, our Party has in the past 25 years undergone four major struggles between the two lines in which the anti-Party conspiracies of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, chieftains of the opportunist lines, were exposed and smashed, thereby ensuring our country to march forward along the road of socialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the last eight years further testifies to the correctness of Chairman Mao's thesis and policies on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it has further heightened our understanding of the laws governing class struggle in the period of socialist revolution. Practice in our socialist revolution and socialist construction has over and over again testified to this truth: Revolution invariably advances along a zigzag path by incessantly surmounting all kinds of obstacles and obstructions. New things are bound to replace the old and revolutionary forces are bound to prevail over reactionary forces. This is an objective law independent of man's will.

Unity of Opposites—Progressiveness And Tortuousness

In his work *Karl Marx*, Lenin made a vivid and scientific generalization on the law of the development of things, describing it as “**a development, so to speak, that proceeds in spirals, not in a straight line.**” In many of his important works, Chairman Mao has incisively expounded and elaborated this brilliant thought of Lenin's. Chairman Mao has pointed out: “**Events have their twists and turns and do not follow a straight line.**” (*On Protracted War.*) Dwelling on the law of development of class struggle, he has said: “**Make trouble, fail, make**

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trouble again, fail again... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law." "Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again... till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law." (*Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle.*) This teaching of Chairman Mao's points out the two diametrically different outcomes for the imperialists and reactionaries on the one hand and the revolutionary people on the other hand; he also points out that a tortuous course of development is inevitable in the struggle between the revolutionary forces and counter-revolutionary forces. The disruption and failure of the counter-revolutionaries and the failure and success of the revolutionary people are two aspects which are interlinked and can transform themselves into each other. The alternate appearance of these two aspects in the course of revolutionary struggle is a concrete manifestation of the law of spiral development.

Why do things develop in spirals? It is because in each thing there is the contradiction between its new and its old aspects and the two aspects of the contradiction are united and at the same time opposed to each other, thereby pushing the development of things. The course of development of things from a low to a high stage is one in which the new things develop through continuously defeating the old. To conquer the old and replace it, a new thing is bound to meet with strong resistance from the old; only by repeated and fierce struggles can the new thing grow in strength and rise to predominance, and only thus can the old thing be weakened and forced to perish gradually. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the general direction of the development of things is a forward movement from a low to a high stage, it cannot advance in a straight line. The inevitable phenomenon in the actual process of development is that there are twists and turns of varying degrees at one time or another. Chairman Mao has said: "**Like every other activity in the world, revolution always follows a tortuous road and never a straight one.**" (*On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism.*) This is because there is a process of development for the revolutionary forces to grow and for the counter-revolutionary forces to perish, and it is not possible for the former to completely defeat and annihilate the latter overnight. This is also because the cognition of objective laws, the leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, requires a process of accumulating experience—from without experience to having experience, from less experienced to more experienced. Only by repeated comparisons between positive and negative experiences can one achieve a correct understanding of the law of the development of revolution

and consciously apply this law to accomplish the revolutionary tasks.

Spiral development only approximates a series of circles, but each cycle is not a simple repetition of the previous one and does not return to where it started. As Chairman Mao has summed up: “**With each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level.**” (*On Practice*.) Superficially, reversals and zigzags look like going out of the right path, but actually every time a reversal or a twist and turn is overcome, it is invariably accompanied by a victory and progress, thereby pushing the thing to a new stage. Compared with the old stage, every new one is brought to a comparatively higher plane and by no means returns to the original place. The unity of opposites—the progressiveness and tortuousness of development of things—makes up the complicated spiral movement. The viewpoint that things develop in a straight line negates the tortuous nature of the development of things, and the viewpoint that things move in a circle negates the progressive nature of the development of things; both negate the dialectical unity of the progressive and tortuous nature, and will inevitably lead to the metaphysical quagmire.

The history of development of human society over the past several thousand years is a history of spiral development full of twists and turns. Revolutions in the past, be it the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system, or the replacement of the feudal system by the capitalist system, involved dozens or hundreds of years of repeated and tortuous struggles centring around progress and retrogression, restoration and counter-restoration. Since the replacement of one system of exploitation by another system of exploitation involved such a process of development, the socialist revolution in which socialism triumphs over capitalism and which makes final elimination of the system of exploitation and classes its goal, will by no means be smooth sailing. The struggles involved will be more tortuous and protracted than those of any previous revolution and tremendous efforts have to be exerted. Chairman Mao has taught us: “**New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts.**” (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) Chairman Mao said this in 1957. Practice in the past 17 years has greatly heightened our understanding of this viewpoint. After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the overthrown reactionary classes refuse to take their defeat lying down. They are bound to come out to engage in sabotage and disruption to get back their lost “paradise” and look for agents in the ranks of the Communist Party as their political representatives for staging a come-back. In addition, the socialist revolution in the realm of

the superstructure will be more arduous than before owing to the thousands of years of influence of the exploiting classes' traditional ideas. It will take a considerably long period of time to decide the question of which will win out, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, in the political and ideological spheres. Class struggle and the two-line struggle at home always coordinate with the class struggle abroad. The domestic class enemies are bound to work hand in glove with the imperialists and social-imperialists and make trouble whenever they have the opportunity to do so. Therefore, after the seizure of political power, the proletariat faces the heavy task of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, uniting the people of various nationalities, and persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Much work remains to be done. The proletariat must sum up the positive and negative experiences in the protracted and repeated struggles and continue to deepen its understanding of the law of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Only in this way can it overcome hardships and obstructions on the path of advance, defeat the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and realize communism.

Zigzag Course of Development in China's Socialist Cause

Our socialist cause in the past 25 years has developed along a zigzag course in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Speaking at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, Chairman Mao clearly pointed to the principal contradictions at home and internationally in the period of socialist revolution and foresaw the protracted and complex nature of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He thus set forth a correct line and laid down the basic steps and various principles and policies for the transition from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

In the years immediately after the birth of New China, the Party led the people of the whole country in rehabilitating the national economy and carrying out the *san fan* and *wu fan* movements (the movement against the three evils—corruption, waste and bureaucracy—and the movement against the five evils—bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for private speculation). It put forward the general line for socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, and got the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) for socialist construction go-

ing. The vigorous development of socialist revolution and construction filled the people throughout the country with joy and elation, but at the same time it evoked bitter hatred and fear on the part of the class enemies at home and abroad.

Bourgeois careerists Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih who had wormed their way into the Party ganged up in an anti-Party alliance and wildly carried out conspiratorial activities, vainly trying to split our Party, usurp the supreme power in the Party and the state and obstruct the advance of socialism. Chairman Mao led the whole Party to expose and shatter in good time the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance and rallied all Party members and the people of the whole country to bring about an upsurge in socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production.

The bourgeoisie, however, did not take its defeat lying down. Taking advantage of the rectification campaign in 1957, it unleashed another furious attack on the Party. This fully showed that, with the socialist revolution on the economic front alone, the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat still was not secure and it was imperative to carry out a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's thesis on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the nation started a vigorous struggle to beat back the bourgeois Rightists and once again repulsed the bourgeoisie's large-scale frenzied attacks, thereby giving great impetus to the rapid development of socialist revolution and construction.

Having summed up the experiences, both positive and negative, of socialist construction at home and abroad, Chairman Mao put forward the general line of "**going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.**" Hence the excellent situation marked by the big leap forward in the national economy and the establishment of the people's communes in 1958. But the struggle in the political and ideological spheres remained very intense. At the Lushan Meeting in 1959, the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique took the field, frantically attacking the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune in a futile effort to split our Party and check the onrushing torrent of socialism. Chairman Mao led the whole Party in meeting the onslaught head-on and crushing the Peng Teh-huai Right opportunist clique whose plots fell through.

With the daily deepening of the socialist revolution, the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique ran wild in carrying out counter-revolutionary activities. During the period when China had temporary economic difficulties due to three successive years of natural disasters and sabotage by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, Liu Shao-chi and his followers openly trumpeted and pushed the revisionist line of *san zi yi bao* (the

extension of plots for private use, the extension of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the individual households) and of *san he yi shao* (the liquidation of struggle against the imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists, and the reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries). They spared no effort in their criminal activities to restore capitalism in the political, ideological as well as economic spheres.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of our Party in September 1962, Chairman Mao summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad, advanced in a more comprehensive way the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and issued the great call: "**Never forget classes and class struggle.**" Immediately afterwards, Chairman Mao initiated the socialist education movement on a nationwide scale, criticized Liu Shao-chi's reactionary bourgeois line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, set in motion the revolution in Peking opera and other cultural and art fields and launched the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* (a bad opera designed to reverse the verdict passed on the Right opportunists), thus ushering in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The reversals and zigzags of the struggles in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were even more soul-stirring. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the entire Party and the people of the whole country, having broken through all kinds of obstacles and gone through arduous struggles, finally smashed the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its ringleader. But the struggle did not end there.

The bourgeois careerist and conspirator Lin Piao, who "lodged for a time" in the Party, jumped out to continue Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary activities. He negated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, attacked the socialist new things and plotted to launch a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, all in a vain effort to turn socialist New China back into the semi-feudal and semi-colonial China of old. With deep insight, Chairman Mao saw through all this and led the whole Party in exposing in good time the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and smashing its counter-revolutionary machinations to restore capitalism by following Confucius' precept of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites."

The purpose of the current deepening movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is precisely to thoroughly repudiate the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and its revisionist line, criticize the doctrines of Confucius

and Mencius—the ideology of the reactionary decadent classes promoted by Lin Piao, consolidate and develop the tremendous achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Historical experience has proved that each and every victory in the socialist cause has been won through repeated struggles. The socialist revolution in the days ahead will, as in the past, move forward along a spiral course in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines.

Overcome Metaphysical Viewpoint of Straight-Line Development of History

In order to observe and analyse the situation in the revolutionary struggle from the viewpoint that history develops in spirals, it is necessary to do away with the metaphysical viewpoint which holds that history develops in a straight line. Lenin pointed out: “**Human knowledge is not (or does not follow) a straight line, but a curve, which endlessly approximates a series of circles, a spiral.**” (*On the Question of Dialectics*.) In class struggle, looking at problems in a straight-line way means “all struggle and no alliance” or “all alliance and no struggle.” According to Chairman Mao’s directives and in the light of the historical experience of our Party, the Tenth Party Congress once again reminded us of the necessity to oppose and prevent these two kinds of one-sidedness. If one does not know that there are ups and downs, tension and relaxation in the course of struggle and that the process of alliance involves struggles against reactionary things, splittist tendencies and erroneous ideas, one does not understand the law of spiral development. Chairman Mao pointed out in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan: “**Today our Anti-Japanese National United Front policy is neither all alliance and no struggle nor all struggle and no alliance, but combines alliance and struggle.**” (*On Policy*.) To lead any major class struggle and two-line struggle to victory, it is essential to have a good grip on this Marxist policy. The “**unity-criticism-unity**” formula conforms to the law of spiral development and is an important method for us to correctly resolve contradictions among the people. These contradictions and those between ourselves and the enemy are two different types of contradictions. The knowledge different persons among the people have is not always the same, but they can be united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought through criticism or struggle and through distinguishing right from wrong on matters of line. And only by achieving unity can the correct line be implemented and the erroneous line overcome. Denying the existence of contradictions among the people and stressing unity alone but negating

struggle will of course harm the revolutionary cause. Likewise, confusing the two different types of contradictions, stressing only struggle but negating unity, and not knowing the dialectical relationship between struggle and unity and the paramount importance of revolutionary unity will also harm the revolutionary cause. Both tendencies are manifestations of seeing problems in a straight-line way and run counter to the law of spiral development. These two tendencies have occurred in our Party's history and brought losses to the cause of the Party. So we must pay attention to them and always keep in mind the historical experience of one tendency covering the other.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao used day-to-day routine such as eating and sleeping as an example to give a profound illustration of what is meant by dialectics. To those who had mistaken ideas and failed to understand the dialectical relationship between fighting heroically and abandoning territory temporarily in order to wipe out the enemy troops, Chairman Mao said: "**To eat and then to empty your bowels—is this not to eat in vain? To sleep and then to get up—is this not to sleep in vain? Can questions be posed in such a way? I would suppose not.**" (*On Protracted War*.) To see things in a straight-line way is in fact a metaphysical way of thinking and is like "eating without emptying the bowels" and "sleeping without getting up." Anyone using this way of thinking in observing things inevitably fails to see what is the essence and what is the appearance, which is the mainstream and which is the tributary, which is the part and which is the whole. This way of thinking leads to blind optimism and loss of vigilance when revolution develops successfully, and to indolence, helplessness, pessimism and despondency when revolution faces difficulty and twists and turns. Only by using the dialectical viewpoint of spiral development can one perceive the inevitable reversals and zigzags in the development of revolution, and only in this way can one perceive the inevitable victory of revolution even when it undergoes twists and turns, discern the orientation in the acute and complicated struggles, grasp the initiative in the struggle and guide it in the course of its development to seize victory.

The reversals and twists and turns in a revolutionary struggle have a dual character. While bringing transitory difficulties to revolution, they at the same time pave the way for still greater successes for the revolutionary cause. The revolutionary people invariably have to be educated and tempered by both positive and negative examples. It is the reversals and twists and turns in struggle that educate and temper us by negative example; after correctly summing up the experience and drawing lessons from it, we create the conditions for winning still greater victories in the revolutionary cause. The failure of the First Revolutionary

Civil War in 1927 was a profound lesson to the Chinese people, enabling them to understand the extremely great importance for the proletariat to take the leadership into its own hands and grasp the Marxist truth that "**political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.**" Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our Party mastered the three principal magic weapons (the united front, armed struggle and Party building) for the Chinese revolution, found the correct road for encircling the cities from the rural areas and the final capture of the cities and pushed the Chinese revolution to a new stage in its development. These historical experiences are an invaluable wealth for the revolutionary people. Chairman Mao often tells the Party cadres to bear in mind the experience and lessons of the many successes and failures in our Party's history; in so doing he is teaching us to learn to analyse and correctly handle the reversals and twists and turns on the road of the revolution from a materialist dialectical point of view and to understand that such twists and turns are inevitable in the development of history. When we have studied how the reactionary classes in the past brought about a restoration and how tortuous the struggle was in consolidating the new social system, we can understand better the importance of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism today.

Twists and Turns Cannot Halt the Advance of Revolution

The reversals and twists and turns on the road of revolution are only whirlpools, big and small, in the long river of history and are of little significance. As far as the entire course of history is concerned, advance and ascendancy make up the mainstream and essence of things, while twists and turns and retrogression are only branches and transient phenomena. The proletariat is bound to defeat the bourgeoisie; socialism is bound to triumph over capitalism; Marxism is bound to prevail over revisionism—this is the established general trend of the development of history. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history.**" (*On the Chungking Negotiations*.) Any reversals or twists and turns, even retrogression and the repeating of history for a while, can only affect the tempo of historical development, but can neither halt the advance of history nor change the direction of its development. Both in the past and in modern times, there have been countless reversals and twists and turns in the development of history. From Confucius (551-476 B.C.) to Yuan Shih-kai (1859-1916) and Chiang Kai-shek, and from Chen Tu-hsiu to Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi

and Lin Piao, all were reactionaries swimming against the tide of history. None of them succeeded in turning back the clock of history. Instead, every one of them lifted a rock only to drop it on his own feet and ended up in self-destruction.

We firmly believe that no reversals or twists and turns of any kind can obstruct the cause of revolution from advancing; this belief is based on the historical-materialist viewpoint that "**the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.**" At all times the people are the masters of history and the people always want to make revolution. Led by Chairman Mao, the broad masses are firm in taking the road of socialism. The working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals all have profound proletarian sentiments for the Party and Chairman Mao and have enormous enthusiasm for the socialist cause. As long as we have firm faith in the masses and rely on them, we can overcome any reversals or twists and turns and surmount any kind of difficulty. Both at home and abroad, class enemies all try to subvert our dictatorship of the proletariat and change our socialist system by taking advantage of the reversals or twists and turns that appear in the advance of our revolutionary cause, but all to no avail. This is because our revolutionary cause stands for the fundamental interests of the people and has won the approval and support of the masses.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." We also firmly believe that no reversals or twists and turns of any kind can impede the advance of the revolutionary cause because our revolution is carried out under the guidance of the correct Marxist-Leninist line. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the product of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; it is the fundamental guarantee for winning victory in the revolution. It is entirely due to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line that we defeated imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries with Chiang Kai-shek as their ringleader, that we got hold of arms and seized political power and won great victories in socialist revolution and construction. When an erroneous line dominated, there were reversals and twists and turns in our struggles, causing serious damage to the revolutionary cause and even leading the revolution to failure; but when the correct line dominates, the reversals or twists and turns that appear in the course of our struggle are only partial and temporary and are not difficult to eliminate. Therefore, under the guidance of the correct line, achievements are always primary and the situation is always excellent. Having undergone tests in prolonged struggles, our Party, state organs

and the People's Liberation Army can withstand any storms. After eight years of tempering in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is consolidated as never before. As long as we strengthen revolutionary unity, unswervingly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, correctly distinguish and handle the two different types of contradictions, we will make the excellent revolutionary situation still more excellent.

"While the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns." This is a scientific conclusion drawn from the summing up of countless historical experiences, and it has been verified in practice.

TEXT 14

SPEECH AT PEKING RALLY WELCOMING CAMBODIAN GUESTS

Wang Hung-wen

Coming a long way from the front to the great rear, our Cambodian comrades-in-arms have brought us the sentiments of militant friendship of the Cambodian people and happy tidings of new victories. This is a tremendous encouragement to the Chinese people who are engaged in the campaign of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The Cambodian people are a heroic people with a revolutionary tradition of opposing imperialism. They have waged protracted and unremitting struggles against imperialism for the independence of their fatherland and for national dignity. Four years ago, when U.S. imperialism engineered the reactionary coup d'etat and made a massive invasion into Cambodia, the Cambodian people rose up in arms with dauntless revolutionary heroism and unfolded a vigorous war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

In the last four years, the heroic Cambodian people, rallying closely around the National United Front of Cambodia with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its Chairman, holding high the banner of resisting U.S. aggression and saving the nation, and fearing no hardship and sacrifice, have persevered in a people's war and scored brilliant victories. The People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia have grown and expanded amidst the flames of revolutionary war and become an indestructible people's army, which has rendered great meritorious service to Cambodia's cause of national liberation. With its area constantly expanding and the people's political power becoming ever more consolidated, the Liberated Zone in Cambodia presents a thriving scene. The Royal Government of National Union, which is the sole legal government of the Cambodian people, enjoys a growing international prestige and has established diplomatic relations with an increasing number of countries. The Chinese people, as close comrades-in-arms of the Cambodian people, always regard the Cambodian people's victories as their own victories and heartily rejoice over them. Let us once again extend our warm congratulations to the

Peking Review #15, April 12, 1974. (Speech delivered April 3, 1974, at a rally of ten thousand people in the Great Hall of the People to welcome the Delegation of the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.)

fraternal Cambodian people.

The Cambodian people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is another brilliant example in the contemporary world of a small nation daring to resist the aggression of a big nation. Cambodia is a country with a population of only seven million, and the enemy the Cambodian people face is U.S. imperialism, which is armed to the teeth. Yet the Cambodian people are resolved to take their destiny into their own hands. Daring to despise the colossus-like enemy and daring to take up arms, they have persevered in fighting and so expanded their forces from small to big and from weak to strong and achieved the great victories of today. It is just as the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao said in his statement of May 20, 1970: "**A just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history.**"

The Cambodian people's victories have come about because the National United Front and the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia have closely relied on the people and adhered to the correct line of independence, initiative, self-reliance and people's war. By their victories, the Cambodian people have not only laid a solid foundation for the independence and liberation of Cambodia and done their part for the just cause of the three Indochinese peoples, but also greatly inspired and supported all other oppressed nations and peoples and made an important contribution to the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people of the whole world.

At present, the Cambodian people are continuing their triumphant advance and fighting heroically to seize still greater victories. The direct invasion of American ground forces was repulsed; the U.S. policy of bombing has gone bankrupt; the plan of so-called "Khmerization" of the war has also been repeatedly frustrated by the Cambodian people. The traitorous Lon Nol clique is beleaguered and fast sinking. It can only hole up in Phnom Penh and some other isolated cities, eking out its feeble existence. Though U.S. imperialism is still stepping up its aid and giving blood-transfusion and resuscitation to the traitorous Lon Nol clique, all its efforts to save the clique from its doom will prove futile.

The Chinese people firmly support the five-point declaration of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the political programme of the National United Front of Cambodia, which were reaffirmed by the Cambodian National Congress. The Chinese people firmly support the

Cambodian people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The United States must stop all its support and aid to the traitorous Lon Nol clique. The Cambodian question should be settled by the Cambodian people themselves free from foreign interference. We are firmly convinced that victory belongs to the heroic Cambodian people and that an independent, peaceful, neutral, sovereign and democratic Cambodia will surely appear.

At present, the international situation is getting better and better. The basic characteristic of the developing situation is universal great disorder. "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." The great revolutionary teacher Lenin said: "**An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great powers in the striving for hegemony.**" There are two superpowers in the world today. Relying on the few atom bombs they possess, they are engaged in an intense rivalry for hegemony. This is something determined by the nature of imperialism. One of the superpowers is desperately trying to hold on to the many places it has occupied; the other is reaching out in every direction and worming its way into every crevice. Strategically, Europe is the focus of their contention. At the same time, their fierce contention extends also to the Middle East, the Arab world, the Mediterranean as well as the Indian Ocean. They talk about detente, but actually they are engaged in rivalry. Their rivalry and their aggression, subversion, interference, control and plunder everywhere have greatly sharpened the basic contradictions in the world, stimulated the awakening and solidarity of the people of the world and aroused them to strong resistance. A tidal wave of struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism is sweeping the globe. Moving against the tide of history, the two superpowers inevitably run up against a wall everywhere and land themselves in ever greater difficulty. They put up a bold front and keep a stiff upper lip, but in fact they are in the plight described in the verse: "flowers fall off, do what one may." Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution—this is the historical trend that no one can resist.

Lenin said on many occasions that imperialism means aggression and war. War is inevitable so long as imperialism exists. While having full confidence in the future of the world, we maintain high vigilance and are prepared against a surprise attack by social-imperialism and against any trouble-making by the superpowers in the world at large. Resolutely carrying out Chairman Mao's teaching of "**be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people,**" we are making every necessary preparation. Whatever happens in the world, the Chinese people will unswervingly unite and fight

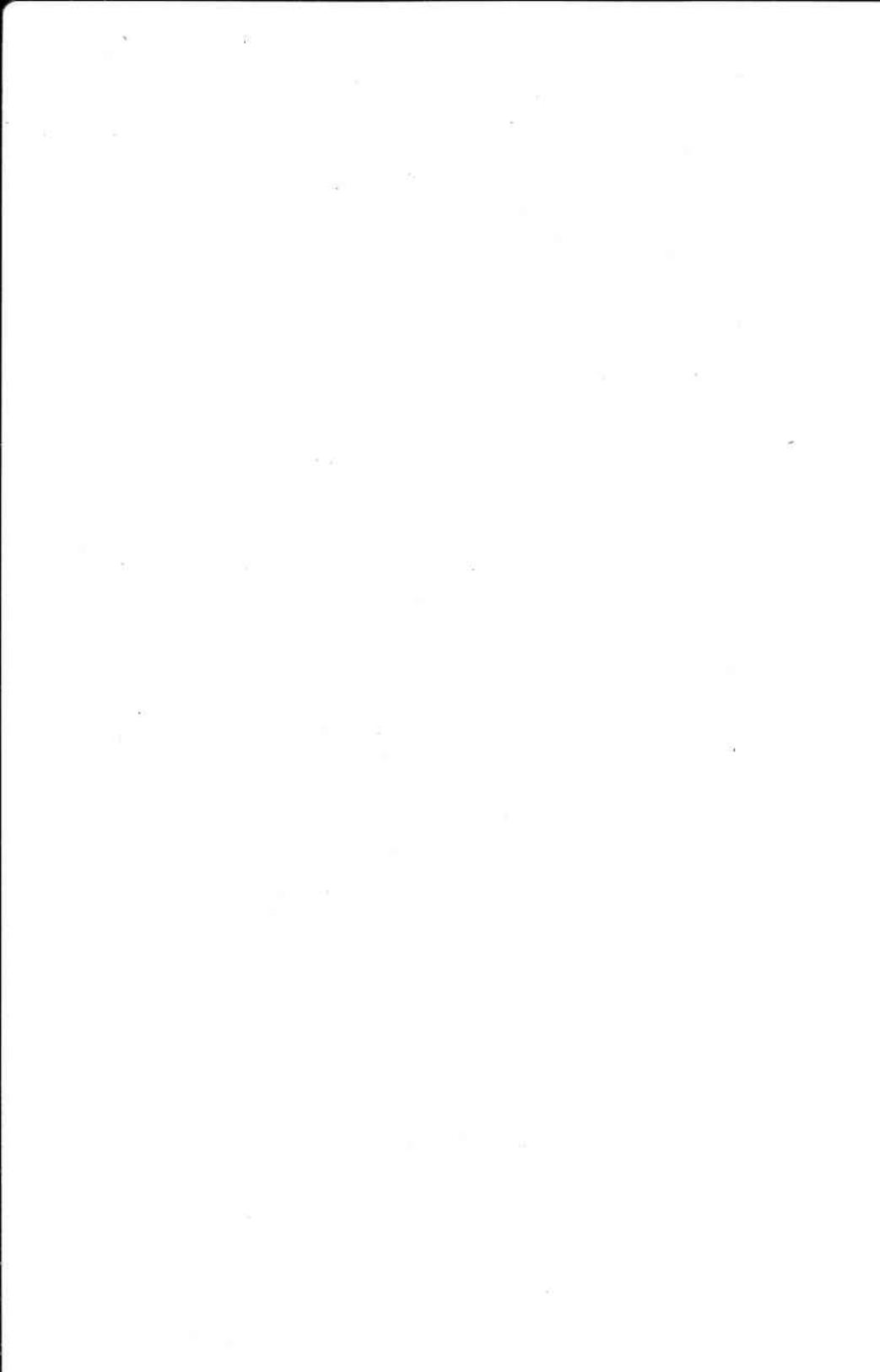
together with the people of the entire world.

We warmly hail the great victories won by the three Indochinese peoples in their wars against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and firmly support their just struggles. We firmly support the solemn and just stand taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam for the thorough implementation of the Paris agreement as well as the six-point proposal for achieving peace and national concord in south Viet Nam put forward recently by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. The United States and the Saigon administration must truly implement all the provisions of the Paris agreement and stop all their acts which violate the agreement. We firmly support the correct stand taken by the Lao Patriotic Front and the Union of the Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces for the thorough implementation of the Vientiane agreement and the Lao people's just struggle to achieve national concord and build a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos. We are convinced that the three Indochinese peoples, holding high the banner of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, uniting closely and supporting one another, will surmount all difficulties and obstacles and realize their respective sacred national aspirations.

We firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle to oust foreign interference and achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland, firmly support the Arab people, including the Palestinian people, in their struggle against Israeli Zionist aggression and for the recovery of the occupied territories, firmly support the Palestinian people in their just struggle for the restoration of their national rights, and firmly support the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggles against imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism and racism and their just struggles to win or safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty, develop the national economy and protect national resources. We resolutely support all just struggles of the people of the world.

China and Cambodia are close fraternal neighbours. There exists a traditional friendship of long-standing between our two peoples. In the protracted anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, we have always sympathized with and supported each other. Over the past few years in particular, our solidarity and friendship have been further consolidated and developed. Our friendship is one that can stand tests, and no one on earth can undermine it. The Chinese people have always considered it their bounden internationalist duty to support the Cambodian people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Four years

ago, when the flames of the Cambodian people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation had just started to rage, the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao issued his solemn statement, proclaiming to the whole world the Chinese people's solemn and just stand of supporting the Cambodian people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Recently, Chairman Mao again taught us: We are Communists, and we must help the people; not to help the people would be to betray Marxism. Bearing firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese people are determined to unswervingly support the just struggle of the Cambodian people till complete victory is won.



III

FOURTH PEOPLE'S CONGRESS AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT CAMPAIGN

Introduction

The campaign to Study the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Combat and Prevent Revisionism was initiated by Mao at the time of the 4th National People's Congress. At this time, in late 1974 and early 1975, the Right was going on the offensive. The campaign was an answer to the forces led by Chou En-lai who were claiming that the achievement of the four modernizations (the modernization of industry, agriculture, science and technology, and national defense) had now become the principal task facing the revolution. The Right had argued that the political struggle had by and large been completed and that it was now time to get down to the business of developing the economy. Mao was emphasizing that it was necessary to understand why the proletariat must exercise its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all spheres of society and gradually create the conditions in which it could not exist. He brought to the fore the question, why is it that revisionism constantly emerges—at a time when the Right was saying that this was hardly of any consequence—all that needed to be done was to turn China into a modern country. Shortly after the 4th National People's Congress, he released this directive (see Text 17): “Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.”

The heavy artillery in this campaign were two signed pamphlets by Yao Wen-yuan and Chang Chun-chiao (Texts 18 and 19), which elaborated on the themes Mao had been stressing, in particular the

relative ease with which capitalism could be re-instituted if political power were seized by Rightists. Attention was drawn in these pamphlets to the very nature and structure of socialist society in China, to the fact that it would require a long historical period before ownership could be completely transformed in the countryside, that there would be continual struggle over which line was in command of different units, and that bourgeois right—reflecting the differences and inequalities still existing in socialist society—had to be restricted in order to strangle newly arising bourgeois elements.

An example of interest is the selection “Socialist Big Fair is Good” (Text 21). It describes a bold initiative in Liaoning province in restricting bourgeois right in the countryside. This example has been the subject of heavy criticism by the current leadership.

TEXT 15

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT

*delivered by Chou En-lai**

Fellow Deputies!

In accordance with the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I shall make a report on behalf of the State Council to the Fourth National People's Congress on the work of the government.

Since the Third National People's Congress, the most important event in the political life of the people of all nationalities in our country has been the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao. In essence this is a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. It destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao and smashed their plots to restore capitalism. The current nation-wide movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is the continuation and deepening of this great revolution. The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country; promoted socialist construction and ensured that our country would stand on the side of the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world. The cultural revolution has provided new experience on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; its historical significance is great and its influence far-reaching.

In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our people of all nationalities have unfolded a mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and thus heightened their awareness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure has achieved major successes. The three-in-one revolutionary committees composed of the old, the middle-aged and the young have forged closer links with the masses.

Documents of the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1975). (Delivered on January 13, 1975.)

*Although this Report was delivered by Chou En-lai it represents, in the main, the line the Left had been fighting for and that Chou had in fact been opposing. The reader is advised to refer to the Introduction pp. 24-25, as well as pp. 12-13, for an explanation.

Successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution are maturing in large numbers. The proletarian revolution in literature and art exemplified by the model revolutionary theatrical works is developing in depth. The revolution in education and in health work is thriving. The cadres and the workers, peasants, soldiers, students and commercial workers are persevering on the May 7th road. Over a million barefoot doctors are becoming more competent. Nearly ten million school graduates have gone to mountainous and other rural areas. With the participation of workers, peasants and soldiers the Marxist theoretical contingents are expanding. The emergence of all these new things has strengthened the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure, and this further helps consolidate and develop the socialist economic base.

We have overfulfilled the Third Five-Year Plan and will successfully fulfil the Fourth Five-Year Plan in 1975. Our country has won good harvests for thirteen years running. The total value of agricultural output for 1974 is estimated to be 51 per cent higher than that for 1964. This fully demonstrates the superiority of the people's commune. While China's population has increased 60 per cent since the liberation of the country, grain output has increased 140 per cent and cotton 470 per cent. In a country like ours with a population of nearly 800 million, we have succeeded in ensuring the people their basic needs in food and clothing. Gross industrial output for 1974 is estimated to be 190 per cent more than 1964, and the output of major products has greatly increased. Steel has increased 120 per cent, coal 91 per cent, petroleum 650 per cent, electric power 200 per cent, chemical fertilizer 330 per cent, tractors 520 per cent, cotton yarn 85 per cent and chemical fibres 330 per cent. Through our own efforts in these ten years we have completed 1,100 big and medium-sized projects, successfully carried out hydrogen bomb tests and launched man-made earth satellites. In contrast to the economic turmoil and inflation in the capitalist world, we have maintained a balance between our national revenue and expenditure and contracted no external or internal debts. Prices have remained stable, the people's livelihood has steadily improved and socialist construction has flourished. Reactionaries at home and abroad asserted that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution would certainly disrupt the development of our national economy, but facts have now given them a strong rebuttal.

Along with the people of other countries, we have won tremendous victories in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and in particular against the hegemonism of the superpowers. We have smashed imperialist and social-imperialist encirclement, blockade, aggression and subversion, and have strengthened our unity with the people of all

countries, and especially the third world countries. China's seat in the United Nations, of which she had long been illegally deprived, has been restored to her. The number of countries having diplomatic relations with us has increased to nearly 100, and more than 150 countries and regions have economic and trade relations and cultural exchanges with us. Our struggle has won widespread sympathy and support from the people of all countries. We have friends all over the world.

Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our people of all nationalities are more united and our army has grown stronger. Our great motherland is still more consolidated. All our successes are great victories for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Fellow Deputies!

The Tenth National Congress of our Party again elucidated the Party's basic line and policies formulated by Chairman Mao for the entire historical period of socialism, and pointed out even more clearly the orientation for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the people of all our nationalities should unite still more closely, adhere to the Party's basic line and policies, endeavour to fulfil the various fighting tasks set forth by the Party's Tenth Congress, consolidate and enhance the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and strive for new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Our primary task is to continue to broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist, and between the two lines, the Marxist and the revisionist, is long and tortuous and at times even becomes very acute. We must never relax our criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius because of the big successes already achieved in this movement. We should go on deepening the criticism of Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and in line with the principle of "**making the past serve the present**," sum up the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole, build up a vast Marxist theoretical force in the course of struggle and use Marxism to occupy all spheres in the superstructure. The key to the fulfilment of this task is for the cadres and the masses to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao assiduously in order to arm themselves with the basic theories of Marxism. Through the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, we should further advance the revolution in

literature and art, in education and in health work, promote struggle-criticism-transformation on various fronts and support all the new things so as the better to keep to the socialist orientation.

Under the leadership of the Party, we should strengthen revolutionary committees at all levels. Leading bodies at all levels should become more conscious of the need to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and should maintain closer ties with the masses. We should make active efforts to train young cadres, women cadres and minority nationality cadres, and make a point of selecting outstanding workers and poor and lower-middle peasants for leading posts. We should have better staff and simpler administration with fewer levels. New and veteran cadres should learn from each other and strengthen their unity, and they should be ready to work at any post, high or low, persist in collective productive labour and wholeheartedly serve the people.

We should strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and handle them correctly, implement the Party's policies conscientiously and ensure that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled right through to the grass-roots level. We should rely on the broad masses to deal steady, accurate and hard blows at the handful of class enemies, with the emphasis on accuracy. We should earnestly strive to do well in resolving contradictions among the people with democratic methods in accordance with the principle of "**unity—criticism and self-criticism—unity**," and thus give full play to the masses' enthusiasm for socialism.

"The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities—these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause." We should strengthen the great unity of the people of all our nationalities. We should wholeheartedly rely on the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with the other working people and the many intellectuals and further develop the revolutionary united front which, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, includes the patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, patriotic overseas Chinese and our compatriots in Hongkong and Macao. We should unite over 95 per cent of the cadres and the masses and unite with all the forces that can be united with in a joint effort to build our great socialist motherland.

Socialist revolution is the powerful engine for developing the social productive forces. We must adhere to the principle of "**grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war,**" and with revolution in command, work hard to increase production and speed up socialist construction so that our socialist system will have a more solid material foundation.

On Chairman Mao's instructions, it was suggested in the report on the work of the government to the Third National People's Congress that we might envisage the development of our national economy in two stages beginning from the Third Five-Year Plan: The first stage is to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system in 15 years, that is, before 1980; the second stage is to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the front ranks of the world.

We should fulfil or overfulfil the Fourth Five-Year Plan in 1975 in order to reinforce the foundations for completing the first stage before 1980 as envisaged above. In light of the situation at home and abroad, the next ten years are crucial for accomplishing what has been envisaged for the two stages. In this period we shall not only build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system, but march towards the splendid goal set for the second stage. With this objective in mind, the State Council will draw up a long-range ten-year plan, five-year plans and annual plans. The ministries and commissions under the State Council and the local revolutionary committees at all levels down to the industrial and mining enterprises and production teams and other grass-roots units should all arouse the masses to work out their plans through full discussion and strive to attain our splendid goal ahead of time.

In order to keep on expanding our socialist economy, we must persist in the general line of "**going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism**" and continue to apply the policy of "**taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor**" and the series of policies of walking on two legs. We should work out the national economic plan in this order of priorities: agriculture, light industry, heavy industry. We should give full play to the initiative of both central and local authorities under the state's unified planning. We should implement the "**Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company**" still better and deepen the mass movements—"In industry, learn from Taching" and "**In agriculture, learn from Tachai.**"

While tackling economic tasks, our leading comrades at all levels must pay close attention to the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure and keep a firm grasp on class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Only when we do well in revolution is it possible to do well in production. We should thoroughly criticize revisionism, criticize capitalist tendencies and criticize such erroneous ideas and styles of work as servility to things foreign, the doctrine of trailing

behind at a snail's pace, and extravagance and waste.

Chairman Mao points out, “**Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary, break down blind faith, go in for industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently, do away with slavishness, bury dogmatism, learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it. This is our line.**” This line has enabled us to break the imperialist blockade and withstand social-imperialist pressure, and the progress of our economy has been sound and vigorous all along, regardless of economic fluctuations and crises in the capitalist world. We must always adhere to this line.

Fellow Deputies!

The present international situation is still characterized by great disorder under heaven, a disorder which is growing greater and greater. The capitalist world is facing the most serious economic crisis since the war, and all the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening. On the one hand, the trend of revolution by the people of the world is actively developing; countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution—this has become an irresistible historical current. On the other hand, the contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, is becoming more and more intense. Their contention has extended to every corner of the world, the focus of their contention being Europe. Soviet social-imperialism “makes a feint to the east while attacking in the west.” The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters today, and they are the source of a new world war. Their fierce contention is bound to lead to world war some day. The people of all countries must get prepared. Detente and peace are being talked about everywhere in the world; it is precisely this that shows there is no detente, let alone lasting peace, in this world. At present, the factors for both revolution and war are increasing. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favourable to the people and the future of the world will be bright.

We should continue to implement Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line in foreign affairs, always keep the people in mind, place our hopes on them and do our external work better. We should uphold proletarian internationalism and strengthen our unity with the socialist countries and all the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world, with each supporting the other. We should ally ourselves with all the forces in the world that can be allied with to combat colonialism,

imperialism and above all superpower hegemonism. We are ready to establish or develop relations with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

The third world is the main force in combating colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. China is a developing socialist country belonging to the third world. We should enhance our unity with the countries and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and resolutely support them in their struggle to win or safeguard national independence, defend their state sovereignty, protect their national resources and develop their national economy. We firmly support the just struggles of the people of Korea, Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Palestine and the Arab countries as well as countries in southern Africa. We support the countries and people of the second world in their struggle against superpower control, threats and bullying. We support the efforts of West European countries to get united in this struggle. We are ready to work together with the Japanese Government and people to promote friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries on the basis of the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement.

There exist fundamental differences between China and the United States. Owing to the joint efforts of both sides the relations between the two countries have improved to some extent in the last three years, and contacts between the two peoples have developed. The relations between the two countries will continue to improve so long as the principles of the Sino-American Shanghai Communique are carried out in earnest.

The Soviet leading clique have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, and our debate with them on matters of principle will go on for a long time. However, we have always held that this debate should not obstruct the maintenance of normal state relations between China and the Soviet Union. The Soviet leadership have taken a series of steps to worsen the relations between the two countries, conducted subversive activities against our country and even provoked armed conflicts on the border. In violation of the understanding reached between the Premiers of China and the Soviet Union as early as 1969, they refuse to sign the agreement on the maintenance of the status quo on the border, the prevention of armed conflicts and the disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides in the disputed areas on the border, an agreement which includes the non-use of force against each other and mutual non-aggression. Hence the negotiations on the Sino-Soviet boundary question have so far yielded no results. They even deny the existence of the disputed areas on the Sino-Soviet border, and they even refuse to do anything about such matters as the disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides in the disputed areas on the border and the prevention

of armed conflicts; instead they talk profusely about empty treaties on the non-use of force against each other and mutual non-aggression. So what can their real intention be if not to deceive the Soviet people and world public opinion? We wish to advise the Soviet leadership to sit down and negotiate honestly, do something to solve a bit of the problem and stop playing such deceitful tricks.

Chairman Mao teaches us, “**Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony.**” “**Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people.**” We should maintain vigilance, strengthen our defence and be prepared against war. The heroic People’s Liberation Army shoulders the glorious task of defending the motherland. The whole army should resolutely implement Chairman Mao’s line for army building to strengthen the army and enhance preparedness against war. We should build the people’s militia conscientiously and well. Together with the people of all our nationalities, the People’s Liberation Army and the masses of the people’s militia should be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares intrude.

We are determined to liberate Taiwan! Fellow country men in Taiwan and people of the whole country, unite and work together to achieve the noble aim of liberating Taiwan and unifying the motherland!

Fellow Deputies!

In the excellent situation prevailing at home and abroad, we should first of all run China’s affairs well and strive to make a greater contribution to humanity.

We must bear firmly in mind Chairman Mao’s teachings and grasp major issues, grasp the line, and adhere to these fundamental principles, “**Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don’t split; be open and aboveboard, and don’t intrigue and conspire.**”

We must resolutely support the centralized leadership of the Party. “**Of the seven sectors—industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the Army, the government and the Party—it is the Party that exercises overall leadership.**” We must put all fields of work under the unified leadership of the Party committees at various levels.

We must carry forward the glorious tradition of observing discipline, conscientiously practise democratic centralism, and, on the basis of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, achieve “**unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action.**”

We must persist in the mass line: “**From the masses, to the masses;**” we must have unshakable faith in the vast majority of the masses and firmly rely on them. Both in revolution and in construction, we should boldly arouse the people and unfold vigorous mass movements.

We must work hard, build the country and run all undertakings with diligence and thrift. “**We should maintain the same vigour, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war, and carry on our revolutionary work to the end.**”

We must uphold proletarian internationalism, and “**get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.**” We will never seek hegemony; we will never be a superpower; we will always stand with the oppressed people and oppressed nations throughout the world.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have worked energetically, surmounted all difficulties and hazards, and turned a poverty-stricken and backward country into a socialist one with the beginnings of prosperity in only twenty years and more. We can certainly build China into a powerful modern socialist country in another twenty years and more before the end of the century. We should continue to work hard, carry forward our achievements and overcome our shortcomings, be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and continue our triumphant advance. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, let us “**unite to win still greater victories!**”

TEXT 16

REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

delivered by Chang Chun-chiao

Fellow Deputies!

The Draft Revised Text of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China submitted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Congress for its deliberation has been issued to all the deputies. At the behest of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I shall explain some points.

Twenty years ago, in 1954, the First National People's Congress adopted the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out, "**An organization must have rules, and a state also must have rules; the Constitution is a set of general rules and is a fundamental charter.**" The Constitution of 1954 was China's first constitution of a socialist type. In the form of a fundamental charter it summed up historical experience, consolidated the victories of our people and mapped out a clear, well-defined course of advance for the people of the whole country. Practice in the last twenty years has proved that that Constitution was correct. Its basic principles are still applicable today. However, as tremendous changes have taken place in China's politics, economy and culture and in international relations since 1954, some parts of the Constitution are no longer suitable. In the present revision of the Constitution our main task is to sum up our new experience, consolidate our new victories and express the common desire of the people of our country to persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Of the new victories won by our people in the last two decades the most significant has been the step-by-step consolidation and development of the socialist system under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao. Through repeated trials of strength with enemies at home and abroad, and especially through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of the last eight years which destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao,

Documents of the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1975). (Delivered on January 13, 1975 and adopted January 17, 1975.)

the people of all nationalities in our country are more united and the dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated than ever. What is more important is that, in the course of the struggle, Chairman Mao formulated for us a basic line for the entire historical period of socialism by applying the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice. He says:

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

Both the Ninth and the Tenth Congresses of the Party reaffirmed this basic line. Our struggles against Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao have focused on one issue: whether to uphold this basic line or to change it. Past and present class struggles all prove that this basic line is the lifeline of our Party as well as of our country. As long as we uphold it, we shall assuredly be able to overcome all difficulties, defeat enemies at home and abroad and win greater victories. This is the main experience we have gained and also our guiding thought in revising the Constitution.

The draft revised Constitution now submitted is the continuation and development of the 1954 Constitution. It was born out of repeated discussions among the people of all our nationalities and is the outcome of combining the ideas of the leading organizations and those of the masses. The Preamble is new. The number of articles has been reduced from 106 to 30. The important revisions are as follows:

(I) Starting from the Preamble, the draft revised text records the glorious history of the Chinese people's heroic struggle. "The Com-

unist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people" and "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of our nation"—such is the conclusion which the people of our country have drawn from their historical experience of more than a century and which is now inscribed in the General Principles of the draft. The draft stipulates, "The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Communist Party of China." It also stipulates, "The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country's armed forces." Since no chairmanship of state is instituted, the draft makes a corresponding revision of the provisions of the 1954 Constitution concerning the structure of the state. All this will certainly help strengthen the Party's centralized leadership over the structure of the state and meet the desire of the people of the whole country.

(2) The draft stipulates, "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." It stipulates that the worker, peasant and soldier deputies shall form the main body of people's congresses at all levels. It also specifies the targets of the dictatorship of the proletariat and sets forth the policies of the dictatorship. The draft includes in separate articles the rural people's communes, which integrate government administration and economic management, and the local revolutionary committees at various levels formed on the basis of the revolutionary three-in-one combination, both of which emerged from great revolutionary mass movements. Thus, the class nature of our state and the status of each class in our country are clearly defined. Marx and Lenin consistently teach us, "**The class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat**" and "**The proletarian state is a machine for the suppression of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat.**" Our draft adheres to this principled stand of Marxism-Leninism and is sharply demarcated from such fallacies as Confucius' "benevolent government" or the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's "state of the whole people."

As for our dictatorship of the proletariat, firstly, within the country it suppresses the reactionary classes and elements and those who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction, and suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities; and secondly, it protects our country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies. It is the magic weapon with which the people of our country vanquish enemies and protect themselves. We must treasure it and constantly strengthen it. We should strengthen the great unity of the people of all our nationalities, strengthen the People's

Liberation Army and the people's militia which are the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and strengthen the building of state organs. We should continue to consolidate the alliance of the working class with its reliable ally, the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with the other working people and the many intellectuals, and develop the revolutionary united front which includes the patriotic democratic parties and patriotic personages in all walks of life. Only in this way can we unite with all the forces that can be united with, exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat effectively, defend the socialist system, and consolidate the independence and security of our great motherland.

(3) The dictatorship of the proletariat on the one hand exercises dictatorship over the enemy and on the other practises democratic centralism within the ranks of the people. Without ample democracy, it is impossible to have a high degree of centralism, and without a high degree of centralism, it is impossible to build socialism. The draft stipulates that all organs of state shall practise democratic centralism and specifies the democratic rights of citizens, and especially the rights of the fraternal minority nationalities and of women. It also stipulates that the masses shall have the right to speak out freely, air views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters. Moreover, in accordance with Chairman Mao's proposal, the specification that citizens enjoy freedom to strike has been added to Article 28 of the draft. We are convinced that the revolutionary masses, who have been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, will apply these provisions still better and "create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and so help consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party of China over the state and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat."

(4) The task of socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production put forth in the 1954 Constitution has in the main been completed. The draft fully affirms this great victory of the Chinese people and lays it down that at the present stage our country has mainly two kinds of ownership of the means of production, namely, socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people. The draft also contains provisions regarding non-agricultural individual labourers and allowing people's commune members to farm small plots for their personal needs and engage in limited household side-line production. These provisions integrate the principle of adherence to socialism with the necessary flexibility and are sharply demarcated from such fallacies as those advocated by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao on the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own and the abolition

of farm plots for personal needs.

The draft reiterates the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, and stipulates a series of principles and policies for the consolidation and development of the socialist economic base.

It should be pointed out that in our country we still have harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Like the morning sun, our socialist system is still very young. It was born in struggle and can only grow in struggle. Take the state sector of the economy for example. In some enterprises, the form is that of socialist ownership, but the reality is that their leadership is not in the hands of Marxists and the masses of workers. The bourgeoisie will seize hold of many fronts if the proletariat does not occupy them. Confucius died more than two thousand years ago, yet such rubbish as his never vanishes of itself where the broom of the proletariat does not reach. The draft lays down that "state organizations and state personnel must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought," that "the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture" and that state organizations and state personnel must maintain close ties with the masses and overcome unhealthy tendencies. It is precisely the purpose of these provisions to call on us to pay keen attention to grasping socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure and to pay attention to solving problems concerning the relations of production. We must broaden, deepen and persevere in the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and occupy all fronts with Marxism.

(5) In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, "**Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere and never seek hegemony,**" we have written into the draft that "China will never be a superpower" in order to show that our country does not seek hegemony today and that it never will. Only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. We shall always unite with the people of all countries in the common struggle to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man over the face of the globe, so that all mankind will be emancipated.

Fellow Deputies!

The work of revising the Constitution has been going on for nearly five years. This Congress will complete the work and promulgate the new fundamental charter of the People's Republic of China. This is a major event calling for our enthusiastic celebration. In order to win and defend the right to people's democracy and socialism, smash the

schemes of Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao for restoring capitalism internally and capitulating and selling out the country externally, and defeat reactionaries both at home and abroad, the people of our country have long engaged in sharp and complex struggles, in which tens of thousands of martyrs have laid down their lives. It is precisely the victories of these struggles that have given birth to this socialist Constitution. We are confident that the people of all our nationalities and, first of all, the Communists and state personnel, will earnestly implement and courageously defend this Constitution and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end, so as to ensure that our great motherland will forever forge ahead victoriously along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

TEXT 17

STUDY WELL THE THEORY OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Our great leader Chairman Mao recently gave an important instruction on the question of theory.

Chairman Mao pointed out: “**Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.**”

This instruction of Chairman Mao’s is of tremendous current significance and far-reaching historical significance for further grasping and implementing the Party’s basic line, for broadening, deepening and persevering in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, for waging an effective struggle to combat and prevent revisionism, and for strengthening the revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities in the country.

It is a basic principle of Marxism that the proletariat must exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie after it has seized power. Lenin profoundly elucidated the necessity and the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat in his struggle against the revisionism of the Second International. Basing himself on the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao has summed up the historical experience of the international communist movement and of our Party, advanced the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and formulated for our Party a basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. The theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on the dictatorship of the proletariat is the beacon light that guides us to success in socialist revolution and socialist construction. We must make a conscientious effort to study it well so as to understand why dictatorship must be exercised over the bourgeoisie, what are the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship and how we should fight for the consolidation of this dictatorship.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself is a great practice in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao and crushed their plots to

restore capitalism. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have further criticized Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and its important ideological source, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and have achieved enormous successes. Our proletarian dictatorship is more consolidated than ever. However, there must not be the least let-up on our part. Our fight against revisionism is a protracted struggle, not one or two trials of strength. Our task is to work ceaselessly to dig up the soil that breeds revisionism, a task, as Lenin put it, "**of creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise.**" Obviously, this is a task of unparalleled magnitude.

Marx referred to socialist society in these words: "**...just as it emerges from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges.**" In order to eliminate these birth marks, it is necessary to undertake socialist revolution and construction over a long period. Bourgeois rights inevitably remain in our society. Chairman Mao pointed out: "**China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as capitalism. Even now she practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed.**" Chairman Mao also pointed out: So far as the bourgeois rights are concerned, "**these can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat.**" Thus it would be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they should come to power. Therefore, we should read more of the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao. We should realize that the period of socialism is a period of struggle between moribund capitalism and nascent communism, and see clearly what is socialism and what is capitalism in both theory and practice. We should realize that harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base still exist in a socialist country, and pay attention to solving problems in the relations of production and to grasping effectively the socialist revolution in the superstructure. We should bring into play the socialist initiative of the masses of the people and develop the socialist economy with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Lenin said: "**Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.**" This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among personnel of state organs, there are those who follow the bourgeois

style of life. All these run counter to socialism. In our study, we should acquire a deep understanding of the point that the dictatorship of the proletariat must not only suppress the resistance of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and guard against subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism, but must also struggle against the newly engendered bourgeois elements and overcome the corrosion of and influence on the proletariat by the bourgeoisie and the force of habit of the old society. Thus we will more consciously adhere to the socialist road, criticize capitalist tendencies, criticize the bourgeois world outlook, and promote and strengthen the revolutionary unity of the masses.

The attitude towards the dictatorship of the proletariat is the touchstone that distinguishes genuine Marxism from sham Marxism. All revisionists invariably try by hook or by crook to distort, attack and liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. They deny that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between socialism and capitalism is the principal contradiction in a socialist society, that the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, and that the dictatorship of the proletariat should impose necessary restrictions on that part of the bourgeois rights still existing. On this question, some of our comrades, too, have got muddled ideas of one kind or another, and even regard certain capitalist stuff as socialist. Only by reading and studying conscientiously can we distinguish between genuine Marxism and sham Marxism, be sober-minded, uphold the Party's basic line and policies and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Party committees at all levels must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, conscientiously grasp the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Leading cadres should be in the van in this study and organize it effectively among Party members, cadres and the masses, and pay attention to giving play to the role of the theoretical contingents and to correctly distinguishing between and handling the two different types of contradictions. The study of the documents of the Fourth National People's Congress should also be focused on the key question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must carry further our criticism of Lin Piao's reactionary fallacies directed against the dictatorship of the proletariat and make a further analysis of the social base that gave rise to Lin Piao's revisionist line. We must continue to criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, study the history of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole and sum up the historical experience so as to deepen our understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is

necessary to study how revisionism came to power in the Soviet Union and how the first socialist state degenerated into a social-imperialist state. We must make social investigations, study the current conditions of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in all domains and do a good job of struggle-criticism-transformation on all fronts, bring into play the leading role of the vanguard of the proletariat and see to it that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled right through to every grass-roots unit.

TEXT 18

ON THE SOCIAL BASIS OF THE LIN PIAO ANTI-PARTY CLIQUE

Yao Wen-yuan

Quotations from Chairman Mao

Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.

Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works.

* * *

Speaking of the necessity for a clear understanding of the question of the proletariat exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao has explicitly pointed out, "...if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works." This brings up a most important question: What is the class character of "people like Lin Piao"? What is the social basis that engendered the Lin Piao anti-Party clique? Beyond doubt a clear understanding of this question is essential for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevention of capitalist restoration, for firm implementation of the Party's basic line throughout the historical period of socialism and for the creation, step by step, of conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or arise anew.

As with all other revisionists and revisionist trends of thought, the appearance of Lin Piao and his revisionist line was no accident. Lin Pamphlet published by Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1975; also in *Peking Review* #10, March 7, 1975. (Translation of an article in *Hongqi [Red Flag]* #3, 1975.)

Piao and his sworn followers were extremely isolated in the whole Party and army and among the people of the entire country; but there exists a deep-rooted class basis in society that engendered this bunch of extremely isolated persons who styled themselves "heavenly horses flying through the skies," "solitary and free."

It is rather clear that the Lin Piao anti-Party clique represented the interests of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and the desire of the overthrown reactionaries to topple the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique opposed the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and nursed an inveterate hatred for the socialist system of dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, which they slandered as "feudal autocracy" and reviled as "the present-day Chin Shih Huang." They wanted to give the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists "genuine liberation politically and economically," i.e., both in politics and in economics they wanted to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the landlord and comprador-capitalist classes and the socialist system into a capitalist one. As inner-Party agents of the bourgeoisie striving for restoration, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique reached the pitch of frenzy in their attacks on the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, going so far as to set up an organization of secret agents and plot a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat. Such frenzy demonstrates that reactionaries who have lost political power and the means of production will inevitably resort to every possible method to recapture the lost positions of the exploiting classes. We have seen how Lin Piao, after going bankrupt politically and ideologically, tried to "devour" the proletariat with the desperation of a gambler staking everything on a single last throw, and ended up betraying his country and fleeing to cast himself into the arms of the enemy; while the extremely patient education, waiting and efforts made to save him by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee could not in the least change his counter-revolutionary nature. All this demonstrates the life-and-death struggle, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, between the two major antagonistic classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a struggle that will go on for a very long time. As long as the overthrown reactionary classes still exist, there will emerge within the Party (and in society) representatives of the bourgeoisie who turn their hopes for restoration into attempts at restoration. Therefore, we must heighten our vigilance and guard against and smash any and every plot by reactionaries both at home and abroad, and must on no account fall into complacency. But understanding of this fact does not exhaust the issue. Not only did the Lin Piao anti-Party clique represent the desire of the overthrown

landlord and capitalist classes for a restoration; it also represented the desire of the newly engendered bourgeois elements in socialist society to usurp power. The clique had certain of the characteristics of these new bourgeois, to whose number some of its members belonged. And some of its slogans suited and reflected what was needed by the bourgeois elements and those wishing to take the capitalist road—for the purpose of developing capitalism. It is this latter aspect that requires further analysis by us.

Chairman Mao has stated, “*Lenin said that ‘small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.’ They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life.*” Some persons in the Lin Piao anti-Party clique were themselves representatives of such a newly engendered bourgeoisie, of such newly engendered capitalism. Among them, Lin Li-kuo [Lin Piao’s son] and his “small fleet” [code name for their secret agent organization] were in all respects anti-socialist bourgeois elements and counter-revolutionaries engendered in socialist society.

The existence of bourgeois influence, and of the influence of international imperialism and revisionism, constitutes the political and ideological source of the new bourgeois elements. And the existence of bourgeois right provides an important economic foundation for their emergence.

Lenin said, “*...in the first phase of communist society (usually called socialism) ‘bourgeois right’ is not abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic revolution so far attained, i.e., only in respect of the means of production.*” “*However, it continues to exist as far as its other part is concerned; it continues to exist in the capacity of regulator (determining factor) in the distribution of products and the allotment of labour among the members of society. The socialist principle: ‘He who does not work, neither shall he eat,’ is already realized; the other socialist principle: ‘An equal amount of products for an equal amount of labour,’ is also already realized. But this is not yet communism, and it does not yet abolish ‘bourgeois right,’ which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal (actually unequal) amounts of labour, equal amounts of products.*”

Chairman Mao tells us, “*...China is a socialist country. Before liberation, she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been*

changed.” “Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted.”

In socialist society, we still have two kinds of socialist ownership: ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. This determines our practice of the commodity system at the present time. The analyses by Lenin and Chairman Mao both tell us that bourgeois right, which inevitably exists in distribution and exchange under the socialist system, should be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that in the long course of the socialist revolution the three major differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between manual and mental labour will gradually be narrowed, as will the discrepancies between the various grades, and so that material and ideological conditions will gradually be created for closing up all these gaps. If we do not act in this way, but instead call for the consolidation, extension and strengthening of bourgeois right and the partial inequality it entails, the inevitable result will be polarization, i.e., in the matter of distribution a small number of people will appropriate increasing amounts of commodities and money through some legal and many illegal ways; stimulated by “material incentives” of this kind, capitalist ideas of making a fortune and craving personal fame and gain will spread unchecked; phenomena like the turning of public property into private property, speculation, graft and corruption, theft and bribery will increase; the capitalist principle of the exchange of commodities will make its way into political and even into Party life, undermining the socialist planned economy; acts of capitalist exploitation such as the conversion of commodities and money into capital, and labour power into a commodity, will occur; changes in the nature of the ownership will take place in certain departments and units which follow the revisionist line; and instances of oppression and exploitation of the labouring people will arise again. As a result, a small number of new bourgeois elements and upstarts who have totally betrayed the proletariat and the labouring people will emerge from among the Party members, workers, well-to-do peasants and personnel of state and other organs. As our worker-comrades have aptly put it, “If bourgeois right is not restricted, it will restrict the development of socialism and promote the growth of capitalism.” When the economic strength of the bourgeoisie has grown to a certain extent, its agents will demand political rule, demand the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, demand a complete changeover from socialist ownership, and openly restore and develop the capitalist system. Once in power, the new bourgeoisie will start with sanguinary

suppression of the people and restoration of capitalism in the superstructure, including all spheres of ideology and culture; then they will conduct distribution to each according to how much or little capital and power he has, so that the principle of "to each according to his work" will become an empty shell, and the handful of new bourgeois elements monopolizing the means of production will at the same time monopolize the power of distributing consumer goods and other products. Such is the process of restoration that has already occurred in the Soviet Union.

Many instances of how the Lin Piao anti-Party clique scrupled at nothing to amass riches, insatiably pursued the bourgeois way of life and used bourgeois right to do all kinds of sinister and ugly things not bearing the light of day have been exposed and subjected to criticism. Even more illustrative is their programme for a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, *Outline of "Project 571,"* in which the Lin Piao anti-Party clique made use precisely of the ideology of bourgeois right to abet or incite certain persons from different classes to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, the class interests represented by this programme, apart from those of the old bourgeoisie, are precisely the interests of a number of new bourgeois elements and the few people who want to use bourgeois right to develop capitalism. This explains why their programme directed its attack against Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and why it showed particular hatred for the restrictions placed on bourgeois right by the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique slandered the practice of office personnel going to May 7th cadre schools as "unemployment in disguise"; they vilified the simplification of administrative structures, and bringing them closer to the masses, as a blow at the cadres. They held that cadres should be overlords sitting on the backs of the people and hence considered them "unemployed" the minute they took part in collective productive labour. All this was designed to incite a section of the office workers—those who wished to extend bourgeois right and be officials and overlords or those seriously infected with the bourgeois style of life—to oppose the Party's line and the socialist system.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique slanderously alleged that when intellectuals integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and go to the countryside, that is "reform through forced labour in another guise." Young people, full of vigour and imbued with communist consciousness, have been going, group after group, to the countryside. This is a great undertaking of far-reaching significance for narrowing the three major differences and restricting bourgeois right. All revolutionary people laud it with enthusiasm, but those corrupted by bour-

geois ideology, and particularly those manacled by the ideology of bourgeois right, oppose it. Whether the integration of educated young people with the workers and peasants is persisted in or not has a direct bearing on whether the revolution in university education can be carried forward along the road blazed by the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, i.e., the students not only come from among the workers and peasants but, after graduation, return to their midst. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique's special hatred for this practice laid bare not only its antagonism towards the labouring people, but also its use of bourgeois right to attack the Party, by inciting some of the people deeply influenced by the ideology of bourgeois right into opposing the socialist revolution. This clique's programme was aimed at widening the gap between town and country and between manual and mental labour, and turning educated young people into a new elite stratum; through such means it sought to win the support of persons deeply influenced by the ideology of bourgeois right for its counter-revolutionary coup d'etat.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique smeared as "subjection to exploitation in disguise" the communist spirit displayed by the working class in criticizing the "material incentives" of the revisionists. Lin Piao was a fanatical advocate of "material incentive." In his sinister notebook he wrote such revisionist trash as "material incentive is still necessary," "materialism—material incentive," "inducements: official posts, emoluments, favour." Moreover, a principal member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique wrote that "the principle of 'to each according to his work' and of material benefit" was "the decisive motive force" in promoting production. On the surface, they advocated using money as an "incentive" for the workers; actually they wanted to widen without limit the differences in grade among the workers in order to cultivate and buy over a small section of the working class, turn it into a privileged stratum which would betray the proletarian dictatorship and the proletariat's interests, and thus split the unity of the working class. They tried to corrupt the workers with the bourgeois world outlook and to use the small number of workers deeply influenced by the ideology of bourgeois right as one of the forces supporting their opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Lin Piao clique attached "particular importance" to using "wages" to lure "young workers," and its "inducements: official posts, emoluments, favour" represented a sinister plot. All this shows us, by negative example, that young workers, and particularly those who have become cadres, must consciously reject the material inducements of the bourgeoisie and all the blandishments of the ideology of bourgeois right. They must maintain and bring into play the revolutionary communist spirit of valiant struggle for the complete emancipation of the proletariat and all humanity.

and strive to arm themselves with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook; and never must they allow themselves to be dazzled and dizzied by the glittering world of commodities, exchange through money, vulgar flattery, sycophancy and factionalism, lest they should be deceived by political swindlers like Lin Piao or by the landlord and bourgeois elements in society. Under the cloak of "showing concern" for the young workers, these persons are actually putting out "incentives" to lure them onto the capitalist road, and hence can be termed political "abettors of crime." The inexperienced newly engendered bourgeois elements break the law openly while cunning old-time bourgeois elements direct them from behind the scenes—this is often observed in the class struggle in society today. In handling corrupted young people who have committed crimes we concentrate especially on hitting at their abettors behind the scenes. We must keep on with this policy. A number of young workers who take a clear-cut stand in the fight against bourgeois corruption have come to the fore in current struggles; to them we must give support, and we must sum up their experience gained in the struggle.

Moreover, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique alleged that the peasants "lack food and clothing," that "the living standards" of cadres in the armed forces "are deteriorating," and that the Red Guards who displayed the spirit of daring to think, speak, blaze the trail, act and make revolution in the criticism of the bourgeoisie during the great Cultural Revolution were "being hoodwinked and used" . . . In all these vilifications, its aim was to totally negate the socialist system and the Party's mass line, negate the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, extend bourgeois right and restore capitalism. By spreading the slander that the peasants "lack food and clothing," it aimed at inciting the peasants to "eat up and divide everything" in order to undermine and liquidate the socialist collective economy. If things were done along this line, a small number of people would turn into the new bourgeoisie while the overwhelming majority would fall prey to capitalist exploitation. In short, the situation yearned for by the landlords, the rich peasants and the section of the well-to-do middle peasants taking the capitalist road in the countryside would come to pass.

By now we can see what Lin Piao's so-called "building of genuine socialism" amounted to. In reality it was the extension of bourgeois right under the signboard of socialism, aimed at enabling the new bourgeois elements and certain factions and groupings intent on going the capitalist road, in collusion with the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes, to "have everything under their command and everything at their disposal," to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism. Lin Piao and his like were their political represen-

tatives. The programme advanced by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique in *Outline of "Project 571"* did not drop from the skies, nor was it innate in the minds of those who described themselves as "super-geniuses"; it was a reflection of social being. To be exact, this clique, proceeding from its reactionary bourgeois stand, reflected the demands of the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists—who account for only a few per cent of the population—and also the demand of the small number of new bourgeois elements and persons intent on utilizing bourgeois right to become new bourgeois elements. On the other hand, it opposed the demand of the revolutionary people, who make up more than 90 per cent of the population, for adherence to the socialist road. This clique used idealist apriorism to oppose the materialist theory of reflection; however, the materialist theory of reflection must be employed to explain how its counter-revolutionary ideology came into being.

Why would it be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to rig up the capitalist system if they come to power? Simply because in our socialist society classes and class struggle still exist, and so do the soil and conditions that engender capitalism. In order to gradually reduce this soil and these conditions all the way to their final elimination, we must persevere in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only through the firm and indomitable efforts of several generations can this task be accomplished by the vanguard of the proletariat guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It requires that we adhere to the Party's basic line, enhance the political consciousness of the working class, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, unite all forces that can be united with, unite and lead the masses of revolutionary people to consciously remould their own world outlook in the fight against class enemies and in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. It requires that we consolidate and extend socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people, prevent the restoration of the bourgeois right that has already been liquidated in the system of ownership, and continue to fulfill, gradually and over a fairly long period of time, the still unfulfilled part of the task of transformation of ownership; and with regard to the two other aspects of the relations of production, namely, the mutual relations between people and the relations of distribution, it requires that we restrict bourgeois right, criticize the ideology of bourgeois right and continually weaken the basis that engenders capitalism. It requires that we persevere in the revolution in the superstructure, deepen our criticism of revisionism and of the bourgeoisie and achieve the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

In his talks given during an inspection tour of various places in the country in August and September 1971, Chairman Mao said: "We have been singing *The Internationale* for 50 years, yet on 10 occasions certain people inside our Party tried to split it. As I see it, this may happen another 10, 20 or 30 times. You don't believe it? You may not believe it. Anyhow I do. Will there be no struggle when we get to communism? I just don't believe it. There will be struggles even then, but only between the new and the old, between what is correct and what is incorrect. Tens of thousands of years from now, what is wrong still won't get by, it won't stand up." Lenin said, "Yes, by overthrowing the landlords and bourgeoisie we cleared the way but we did not build the edifice of socialism. On the ground cleared of one bourgeois generation, new generations continually appear in history, as long as the ground gives rise to them, and it does give rise to any number of bourgeois. As for those who look at the victory over the capitalists in the way that the petty proprietors look at it—'they grabbed, let me have a go too'—indeed, every one of them is the source of a new generation of bourgeois." Here Lenin discussed the protracted nature of class struggle in society; and Chairman Mao discusses the protracted nature of the two-line struggle which arises in the Party as a reflection of this class struggle. Through this class struggle, and this two-line struggle, we must continually defeat the bourgeoisie and its agents working for revisionism and for a split and engaging in intrigue and conspiracy; only thus can we gradually create the conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or arise anew, and finally achieve the abolition of classes. Such is the great cause we must work to accomplish during the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The new bourgeois elements who arise as a result of corrosion by bourgeois ideas and the existence of bourgeois right generally have the political traits of double-dealers and upstarts. In order to carry out capitalist activities under the dictatorship of the proletariat, they invariably display some sort of socialist signboard; and since the aim of their restorationist activities is not to seize back means of production of which they have been dispossessed but to grab hold of the means of production which they have never possessed, they are particularly greedy and anxious to swallow at one gulp the wealth belonging to the whole people or to the collective, and transfer it to their private ownership. Such were the political traits of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. "Exactly like the Chungshan wolf, most fierce when he attains his wish." These two lines from the novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, describing how one of its characters, Sun Shao-tsu, "changed amazingly according to circumstance" and finally emerged as a vicious brute, just fit the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. Before Lin Piao was in a position

to "attain his wish," that is, before he got hold of part of the political and economic power, he employed counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics to cheat the Party and the masses, and misused the might of the mass movement for his own ends; to do this, he did not hesitate to put up a revolutionary signboard and shout revolutionary slogans while at the same time distorting them. Analysing the inner world of Lin Piao and his gang, Chairman Mao wrote in a letter early in the great Cultural Revolution, "**I guess their real intention is to make use of a Chung Kuei to fight the ghosts.**" [Chung Kuei, a legendary character, was said to have the power to drive away ghosts.] This was straight to the point. They were making use of "a brick to knock open the door," after which they would no longer need it and would brutally get rid of it. Acting the counter-revolutionary double-dealers, opposing the red flag by waving red flags, "speaking nice things to your face but stabbing you in the back," or, by the confession of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique itself, "waving Chairman Mao's banner to strike at Chairman Mao's forces"—these are but different ways of describing the same way of acting. The moment the Lin Piao anti-Party clique thought, to use its members' own words, that "after several years of preparation, the ideological, organizational and military level has been raised considerably and an ideological and material foundation has been laid to a certain extent," it decided to act "most fiercely." In the units and departments it dominated and controlled, it turned socialist public ownership into private ownership by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. More and more openly it exposed its political ambitions which were bound to grow the more it "attained its wish," just as the avarice of the bourgeoisie knows no bounds and grows with the accumulation of capital. In analysing the bourgeois, Marx said, "**As capitalist, he is only capitalist personified. His soul is the soul of capital.**" Likewise, the soul of Lin Piao, a bourgeois agent inside the Party, was nothing but the soul of the bourgeoisie, both the old, toppled but dreaming of a comeback, and the new, coming into being and vainly attempting to rule. Through class analysis, the root cause of the perverse, counter-revolutionary political activities of Lin Piao and his gang is revealed quite clearly: In all their dirty actions—preaching the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, betraying the Party and the Chinese people, and going over to the side of social-imperialism—they were following in the footsteps of the Chinese comprador-bourgeoisie which had worshipped Confucius and betrayed the country; and the counter-revolutionary coup d'état they so feverishly plotted was a mere repetition of the method the bourgeoisie of many countries has used innumerable times and employs to this day.

Our task is: on the one hand to gradually dig away the soil breeding

the bourgeoisie and capitalism, and, on the other, to be able promptly to see through the new bourgeois like Lin Piao when they appear or are still emerging. That is why the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is so important. If we depart from the guidance of Marxism, we cannot accomplish this dual task; moreover, when a revisionist trend surfaces, we are likely to be taken in and even blindly board the pirate craft because of the ideology of bourgeois right in our own minds or because of lack of discernment. If this were not so, why did some people follow a revisionist line whenever it emerged? Why could Lin Piao and company deceive people at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party by resorting to idealism plus raising a hullabaloo. Why could those words of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, aimed so nakedly at splitting the Party and overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat, find a market among a small number of cadres? Why could the "fleets," big and small, openly resort to such methods as wining and dining, making presents and promising official posts and other favours as a means of luring people into their clique, and carrying out factional and conspiratorial activities? Why did they write into their sinister notes and actually employ as a tactic in their counter-revolutionary activities such trash as "using expertise to cover up politics"? There is a profound lesson here. In opposing the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique in 1959, Chairman Mao pointed out that "**at present, the main danger is empiricism,**" and that, therefore, we should read and study conscientiously. In the past decade and more, Chairman Mao has recommended this many times. He has stressed that senior and intermediate Party cadres, and first of all the members of the Party Central Committee, "**should all conscientiously read and study according to their different circumstances and have a good grasp of Marxism.**" He also stresses that "**in the next few years, special attention should be paid to the propagation of the Marxist-Leninist classics.**" After the collapse of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao said once more. "**I formally advise comrades to do some reading.**" And recently he again stressed this when discussing the dictatorship of the proletariat. How heartening are these earnest and significant teachings! All comrades in the Party, and especially the high-ranking cadres, must get a grasp on conscientious study and reading as a matter of cardinal importance in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. First of all, they must study well themselves and gain a clear understanding of the theses and main works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and of Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat, strive to elucidate the question by integrating theory with practice and rid themselves, both ideologically and in action, of the bourgeois ideas and style of work which are divorced from the

masses, so as to identify themselves with the masses, really become promoters of the new emerging socialist things, become good at discerning corrosion by capitalism and dare to resist it. We must inherit and carry forward our Party's glorious tradition of plain living and arduous struggle which has been developed over the past decades. We must investigate the situation and study policy, including economic policy. It is imperative that we persist in adhering to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war, a principle which has proved its effectiveness in practice. Attention should be paid to distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions and dealing accurately-aimed and powerful blows at the very small number of bad elements; as regards the bourgeois influence among the masses, we should overcome it by applying the formula "**unity, criticism, unity**"—mainly by such methods as studying and raising awareness, supporting advanced things that stand in firm opposition to capitalism, recalling the past and contrasting it with the present as well as by persuading and educating people and making criticism and self-criticism, and in these ways uniting 95 per cent of the cadres and of the masses. In criticizing capitalist tendencies, it is necessary to create public opinion, win over the majority, awaken their consciousness and give them active guidance. As for the few who have sunk deep into the quagmire of capitalism, they must be told sharply, "Comrades, mend your ways right now!"

As was pointed out at the beginning of this article, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was extremely isolated among the people of the whole country. In tracing its emergence to its class roots, we have pointed to the soil and conditions which produced it. Having stated this aspect of the matter, we must also point out that the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was in essence very feeble; like all reactionaries, it was a mere paper tiger. All the counter-revolutionary activities of this clique constituted a record only of defeat and impasse, not of victory. The socialist system is bound to replace the capitalist system and communism is bound to triumph throughout the world; this is an objective law independent of man's will. Socialist society is born out of the old society; it "**is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth-marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges.**" This is not strange. The history of the past 25 years tells us that so long as we uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and adhere to the line, principles and policies for the socialist revolution which Chairman Mao has laid down for us, we shall be able to smash the resistance put up by the class enemies, erase these birth-marks step by step and continually win fresh victories. The pres-

ent excellent situation, marked by the ever greater prosperity of our socialist cause, is in sharp contrast to the plight of imperialism and social-imperialism which are disintegrating internally and beset with difficulties at home and abroad. Chairman Mao's latest instructions on theory will certainly enable us, both in theory and in practice, to gain a better understanding of the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ways to accomplish them; it will help greatly to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the socialist revolution, spur the development of socialist construction and promote nationwide stability and unity. The Communists of China are full of confidence, and so are the proletariat and the revolutionary people of our country. United as one and high in spirit, they are fighting under the Party's leadership to oppose and prevent revisionism. The history of the Chinese revolution is the history of the revolutionary people advancing to victory through tortuous struggles, and it is a history of the reactionaries descending to their doom through repeated trials of strength. As Chairman Mao has summed it up, "**In China, since the overthrow of the emperor in 1911, no reactionary has been able to stay in power long. The one who has ruled longest (Chiang Kai-shek) did so for only 20 years, but he, too, fell once the people rose in revolt. Chiang Kai-shek climbed to power by taking advantage of Sun Yat-sen's trust in him and by running the Whampoa Academy and gathering a big bunch of reactionaries around him. As soon as he turned against the Communist Party, practically the whole landlord class and bourgeoisie came to his support. Moreover, the Communist Party was inexperienced at the time. So, he gleefully gained ascendancy for a while. In those 20 years, however, he never achieved unification. There were the war between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the wars between the Kuomintang and the various warlord cliques, the Sino-Japanese war and, finally, the four years of large-scale civil war, which sent him scampering off to a cluster of islands. If the Rightists stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population.**" "**The conclusion is still the two familiar comments: The future is bright; the road is tortuous.**" Let us advance courageously in the direction and along the road pointed out by Chairman Mao!

TEXT 19

ON EXERCISING ALL-ROUND DICTATORSHIP OVER THE BOURGEOISIE

Chang Chun-chiao

Quotations from Chairman Mao

Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.

Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works.

Lenin said that “small production *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.” They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life.

* * *

The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat has long been the focus of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. Lenin said, “Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.” And it is precisely to enable us to go by Marxism and not revisionism in both theory and practice that Chairman Mao calls on the whole nation to get clear on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. .

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Our country is in an important period of its historical development. As a result of more than two decades of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and particularly of the liquidation of the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our proletarian dictatorship is more consolidated than ever, and our socialist cause is thriving. Full of militancy, all our people are determined to build China into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century. In the course of this effort and in the entire historical period of socialism, whether we can persevere all the way in the dictatorship of the proletariat is a cardinal issue for China's future development. Current class struggles, too, require that we should get clear on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao says, "**Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism.**" It won't do if only a few people grasp the point; it must "**be made known to the whole nation.**" The present and long-range importance of success in this study cannot be overestimated.

As early as 1920, Lenin, basing himself on practical experience in leading the Great October Socialist Revolution and directing the first state of proletarian dictatorship, pointed out sharply, "**The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential.**" Lenin pointed out that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society, that it means all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Lenin stressed time and again that it is impossible to triumph over the bourgeoisie without exercising a protracted, all-round dictatorship over it. These words of Lenin's, especially those he underscored, have been confirmed by practice in subsequent years. Sure enough, new bourgeois elements have been engendered batch after batch, and it is precisely the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique that is their representative. These people generally have a good class background; almost all of them were brought up under the red flag; they have joined the Communist Party organizationally, received college training and become so-called red experts.

However, they are new poisonous weeds engendered by the old soil of capitalism. They have betrayed their own class, usurped Party and state power, restored capitalism, become chieftains of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, and accomplished what Hitler had tried to do but failed. Never should we forget this experience of history in which “the satellites went up to the sky while the red flag fell to the ground,” especially not at this time when we are determined to build a powerful country.

We must be soberly aware that there is still a danger of China turning revisionist. This is not only because imperialism and social-imperialism will never give up aggression and subversion against us, not only because China's old landlords and capitalists are still around and unreconciled to their defeat, but also because new bourgeois elements are **being engendered** daily and hourly, as Lenin put it. Some comrades argue that Lenin was referring to the situation before collectivization. This is obviously incorrect. Lenin's remarks are not out of date at all. These comrades may look up Chairman Mao's *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* published in 1957. There Chairman Mao shows by concrete analysis that after the basic victory in the socialist transformation of the system of ownership, which includes the achievement of agricultural co-operation, there still exist in China classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and there still exist both harmony and contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Having summed up the new experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat after Lenin, Chairman Mao gave systematic answers to various questions arising after the change in the system of ownership, set forth the tasks and policies of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and laid the theoretical basis for the Party's basic line and for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Practice in the past 18 years, particularly in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has proved that the theory, line and policies advanced by Chairman Mao are entirely correct.

Chairman Mao pointed out recently, “**In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed.**” In order to gain a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's instruction, let us look at the changes in the system of ownership in China and the proportions of the various economic sectors in China's industry, agriculture and commerce in 1973.

First, industry. Industry under ownership by the whole people

covered 97 per cent of the fixed assets of industry as a whole, 63 per cent of the people engaged in industry, and 86 per cent of the value of total industrial output. Industry under collective ownership covered 3 per cent of the fixed assets, 36.2 per cent of the people engaged in industry, and 14 per cent of the total output value. Besides these, individual handicraftsmen made up 0.8 per cent of the people engaged in industry.

Next, agriculture. Among the agricultural means of production, about 90 per cent of the farmland and of the irrigation-drainage machinery and about 80 per cent of the tractors and draught animals were under collective ownership. Here ownership by the whole people made up a very small proportion. Hence, over 90 per cent of the nation's grain and various industrial crops came from the collective economy. The state farms accounted for only a small proportion. Apart from these, there still remained the small plots farmed by commune members for their personal needs, and a limited amount of household side-line production.

Then commerce. State commerce accounted for 92.5 per cent of the total volume of retail sales, collectively owned commercial enterprises for 7.3 per cent, and individual pedlars for 0.2 per cent. Apart from these, there still remained the sizable amount of trade conducted at rural fairs.

The above figures show that socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people have indeed won a great victory in China. The dominant position of ownership by the whole people has been greatly enhanced and there have also been some changes in the economy of the people's communes as regards the proportions of ownership at the three levels—commune, production brigade and production team. On Shanghai's outskirts, for example, income at the commune level in proportion to total income rose from 28.1 per cent in 1973 to 30.5 per cent in 1974, that of the brigades rose from 15.2 per cent to 17.2 per cent, while the proportion going to the teams dropped from 56.7 per cent to 52.3 per cent. The people's commune has demonstrated ever more clearly its superiority, consisting in its larger size and higher degree of public ownership. In so far as we have, step by step in the past 25 years, eliminated ownership by imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism and feudalism, transformed ownership by national capitalism and by individual labourers and replaced these five kinds of private ownership with the two kinds of socialist public ownership, we can proudly declare that the system of ownership in China has changed, that the proletariat and other working people in China have in the main freed themselves from the shackles of private ownership, and that China's socialist economic base has been gradually

consolidated and developed. The Constitution adopted by the Fourth National People's Congress specifically records these great victories of ours.

However, we must see that with respect to the system of ownership the issue is not yet fully settled. We often say that the issue of ownership "has in the main been settled"; this means that it has not been settled entirely, and also that bourgeois right has not been totally abolished in this realm. The statistics cited above show that private ownership still exists partially in industry, agriculture and commerce, that socialist public ownership does not consist entirely of ownership by the whole people but includes two kinds of ownership, and that ownership by the whole people is still rather weak in agriculture, which is the foundation of the national economy. The disappearance of bourgeois right in the realm of the system of ownership in a socialist society, as conceived by Marx and Lenin, implies the conversion of all the means of production into the common property of the whole of society. Clearly we have not yet reached that stage. Neither in theory nor in practice should we overlook the very arduous tasks that lie ahead for the dictatorship of the proletariat in this respect.

Moreover, we must see that both ownership by the whole people and collective ownership involve the question of leadership, that is, the question of which class holds the ownership in fact and not just in name.

Speaking at the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party on April 28, 1969, Chairman Mao said, "**A**pparently, we couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our base was not solid. From my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority—leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people in the leadership of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among the Party branch secretaries. But they followed that line of Liu Shao-chi's, just resorting to material incentive, putting profit in command, and instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth." "But there are indeed bad people in the factories." "This shows that the revolution is still unfinished." Chairman Mao's remarks not only explain the necessity for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution but also help us be more aware that in the problem of the system of ownership, as in all others, we should pay attention not only to its form but also to its actual content. It is perfectly correct for people to give full weight to the decisive role of the system of ownership in the relations of production. But it is incorrect to give no weight to

whether the issue of ownership has been resolved merely in form or in actual fact, to the reaction upon the system of ownership exerted by the two other aspects of the relations of production—the relations among people and the form of distribution—and to the reaction upon the economic base exerted by the superstructure; these two aspects and the superstructure may play a decisive role under given conditions. Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. Whether the ideological and political line is correct or incorrect, and which class holds the leadership, decides which class owns those factories in actual fact. Comrades may recall how we turned any enterprise owned by bureaucrat capital or national capital into a socialist enterprise. Didn't we do the job by sending a military-control representative or a state representative there to transform it according to the Party's line and policies? Historically, every major change in the system of ownership, be it the replacement of slavery by the feudal system or of feudalism by capitalism, was invariably preceded by the seizure of political power, which was then used to effect large-scale change in the system of ownership and consolidate and develop the new system. Even more is this the case with socialist public ownership which cannot be born under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Bureaucrat capital, which controlled 80 per cent of the industry in old China, could be transformed and placed under ownership by the whole people only after the People's Liberation Army had defeated Chiang Kai-shek. Similarly, a capitalist restoration is inevitably preceded by the seizure of leadership and a change in the line and policies of the Party. Wasn't this the way Khrushchov and Brezhnev changed the system of ownership in the Soviet Union? Wasn't this the way Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao changed the nature of a number of our factories and other enterprises to varying degrees?

Also, we must see that what we are practising today is a commodity system. Chairman Mao says, "**Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system.**" This state of affairs which Chairman Mao pinpointed cannot be changed in a short period. For instance in the rural people's communes on the outskirts of Shanghai where the economy at the commune and production brigade levels has developed at a rather fast pace, commune ownership accounts for 34.2 per cent of the fixed assets owned at all three levels, and brigade ownership accounts for only 15.1 per cent, while ownership by the production teams still occupies 50.7 per cent of the whole. Therefore, even if we take economic conditions in the communes alone, it will require a fairly long time to effect the transition

from the team as the basic accounting unit to the brigade and then to the commune. Moreover, even when the commune becomes the basic accounting unit, the ownership will still be collective. Thus, in the short term, there will be no basic change in the situation in which ownership by the whole people and collective ownership co-exist. So long as we still have these two kinds of ownership, commodity production, exchange through money and distribution according to work are inevitable. And since "**under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted,**" the growth of capitalist factors in town and country and the emergence of new bourgeois elements are likewise inevitable. If such things are not restricted, capitalism and the bourgeoisie will grow more rapidly. Therefore, on no account should we relax our vigilance just because we have won a great victory in the transformation of the system of ownership and carried out one Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must realize that our economic base is not yet solid, that bourgeois right has not yet been abolished entirely in the system of ownership, and that it still exists to a serious extent in the relations among people and holds a dominant position in distribution. In the various spheres of the superstructure, some areas are in fact still controlled by the bourgeoisie which has the upper hand there; some are being transformed but the results are not yet consolidated, and old ideas and the old force of habit are still stubbornly obstructing the growth of socialist new things. New bourgeois elements are engendered, batch after batch, in the wake of the development of capitalist factors in town and country. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. Even when all the landlords and capitalists of the old generation have died, such class struggles will by no means come to a stop, and a bourgeois restoration may still occur if people like Lin Piao come to power. In his speech *The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan*, Chairman Mao described how in 1936, near the site of the Party Central Committee in Pao-an, there was a fortified village held by a handful of armed counter-revolutionaries who obstinately refused to surrender until the Red Army stormed into it to settle the problem. This story has a universal significance, for it tells us: "**Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. It is like sweeping the floor; where the broom does not reach, the dust never vanishes of itself.**" Today there are still many "fortified villages" held by the bourgeoisie; when one is destroyed, another will spring up, and even if all have been destroyed except one, it will not vanish of itself if the iron

broom of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not reach it. Lenin was entirely correct in saying, “**For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential.**”

Historical experience shows us that whether the proletariat can triumph over the bourgeoisie and whether China will turn revisionist hinges on whether we can persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all spheres and at all stages of development of the revolution. What is all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? The most succinct generalization is found in a passage from a letter Marx wrote in 1852 to J. Weydemeyer, which we are all studying. Marx said, “*...no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle of the classes, and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.*” In this splendid observation, Lenin said, Marx succeeded in expressing with striking clarity the chief and radical difference between his theory on the state and that of the bourgeoisie, and the essence of his teaching on the state. Here it should be noted that Marx divided the sentence on the dictatorship of the proletariat into three points, which are interrelated and cannot be cut apart. It is impermissible to accept only one of the three points while rejecting the other two. For the sentence gives complete expression to the entire process of the inception, development and withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat and covers the whole task of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its actual content. In *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*, Marx deals in more specific terms with this dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of **class distinctions generally**, to the abolition of **all the relations of production** on which they rest, to the abolition of **all the social relations** that correspond to these relations of production, and to the revolutionizing of **all the ideas** that result from these social relations. In all the four cases, Marx means **all**. Not a part, a greater part, or even the greatest part, but **all!** This is nothing surprising, for only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. The only way to attain this goal is to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end, until the above-mentioned four **alls** are banished from the earth so that it will be im-

possible for the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to exist or for new ones to arise; we definitely must not call a halt along the path of the **transition**. In our view, only those who understand the matter this way can be deemed to have grasped the essence of Marx's teaching on the state. Comrades, please think it over: If the matter is not understood in this way, if Marxism is limited, curtailed and distorted in theory and practice, if the dictatorship of the proletariat is turned into an empty phrase, or all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is crippled by amputation and exercised only in some spheres but not in all, or only at a certain stage (for instance, before the transformation of the system of ownership) but not at all stages, or in other words, if not all of the "fortified villages" of the bourgeoisie are destroyed but some are left, allowing the bourgeoisie to expand again, doesn't this mean preparing the conditions for bourgeois restoration? Doesn't it mean turning the dictatorship of the proletariat into a thing that protects the bourgeoisie, particularly the newly engendered bourgeoisie? All workers, all poor and lower-middle peasants and other working people who refuse to be plunged back into suffering and woe, all Communists who have dedicated their lives to the struggle for communism, and all comrades who do not want China to turn revisionist, must firmly bear in mind this basic principle of Marxism: It is imperative to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and absolutely impermissible to give it up half-way. There are undeniably some comrades among us who have joined the Communist Party organizationally but not ideologically. In their world outlook they have not yet over-stepped the bounds of small production and of the bourgeoisie. They do approve of the dictatorship of the proletariat at a certain stage and within a certain sphere and are pleased with certain victories of the proletariat, because they will bring them some gains; once they have secured their gains, they feel it's time to settle down and feather their cosy nests. As for exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, as for going on after the first step on the 10,000-*li* long march, sorry, let others do the job; here is my stop and I must get off the bus. We would like to offer a piece of advice to these comrades: It's dangerous to stop half-way! The bourgeoisie is beckoning to you. Catch up with the ranks and continue to advance!

Historical experience also teaches us that, as the dictatorship of the proletariat wins one victory after another, the bourgeoisie may pretend on the surface to accept this dictatorship while in reality it continues to work to restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is exactly what Khrushchov and Brezhnev have done. They changed neither the name "Soviet," nor the name of the party of Lenin, nor the name "socialist republics." But, accepting these names and using them as a cover, they

have gutted the dictatorship of the proletariat of its actual content and turned it into a dictatorship of the monopoly capitalist class that is anti-Soviet, opposed to the party of Lenin and opposed to the socialist republics. They put forward the revisionist programme of "the state of the whole people" and "party of the entire people," which is an open betrayal of Marxism. But when the Soviet people stand up against their fascist dictatorship, they hoist the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to suppress the masses. Similar things have happened in China. Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao did not limit themselves to spreading the theory of the dying out of class struggle; they, too, flaunted the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat while suppressing the revolution. Didn't Lin Piao preach his four "never forgets"? One of them was "never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat." Indeed that was something he "never forgot," only the words "to overthrow" need inserting to make it into "never forget to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat," or as confessed by his own gang, "wave Chairman Mao's banner to strike at Chairman Mao's forces." At times they trimmed their sails to the proletariat and even pretended to be more revolutionary than anyone else, raising "Left" slogans to create confusion and carry out sabotage, but they were usually waging a direct counter-struggle against the proletariat. You wanted to carry out socialist transformation? They said the new democratic order had to be consolidated. You wanted to organize co-operatives and communes? They said it was too early to do that. When you said literature and art should be revolutionized, they said it would do no harm to stage a few plays about ghosts. You wanted to restrict bourgeois right? They said it was an excellent thing indeed and should be extended. They are a bunch of past masters at defending old things and, like a swarm of flies, buzz all day long over the "birth marks" and "defects" of the old society referred to by Marx. They are particularly keen on taking advantage of the inexperience of our young people to boost material incentive to them, saying that like strong bean-curd cheese, it stinks but tastes fine. And they invariably wave the banner of socialism while carrying on these dirty tricks. Aren't there some scoundrels who, engaging in speculation, graft and theft, say that they are promoting socialist co-operation? Don't some instigators of crime who poison the minds of young people hoist the banner of "care and love for the successors to the cause of communism"? We must study their tactics and sum up our experience so as to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie more effectively.

"Are you out to stir up a wind of 'communization'?" To fabricate rumours by posing such a question is a tactic which some persons have resorted to recently. We can give a definite answer: The wind of "com-

munization" as stirred up by Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta shall never be allowed to blow again. We have always held that, instead of having too much in the way of commodities, our country has not yet a sufficient abundance of them. So long as the communes cannot yet offer much to be "communized" along with what the production brigades and teams would bring in, and enterprises under ownership by the whole people cannot offer a great abundance of products for distribution to each according to his needs among our 800 million people, we will have to continue practising commodity production, exchange through money and distribution according to work. We have taken and will continue to take proper measures to curb the harm caused by these things. The dictatorship of the proletariat is dictatorship by the masses. We are confident that under the leadership of the Party, the broad masses have the strength and the ability to fight against the bourgeoisie and finally vanquish it. Old China was a vast sea of small production. Conducting socialist education among several hundred million peasants is a serious question at all times and requires the endeavor of several generations. But among the several hundred million peasants, the poor and lower-middle peasants form the majority, and they know from practice that the only path to the bright future for them is to follow the Communist Party and keep on along the socialist road. Our Party has relied upon them to forge unity with the middle peasants for the step-by-step advance from mutual-aid teams to the elementary and advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives and then to the people's communes, and we can surely lead them in further advance.

We would rather call the attention of comrades to the fact that it is another kind of wind that is now blowing—the "bourgeois wind." This is the bourgeois style of life Chairman Mao has pointed to, an evil wind stirred up by those "parts" of the people who have degenerated into bourgeois elements. The "bourgeois wind" blowing from among those Communists, particularly leading cadres, who belong to these "parts," does us the greatest of harm. Poisoned by this evil wind, some people have got their heads full of bourgeois ideas; they scramble for position and gain and feel proud of this, instead of being ashamed. Some have sunk to the point of looking at everything as a commodity, themselves included. They join the Communist Party and go to work for the proletariat merely for the sake of upgrading themselves as commodities and asking the proletariat for a higher price. Those who are Communists in name but new bourgeois elements in reality exhibit the features of the decadent and moribund bourgeoisie as a whole. Historically, when the slave-owning, landlord and capitalist classes were in the ascendancy, they did some things of benefit to mankind. But today's new bourgeois elements are heading in the opposite direc-

tion to their forefathers. They are nothing but a heap of "new" garbage that can only harm mankind. Among the rumour-mongers about a wind of "communization" being stirred up, some are new bourgeois elements who have taken public property into their private possession and fear that the people will "communize" it again; others want to use the chance to grab something for themselves. These people have a better nose than many of our comrades. Some of our comrades say that study is an "elastic" task that can yield precedence to others, whereas these people have sensed by instinct that the present study is an "inelastic" matter gravely confronting both classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Indeed they themselves may deliberately stir up some wind of "communization," or take over one of our own slogans in order to confuse the two different types of contradictions and play some unexpected trick. This is worth watching.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the mighty army of the proletarian revolution formed by China's masses in their hundreds of millions is striding vigorously forward. We have 25 years of practical experience in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as all the international experience since the Paris Commune, and so long as the few hundred members of our Party Central Committee and the several thousand senior cadres take the lead and join the vast numbers of other cadres and the masses in reading and studying assiduously, carrying on investigation and analysis and summing up experience, we can certainly translate Chairman Mao's call into reality, gain clarity on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and ensure our country's triumphant advance along the course charted by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. "**The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.**" This infinitely bright prospect will surely continue to inspire growing numbers of awakened workers and other working people and their vanguard, the Communists, to keep to the Party's basic line, persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end! The extinction of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and the victory of communism are inevitable, certain and independent of man's will.

TEXT 20

FIGHTING WITH THE PEN AND STEEL ROD

Workers in our plant often have said: "We should shoulder the dual responsibility of using both the pen and the steel rod in battle." That is to say, we should carry out revolutionary mass criticism with the pen and produce more and better steel with the rod.

Through mass criticism, the Marxist-Leninist theoretical level of our plant's workers and cadres has been steadily raised, their ability in distinguishing Marxism from revisionism has been increased and their enthusiasm for building socialism has soared to greater heights. The battle with the steel rod also has scored successes. With no increase in major buildings, equipment and staff, annual steel output in our plant is now double that of 1965, the year prior to the start of the Great Cultural Revolution. Varieties and specifications of rolled steel have risen to 11,800 as against 1,800 in the same period.

Spurred on by the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat this year, our plant has made further progress. Compared with the corresponding period last year, output of steel, rolled steel and new products from January to July increased 8.83, 6.4 and 30 per cent respectively.

Facts are eloquent proof of the correctness of Chairman Mao's principle of "**grasping revolution, promoting production.**"

Revolution Means Liberating Productive Forces

Marxism holds that revolution means liberating the productive forces and promoting their development. The Chinese people have in the last 26 years turned the poor and backward old China into a socialist country with the beginnings of prosperity by relying on their own efforts. Take iron and steel production for instance. Our plant's annual output has outstripped the highest yearly mark for the whole of old China; Shanghai's daily output now is far more than the annual output in all of old Shanghai. How could the productive forces have expanded so swiftly? The answer is the Chinese people have, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, carried out a thoroughgoing democratic revolution, overthrown the rule of imperialism, feudalism and

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bureaucrat-capitalism, and since then carried on the ever-deepening socialist revolution.

Our plant was born in a revolutionary high tide. In 1956, China had in the main completed the socialist transformation with respect to ownership of the means of production in individual agriculture, individual handicrafts and privately owned industry and commerce. The following year saw the defeat of the attack by the anti-Party, anti-socialist bourgeois Rightists on the political and ideological front. These revolutionary successes heralded the big leap forward in socialist construction beginning from 1958. At that time, builders flocked to the site where our plant was to go up and, working with enormous enthusiasm on this tract of desolate land, erected the first group of workshops and put them into operation in just three months. Annual steel output in the three years 1958-60 rose from tens of thousands to several hundred thousand tons.

However, we were not sailing a smooth sea. China's national economy went through a temporary difficult period as a result of sabotage by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and natural calamities for three successive years. Taking advantage of this, Liu Shao-chi and his gang spared no effort to restore capitalism and strangle socialism. They opposed workers studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, babbling that we couldn't understand it. While ordering the "dismounting" of many new factories, they did their utmost to peddle the Soviet revisionist line in running enterprises, such as putting profits in command, material incentives, the system of one-man leadership and letting specialists rule the factories. These evil trends also showed up in our plant. Some workshops put out the fire in the furnaces, workers' enthusiasm was throttled and output dropped by a big margin in the early 60s.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. Revolution has liberated the productive forces, and our plant's production has gone ahead at an unprecedented speed. Both successes and setbacks have enabled us to see clearly that "**without a correct political approach to the matter the given class will be unable to stay on top, and, consequently, will be incapable of solving its production problem either.**" (Lenin: *Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin.*)

Consciousness Turns to Matter

A continuation of the Great Cultural Revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius also had played the role of further

liberating the productive forces. The movement is a political and ideological struggle in the superstructure by which Marxism triumphs over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: “**While we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also—and indeed must—recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base. This does not go against materialism; on the contrary, it avoids mechanical materialism and firmly upholds dialectical materialism.**” (*On Contradiction*.)

From our own experience we can see well-defined examples of how production stagnated because the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, remnants of the ideology of the exploiting classes, had shackled people’s minds. Once this garbage has been swept away and replaced by the new ideology of the proletariat, production will forge ahead. But it must be realized that such rubbish cannot be cleared out all at once. After one corner has been cleaned, it can be found in another corner. After one form of expression has been criticized, it will appear in another form. Thus only repeated cleaning over a long period of time will yield the desired result. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is another such clean-up.

To put proletarian politics in command or “to put profits in command” and go in for “material incentives” has always been a focus of the two-line struggle in running an enterprise. The struggle has a bearing not only on whether production can be done well but, of more fundamental importance, on whether a socialist enterprise will degenerate into a capitalist firm or not. Through study we have come to understand that the “new economic system” by means of which the Soviet revisionists have restored the capitalist economic base has “the principle of profits” and “material incentives” at its core.

The Soviet revisionist “new economic system” actually is nothing new. The exploiting classes have always held that “each for himself” is the “eternal human nature.” Confucius said that “the inferior man thinks in terms of gain.” Lin Piao and his gang also said that “self-aggrandizement and avarice are objective laws.” Those whose minds are poisoned by such thinking do not understand that proletarian politics should be in command of economic work. Instead of relying on the workers’ political enthusiasm for building socialism and on the proletariat’s high sense of responsibility of fulfilling its historical mission, they are bent on promoting production by means of “material incentives” or other similar “incentives.”

We criticized “putting bonuses in command” in the initial stage of

the Great Cultural Revolution. Later, though it was out of the commendable desire to increase production, cadres in a workshop thought of another way to "boost" output by "beating drums and gongs." Thus, if a team fulfilled a high quota, it could proclaim its "achievements" with drums and gongs. Doing this to celebrate successes in socialist construction is permissible, and, indeed, customary. However, if it is treated as a means of self-glorification, then a team will be led astray to the bourgeois road of chasing after fame and gain. Facts proved that this method did not promote production but enhanced the "departmentalism" of the various teams and groups. Criticisms from the workers helped the cadres correct their errors and give prominence to political and ideological work in real earnest. They organized workers to study revolutionary theory and criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie. They took part in manual labour like ordinary workers, made investigations at the furnaces, listened to workers' opinions, visited workers' families.... As a result, the workshop's production went up by big margins. The plant's Party committee led all the workers and cadres in analysing and discussing this typical example which was a profound education for everyone.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius forcefully pounded away at the decadent idea that "those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed." Cadres in our plant have since been more conscious in working together with the workers and listening to their criticisms. And, as masters of the country, the workers have become more active in supervising the work in the plant so that it will proceed along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

A Big-Character Poster. Some workers during the movement suggested that small quantities of leftover molten steel in the furnaces be cast into small ingots to increase production, something that had been neglected previously. Underestimating the workers' enthusiasm for socialism, a cadre in charge decided that this was good, but "extra pay" should be given since the workers would be doing "extra work." When comrades in the workshop's theoretical group learnt this, they immediately put up a big-character poster in front of the mess hall. The poster sharply pointed out that the idea of giving "extra pay" was simply a refurbishment of the Confucian thinking that "the inferior man thinks in terms of gain" and a retrogression to the revisionist principle of "putting bonuses in command" which had been criticized. The title of this poster "There's No Future in Going Backwards!" was an eye-catcher.

The poster won the extensive support of the workers and educated the cadre concerned. Together, they worked out appropriate technical measures to utilize the leftover steel. Output went up without any

“material incentives.”

Another example was the “system of deducting from the production quota.” A rule in one of the workshops stipulated that if the necessary preparations were not made to facilitate the work of the next shift, then part of the output of the preceding shift would be deducted and added to that of the next shift. Such “material punishment” increased the contradictions among teams. The workers criticized and abolished this rule during the movement. In its stead the communist style of “offering others what is convenient while tackling the difficulties oneself” was vigorously advocated. The result was closer unity and higher output.

Numerous facts have proved that selfless communist spirit can be fostered only when the influence of bourgeois ideology has been criticized. For instance, a rolling-mill heater in workshop No. 12 once had a hitch. The usual way was to overhaul it after it had cooled for 72 hours. The workers said: “Time means steel and the state needs steel.” Only eight hours later the workers and cadres, wearing protective clothing, went into the centre of the heater to overhaul it. Examples like this showing the difficulty-defying spirit of the workers without any thought of getting rewards are too numerous to cite. Shanghai workers often have said: “Lin Piao wanted to restore capitalism. We must go all-out to build socialism.” Can this kind of spirit be “incited” by “material incentives”? The bourgeois and revisionist Shylocks naturally can never understand this mentality of the proletariat.

The manifestations of “putting profits in command” were also criticized during the movement. How to prevent the practice of thinking in terms of profits is important in business transactions between factories. Under unified state planning, our plant has dealings with some 10,000 factories and our products are sent to all parts of the country. When orders come from other factories, so long as the products are badly needed in socialist construction, we will fulfil them regardless of profits or difficulties involved. We will do our best to satisfy the demands, be they steel ingots weighing many tons or capillaries used in precision medical instruments. If a new equipment is needed to manufacture the products, we make it by our own efforts. If the order is a new product we never made before, we learn to produce it in the course of work. By doing so, the state first of all benefits, and it also spurs us on to increase the varieties and specifications of our products and raise our technical level. We do not chase after profits. Does this mean we will lose? Of course not. Because of our efforts in increasing production and practising economy, annual profits turned over to the state by our plant in the last few years amounted to half its fixed assets. Contrary to the case in capitalist society, such profits do not go to a few people, but are used by the state for construction which benefits the

people of the whole country.

A New Technique. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius opened fierce fire on the decadent idea that "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid." Thus cadres acquired a firmer faith in the workers' collective strength and wisdom and we workers showed greater daring to blaze new trails. The upshot: more and better technical innovations.

The story of "cutting the tiger's tail" has spread in our plant. Molten steel first has to be poured into the ladle and then into the mould to be cast into ingots. In the past, a hand-operated rod was used by workers standing close at hand to function as the ladle's locking stopper. The rod had to be replaced once it was used. This held back production. Several technical innovations ensued and a hydraulic pump was introduced to control the ladle's slide valve. This raised efficiency a great deal. But the splashes of molten steel sometimes caused the pump's wire to snap. Workers called this wire the "tiger's tail," meaning it could not easily be removed and replaced with something else. Some workers suggested making another innovation to solve the problem. Others had apprehensions. "Don't pull the tiger's tail," they cautioned lest normal production might be affected if it was not handled properly.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius strengthened our determination and confidence. Confucius and Lin Piao preached that "some are born with knowledge," but we deem that "real knowledge comes from practice." A "three-in-one" group was formed with veteran workers as the backbone and with the participation of leading cadres and technicians to tackle the problem. After overcoming numerous difficulties, they finally succeeded in getting rid of the "tiger's tail."

This example is only one of many showing that mass technical innovations have played a big part in raising output, improving quality, reducing labour intensity and guaranteeing safety in production. In New China, of course, automation will not lead to sacking of workers and unemployment, which is often the case in capitalist countries.

Since the workers' collective strength and wisdom have been given fuller play, the spirit of self-reliance has soared higher. While criticizing Lin Piao's plot to turn China into a Soviet colony, workers in the No. 2 central testing room strengthened their determination to build up the country independently and self-reliantly. Reviewing the designs of two projects, they said: "We will not import any piece of equipment if a domestic one can be used; we will not ask for anything our plant can make." During the movement, the No. 13 workshop began mass-producing cold-rolled high-speed steel strip, which we had to import in quantities previously.

A New Record. The movement also dealt a heavy blow to conservative ideology. Chairman Mao has taught us: “**Man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. Ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong.**” This is the proletarian method of thinking and is diametrically opposed to the Confucian preaching that “I pass on what is ancient and do not create anything new. I have firm confidence in and love the ancient things.”

The No. 5 blast cupola of the No. 4 workshop had produced 4,000 heats. According to the old practice, it should have been pulled down and rebuilt. Based on their rich experience, many workers said that it could still be used. However, a few people wanted to follow the beaten track, saying that this would be safer. A controversy ensued. Many pointed out: “Since we have criticized Lin Piao and Confucius for their attempts at restoration and retrogression, we should persist in making revolution and progress. The cupola is working properly, so why should we do things according to the old rules?” The workshop Party branch supported the workers’ initiative and organized them to work out necessary technical measures. Another 4,000 heats were produced to create a record in our plant for a blast cupola.

Many other examples pointed to the fact that with the change in people’s mental outlook, production went up. Those whose minds are shackled by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius always look down upon new emerging forces. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, a young recruit usually spent his first three years in the shop sweeping the floor or looking after tools. Now many outstanding youngsters have been put in leading posts. In the movement, the older generation paid more attention to supporting and training the young workers while the latter have increased their own confidence and thus played a more dynamic role. Workers in the supply department, where quite a big proportion are females, work better after they criticized the widely circulated old book *Guide to Women’s Manners* which advocates that man is superior to woman. They also criticized a popular saying that “a man can be bolder, but a woman should always be timid.” Sweep away such rubbish, they said. Now more and more women comrades in our plant have stepped to the forefront of revolution and production in the spirit that “women build half the world.”

Chairman Mao has said: “**Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world.**” (*Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?*) Every criticism of the ideology of the exploiting classes makes the new ideology, new culture, new customs and new habits of the proletariat strike deeper root in people’s minds,

and this becomes a powerful material force. We therefore say: The victories in the battle with the pen bring with them big achievements in the battle with the steel rod.

* * *

Like the rest of the country, our plant has achieved tremendous victories in the Great Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. In this excellent situation, the Fourth National People's Congress was convened in Peking last January. The congress adopted a new Constitution and set forth the magnificent task of building China into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century.

It was at that crucial historical moment that Chairman Mao issued the important directive on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has said: "**Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.**" Like a beacon, this directive illuminates our road of advance. At present, just as is the case in the whole country, an ever-deepening study movement is taking place in our plant. We are confident that mastering the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat by the hundreds of millions of Chinese people is sure to guarantee that our country will march forward on the road charted by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. And this will ensure the eventual accomplishment of the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat set forth by Marx, that is, abolishing class distinctions generally, abolishing all relations of production on which class distinctions rest, abolishing all social relations that correspond to these relations of production, and revolutionizing all ideas that result from these social relations.

Marx and Engels issued the great call "**Working men of all countries, unite!**" more than a hundred years ago. We workers in the Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant will unite with the people throughout the country and with all the oppressed people and nations in the world to fight for the complete elimination of the system of exploitation of man by man and for the realization of communism—the lofty ideal of mankind. "Let each stand in his place. The internationale shall be the human race." (*The Internationale.*)

TEXT 21

SOCIALIST BIG FAIR IS GOOD

—An investigation of transformation in rural trade fair in Haerht'ao commune, Changwu county, Liaoning Province

Last year, just when the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing was vigorously whipping up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, the Party committee of the Haerht'ao commune, Changwu county, Liaoning Province, through taking class struggle as the key link, adhering to the Party's basic line and closely relying upon the poor and lower-middle peasants, transformed the old rural trade fair and created a new type of fair—the socialist big fair. This gave an effective boost to the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. The socialist position in the countryside was thus further consolidated.

Contradictions Calling for An Urgent Solution

Haerht'ao commune is situated near the border between Liaoning and Kirin provinces. It has poor soil and an arid climate. In the past, grain output was very low. In the winter of 1974, spurred by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, this commune whipped up a new upsurge in "learning from Tachai in agriculture." The broad masses of cadres and people broke the habit of "allowing land to lie fallow in winter" and energetically participated in farmland capital construction. However, after a period of time, attendance gradually diminished. When the Spring Festival drew near, there were still fewer people at work on farmland capital construction. Where did the people go? After an investigation, the commune Party committee discovered that the force of old habit had attracted the people to the trade fair.

Trade fairs in Haerht'ao had a history of many years. On the 5th, 10th, 15th, 20th, 25th and 30th days of the month, people from the neighboring areas and even from as far as several tens of *li* away converged at the trade fair, numbering from 4,000 or 5,000 at the most to 2,000 or 3,000 at the least. A few profiteers made use of the fair to corner the market, play tricks and carry out capitalist activities. Such a fair held a great attraction for some rich peasants who had not rid themselves of their private-ownership mentality. Under the influence of this

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kind of fair, the collective economy of this commune was weakened, the movement to learn from Tachai failed to get off the ground and agricultural production long remained in a backward stage.

The Party committee of Haerht'ao commune investigated the conditions of the rural fair and made clear the relations between the two-road struggle and trade fair in the countryside. It felt that if such a fair was not subjected to restrictions and transformation, capitalism would make a breach through this fair and run wild and more and more people would deviate from the socialist orbit. How should the rural trade fair be transformed? There were two ways: One was to follow the previous practice of closing it down by way of an administrative order or to exercise general control over it. As a result, it could neither be closed nor controlled properly. Another way was to establish the "socialist big fair" in light of the situation where a small number of private plots and family side occupations were still retained at the present in the countryside. Efforts should be made to take class struggle as the key link, deepen education in the Party's basic line, arouse the masses to sell to the state the agricultural produce and by-products instead of bringing them to the trade fair. At the same time, the supply and sales departments should be organized to break with the usual practice and expand their scopes of buying and selling and the exchange of commodities should be actively organized among the masses, so as to occupy the rural commercial position in a planned manner. The commune Party committee made a study of the matter and decided to adopt the latter measure to transform the existing trade fair.

Fair of a New Type Appears

In the process of establishing the socialist big fair, Haerht'ao Commune first organized the cadres and the masses to vigorously run political night schools, to learn the fundamental experience of Tachai and to unfold penetrating criticism against capitalist tendencies existing in rural trade fair. Meanwhile, conscientious ideological education was conducted to further raise the socialist consciousness of the masses. After spending a period of time on study, criticism and ideological education, many commune members on their own initiative offered to sell to the state private agricultural produce and by-products intended for the fair, so as to support socialist construction. The commune Party committee decided to take advantage of this favorable situation to organize a socialist big fair.

On the 1975 New Year's day, this fair of a new type made its debut in Haerht'ao Commune. That day, the masses of commune members of various brigades led by the cadres carried on their shoulders their own

agricultural produce and by-products and, beating gongs and drums, and holding red banners, came from all directions and converged on the streets of Haerht'ao to take part in the socialist big fair. They sold to the supply and marketing cooperative their surplus agricultural produce and by-products. Then they headed for the stalls of the supply and marketing cooperative to buy various kinds of farm implements and other daily necessities they needed. The brisk trade in the fair presented a delightful bustling scene. The previous bourgeois practice, of shouting prices and driving bargains was swept away at one stroke.

At this fair, the spare-time cultural and art propaganda teams of the commune and various brigades also presented various cultural and art programs, and made propaganda of new men, new deeds and new practices. The masses could participate in the fair and, at the same time, receive socialist education.

At such a fair, there were also various support-agricultural activities organized by factories in the city. What people witnessed here was the vivid scene worker-peasant alliance and exchange between town and country. What they heard were the principles of socialist revolution and the advanced deeds in learning from Tachai, grasping revolution and promoting production. They said elatedly, "The more we attend the socialist big fair the greater the hatred we develop toward capitalism and the closer our hearts draw toward socialism. The socialist big fair is just fine."

Such a fair is a socialist new thing emerging in the struggle between the two roads, and its appearance holds down the capitalist influence. With the support of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, this kind of socialist big fair is run better and better. Now, apart from the periodical comprehensive big fairs, big fairs for the exchange of one chosen kind of commodities are run in light of agricultural seasons and the people's needs. Such exchange fairs are supplements to the comprehensive big fair. At specified time and locality and within certain limits, they strictly stick to pre-arranged prices. With regard to agricultural produce and by-products, such as piglets, ducklings, chickens, seedlings, etc., which they find it inconvenient to handle for the present, the supply and marketing cooperative organize exchange among the individuals and between one collective and another so as to meet each other's needs. Thus, 128 kinds of agricultural produce and by-products under the nine categories of commodities including pigs and fowl, fabricated straw goods, firewood, weeds, etc., which were freely traded in the past are put on the socialist orbit. The predominance of socialism is established in the position of the rural trade fair. Apart from the buying and selling of ordinary agricultural produce and by-products, the commune also take advantage of the big fair to organ-

ize various brigades to sell to the state grain, pigs and other products under the unified purchase and sales program and under the planned purchase scheme. Actually, this kind of socialist big fair has become the main form of economic exchange activity in the countryside.

Another Leap Forward in Understanding

Not long after the socialist big fair was established, Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory was published.

"Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." "Lenin said, 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' " The cadres and the masses of Haerht'ao Commune studied these teachings of Chairman Mao's, applied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in summing up and analyzing the practice of running the socialist big fair, and saw the direction of advance more clearly. They realized that: To run well the socialist big fair is not only a measure to hit at capitalist activities but also a practical step to educate the peasants, transform small production and restrict bourgeois rights. In the period of socialism, there inevitably exist bourgeois rights such as the trade fair, the exchange of commodities, private plots, family side occupations, distribution according to work, etc. Their existence is allowed by the Party's policy. But they should not be given oxygen and blood and be allowed to grow unrestrictedly. Instead they should be gradually restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Running the socialist big fair provides fresh experience for blocking the channel which leads small production to capitalism, effectively restricting bourgeois rights in the sphere of exchange of commodities in the countryside and gradually removing the soil and conditions engendering capitalism.

On the basis of heightened awareness, the Party committee of Haerht'ao Commune has at all times taken guiding the masses to the socialist road as an important task in the process of running the socialist big fair. Through continuously instilling socialist ideas into the peasants, it has enabled them to consciously break with the concept of private ownership and with established traditions. In this commune, the political night schools of various brigades constantly launched such activities as "line education," "discussing everything," etc. Before a big fair was held, they organized the masses to study the Party's basic line and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At times, they also invited the old poor peasants to recount histories of their families,

villages and cooperatives, so as to impart education by making comparison between the new and the old societies and between the conditions before and after the great cultural revolution. Through these activities, they praised Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, criticized the revisionist line and brought political and ideological work to every house and every heart, so as to continuously strengthen the people's consciousness in following the socialist road. Thus, a still broader ideological foundation was provided for the socialist big fair.

Leaders Stand in the Van of the Movement

"The root lies in the line and leadership is the key." This equally applies to the struggle of operating a socialist big fair.

The Party committee of Haerht'ao Commune held that in order to make the masses grasp the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and consciously restrict bourgeois rights and follow the socialist road, the Party committee of the commune should first take the lead in breaking with established traditions and waging a resolute struggle against capitalism. Secretary Nashun (a Mongolian) of the commune Party committee is an old comrade. After receiving education in the great cultural revolution, he looked upon the operation of the socialist big fair as a struggle to continue the revolution. He led the way in recalling the painful lessons he learned by carrying out the revisionist line before the great cultural revolution. He took the initiative to criticize the bourgeois influence in himself and took the lead in restricting bourgeois rights. His act of persisting in continuing the revolution inspired the ideological revolutionization of the leading bodies at the commune and brigade levels. Young cadre Shih Ya-wen, vice chairman of the revolutionary committee of the commune took the initiative to persuade his mother to be the first in selling to the state at the quoted price the tobacco crop from her private plot, thus playing a forward role among the masses. The ideological revolutionization of the leading body also set the pace for the ideological revolutionization of the broad masses of cadres and Party members. In the whole commune, there appeared a revolutionary scene of vigorously criticizing revisionism and capitalism and vigorously building socialism.

Turn the Supply and Marketing Cooperative Into a Tool of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

In the past, under the influence of the revisionist line, Haerht'ao supply and marketing cooperative did not put proletarian politics in command but only concerned itself with talking about buying and selling

behind the counter and cared nothing about class struggle beyond the counter. In the course of purchasing agricultural produce and by-products, it practiced many restrictive rules. It refused to handle one thing and purchase another, and so it could not meet the needs of the socialist countryside. When it started to run the big fair, the commune Party committee took the correct orientation of the operational line of the supply and marketing cooperative as an important task. It pointed out that the rural commercial departments should persist in putting politics in command, serve the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, become a special army in hitting at capitalism, use socialism to occupy the commercial position in the countryside and set [themselves] as a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Under the leadership of the commune Party committee, the working personnel of this supply and marketing cooperatives conscientiously studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Their idea of doing business went through a tremendous change. They energetically widened the scope of business and regarded the handling of one more kind of product as the occupation of one more position and the removal of one more plot of soil engendering capitalism. In the past year and more, the commodities handled by this supply and marketing cooperative rose to over 350 varieties. The agricultural produce and by-products purchased were 41 items more than those handled before the socialist big fair. Meanwhile, additional points were set up in the commercial network. This gave the masses every facility and production every support. In addition, they also supplied small earth stoves. This gave the commune members every convenience in retrieving the old and utilizing waste materials. Small carts were sent to the countryside to bring goods to the doorsteps, while purchases were made in the brigade. Various sales departments also offered additional services such as cloth cutting, book lending, free glass-cutting, etc. Thus, even on the days when the fair was not held, the masses could also keep in touch with the state-run commercial network. This left no room for capitalism.

After the establishment of the socialist big fair, in order to insure the steady supply of commodities on the market, Haerh'ao commune took market demands into consideration while arranging production in accordance with the guideline of "developing the economy and insuring supplies." While seeing to it that no adverse effect was produced on food crops and not a cut was made in the planted acreages planned by the state plan, when implementing the state cultivation plans, the various production teams, made unified arrangements for certain economic crops needed by the market and gradually substituted the products under the collective economy for those formerly obtained from the

commune members' private plots. Meanwhile, the production teams not only continuously encouraged individual commune members to raise pigs, but also made energetic efforts to develop collective pig-breeding and collective side-occupations and to combine development of diversified economy with the organization of sources of market supplies. Thus not only in the area of commodity circulation but also in the link of commodity production, the initiative was seized in fighting against capitalist influence, and the steady supply of commodities on the market was effectively guaranteed. This was hailed by the broad masses.

A New Situation Appears in Learning from Tachai

The appearance of the socialist big fair is a profound socialist revolution. This revolution has not only transformed the features of rural commerce of Haerh'ao but also educated and transformed people and brought about profound changes in the people's spiritual outlook. In the past, in certain brigades of this commune, class struggle was acute and complicated and capitalism ran wild. Socialist activism of the masses was repressed. After the socialist big fair was established, this situation changed very rapidly. The proper trend of socialism prevailed over the evil trend of capitalism. Revolutionary practice of "glorifying socialism and looking upon capitalism as a shame" took shape. A new situation appeared in the vigorous development of the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. Gratifying results were achieved in changing men, changing soil and changing output.

Old poor peasant and Communist Party member Yang Fu-hsiang of Peiketasu production team of Fuyu Brigade in this commune was praised by the masses as a man who followed the socialist road without turning back and steeled his heart in building socialism. He resented the old fair long ago. Once the socialist big fair appeared, he energetically supported it. He considered that this measure could "get at the throat of capitalism." He said: The poor and lower-middle peasants should not always fix their eyes on their families, a Communist Party member should not occupy his mind with his own business and one who makes revolution must let socialism take roots deeply in his mind.

Once, when he went to another place to attend a meeting, some people of the production team carted over 700 mats to another place for sale at a high price. After he returned to the production team, a deputy leader of the production team boasted to him of his having earned an extra income of over 100 *yuan* for the production team. He also said, "The team has income and the commune members are satisfied. This pleases both sides." On hearing this, Yang Fu-hsiang knew that some-

thing was wrong. He immediately criticized this deputy leader, saying: Your yielding to capitalism is "the most unpleasing thing." He added, "You are a leader. If you concern yourself only with making more money and think nothing of learning from Tachai and leading the masses in running the socialist big fair, there will be deviation in orientation and the line will be wrong." These words left this deputy leader speechless. He admitted his mistake. Meanwhile, he took the initiative to make a self-examination at a general meeting of commune members. This matter taught the commune members a vivid lesson on the line.

Sixty-eight-year-old Lin Ta-niang of Yaoao production team of Aohan brigade in this commune formerly "took up side-occupation for her own benefit and revelled in the small fair." After the socialist big fair was established, she raised her consciousness through study. She collected manure for the collective every day. With her thinking changed, her revolutionary spirit of utter devotion to socialism was praised by the commune members.

Old herdsman Chou Te-chin formerly tended cattle for the collective and, at the same time, gathered firewood for himself and for sale at the fair. Now he dropped the firewood basket and carried the manure basket on his back. As he tended cattle he gathered manure for the collective. More than ten herders of the whole brigade gathered over 200,000 catties of manure for the collective.

After the socialist big fair was established, the broad masses of cadres and commune members of Haerht'ao Commune took class struggle as the key link and persisted in vigorously criticizing capitalism and building socialism. After one year's hard effort, they brought rapid changes to the features of this backward commune marked by "the poor natural conditions of rolling mountains, poor soil, violent sandstorms and frequent attacks by drought in nine out of ten years." Last year, the whole commune built over 20,000 *mow* of terraced field, equivalent to ten times the acreage of terraced fields built in the preceding decade. Meanwhile, some irrigation projects were completed. This created conditions for promoting agricultural development. Last year, total grain output of the whole commune showed an increase of 47 percent compared with 1974. Per-unit output increased by 55 percent. The quantity of commodity grain sold to the state rose by 180 percent. The commune members said, "In the past decade, we have been learning from Tachai. This is the only year in which we made fast progress!"

The founding and development of the socialist big fair are fraught with the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Last year, when the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing whipped up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, certain absurd arguments attacking the newborn things such

as the socialist big fair also appeared in society. The Party committee of Haerht'ao commune conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's directives, constantly made revolutionary mass criticism to give them tit-for-tat rebuttals, and took concrete action to hit back at the Right-deviation to reverse verdicts. At present, the Party committee of the commune is leading the broad masses in penetratingly criticizing the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" put forth by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and is determined to take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, persist in running well the socialist big fair and give impetus to the further deepening of the movement to learn from Tachai.

The experience of Haert'ao commune in establishing the socialist big fair received the close attention and support of the CCP Committee of Liaoning Province. Last year, three provincial meetings were held here to popularize this experience, thus further developing the excellent situation in the countryside.



IV

CRITICIZE “WATER MARGIN”

Introduction

The criticism of the novel *Water Margin*, launched by Mao in August 1975, was prompted by increasing pressure coming from the Right to liquidate the class struggle in the name of preparing for war. If China were to survive an attack or invasion, they reasoned, then it must achieve order, and the biggest obstacle to this was the continuing struggle of the masses. It was a race with time to bolster up its economy and defenses, and these movements had to be cooled out, so they claimed.

Necessary compromises with various reactionary powers, especially in the West, were seized upon by the Right in order to foster a conciliationist and ultimately capitulationist attitude toward imperialism, depending on it for economic and military assistance while allowing its cultural influences to penetrate unchecked. This was not a strategy for any sort of defense; it was an invitation to disaster, a recipe for capitulating to an external enemy much stronger in conventional terms. For once you detach yourself from the masses, you wind up attacking them and going over to the camp of the enemy. China's salvation, Mao insisted, lay in mobilizing the masses and pushing revolution forward, exactly what had carried her through the Japanese invasion, the assaults by Chiang Kai-shek, and the American and Soviet threats. Pushing the economy forward and improving weaponry could only be carried out on that basis, but China could never hope to attain parity, much less superiority, in these areas. This, however, was not the cutting edge of whether China would win or lose when war broke out.

The leading figure of the *Water Margin* was a character who symbolized people like Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-ping. He was a revolutionary only in name who had sneaked into the ranks of the peasant rebels, equivocating, holding back their struggle, and finally delivering them over to the emperor after having put up a show of resistance. Mao was instructing people to be on their guard for such types and to watch for them to jump out at any minute.



TEXT 22

UNFOLD CRITICISM OF “WATER MARGIN”

In accordance with an instruction from our great leader Chairman Mao, this newspaper and other journals have begun criticism and discussion of the novel *Water Margin*.

This is another struggle of great importance on our country's political and ideological front and is a component part in the implementation of Chairman Mao's important directives on studying theory and combating and preventing revisionism; it will give a powerful impetus to deepening the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is hoped that the vast number of workers, peasants and soldiers who form the backbone force in theoretical study, professional theoretical workers, cadres and the masses will take an active part in the discussion.

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: “**The merit of the book *Water Margin* lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation. It serves as teaching material by negative example to help all the people recognize capitulationists.**” He also added: “***Water Margin* is against corrupt officials only, but not against the emperor. It excludes Chao Kai from the 108 people. Sung Chiang pushes capitulationism, practises revisionism, changes Chao's Chu Yi Hall to Chung Yi Hall, and accepts the offer of amnesty and enlistment. Sung Chiang's struggle against Kao Chiu is a struggle waged by one faction against another within the landlord class. As soon as he surrenders, Sung Chiang goes to fight Fang La.**” [See notes on last page.—Tr.]

This teaching by Chairman Mao penetratingly exposes the essence of *Water Margin* in preaching a capitulationist line and brings to light the true features of Sung Chiang who practises revisionism and capitulationism. In *Water Margin* Sung Chiang is a member of the landlord class. He worms his way into the ranks of the peasants who have risen in uprising, usurps the leadership of the Liangshan Mountain insurgent army, pushes a capitulationist line—“simply waiting for an offer of amnesty and enlistment from the imperial court”—and eventually becomes a vermin undermining the peasant revolution and a faithful lackey of the feudal dynasty. The authors of *Water Margin* did their best to prettify and extol Sung Chiang's capitulationist line. This book *Water Margin* is indeed rare teaching material by negative example.

Peking Review #37, September 12, 1975. (Translation of *Renmin Ribao* [People's Daily] Editorial, September 4, 1975.)

Since the book came out, there always have been different opinions about its main tendency. At one time after liberation, it was lauded by some people as "an immortal epic of peasant revolution"; they even went so far as to ascribe Sung Chiang's capitulationist line, which represents the interests of the landlord class, to the irreproachable "limitations of the peasantry," and they described their viewpoint as "historical materialist viewpoint." In fact, just as Chairman Mao has pointed out, Lu Hsun [(1881-1936), a great revolutionary, thinker and writer—*Tr.*] said long ago that "*Water Margin* makes it quite clear that because they were not against the emperor, they accepted the offer of amnesty and enlistment when the government troops arrived and set out to fight other brigands for the state—brigands who did not 'enforce justice on behalf of heaven.' They were lackeys after all." To call the capitulationist Sung Chiang a revolutionary, to extol his revisionism and describe such praise as "historical materialism," and to confound his capitulationist line with the line of persevering in peasant uprisings—these are important questions; is it not necessary for us to thoroughly thrash them out?

To study and understand Chairman Mao's instructions and unfold the criticism and discussion of *Water Margin* are of great and profound significance not only to the study of classic literature, but also to literature, philosophy, history, education and other fields and to our Party and people in upholding Marxism and combating revisionism and adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line both now and in the future and both in this century and the next. We need to draw lessons from *Water Margin*, that teaching material by negative example, sum up historical experience, learn how to distinguish in complicated struggles a correct line from an erroneous one and know what capitulationists are like. The history of our Party over the last 50 years or so proves that whoever practises revisionism practises capitulationism—class capitulationism in home affairs and national capitulationism in foreign affairs. This was the case with Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao—both capitulated to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. At present, our country is in an important period of historical development. We must adhere to the Party's basic line and policies, and we must uphold the principles advanced by Chairman Mao—"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," unite with all the forces that can be united with, criticize revisionism and push the socialist revolution and construction forward.

Through the criticism and discussion of *Water Margin*, let us conscientiously study the Marxist theory, continue to criticize Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and carry through to the end the

struggle in the superstructure in which the proletariat triumphs over the bourgeoisie and Marxism over revisionism!

(September 4)

Translator's notes:

1. *Water Margin*: a Chinese novel, describing a peasant war towards the end of the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1127 A.D.), that has been circulated for several hundred years.
2. Chao Kai: founder of the insurgent peasant army in the novel.
3. The 108 people: the 108 captains of the peasant insurgents.
4. Sung Chiang: a main character in the novel who has usurped the leadership of the insurgent peasant army.
5. Chu Yi Hall and Chung Yi Hall: the assembly hall where the peasant insurgents in the novel meet to discuss matters. What Chao Kai meant by *chu yi* was to unite and rise in revolt; what Sung Chiang meant by *chung yi* was to be loyal to the emperor.
6. Kao Chiu: a corrupt official in the novel and a faithful lackey of the emperor.
7. Fang La: leader of another insurgent peasant army.

TEXT 23

CRITICISM OF “WATER MARGIN”

Chu Fang-ming

Is *Water Margin* a novel “eulogizing the peasants’ revolutionary struggle”? No. It is a novel advocating capitulationism.

Is it a “revolutionary textbook”? No. It is teaching material by negative example.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: “**The merit of the book Water Margin lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation. It serves as teaching material by negative example to help all the people recognize capitulationists.**” Poisonous weeds can be turned into fertilizer. The revolutionary people can extract experience and draw lessons from this teaching material by negative example.

A Capitulationist Line

Water Margin is a classical novel depicting a peasant uprising at the end of the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1127). Chairman Mao has pointed out: “**The ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression of the peasants by the landlord class forced them into numerous uprisings against its rule.**” (*The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*.) By the end of that dynasty, class contradictions and national contradictions had sharpened to breaking point. Peasant uprisings which erupted one after another dealt heavy blows to the rule of the landlord class. How does *Water Margin*, once praised as “an epic of peasant revolution,” describe the peasant uprisings at that time?

The novel is against corrupt officials only, but not against the emperor.

Running through it is the theme that corrupt officials are bad and the emperor is good. The novel says that “Emperor Hui Tsung who ruled during the years 1101-25 was a sage and was most intelligent but unfortunately power was in the hands of evil officials,” with the result that the country was in upheaval. Whenever officers sent by the court were captured, Sung Chiang, head of the insurgent forces on the Liangshan Mountain (in present-day Liangshan County in Shantung Province), would say: “How dare I, Sung Chiang, turn against the court.” “I was only driven to this pass by corrupt officials.” The main targets of attack of the Liangshan peasant insurgents led by Sung Chiang were the

local corrupt officials.

In feudal society, the emperor was the chief representative of the landlord class and the mainstay of all feudal officials. The rule of the landlord class could not be overthrown if attacks were directed at corrupt officials only but not the emperor. The Yellow Turbans Uprising in the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220) and the uprising led by Fang La in the Northern Sung Dynasty all had their spearheads directed at the emperors.

Sung Chiang and his cohorts were loyal to the emperor. That was why they feared Li Kuei who was against the emperor. Whenever Li Kuei declared that he wanted to fight all the way to the capital and seize the throne, Sung Chiang threatened to cut his head off. Even when he was dying, Sung Chiang did not forget that Li Kuei was a menace to the emperor and so he managed to poison Li Kuei. Sung Chiang decked himself out as one “carrying out the right way on behalf of Heaven.” In his terminology, “Heaven” was the reigning emperor, and the “right way” was the rule of the feudal landlord class. In short, “carrying out the right way on behalf of Heaven” meant placing himself in the service of rulers of the Sung Dynasty.

In the novel, fighting against corrupt officials and being loyal to the emperor were identical. In fighting against corrupt officials, Sung Chiang and his followers were merely showing their loyalty to the emperor. In their attempt to eliminate corrupt officials, they were actually trying to mend the state machinery and consolidate the dictatorship of the feudal landlord class. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out: “**Sung Chiang’s struggle against Kao Chiu is a struggle waged by one faction against another within the landlord class.**” The two had identical basic political interests: safeguarding feudal rule and opposing the peasant revolution. The only difference between them was in the method employed: one used the tactics of armed suppression, while the other caused the peasant revolution to disintegrate from within.

Regimes of the landlord class always resorted to dual counter-revolutionary tactics in dealing with peasant uprisings: suppression as well as offering amnesty and enlistment. If they could destroy the peasant forces, they resorted to suppression; otherwise, they offered amnesty and enlistment. The imperial court in *Water Margin* used these two tactics alternately in dealing with the Liangshan peasant insurgents and finally offered amnesty and enlistment to them.

To meet the needs of the court, Sung Chiang pushed a capitulationist line and made acceptance of the offer of amnesty and enlistment the aim of the uprising. What the novel praises is just this specimen of “revolt in order to accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment.”

The two-line struggle within the peasant insurgent forces of

Liangshan focused on accepting or rejecting the offer of amnesty and enlistment. Sung Chiang and Lu Chun-yi were capitulationists while Li Kuei, Wu Yung and the three Juan brothers were good characters and were not willing to surrender. In the novel, however, Sung Chiang's capitulationist line dominated while the anti-capitulationist line of Li Kuei and others was in an inferior position. It ridiculed the anti-capitulationist line and described it as sheer stupidity to make it serve as a foil to the "correctness" of Sung Chiang's capitulationist line. So acceptance of the offer of amnesty and enlistment was good, capitulation was excellent! That was the theme of the novel *Water Margin*.

When Sung Chiang was still a "bandit," "carrying out the right way on behalf of Heaven" meant opposing corrupt officials. What did he and his cohorts do after they had been offered an amnesty and enlisted as "imperial troops"? On their own initiative they petitioned for and obtained an "imperial decree" to fight Fang La (?-1121), the famous leader of another peasant uprising towards the end of the Northern Sung Dynasty. For a period, his troops occupied 25 counties in eight prefectures in present-day Anhwei and Chekiang Provinces in southeast China. He not only gave his reign a title, but dared to proclaim himself a king. His troops were a peasant revolutionary force determined to overthrow the Sung Dynasty.

When Sung Chiang was face to face with Fang La's troops, he was no longer the obsequious man he was previously in front of the "imperial troops." Spitting out threats, Sung Chiang blustered: "We troops of Heaven have arrived!" "We will never turn back until we have killed you all!" He was most ruthless towards the captured leaders of Fang La's army, "disembowelled them and had their hearts gouged out." How clear his counter-revolutionary stand was and how vicious were the features of this butcher in suppressing the peasant uprising! The reactionary nature of "carrying out the right way on behalf of Heaven" by Sung Chiang and his band was completely bared there and then.

That Sung Chiang had turned to fight against Fang La was an out-and-out counter-revolutionary action. Yet the novel *Water Margin* lauds it to the skies. But this only helps the revolutionary people see more clearly the counter-revolutionary stand of this novel.

Opposing corrupt officials but not the emperor, accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment, and suppressing the peasant uprisings—this is the trilogy in praise of the capitulationist line in *Water Margin*.

The view that Sung Chiang's surrender stemmed from the "limitations of the peasantry" was once prevalent. This viewpoint negated the principled difference between the two opposing classes—the peasantry and the landlord class—and between the two diametrically opposed lines—the line which upholds peasant uprisings and the line of capitu-

tion. Thus this viewpoint actually amounted to an apology for the capitulationists. In Chinese history, peasant uprisings which broke out one after another with unremitting and fierce attacks on the rule of the landlord class demonstrated the undaunted revolutionary spirit of the Chinese peasants. It was only because at that time there were no new productive forces, no new relations of production, no new class forces and no advanced political party to lead them that those uprisings ended in failure.

But defeat must not be equated with surrender. Traitors and lackeys capitulated to the feudal ruling classes; this must not be mentioned in the same breath with "limitations of the peasantry." There was nothing in common between defeat after undaunted struggle and surrender for the purpose of getting high official posts and personal gain! The peasantry might have "limitations" of one kind or another, but not the "limitation" which would lead them to surrender to the feudal ruling classes.

Typical Image of a Capitulationist

In a literary work, its main character is a representative of a certain class and trend. *Water Margin*, which eulogizes capitulationism, laid it on thick in its subtle portrayal and praise of Sung Chiang, a typical capitulationist.

In *Water Margin* Sung Chiang was a member of the landlord class. "Having studied the Confucian canon since boyhood," Sung Chiang whose mind was saturated with this trash was a dyed-in-the-wool follower of Confucius and Mencius. A peasant uprising was in his eyes "lese-majesty" and taking part in it meant "disloyalty to the emperor and unfilial behaviour to one's parents." That was why he refused several times to join the Liangshan peasant insurgents. He eventually joined them because he had no other choice. But his feelings were: "Though I am here by the Liangshan marshes, my heart is still with the court." And he often declared: "I Sung Chiang and the rest of us never really meant to revolt in the first place." He pledged that he, "with unmatched loyalty," "will work faithfully to serve the country until death."

Later, having accepted the emperor's offer of amnesty and enlistment, he became more devoted than ever to serving the feudal ruling class and volunteered to suppress other peasant insurgent forces. Even when he was dying, he still muttered: "I'd rather let the court deal unfairly with me. But I will remain loyal and never turn against the court."

The highest tenet abided by Sung Chiang throughout his life was "loyalty to the emperor"; he was in no way "an outstanding leader of the peasant insurgents," as some people said, but a filial son of the landlord class and a faithful lackey of the emperor of the Sung Dynasty.

Because of his "loyalty to the emperor," Sung Chiang had all the time set his mind on getting amnesty and enlistment from the emperor. Even before he went to Liangshan, he had counselled some captains of the peasant insurgents to surrender. Sung Chiang would never have joined the peasant uprising if he could climb up the official ladder. It was only after he had failed to "achieve fame and get an official post" and when his very life was in danger—first he was sentenced to imprisonment for having killed his kept woman after a quarrel and later given the sentence of death for his impromptu poems written in inebriety—that he decided to "make Liangshan his temporary refuge" until the emperor offered amnesty and enlistment.

Chao Kai was the founder of the peasant army of Liangshan. He adhered to the line of uniting all the captains of the insurgent force in their struggle against the emperor. He called the assembly hall where he and his men met to discuss matters the Chu Yi Hall (*chu yi* meaning to unite and rise in revolt). In order to accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment in the future Sung Chiang schemed in a thousand and one ways to replace Chao Kai as leader of the insurgents. Using double-dealing tactics and bestowing petty favours, he finally succeeded in winning people over to his side and usurping the leadership over the insurgents. After Chao Kai's death, Sung Chiang lost no time in changing Chu Yi Hall into Chung Yi Hall (*chung yi* meaning loyal to the emperor), thereby tampering with the revolutionary line of the Liangshan peasant insurgents.

In the hope of securing amnesty and enlistment from the emperor, Sung Chiang refrained from "taking cities and prefectures" and expanding the territory held by the peasant insurgent force, but went out of his way to release captured generals and troops sent by the imperial court on "punitive" expeditions. All these were designed to facilitate his surrender to the court at a later date.

To secure this amnesty and enlistment, Sung Chiang also resorted to both coercion and persuasion in his dealings with the revolutionaries in the insurgent force, removing them from power and suppressing them as he saw fit. At the same time, he recruited hereditary aristocrats, generals of the imperial army, landlords and prominent members of the gentry and appointed them to important posts, thereby building up a backbone force to push his capitulationist line.

To secure amnesty and enlistment, Sung Chiang announced at a gathering of the 108 leading members of the insurgent force his programme for a surrender, declaring: "It is my ardent wish that the court would before long give us blessings and absolve us from our heinous crimes." Later he wrote a poem expressing what he had in mind:

I wish the Son of Heaven would soon issue an edict
for our enlistment,

Only then will I rest content.

To secure amnesty and enlistment, Sung Chiang went in person to Li Shih-shih, the emperor's favourite courtesan, asking her to put in a word for him and get the emperor's permission for him to surrender. He also sent his men to bribe the Secretary of the Imperial Court for Military Affairs Su Yuan-ching to talk to the emperor on his behalf. When the Liangshan insurgents captured their deadly enemy Kao Chiu, Sung Chiang acted so obsequiously as "to prostrate himself [before the captive], saying he had committed a 'capital offence,' " and begging for "mercy and forgiveness." How nauseating and despicable his conduct was!

The novel excluded Chao Kai from the 108 insurgent leaders and, as the story developed, had him shot to death by an enemy arrow not long after Sung Chiang came to Liangshan. This was a calculated move to place the capitulationist Sung Chiang in the spotlight and also to make way for him to secure amnesty and enlistment. Chao Kai, founder of the Liangshan peasant revolutionary cause who was determined to "fight the emperor of the Great Sung Dynasty" to the finish, adhered to the revolutionary line of the peasant uprising. Sung Chiang, having wormed his way into the ranks of the peasant insurgent force, engaged in counter-revolutionary activities in the guise of a revolutionary and, revising Chao Kai's revolutionary line and replacing it with his capitulationist line, practised revisionism. This was how the once raging peasant uprising of Liangshan fizzled out, a tragedy for which Sung Chiang and his capitulationist cohorts must be held responsible.

Sung Chiang was hardly a "fellow-traveller" of revolution, still less the leader of a peasant revolution. He was a traitor who led the peasant uprising to destruction. He had not made any "contribution" to the peasant uprising; in fact, he was the arch traitor who had betrayed a peasant revolution.

Philosophy of Capitulationism

In propagating the capitulationist line and singing the praises of the capitulationists Sung Chiang and company, *Water Margin* peddled the decadent doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and advocated in a comprehensive way the philosophy of capitulationism.

"The mandate of heaven." This is an ideological weapon used by the exploiting classes to safeguard their reactionary rule and poison the

minds of the working people. All peasant uprisings in Chinese history, in their resistance to the rule of the landlord class, without exception directed the spearhead of their criticism at this reactionary spiritual shackle.

But *Water Margin*, in its very first chapter, said by way of an introduction that peace or disorder on earth and good fortune or bad are all "decided by heaven." The emperors of the Sung Dynasty, as the novel had it, were all deities deputized by the King of Heaven to rule on earth, while the 108 persons of Liangshan were "demons" loosed upon mankind to create troubles. Thus the relationship between the landlord class and the peasantry ceased to be one of two antagonistic classes since both had come to the world by "the mandate of heaven." It was on this cornerstone that the novel *Water Margin* rested.

Then there was the "Goddess of the Ninth Heaven" who appeared twice at the crucial moments of the story. This was an attempt to impress the readers with the omnipotence of the "mandate of heaven." For instance, when Sung Chiang had just joined the Liangshan insurgents, the "Goddess of the Ninth Heaven" passed on to him a "holy decree" which said: "You are to carry out the right way on behalf of Heaven. As the chief, see to it that loyalty and righteousness prevail. As a government official, your duty is to serve the state and pacify the people. So break away from the evil and return to the saintly way."

Thus, it "conforms to the will of heaven" if the peasant insurgent force should surrender to the landlord class; and to "carry out the right way on behalf of Heaven" required that one be loyal to the emperor and fight in defence of the state of the landlord class. This was how *Water Margin* put an aura of holiness about the despicable conduct of capitulation and made the theory of the "mandate of heaven" the theoretical basis for spreading capitulationist ideas.

"Loyalty and righteousness." They constituted the core of the feudal-patriarchal ideology. *Water Margin* did its utmost to laud the capitulationists represented by Sung Chiang, describing them as men with "the twin virtues of loyalty and righteousness." In this novel, capitulation and "loyalty and righteousness" were synonyms, and to uphold "loyalty and righteousness," one must capitulate. Some members of the landlord class were well aware of the subtle role played by *Water Margin* in propagating "loyalty and righteousness," around which contradictions in the story were unfolded, the plot built and the characters delineated.

The authors of the novel wrote: "As far as benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, sincerity, acting in accordance with the code of conduct, loyalty and kindness are concerned," Kao Chiu "is a complete stranger"; as for Sung Chiang, "all his life, he believes only in two words: 'loyalty and righteousness.' " With regard to Sung

Chiang's joining the "rebellion," the novel described him as a "loyalist" driven to take up arms by the "treacherous ministers," not as one joining a popular revolt caused by despotic rule. This being the case, Sung Chiang made Liangshan his temporary abode, waiting for an offer of amnesty and enlistment by the emperor and a chance to serve the imperial court—this was "loyalty to the emperor" in a round-about way, so to say. On the question of peasant uprising, *Water Margin* provided the landlord class with ideas and tactics far more vicious than suppression by brute force; it recommended using the rope of "loyalty and righteousness" to drag the peasant insurgent force towards capitulation.

The philosophy of life of all exploiting classes is that one should do his best to move to the top of the official ladder and get rich; position, fame, high emoluments and other material gains are baits used by all reactionary ruling classes in enlisting lackeys. *Water Margin* propagated this reactionary and decadent philosophy of life by giving an account of the life of Sung Chiang. "Though loyal to the emperor, he failed to make much headway" at the start. He joined the Liangshan insurgents against his will and later accepted an offer of amnesty and enlistment, went to fight Fang La and wound up with fame and success in his official career. To Sung Chiang, a man should live to seek promotion in officialdom, get rich, win honour and distinction for his family and "make a name in history."

Sung Chiang died like a dog, and most of the captains under him got killed in the fight against Fang La. But the authors of *Water Margin* considered that they all deserved to be extolled. So Sung Chiang, as the novel said, was conferred posthumously the title of marquis by the emperor who built a temple for him on Liangshan Mountain and wrote a dedicatory inscription as a tribute to Sung Chiang. All this, according to the landlord class, was indeed a feather in the cap.

At all times—past, present and future—it is inevitable that there are capitulationists in a revolutionary camp. Sung Chiang was a capitulationist of bygone days. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their like, who pushed a revisionist line, were modern capitulationists. Internally, they practised class capitulationism and, externally, national capitulationism. In the historical period of socialism, it is necessary for us to learn to identify the capitulationists and fight them in order to combat and prevent revisionism and persevere in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At present, the Chinese people are unfolding a criticism and dis-

cussion of the novel *Water Margin* by using the Marxist viewpoint and adhering to the method of class analysis. They are making good use of this teaching material by negative example as they criticize *Water Margin* for propagating the capitulationist line, expose the true colours of Sung Chiang who practised revisionism and capitulationism, criticize the theory of reconciliation in class struggle in the study of the novel and draw a line of principle between the two classes and the two roads. This is of great and profound significance not only to the study of classical literature, to literary criticism and the work of literature and art as a whole but also to the Chinese people in upholding Marxism, combatting revisionism and adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

TEXT 24

ON TENG HSIAO-PING'S COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY OFFENSIVE IN PUBLIC OPINION (Excerpts)

Hung Hsuan

In a country of proletarian dictatorship such as ours, poisonous weeds must be criticized whenever they are found and counter-revolutionary public opinion should in no way be allowed to spread unchecked. Just when Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary offensive in public opinion was becoming more and more rampant, Chairman Mao on August 14 gave this important instruction on the criticism of *Water Margin*. Chairman Mao said pointedly: "The merit of the book *Water Margin* lies in its portraying capitulation. As a teaching material by negative example, it makes capitulationists known to all people." "Water Margin opposes only corrupt officials, but not the emperor. It excludes Ch'ao Kai from the 108 persons. Sung Chiang capitulates and practices revisionism. He changes Ch'ao's Chu-i T'ing into Chung-i T'ang and accepts the offer of amnesty and enlistment. Sung Chiang's struggle against Kao Ch'iu is the struggle between one faction and another within the landlord class. After Sung Chiang surrenders, he sets out to fight Fang La." Chairman Mao's instruction exposes the reactionary essence of capitulationists like Sung Chiang in practicing revisionism, providing people of the whole country with a powerful ideological weapon to recognize and criticize the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts which was then becoming rampant. Both the *Jen-min Jih-pao* and *Hung-ch'i* published editorials and short commentaries on Chairman Mao's important instruction and elucidated the vital immediate significance and far-reaching historical importance of criticizing *Water Margin*. Thereupon, on the basis of Chairman Mao's directive, the people of the whole country unfolded the mass movement to criticize *Water Margin*.

With a guilty conscience and becoming increasingly apprehensive, Teng Hsiao-p'ing feared that criticizing *Water Margin* would affect his Right deviationist verdict-reversing activities. He therefore went to battle to carry out rabid sabotage and obstructions—

One, to play down the important meaning of Chairman Mao's directive. Teng said: Making comments on *Water Margin* "has nothing to

Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines #880 (76-21). (Translation of excerpts from an article in *Hsueh-hsi yu P'i-p'an* [Study and Criticism] #6, June 14, 1976.)

do with the realities of the current struggle inside the Party" and "plays no important role."

Two, to put out the fierce flames of the mass movement to criticize *Water Margin*. Teng said, "Some people are confused by what they have heard and think that something is happening. When it comes to criticizing Sung Chiang's capitulationism, some people take the view that a campaign is coming, but do not know where it comes from." He even viciously attacked the criticism of *Water Margin* and charged that some people tried to "make an issue" out of it and "hatch a plot."

Three, to keep the group blowing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts from falling into disarray. Teng said to people everywhere: "What are you afraid of? You are not Sung Chiang nor a capitulationist."

With their master's backing, Teng's followers began to spread gossip and hearsay.

Some people said: "All you have to do is go back and transmit Chairman Mao's instruction on criticism of *Water Margin*." Basically they didn't take it seriously.

Some said: "The *Jen-min Jih-pao* editorial on *Water Margin* has not been discussed by the Central Committee." They dismissed it as false.

Some said: "Don't listen to *Hung-ch'i*."

Among Teng's followers, that "theoretician" appeared quite sensitive as he acted on the instinct of protecting his master. He was particularly mindful of comments on *Water Margin*. He spent a great deal of time scanning and poring over press articles having anything to do with *Water Margin*, and he made copious excerpts from them so he could find the direction of the trend. On one occasion, that "theoretician" selectively copied down some parts of press comments on Sung Chiang's attempt to cheat Ch'ao Kai and passed them on to Teng. The "theoretician" said: "This is clearly an oblique reference to you, and I won't be wrong saying so." Teng tried to keep calm and said, "It isn't," but he was visibly upset when reading these materials.

Why did that "theoretician" go out of his way to gather data on "Sung Chiang's attempt to cheat Ch'ao Kai"? This is because Chairman Mao's criticism of *Water Margin*'s "excluding Ch'ao Kai from the 108 persons" lays stress on the importance of leadership power and on the danger of altering the correct line by capitulationists operating inside the revolutionary ranks. To usurp the leadership of the Liangshan revolutionary cause, Sung Chiang tries every means to cheat Ch'ao Kai, even going so far as to employ the vicious means of "purifying the emperor's entourage" to exclude and hit hard at those revolutionary generals who are determined to carry out Ch'ao Kai's correct line. In criticizing the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, Chairman Mao

pointed out: "Since Prince Liu Pi of Wu in the Han Dynasty invented the well-known tactic of purifying the emperor's ranks to press home his request for the execution of Ch'ao Ts'o (the principal strategist of Emperor Ching of Han), quite a few careerists have regarded it as treasure." Sung Chiang was one and so is Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Teng's rumor-mongering mill fabricated counter-revolutionary political rumors to mislead the public and provoke splits, aiming the spearhead directly at the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. They did not hesitate to employ such despicable means as framing charges and shifting the blame onto others, vainly trying to trap those comrades who are determined to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. The vast masses of revolutionary people exposed Sung Chiang's counter-revolutionary tactic of cheating Ch'ao Kai and this was unfavorable to people like Teng Hsiao-p'ing who were then vigorously whipping up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. This could not but arouse the concern of that "theoretician."

When the "theoretician" told Teng about the "oblique reference" implied in "Sung Chiang's attempt to cheat Ch'ao Kai," the latter said, "It isn't." Here, the master and the servant are in obvious plight. Is it an "oblique reference" or "insinuation"? No, it isn't. The proletariat has never found it necessary to conceal its own viewpoint and always carries out political struggles open and aboveboard. We expose the ancient capitulationists by criticizing *Water Margin*, and we do so for the purpose of summing up the laws and experience of class and line struggles so we can deal with modern capitalist roaders in a better way. In this sense, criticizing *Water Margin* serves the purpose of ideologically preparing us for repulsing the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. In mentioning "oblique reference," that "theoretician" unwittingly betrayed the weaknesses of Teng and his ilk as well as their fears. When Lu Hsun published his well-known novel *The Story of Ah Q*, it will be recalled, it caused a storm of some sort among the gentlemen and ladies and other prominent people in society. They were apprehensive lest their "private affairs" might be exposed by Lu Hsun. As a matter of fact, Lu Hsun merely touched some people where it hurt through his artistic summation of types and he was not making any "oblique reference" at all. The fact which worried these gentlemen and ladies is that they did have "secrets" they would like to keep away from others. When that "theoretician" gingerly told Teng about the "oblique reference," he and his master were indeed worried lest their "secrets" would have been brought out by others. What is noteworthy is that when Teng was serving as Secretary of the Southwest Bureau in the early period of liberation, he re-enacted the farce of "Sung Chiang assumes the reins of the mountain stronghold."

He conferred "titles" on his lieutenants after the fashion of the "Liangshampo heroes" such as "Leopard's Head Lin Ch'ung," "Big Sword Kuan Sheng," "Black Whirlwind Li K'uei" and "Thunderer Ch'in Ming," with himself assuming the title of "Welcome Rain Sung Chiang." As a matter of fact, Teng followed Liu Shao-ch'i since liberation in pushing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and after he went back to work, he continued to practice revisionism and capitulationism and indeed is the modern Sung Chiang. Therefore, when the people of the whole country commented on *Water Margin* and repudiated Sung Chiang in line with Chairman Mao's directive, Teng could not but feel apprehensive. That is why the "theoretician" could not help denouncing the revolutionary people's criticism as an "insinuation."

Revolutionary public opinion based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is powerful and full of strength. The movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and to comment on *Water Margin*, with the people of the whole country participating, crushed every resistance and kept deepening. However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, irreconciled to defeat, continued to hit back at revolutionary public opinion with counter-revolutionary public opinion.

When Teng's rumor-mongering mill, which had ground out counter-revolutionary political rumors, met setbacks everywhere, he turned around and hit back. With ulterior motives, he said: Political rumors in society "are mainly brought about by press articles commenting on *Water Margin*." He vainly tried to use this remark to kill two birds with one stone, on the one hand viciously attacking Chairman Mao's important instruction on making comments on *Water Margin* and the mass movement launched by the revolutionary people to comment on the novel and, on the other, shifting the target of tracking down counter-revolutionary rumors so as to protect Teng's rumor-mongering mill.

V

CRITICIZE TENG AND BEAT BACK THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND

Introduction

The Campaign to Criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the right deviationist wind was the major trial of strength between the revisionist and revolutionary headquarters within the Chinese Communist Party in the last years of Mao's life. The Right had done all it could to obstruct the dictatorship of the proletariat campaign; it even formulated its own program in opposition to Mao, which was embodied in the "three poisonous weeds"—documents on industrial management, science and technology, and a "General Program" (Appendices 1-3). Teng, Hua, Li Hsien-nien and others were intimately involved in drafting them.

The Right organized a series of conferences in mid-1975 to push their line in practically all major areas, circulated the weeds, made another major offensive at a "Learn from Tachai Conference," and attacked the educational reforms. It was an all-out assault. Towards the end of the year, Mao had initiated a debate on the educational front to defend the innovations of the Cultural Revolution, and as the new year arrived, he directly attacked Teng Hsiao-ping and his eclectic and revisionist formulations of putting the development of the economy, stability and unity, and class struggle on the same level.

In early April, during the mourning period for Chou En-lai, the Right staged the largest counter-revolutionary demonstration since liberation. Chou was idolized and Mao slandered. During the early part of 1976 Mao had issued a series of directives on the evolution and nature of capitalist-roaders within the Party, which represent a major contribution to the body of Marxist-Leninist theory, and at the same time he called for public exposure and ferreting out of these forces. Mao presided over the removal of Teng.

The readings focus on the Left's response to the increasingly bold

attacks from the Right which took a leap with the Tien An Men incident. The line pushed by Teng and the whole Right in science and technology, industry, education, culture, etc. was subjected to scathing criticism in articles that appeared in the Chinese media and which were studied widely. For example the article on "A New Type of Social Relations in a Socialist Enterprise" describes important reforms in the management system which were implemented by workers in a Shanghai factory in the course of criticizing this line. Changes like this have been attacked by the Right, at that time and now, as "anarchy." Today, one-man management, rules and the authority of specialists are championed.

Chang Chun-chiao's talks give some sense of how the struggle was actually unfolding during this period, and the final article indicates that the Left was stressing that even if this battle were lost, the struggle of the masses would ultimately triumph.

TEXT 25

TWO POEMS

Mao Tsetung



CHINGKANGSHAN REVISITED

—to the tune of *Shui Tiao Keh Tou*
May 1965

*I have long aspired to reach for the clouds,
Again I come from afar
To climb Chingkangshan, our old haunt.
Past scenes are transformed,
Orioles sing, swallows swirl,
Streams purl everywhere
And the road mounts skyward.
Once Huangyangchieh is passed
No other perilous place calls for a glance.*

*Wind and thunder are stirring,
Flags and banners are flying
Wherever men live.
Thirty-eight years are fled
With a mere snap of the fingers.
We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven
And seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas:
We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter.
Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights.*

Peking Review #1, January 2, 1976. (Originally written in May and Autumn 1965.)

TWO BIRDS: A DIALOGUE

—to the tune of *Nien Nu Chiao*
Autumn 1965

*The roc wings fanwise,
Soaring ninety thousand li
And rousing a raging cyclone.
The blue sky on his back, he looks down
To survey man's world with its towns and cities.
Gunfire licks the heavens,
Shells pit the earth.
A sparrow in his bush is scared stiff.
“This is one hell of a mess!
O I want to flit and fly away.”*

*“Where, may I ask?”
The sparrow replies,
“To a jewelled palace in elfland’s hills.
Don’t you know a triple pact was signed
Under the bright autumn moon two years ago?
There’ll be plenty to eat,
Potatoes piping hot
With beef thrown in.”*
“Stop your windy nonsense!
Look you, the world is being turned upside down.”*

*This refers to “goulash.”—P.R. Ed.

TEXT 26

REVERSING CORRECT VERDICTS GOES AGAINST THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, a great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts is triumphantly developing throughout the country.

Our great leader Chairman Mao recently pointed out: “**Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people.**” Chairman Mao’s words have fully expressed the strong desire of the revolutionary people to combat restoration and retrogression and to persevere in continuing the revolution and exposed the reactionary nature of the unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party who goes against the trend of history. They are an inspiration to the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country to take a stil more active part in the struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts.

This struggle was provoked by the bourgeoisie. The Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts was stirred up around last summer. Those doing this opposed taking class struggle as the key link, tampered with the Party’s basic line, negated the proletarian revolution in education and in literature and art and the socialist revolution in the field of science and technology; they negated the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young, the new socialist things on various fronts and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and they tried to reverse the correct appraisal of the Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it. They had theory and a programme to guide their organized activities in reversing correct verdicts. They directed their spearhead at our great leader Chairman Mao, at his revolutionary line and at the masses of revolutionary people. If this Right deviationist wind is not rebuffed and beaten back, would it not be tantamount to tolerating the spread of revisionism unchecked and the restoration of capitalism?

The mass revolutionary debate that started in Tsinghua University has dealt this Right deviationist wind a head-on blow; this has won the hearts of the people as well as enthusiastic support and acclaim from the people of all nationalities in the country. The revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres have earnestly studied the experience of

Peking Review #11, March 12, 1976. (Translation of *Renmin Ribao* [People's Daily] Editorial, March 10, 1976.)

Tsinghua University and, under the leadership of the Party, criticized "taking the three directives as the key link," thereby completely isolating the capitalist-roaders in the Party who stirred up the Right deviationist wind. Facts prove that the workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, that is, the people who account for over 95 per cent of the total population, want revolution and support socialism. They do not want to be oppressed by bigwigs who practice revisionism. Their basic desire is to take the socialist road, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution represents their fundamental interests. They want to consolidate and expand the fruits of victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, restrict bourgeois right and advance the socialist revolution. To practice revisionism and reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution will never be approved by the masses of the people.

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "**With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. 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.**" This incisive Marxist-Leninist analysis by Chairman Mao has summed up the historical experience of China's socialist revolution over the past 20 years and more, and it has defended and developed Marxism-Leninism. It is a powerful ideological weapon for us in combating and preventing revisionism and a powerful ideological weapon for us in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao clearly indicates here that the capitalist-roaders are precisely the bourgeoisie in the Party during the period of socialist revolution. From the co-operative movement to the criticism of bourgeois right, every step forward in the socialist revolution has met with resistance from the bourgeoisie in the Party. Since in socialist society, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle and there still are the soil and the conditions engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie, capitalist-roaders or new representatives of the bourgeoisie will inevitably appear in the Party, and the phenomenon that "the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road" will continue to exist for a long time. The person who stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts is precisely the capitalist-roader who followed Liu Shao-chi in practising revisionism and opposed all the socialist revolutionary movements before the Cultural Revolution and who was criticized in the Cultural Revolution but has refused to mend his ways. In words, he stated "I'll never reverse the verdict," but once he took up

work again, he relapsed into error and continued to take the capitalist road. Persons like him have never been Marxists but are bourgeois democrats with their ideology, as Chairman Mao pointed out, remaining at the stage of the democratic revolution. Like Sung Chiang in the novel *Water Margin* who, though having joined the ranks of the peasant insurgents, still represents the landlord class, the capitalist-roaders are "Communists" in name but actually representatives of the old and new bourgeoisie within and outside the Party. We must bear in mind that throughout the historical period of socialism, the principal contradiction is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the main danger is revisionism, and the target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie, mainly those in power in the Party taking the capitalist road.

The struggle initiated and led by Chairman Mao to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts concerns the future and destiny of our Party and state. After every great historical social change, there inevitably are persons like Confucius who came out and tried to turn things back and restore the old order. Such persons are bound to appear in great revolutions such as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The current struggle between reversing correct verdicts and opposing the reversal, between restoring the old order and combating restoration, is a continuation and deepening of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, and a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Such struggles will go on in the future, and we must be sober-minded about this.

The struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts is being carried out under the leadership of the Party committees at various levels. Do not establish ties and do not organize fighting groups. It is essential to conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, study Chairman Mao's theses on classes, class contradictions and class struggle since the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and his important instructions on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and on the counter-attack on the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, and get a clear understanding of the character, target, tasks and prospects of the socialist revolution. Leading cadres should stand in the van of the movement and take the lead in study, exposure and criticism and in the counter-attack against the Right deviationist wind. It is necessary to have faith in the masses, rely on the masses and boldly arouse the masses, and firmly grasp the main orientation of struggle: unite, and focus the criticism on the revisionist line

of that capitalist-roader who refuses to mend his ways. The revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings "**help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack**" and "**learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient.**" With regard to the small number of leading cadres who have carried out the erroneous line, it is essential to help them change their class stand and encourage them to correct their mistakes. We should adhere to the principle "**grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war,**" do a better job in all work including industrial and agricultural production, be vigilant against class enemies trying to make trouble and against those trying to sabotage production to undermine revolution. It is necessary to continue, through the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, to promote stability and unity and consolidate and develop the great achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, let us take class struggle as the key link and carry the struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts through to the end!

TEXT 27

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL INCIDENT AT TIEN AN MEN SQUARE

Early April, a handful of class enemies, under the guise of commemorating the late Premier Chou during the Ching Ming Festival, engineered an organized, premeditated and planned counter-revolutionary political incident at Tien An Men Square in the capital. They flagrantly made reactionary speeches, posted reactionary poems and slogans, distributed reactionary leaflets and agitated for the setting up of counter-revolutionary organizations. By means of insinuation and overt counter-revolutionary language, they brazenly clamoured that "the era of Chin Shih Huang is gone." Openly hoisting the ensign of supporting Teng Hsiao-ping, they frenziedly directed their spearhead at our great leader Chairman Mao, attempted to split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, tried to change the general orientation of the current struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and counterattack the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, and engaged in counter-revolutionary activities.

The counter-revolutionary activities culminated on April 5. At about 8 a.m., a loudspeaker car of the municipal Public Security Bureau was overturned, the body of the car and its loudspeakers smashed. After 9 a.m., more than 10,000 people gathered in front of the Great Hall of the People. At its maximum the crowd at Tien An Men Square numbered about 100,000 people. Except for a handful of bad elements who were bent on creating disturbances, the majority of the people were passers-by who came over to see what was happening. Some of the people were around the Monument to the People's Heroes; the majority were concentrated on the west side of the square near the eastern entrance to the Great Hall of the People. A dozen young people were surrounded and beaten up by some bad elements, receiving cuts and bruises on their heads with blood trickling down their swollen faces. The hooligans shouted: "Beat them to death! Beat them to death!" An army guard who tried to stop the hooligans by persuasion had his insignia pulled off, uniform torn and his face beaten to bleed. The bad elements exclaimed: "Who can put this situation under control? Nobody in the Central Committee can. Should he come today he would

Peking Review #15, April 9, 1976. (Translation of *Renmin Ribao* [People's Daily] reports by worker-peasant-soldier correspondents and staff correspondents.)

not be able to return!" Their counter-revolutionary arrogance was unbridled to the extreme. The masses were infuriated and many of them said: "Ever since liberation, Tien An Men Square has always been the place where our great leader Chairman Mao reviews parades of the revolutionary masses. We'll absolutely not tolerate such counter-revolutionary acts happening here!" Several hundred worker-militiamen who went up the flight of steps leading to the Great Hall of the People to stand guard were broken up into several sections by the hooligans. The latter repeatedly shouted reactionary slogans and savagely beat up anyone in the crowd who opposed them. Some of those who got beaten up were dragged to the monument and forced to kneel down and "confess their crimes."

At 11:05 a.m., many people surged towards the Museum of Chinese History on the east side of Tien An Men Square. In front of the museum, a woman comrade who came forward to dissuade them was immediately manhandled. At this moment, a bunch of bad elements besieged a People's Liberation Army barracks by the clock tower in the south-east corner of the square. They crushed the door, broke into the building and occupied it. A few bad elements, sporting a crew cut, took turns to incite the people, shouting themselves hoarse through a transistor megaphone. Towards noon, some of the trouble-makers proclaimed the inauguration of what they called "committee of the people of the capital for commemorating the Premier." A bad element wearing spectacles had the impudence to announce that the Public Security Bureau must give a reply in ten minutes. He threatened that if their demands were not met, they would smash the public security department.

At 12:30, the P.L.A. fighters on guard duty at Tien An Men Square marched in formation towards their barracks to guard it. The bad elements who were making disturbances shouted in instigation: "The people's army should stand on the side of the people!" and "Those befuddled by others are innocent!" Later, they overturned a Shanghai sedan car and set it on fire. The firemen and P.L.A. guards who came to the rescue were blocked, and a fire-engine was wrecked. These bad elements said that putting out the fire meant "suppressing the mass movement." Several members of the fire-brigade were beaten to bleed.

At 12:45, a detachment of people's police came as reinforcement. But they too were taunted and stopped. The caps of several policemen were snatched by the rioters and thrown to the air. Some even threw knives and daggers at the people's police. Several policemen were surrounded and beaten up.

In the afternoon, the sabotage activities of this handful of counter-revolutionaries became still more frenzied. They burnt up four motor vehicles bringing water and food to the worker-militiamen on duty or belong-

ing to the public security department. Around 5 o'clock in the afternoon, this gang of bad elements again broke into that barracks, abducted and beat up the sentries, smashed the windows and doors on the ground floor and looted everything in the rooms. Radios, quilts, bed sheets, clothing and books were all thrown into the fire by this gang of counter-revolutionaries. They also burnt and smashed dozens of bicycles of the Peking worker-militiamen. Black smoke rose to the sky amid a hubbub of counter-revolutionary clamors. Nearly all the window panes in the barracks were smashed. Then they set the barracks on fire.

The revolutionary masses showed their utmost hatred for this counter-revolutionary political incident. Yet the handful of bad elements said glibly: "It manifests the strength of the masses." They went so far as to claim brazenly that "the situation has now got out of hand and it would be of no use even if a regiment or an army was called in," and so on and so forth, showing their unbridled reactionary arrogance.

See how these counter-revolutionaries use extremely decadent and reactionary language and the trick of insinuation to viciously attack and slander our great leader Chairman Mao and other leading comrades on the Party Central Committee:

"Devils howl as we pour out our grief, we weep but the wolves laugh. We spill our blood in memory of the hero; raising our brows, we unsheathe our swords. China is no longer the China of yore, and the people are no longer wrapped in sheer ignorance: gone for good is Chin Shih Huang's feudal society. We believe in Marxism-Leninism, to hell with those scholars who emasculate Marxism-Leninism! What we want is genuine Marxism-Leninism. For the sake of genuine Marxism-Leninism, we fear not shedding our blood and laying down our lives; the day modernization in four fields is realized, we will come back to offer libations and sacrifices."

The clamours of these counter-revolutionaries about combating "Chin Shih Huang" and demanding "genuine Marxism-Leninism" were out-and-out counter-revolutionary agitation in the same vein as the language used in Lin Piao's plan for a counter-revolutionary coup d'état, *Outline of Project "571."* By directing their spearhead at our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and lauding Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, these counter-revolutionaries further laid bare their criminal aim to practise revisionism and restore capitalism in China.

In the past few days these elements not only wrote reactionary poems but put up reactionary posters. They lauded Teng Hsiao-ping and attempted to nominate him to play the role of Nagy, the chieftain of the counter-revolutionary incident in Hungary. They raved that "with Teng Hsiao-ping in charge of the work of the Central Committee, the

struggle has won decisive victory" "to the great satisfaction of the people throughout the country." They uttered vile slanders, saying that "the recent so-called anti-Right deviationist struggle is the act of a handful of careerists to reverse verdicts." They openly opposed the great struggle initiated and led by Chairman Mao to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts; their counter-revolutionary arrogance was inflated to the utmost.

However, the time when these counter-revolutionary elements ran rampant coincided with the day of their downfall. Going against the will of the people, they were extremely isolated. As these bad elements were making disturbances, perpetrating acts of violence and sabotage, many revolutionary people courageously stepped forward to denounce their counter-revolutionary acts and struggled against them. The Peking worker-militia, people's police and army guards on duty at the square and the revolutionary people present at the time worked in close co-operation, and fought bravely in defence of Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the great capital of our socialist motherland.

When the handful of bad elements again set fire to the barracks at 5 p.m., the army guards put out the fire at the risk of their own lives. To safeguard the Great Hall of the People, more than 100 Peking worker-militiamen were injured, a dozen of them seriously wounded. Six army guards were abducted and many wounded. Risking dangers, the people's police persevered in fighting. Although the barrack's was besieged and fire was engulfing the first floor, leading comrades of the Peking worker-militia command post persevered in the struggle on the second floor. At this critical moment, the switchboard operator calmly reported the news to leading departments concerned.

At 6:30 p.m., after Comrade Wu Teh's speech was broadcast, most of the onlookers and the masses who had been taken in quickly dispersed. But a handful of counter-revolutionaries continued their desperate resistance and again posted some reactionary poems around the Monument to the People's Heroes. Three hours later, on receiving an order from the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, tens of thousands of worker-militiamen, in co-ordination with the people's police and P.L.A. guards, took resolute measures and enforced proletarian dictatorship. In high morale, the heroic Peking militiamen valiantly filed into Tien An Men Square and mounted powerful counterattacks. They encircled those bad elements who were still creating disturbances and committing crimes in the vicinity of the Monument to the People's Heroes. They detained the active criminals and major suspects for examination. In the face of powerful proletarian dictatorship, the handful of rampant rioters could not withstand even a single

blow. They squatted down, trembling like stray dogs. Some hurriedly handed over their daggers, knives and notebooks on which they had copied the reactionary poems. Several criminals who pulled out their daggers in a vain attempt to put up a last-ditch fight were duly punished. The revolutionary masses and people of the whole city heartily supported and acclaimed the revolutionary action of the Peking worker-militia, the people's police and the P.L.A. guards.

TEXT 28

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA RESOLUTIONS

RESOLUTION OF C.P.C. CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON APPOINTING COMRADE HUA KUO-FENG FIRST VICE-CHAIRMAN OF C.P.C. CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL

On the proposal of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China unanimously agrees to appoint Comrade Hua Kuo-feng First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China**
April 7, 1976

RESOLUTION OF C.P.C. CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON DISMISSING TENG HSIAO-PING FROM ALL POSTS BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE PARTY

Having discussed the counter-revolutionary incident which took place at Tien An Men Square and Teng Hsiao-ping's latest behavior, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China holds that the nature of the Teng Hsiao-ping problem has turned into one of antagonistic contradiction. On the proposal of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Political Bureau unanimously agrees to dismiss Teng Hsiao-ping from all posts both inside and outside the Party while allowing him to keep his Party membership so as to see how he will behave in the future.

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China**
April 7, 1976

TEXT 29

FIRMLY KEEP TO THE GENERAL ORIENTATION OF THE STRUGGLE

Personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao, the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts is victoriously developing throughout the country, and the situation is excellent.

Assiduously studying Chairman Mao's important instructions and using great debate, mass criticism and big-character posters as their weapons, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals are exposing the class nature of that unrepentant Party capitalist-roader who whipped up the Right deviationist wind. They are indignantly criticizing his revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link," his revisionist line, and his reactionary words and deeds in attempting to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it. "**Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people**"; the unrepentant Party capitalist-roader is under attack on all sides and is very isolated. The socialist revolution in all spheres of the superstructure is deepening, and the socialist new things are growing sturdily in the struggle. Spring farming is going full steam ahead, industrial production is thriving, and work is improving in all fields.

We have won great victories. But class struggle is acute and complicated, and there will still be resistance and twists and turns on the road of our advance. We must take class struggle as the key link, firmly keep to the general orientation of the struggle, and carry through to the end the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

In criticizing the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao points out: "**In 1949 it was pointed out that the principal contradiction within the country was one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Thirteen years later the question of class struggle was reiterated, and mention was also made of the fact that the situation began to turn for the better. What is the Great Cultural Revolution for? To wage class struggle. Liu Shao-chi advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and**

sworn followers. Lin Piao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?" Hitting the nail on the head, Chairman Mao's instruction exposes the reactionary character and fraudulence of the theory of the dying out of class struggle peddled by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and that unrepentant Party capitalist-roader. It penetratingly expounds the nature of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and once again teaches us that we must analyse the contradictions in socialist society from the viewpoint of class struggle. The counter-attack against the Right deviationist attempt is a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; it is also a serious class struggle. We must analyse the class nature of the tendencies and slogans that appear in the course of the movement from the viewpoint of the struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. **"We must not be academic and oversimplify the complex class struggle."**

It is essential to put the study of Chairman Mao's important instructions in the first place. These instructions are a sharp weapon for us to beat back the Right deviationist wind and a beacon illuminating our way in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We should study conscientiously and be clear about the nature of the current struggle and the guiding principles and policies for it. If we do not study, we are liable to lose our bearings and be taken in.

We should direct the spearhead of the struggle at the Party capitalist-roader who has refused to mend his ways. Chairman Mao points out: **"With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. 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."** The unrepentant Party capitalist-roader is the general representative of the bourgeoisie. His revisionist programme, his revisionist line and his reactionary words and deeds are a concentrated embodiment of the desire of the bourgeoisie for restoration. By directing the spearhead of the struggle at him and making a penetrating exposure and criticism, we shall be able to distinguish between right and wrong political lines, unite upwards of 95 per cent of the cadres and masses, and win still greater victories in the counterattack against the Right deviationist wind. If we keep a firm grip on this point, the class enemy's scheme to switch the general orientation of the struggle will be brought to total bankruptcy.

It is imperative to heighten our revolutionary vigilance. Being a serious class struggle, the counterattack against the Right deviationist

attempt is bound to meet with rabid resistance and disruption from class enemies at home and abroad, particularly the bourgeoisie in the Party. We should keep a watchful eye at all times on the new trends of class struggle. It is necessary to stop the class enemies from spreading rumours, creating disturbances, inciting the masses to fight against one another, sabotaging the revolution and production. It is imperative to exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over the handful of class enemies who fabricate political rumours in an attempt to confuse and poison people's minds and attack and split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, track them down sternly and deal resolute blows at them.

It is necessary to strengthen leadership over the movement. The current anti-Right deviationist struggle is being conducted under the unified leadership of the Party committees at various levels. We should not establish inter-unit ties; we should not organize fighting groups or gang up in factions. We should have faith in the masses and rely on them. We should educate the few people who are misled and duped by rumours and do ideological work well among them.

Let us unite and advance along the course indicated by Chairman Mao!

TEXT 30

A GENERAL PROGRAM FOR CAPITALIST RESTORATION

—An Analysis of “On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Nation”

Cheng Yueh

The great struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is pressing ahead from victory to victory. The revisionist program of “taking the three directives as the key link” set forth by that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party has come under penetrating criticism by Chairman Mao and by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country. Chairman Mao pointed out: “**What! ‘Take the three directives as the key link’! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.**” This instruction by Chairman Mao fundamentally and explicitly points out the reactionary essence of “taking the three directives as the key” in negating class struggle as the key link and the Party’s basic line, in opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat and in restoring capitalism.

A small number of people once held that “taking the three directives as the key link” only involved the question of “formulation.” Well, then, let us take a look at an article written under the instigation of that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party. The article, entitled “On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Nation” (here under the “General Program” for short). In even blunter words, it thoroughly exposes the program of “taking the three directives as the key link” dished up by that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party as a program for all-round capitalist restoration.

I.

The “General Program” begins with setting forth realization of the “four modernizations” as the objective of struggle for the Party in the next 25 years, and then proposes “taking the three directives as the key link.” The article says: “The three directives” “are not only the general program for all work of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole

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nation at present, but also the general work program in the entire course of struggle for fulfilling the grand goal during the next 25 years." This generalization pointedly shows that the program of "taking the three directives as the key link" dished up by that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party is entirely aimed at countering Chairman Mao's instructions on taking class struggle as the key link and at negating the basic program and basic line of our Party.

What is the basic task for the whole Party and the people of the whole country in the entire historical period of socialism, including the coming 25 years? Our Party's Constitution in its "First Chapter—General Principles" clearly provides: "The basic program of the Communist Party of China is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism." To fulfill this basic program of our Party, Chairman Mao has set forth the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism, that is: "**Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.**" Therefore, the basic task for the whole Party and the people of the whole country not only at present but also throughout the entire historical period of socialism, including the next 25 years, is to fight for nothing but the realization of our Party's basic program and the execution of its basic line. Should we develop the national economy? Should we achieve all-round modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology in two stages before the end of this century? Of course we should! However, this is only a task we should fulfill in order to realize the basic program of our Party. Although it is a magnificent task, it is not the basic task of the Party, still less the whole task of our Party. Originally the "four modernizations" were set forth as a plan in connection with

the task of developing the national economy. However, to pull off a monumental hoax, the "General Program" sets forth the realization of "four modernizations" as a major premise for all work both at present and in the next 25 years, a premise on which all of our work must be based. This fully shows that, in the eyes of that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, at present, the only task is to undertake production and construction, there being no need for class struggle, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This then completely negates our Party's basic program and thoroughly tampers with the basic task and the orientation of advance for the whole Party and the people of the whole country.

After setting forth the major premise, a premise which requires no attention to be paid to class struggle and socialist revolution, the "General Program" then goes on the offensive, alleging that "taking the three directives as the key link" is the "general program for all work" not only at present but also in the future, including the next 25 years. Thus, it absurdly regards Chairman Mao's important instructions on such questions as the theory of proletarian dictatorship as something serving only the purpose of achieving the "four modernizations." This is an out-and-out distortion of Chairman Mao's instructions. Those who resort to eclecticism and sophistry are opposed to dialectics and pay no attention to dialectical logic, but that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party and his "General Program" even make no reference to formal logic or reasoning. On the pretext that "a unified whole cannot be cut apart," he arbitrarily proposed "taking the three directives as the key link" and in no time turned it into a "general program for all work" of the whole Party and the whole country in the coming 25 years. Isn't that imposed on others? It is precisely by using this tactic that that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party negates class struggle as the key link, rejects the Party's basic line and concocts a revisionist program which is fundamentally antithetical to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and has nothing to do with Chairman Mao's instructions.

It is not accidental that the "General Program" begins and ends with calling for realization of "four modernizations." Here a question of utmost importance is raised, namely, what historical course China should take in the future, including the next 25 years? We believe that China is now in an important period of historical development: to adhere to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, carry the socialist revolution through to the end, build a more prosperous great socialist country and gradually march toward communism, or to practice revisionism, restore the old order and take the beaten track of Soviet social-imperialism? The next several decades will certainly be a period marked

by a violent struggle between the two roads and two kinds of future. For the sake of the basic interests of the Chinese people and the people of the world, we must fight for the first kind of future and against the second. The Party's basic line is the only correct line for achieving this goal, a lifeline of the proletariat and the revolutionary people. That is why Chairman Mao has time and again pointed out: "**Never forget classes and class struggle**" and "**we must remind ourself of**" the Party's basic line "**every year, every month and every day.**" Since that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party substitutes "taking the three directives as the key link" for the Party's basic line and negates class struggle as the key link, he naturally wants to have the second kind of future and opposes the first. As a matter of fact, his so-called realization of "**four modernizations**" is nothing but a blueprint for all-round restoration of capitalism. Against this revisionist line our whole Party, whole army and the people of the whole country must of course wage a tit-for-tat struggle.

II.

Does "taking the three directives as the key link" really include the study of the theory on proletarian dictatorship? It is entirely false and deceptive. People need only to take a look at how the "**General Program**" distorts and opposes Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of the theory of proletarian dictatorship to be able to understand the tricks played by the revisionists.

Toward the end of 1974, Chairman Mao issued an important instruction on the question of theory, pointing out: "**Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to make this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.**" Speaking of the socialist system, Chairman Mao said: "**In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was more or less the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange through money, and in all this is scarcely different from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed.**" Chairman Mao pointed out: "**Our country at present practices a commodity system; the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. So if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. Therefore, we should read more Marxist-Leninist works.**" The main feature of these instructions of Chairman Mao's is to emphasize the necessity and importance of

restricting bourgeois rights in combatting and preventing revisionism, further pointing out to us the orientation of continuing the revolution both in the superstructure and in the economic base under the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, what does the "General Program" say about the instruction on the question of theory? It completely casts aside the main theme of Chairman Mao's instruction, namely, the question of restricting bourgeois rights, and even does not say one word about it. The question of bourgeois rights being the soil and conditions engendering a new bourgeoisie, the question of revisionism as the main danger, the question of struggle between the two lines in the Party, and the question of dealing with capitalist roaders—all these disappear out of sight in the "General Program." This clearly shows that the so-called "taking the three directives as the key link" is solely aimed at twisting and abolishing Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of theory, the theory of proletarian dictatorship.

Abolishing the actual content of the theory on proletarian dictatorship reveals the bourgeois nature of capitalist roaders. Chairman Mao, hitting the nail on the head, pointed out recently: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights they resent it. 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." This Marxist-Leninist viewpoint of Chairman Mao's profoundly points out the errors in line committed by that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party and the ideological origin and class root-causes of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts stirred up by him. It is precisely because that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party is afraid that the socialist revolution may cause him to come under fire, restrict the bourgeois rights they like and affect their bourgeois stand and world outlook that he cannot wait to dish up "taking the three directives as the key link," oppose taking class struggle as the key link, distort and tamper with Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of theory, and advocate the theory of the dying out of class struggle in order to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party. Confronted with the Marxist revolutionary edge and afraid that their class would soon die out, those who hang up the signboard of "communists" but who actually represent the interests of the bourgeoisie always try by all possible means to distort and castrate the revolutionary content of Marxism, blunt its revolutionary edge, and make it suit the needs of the bourgeoisie. Is this not what that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party and his "General Program" have

done?

Do things stop here? No. Those who reject taking class struggle as the key link and advocate the theory of the dying out of class struggle have always wanted to “put out” only the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie and not the bourgeois offensives against the proletariat. The fact that while opposing class struggle, the “General Program” fiercely attacks the proletariat shows more than anything else this characteristic of class struggle.

Our Party’s basic theory and basic practice tell us: The principal contradiction throughout the historical period of socialism is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the main danger is revisionism, the subject of revolution is the bourgeoisie, and the target is persons in power in the Party taking the capitalist road. But what does the “General Program” say about this? Hoisting the banner of opposing the ultra-“Left,” it says that the main problem at present is that some “class enemies who oppose Marxism inherit the mantle from Lin Piao, always take over our revolutionary slogans and then distort and emasculate them,” that they “throw the good cadres of the Party and advanced model personalities off the stage.” It even alleges that “this struggle is the concentrated expression of the present struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines.”

The “General Program” here uses the term “class enemies who oppose Marxism,” but deliberately covers up its class content. To whom does it allude? The capitalist roaders in the Party? No. Not only is the “General Program” as silent about the concept of capitalist roaders in the Party as Ah Q is about the scabs on his head, but it also forbids others to refer to it. Does it allude to landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and old and new bourgeois elements? No, either. Because the “General Program” explains clearly that these people are not included in the concept “class enemies who oppose Marxism.” In fact, judging by the fact that they regard persisting in class struggle as the key link as going against “taking the three directives as the key,” this “unified whole which cannot be cut apart,” “class enemies” who “emasculate revolutionary slogans” are those Chinese Communists who adhere to Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line, Marxists who persevere in taking class struggle as the key link. Taking a bourgeois reactionary stand, they brand all revolutionary people who persist in exercising proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie as “class enemies.” They do so both in writing and in practice. They describe Lin Piao’s ultra-Right revisionist line as ultra-“Left.” In this way, they can use such phrases as “inheriting Lin Piao’s mantle” to attack all revolutionary people who criticize revisionism, i.e., Right opportunism, denounce the Great Proletarian

Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and take the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao as treasure. The so-called “inheriting Lin Piao’s mantle” (and not a bit inheriting Liu Shao-chi’s mantle!) and “taking over our revolutionary slogans, distorting and emasculating them”—this Hu Feng-type rhetoric can be appreciated by the new landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, old and new bourgeois elements, by unrepentant capitalist roaders and people who want to reverse the verdicts of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and settle scores with it. It delights them because these are the words in their hearts they want to express.

The “General Program” also attacks class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, alleging that they “throw our Party’s fine cadres and advanced model personalities off the stage.” This is sheer fabrication and slander. That unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party once said: “Proper policies must be implemented for old workers and experienced cadres because once a movement starts it often hurts them.” Those words said in the “General Program” are copied from here. The phrase “once a movement starts” applies to all the important line struggles waged by our Party in the past, and all these struggles are totally negated. It may be asked: Is it true that from criticizing Chen Tu-hsiu, Li Li-san, Chu Chiu-pai, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-tao to criticizing Kao Kang, Peng Te-hua, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, “once a movement starts,” all experienced cadres and old workers were “hurt.” Did they all “throw the Party’s fine cadres and advanced model personalities off the stage”? Is this not a distortion of and slander against the series of political movements carried out by our Party under Chairman Mao’s leadership, including the Great Cultural Revolution? Here, the “General Program” completely lays bare its reactionary features by pointing the spearhead at Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line. We say: “Once the movement starts,” it is bound to “hurt” people. But people it “often hurts” are not experienced old cadres and workers, but those “old” chieftains of the revisionist line and the erroneous line they push. If we did not wage struggle against their erroneous line, our Party would not have developed nor led the people of the whole nation to triumphantly enter the socialist revolution from the democratic revolution, and we would not have been able to continue our advance toward communism. It is precisely because “once a movement starts” it will “hurt” the revisionist line that the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party feel sad about this and want to reverse the verdicts and re-write our Party’s history. However, this can only be sheer wishful thinking!

That unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party frantically tries to

reverse the verdicts of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and settle scores with it, and to carry out restorationist activities in all spheres by his "taking the three directives as the key link." He repeatedly clamors for "readjustment." How to "readjust"? The "General Program" says clearly: It is necessary to "readjust work in all fields" by "taking the three directives as the key link." "Readjustment is needed in industry, agriculture, communications and transport, finance and trade, science and technology, culture, education and health, literature and art, the army and also the Party." My goodness, nine major "readjustments"! From the economic base to the superstructure, from within the Party to outside it, from the localities to the center, everything is bad and must be "readjusted," and not a bit or drop should be allowed to escape from the net. We also say that certain work in certain fields should be readjusted, but that is aimed at further implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, principles and policies, and at doing our work better. What, then, is the all-inclusive "readjustment" which that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party wants to carry out? Through the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts in such fields as education, science and technology, literature and art, and health, we have seen very clearly that he wants to use "readjustment" to reverse the verdicts of the Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it and to go back to the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. In calling for an all-round "readjustment," he actually wants to launch an all-out counter-attack in revenge, that is, to restore capitalism in an all-round way.

If, as the "General Program" says, some people "practice revisionism by hoisting the banner of anti-revisionism and carry out restoration by hoisting the banner of anti-restoration," that is no more than a self-portrait of that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party and of his "General Program" of "taking the three directives as the key link."

III.

On the question of relationship between politics and economics and between revolution and production, the "General Program" also grossly distorts and tampers with Chairman Mao's instructions. Making no mention of class struggle and socialist revolution in the economic sphere, it draws the development of the national economy into the orbit of the revisionist theory of productive forces.

As we all know, although the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production has been in the main completed in our country it has not been fully finished. Even in those sec-

tors where socialist transformation has been carried out, a fierce struggle between transformation and anti-transformation and between restoration and anti-restoration is still present. In respect to relations between men and distribution, there is still the question of continuing to deepen the socialist revolution. Therefore, while carrying out socialist construction, we must strive to solve various problems in the relations of production and do a good job of revolution in the superstructure. This means that we must grasp class struggle as the key link, grasp revolution and promote production. Because it is opposed to the correct policy of "**grasping revolution and promoting production**," the "General Program" goes all out to attack the Great Cultural Revolution by saying that since it was started, "attention has been paid only to politics but not to economics, only to revolution but not to production. Anyone who mentions the need to grasp production and do a good job of economic construction would be accused of promoting 'the theory of productive forces' and practicing revisionism." Such an attack precisely exposes the reactionary stand of the "General Program" in upholding the revisionist theory of productive forces.

Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, the revolutionary masses have applied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to revolutionary mass criticism of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, including the criticism of the theory of productive forces peddled by them. Such mass criticism is a class struggle waged by the proletariat to smash capitalist restoration. This is what the "General Program" slanders as "attention has been paid only to politics but not to economics, only to revolution but not to production." However, many living facts show that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a strong motive force in the development of China's productive forces. Mass criticism of the revisionist line and the theory of productive forces has promoted the substantial development of socialist production and produced solid fruits. Is it right for the masses of people to label Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and their like as "revisionists" and "promoters of the theory of productive forces"? Absolutely right! These two labels are quite appropriate and should not be removed! Lenin said it well: "**The negation of revisionism is aimed at covering up one's own revisionism.**" The negation of the criticism of the revisionist theory of productive forces by that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party and by his "General Program" is aimed at inheriting the mantle of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, at continuing to push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and theory of productive forces.

To say that we pay "attention only to politics but not to economics, only to revolution but not to production" is nothing but to confuse black and white and right and wrong. It may be asked: When the eight

hundred million people, by relying on their own efforts, grow their own food and make their own clothing and establish an independent national economic system on the basis of self-reliance, and when they have smashed the economic blockades and blackmail by imperialism and social-imperialism, do they "not pay attention to economics" and "not pay attention to production"? Eating the food grown by the masses of people, wearing the clothes made by the masses of people and living in the houses built by the masses of people and yet uttering such nonsense as "paying no attention to economics and production"—this is virtually a shameless vilification against our Party and the vast masses and cadres battling at the frontline of industrial and agricultural production for a long time!

The difference between Marxism and the revisionist theory of productive forces is not on the question of whether or not it is necessary to grasp production and do a good job in economic construction. Marxism has always attached great importance to the development of productive forces, but it has also held all along that the development of productive forces cannot be separated from the reform of the relations of production and the superstructure, and that only by grasping revolution will it be possible to promote production. And the adjustment in the relations of production will pave the way for the development of productive forces. Man is the most important productive force. As long as proletarian politics is placed in command and man's enthusiasm for socialism is fully aroused under socialist conditions, production will flourish at a swift tempo. But the theory of productive forces does away with class struggle and the socialist revolution in the superstructure and the relations of production. It regards the development of production as the only decisive thing. Such is the crux of the matter. If we, as that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party advocates, devote ourselves only to production and construction without paying attention to class struggle and revolution and let revisionism prevail and capitalism be restored, then the developed economy, production and "four modernizations" will become material forces oppressing and enslaving the proletariat and the working people. Therefore, after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin repeatedly reminded the Party and the people that "**90 percent of our attention and activities are and should be centered on this basic issue—overthrow the bourgeoisie, establish the proletarian political power, and eliminate all possibilities of capitalist restoration.**"

When that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party and his "General Program" so energetically attack others for "paying no attention to economics" and "paying no attention to production," is he really interested in socialist production? No! His only interest is in

capitalist production, in undermining the socialist relations of production and the productive forces. In his eyes, “do a good job in production” is actually intended to restore what belongs to capitalism. This is clearly disclosed in the section of the “General Program” on enterprise management. The “General Program” says: Following the development of production and technology, “rules and regulations will become increasingly strict, demanding that people strictly abide by these rules and regulations.” “This is so not only in capitalist society but in socialist society as well, and will be so in the future communist society.” These views totally negate the class nature of rules and regulations and ignore the essential difference between socialism and communism, and capitalism. As we know, rules and regulations reflect human relations in production, and have a clear-cut class nature. Rules and regulations of economic sectors in capitalist society oppress and fleece the working class and the laboring people. We are a socialist country, whose masters are the working class and laboring people. We are in favor of relying on the working class and the laboring people in setting up rules and regulations suited to the development of socialist economy. We oppose anarchy, and also object to “Control, restriction and repression” of the workers and laboring people by exercising bourgeois dictatorship. The “Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company,” personally approved by Chairman Mao, embodies the basic principles that should be followed by the rules and regulations of socialist enterprises. Yet the “General Program” says nothing about this but, instead, cries for the need to set up “increasingly strict” rules and regulations. The rules and regulations in the economic sectors of capitalism are indeed very strict and rigorous. The time workers spend in the toilet also has to be taken into account, and they will be punished in various ways if they exceed the time-limit allowed. But the “General Program” looks upon such rules and regulations as above-class, above-time things, claiming that this is so not only in capitalist society but also in socialist and communist societies. If this is not a call for restoring capitalism, what is it? If it is not a call for a dictatorship over the working class and the laboring people, what is it? If we link this to other words and deeds of that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, we can see even more clearly that the reason why he proposes “taking the three directives as the key link” and regards development of the national economy also a “key link” is that he wants to implement his revisionist line of “disregarding the distinction between the white cat and the black cat” and disregarding the difference between imperialism and Marxism, a line which actually wants capitalism and not socialism.

IV.

“Taking the three directives as the key link” is couched in Marxist phrases and concocted by an eclectical sleight of hand. It is a hypocritical and reactionary revisionist program. The “General Program,” as a means of publicizing “taking the three directives as the key link,” also reflects this characteristic. It is a big hodgepodge which is very poor theoretically, very bad in tactics, fragmentary, confusing in logic and contradictory in ideology. But it helps us further understand and criticize the reactionary essence of “taking the three directives as the key link.” On this point, it is valuable teaching material by negative example.

To criticize in depth “taking the three directives as the key link” is of tremendous significance to us in upholding Marxism, and combatting revisionism, sticking to socialism and opposing capitalism. A political program can be a long thesis or a simple general outline. But, be it a long thesis or a short outline, it invariably involves the principled question of whether to practice Marxism or revisionism, including the question of whether to keep to or oppose the theoretical basis of a proletarian political party. The teachers of proletarian revolution have always attached major importance to the principled nature and purity of the proletarian political program, always adopted a clear-cut stand in uncompromising struggles against all kinds of opportunist and revisionist programs, deeply and thoroughly criticized them politically and ideologically, and pointed out the correct direction for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. When criticizing *The Gotha Program*, Marx said: **“It is my duty not to give recognition, even by diplomatic silence, to what in my opinion is a thoroughly objectionable program that demoralizes the party.”** The moment the opportunist Duhring emerged to oppose the Party’s theoretical basis, Engels intended to criticize him, and with Marx’s support, he determinedly **“put everything aside to deal with this nuisance—Duhring.”**

On the question regarding the theoretical basis of Marxism, we must adopt a serious, militant attitude. This is because the mistaken views or slogans on the question of theoretical basis will often lead to thoroughly betraying Marxism, to the evil path of revisionism. When Khrushchev put forward the revisionist line of “peaceful transition,” Chairman Mao sharply pointed out: **“Is the October Revolution still good? Can it still be taken as a model for all other countries? Khrushchev’s report delivered at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party said that political power could be seized through the parliamentary road. This means that other countries need not learn from the October Revolution. Once this door is open, Leninism will be**

basically cast away." When Liu Shao-chi advanced the so-called "contradiction between the four-cleans and the four-uncleans" during the socialist education movement, Chairman Mao realized that this was an attempt to reject the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as the principal contradiction and to ignore the principled question that classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist in socialist society. He pointed out: "**If we forget this basic theory and practice of our Party in the past dozen years, we will go astray.**" When Lin Piao dished up his revisionist theoretical program of the "theory of innate geniis," Chairman Mao promptly exposed its reactionary nature. He pointed out: the question of whether "**history is made by heroes or by slaves,**" whether man's knowledge (and ability which also falls into the category of knowledge) is innate or acquired after birth, and whether we should keep to the idealist theory of transcendentalism or the materialist theory of reflection, is a major question of right and wrong concerning two classes, two lines and two kinds of world outlook. He called on the whole Party to take the Marxist stand and draw a clear demarcation line with Lin Piao's revisionism. Today, when that unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party proposes "taking the three directives as the key link," it is likewise not a simple question of formulation, but a question involving whether we can uphold our Party's basic program and basic line and whether we should consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat or restore capitalism. If we are to uphold Marxism and defend the theoretical basis of the proletarian party and prevent it from being altered or distorted, we must fight and thoroughly criticize the fallacy of "taking the three directives as the key link." We believe that through the struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts and the thorough criticism of "taking the three directives as the key link," our Party and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat will certainly advance still more rapidly and win still greater victories.

TEXT 31

CRITICISM OF SELECTED PASSAGES OF "CERTAIN QUESTIONS ON ACCELERATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY"

"Certain Questions on Accelerating the Development of Industry" (hereafter "20 Points" for short), cooked up by order of the unrepentant capitalist roader, Teng Hsiao-ping, is a sinister banner for capitalist restoration on the industrial front. It fanatically trumpets the theory of productive forces and the theory of the dying out of class struggle; energetically peddles material incentives, putting profit in command, dictatorship by stereotype, management of factories by specialists and the slavish comprador philosophy that have been totally discredited and repudiated by us workers; and opposes putting proletarian politics in command, wholehearted reliance on the working class, the policy of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our hands and regeneration through self-reliance, developing the initiative of both central and local authorities, and the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company." The "20 Points" is a product of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Teng Hsiao-ping. Under the excellent situation marked by the victoriously developing struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we must fully utilize this teaching material by negative example to further expose Teng's reactionary features in opposing the great leader Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line.

The So-Called "Foreword"

The "20 Points" pretentiously begins with an extract from Premier Chou En-lai's "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered at the 4th National People's Congress that deals with the realization of the four modernizations. In that report Premier Chou stressed: "Socialist revolution is the powerful engine for developing the social productive forces," "While tackling economic tasks, our leading comrades at all levels must pay close attention to the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure and keep a firm grasp on class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Only when we do well in revolution is it possi-

Survey of People's Republic of China Magazines #873 (76-15). (Translation of article in *Hsueh-hsi yu P'i-p'an [Study and Criticism]* #4, April 14, 1976.)

ble to do well in production.” These most important words, however, were all dropped. By the tactic of chopping the head and keeping the tail, the “20 Points” publicizes revisionist contraband with stolen revolutionary phrases. Recently, criticizing the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping, Chairman Mao pointed out: “**This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of ‘white cat, black cat,’ making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism.**” What kind of stuff are the “modernizations” Teng Hsiao-ping vowed to promote at all costs? The answer was given by a band of counter-revolutionaries who engineered the recent counter-revolutionary incident at Tienanmen Square. The “day when the four modernizations are achieved,” a day of which they dreamed, was no more than the day when capitalism was restored. By a concrete analysis of the “20 Points,” we may see clearly that Teng Hsiao-ping’s claim to promote modernization is false while his opposition to revolution is real, and that his pledge to push production forward is false while his intention to pull down the red flag is genuine.

The So-Called “General Program of Work”

(Text) “Chairman Mao’s directives concerning the study of theory, combating and preventing revisionism, stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward constitute a general program for all work of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation. This key link must be firmly grasped if we are to accelerate the development of industry.”

(Criticism) Behind the back of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping put forward the revisionist program of “taking the three directives as the key link” in an attempt to confuse the primary and secondary issues and replace the primary issue with the secondary. He tried to alter the Party’s basic line by the abominable tactic of covering up the real facts. Between May and July last year, he described the “three directives” as “the key link for a period.” A month later, in August, he described them as “the key link for all work.” Then, between August and September the “20 Points” which he had concocted became the “General Program for All Work of the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the Whole Nation.” It follows that Teng’s “three directives as the key link” was not an accidental matter of “improper formulation,” but a planned and organized action for restoration.

Chairman Mao points out: “**What! ‘Take the three directives as the key link’! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.**” Recently,

through the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind, we workers of Shanghai further raised our consciousness of class and line struggle and of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This has given a strong boost to production. In the first quarter of this year, output in the light industry, chemical, instrument, electric power and other industries showed increases over the corresponding period of last year. When the key link is grasped, the situation will improve and production will rise step by step. This is powerful criticism of "taking the three directives as the key link" and a strong head-on blow to the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

So-Called "Importing Advanced Technology"

(Text) "It is necessary to stick to the policy of combining study with independent creation. It is imperative to study with an open mind all advanced and superior things from abroad, to import foreign advanced technology in a planned and appropriate manner and put it to our use in order to speed up the development of the national economy. We must insist on maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our hands and regeneration through self-reliance, and oppose the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of crawling behind others at a snail's pace. However, under no circumstances must we become cocky, close our doors and refuse to learn from the good things of other countries.

"It is necessary to combat not only the practice of copying things from others wholesale but also the practice of changing them and acting recklessly without learning to master them."

(Criticism) Chairman Mao teaches us: "**Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary.**" It is necessary to import some advanced technology from abroad, but the keynote in doing so must be regeneration through self-reliance. Countries which develop their economies by relying on others cannot possibly hold their fate in their own hands. As a socialist country, we must have an independent economic system and can only take our own road of industrial development. Innumerable facts prove that the Chinese people are entirely capable of catching up with and surpassing the world's advanced standards in the field of science and technology. However, the "20 Points" lauds foreign technology as having "much higher efficiency," consistently stressing the need to "study the good things of other countries" "as soon as possible," "with an open mind," and "swiftly." Please look at the facts: "building 10,000-ton freighters with 10,000 tons of effort," we have built an increasing number of ships and with increasingly better results. Yet they insisted on spending

up to a million U.S. dollars on importing a “scrap ship” discarded by the foreign capitalists. We built long ago such advanced equipment as turbo-generators with inner water-cool rotor and stator, yet they still wanted to accept out-dated generators produced by the Soviet revisionists in the 1940's and 1950's. They always fixed their eyes on other countries, stretched out their hands abroad, and begged from foreign bigshots such things as “advanced technology.” Wasn't this an attempt to tie the fate of our industry to the belts of foreign capitalists?

Chairman Mao says: “**Learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously, and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it.**” Foreign technology must be divided into two. Technical designs of capitalist countries serve the pursuit of the highest profits by the monopoly bourgeoisie and bear a clearcut class coat of arms. How can we use them without distinguishing the “white cat and black cat”? In Teng Hsiao-ping's eyes, all foreign things are “good things.” He would angrily denounce anyone who criticizes and transforms the irrational elements of foreign things as being “cocky, and closing the doors,” and would issue the order to prohibit “reckless changing and doing.” This fully reveals his reactionary features as a slavish comprador.

So-Called “Stepping Up the Export of Industrial and Mineral Products”

(Text) “In order to accelerate the exploration of our country's coal and petroleum resources, we may—on condition of equality and mutual benefit and according to such generally accepted practices as deferred payments and installment payments in international trade—sign long-term contracts with other countries, fix a few production points to which they will supply whole sets of suitable modern equipment, and then pay them with the coal and crude oil we produce.”

(Criticism) To beg “advanced technology” and equipment from foreign capitalists, the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping did not even scruple to pledge our country's precious natural resources as security. Falling to his knees, he did not hesitate to sell out our state sovereignty and national dignity. This cannot but anger us workers. As we find out, not long ago the Soviet revisionist *Pravda* also advocated: “We must make fuller use of our country's natural resources and, to this end, we must absorb foreign capital and experience so that we may in the future pay back our loans with a part of the products produced by our construction projects.” It is no wonder that this “major policy” advertised by Teng Hsiao-ping was “imported” from the Soviet revisionists!

According to this "major policy," we should import without restriction those things which we can produce and step up at all costs the export of those things which we need badly. If this state of affairs were allowed to continue, wouldn't our country turn into a market for the imperialists to dump their goods, into a raw material base, a repair and assembly workshop and an investment ground? Wouldn't we workers become wage laborers for foreign capitalists? To use our country's mineral reserves and labor with technology and equipment provided by foreign capitalists and let foreign bosses reap a huge fortune—such things had been done before, by Li Hung-chang, Yuan Shih-kai, and the enemy of the people Chiang Kai-shek. We will never forget those days when foreign bosses were fattened by the blood and sweat of Chinese workers. If economic independence is lost, it will also be impossible to maintain political independence. By setting forth that "major policy," Teng Hsiao-ping in fact wanted to capitulate to imperialism and social-imperialism, to auction off our state sovereignty. This will never be tolerated by us workers!

So-Called "Adjusting Enterprise Management"

(Text) "Indiscriminate opposition to enterprise management is bound to cause anarchy."

(Criticism) Enterprise management has a class character. In a class society, there has never been any above-class enterprise management. We oppose not only anarchism but also imposing on the worker masses bourgeois dictatorship in the form of "control, checks and coercion." By fabricating the rumor of "indiscriminate opposition to enterprise management," the "20 Points" merely resorts to the dirty tactics of "**imposing on the enemy in a polemic the apparently foolish ideas and then refuting them.**" (Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky") And its aim is to negate the achievements of struggle-criticism-transformation since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution and to reverse the verdict passed on the revisionist line on running enterprises.

Since the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution, we have, in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive concerning doing a serious job of struggle-criticism-transformation, criticized the revisionist line on running enterprises and further confirmed the role of workers as masters of factories. Within enterprises the relations between people have undergone impressive changes. In Shanghai alone, the worker masses have created many forms of participation by workers in management in accordance with the fundamental principles of the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and have moreover

institutionalized them. We warmly hail such revolutionary order! Taking the reactionary bourgeois stand, the "20 Points" smears our struggle-criticism-transformation as "indiscriminate opposition to enterprise management" and causing "management chaos," and submits that "it is necessary to readjust enterprise management and raise the management level." In reality it seeks to restore that kind of package consisting of "control, checks and coercion" before the Great Cultural Revolution, and engages in the dirty deal of restoring capitalism by hoisting the banner of opposing "anarchy."

(Text) "(It is necessary to) set up, under the unified leadership of Party committees, production management command systems which are effective and capable of operating independently to take charge of the day-to-day production activities in managing and directing enterprises, to handle promptly problems arising from production, and to assure the normal progress of production. Party committees should not be asked to handle directly all big and small matters, so that they will not be interfered with in attending to major issues and grasping ideo-political work."

(Criticism) Chairman Mao points out: "**In industry, agriculture, commerce, education, the army, government and the Party—in these seven sectors the Party must exercise leadership in everything.**" In factories and enterprises, it is only when we take class struggle as the key link and adhere to the Party's basic line under the centralized leadership of the Party that we can make the enterprises keep to the socialist orientation and fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grass-roots level. The revolutionary committees established during the Great Cultural Revolution represent a creation by the worker masses. But the "20 Points" makes no reference to the need to fully develop the role of revolutionary committees and instead, calls for setting up a "production management command system operating independently," and this is aimed at negating the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and socialist new things. They stress "independence" of Party leadership in "handling problems arising from production"; this in effect is to prohibit Party committees from handling problems that relate to the line, principles and policies in the sphere of production, to form their own system and a separate center, to put the Party committees aside, to separate the Party from government, to practice the revisionist "one chief system" to usurp the leadership of enterprises and to turn socialist enterprises into capitalist ones.

(Text) "The system of responsibility is the core of the rules and regulations of an enterprise. Without a strict system of responsibility, production can only be carried out in a chaotic manner. It is hence necessary to set up a system of responsibility as a vital step of readjusting enterprise

management. The responsibility must be clearly defined for each job and each post; every cadre, every worker, every technician must have a clearly defined responsibility."

(Criticism) What does a socialist enterprise mainly rely on in carrying out production and management successfully? To rely on the system of responsibility or on man's consciousness? In carrying out socialist large-scale production, we must of course have the necessary system of responsibility, but the more important thing is to conduct socialist education among cadres and workers, to continuously raise the political consciousness of workers and staff and to establish newtype socialist relations. "Any system must benefit the masses." The workers are the masters of socialist enterprises. We are in favor of relying on the worker masses in setting up rules and regulations conducive to the development of the socialist economy. If an enterprise does not rely on the worker masses in management, even rational rules and regulations may be used to impose "control, checks and coercion" on workers. By elevating the system of responsibility to the position of the "core," the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping wanted nothing other than to reject the leading position of the working class and attempt to lure workers into only doing "one job" well and sticking to "one post," engrossing themselves in production without bothering about politics and submitting to the revisionist line they push.

After comparing the changes in enterprise management before and after the Great Cultural Revolution, we deeply feel that if we do not talk about the line and the communist style of work but only about the system of responsibility, then such system of responsibility would even have the effect of disrupting production. In some industries, for instance, it was clearly stipulated in the past that production workers and repairmen should not step out of the bounds of their duties. As a result, when machines broke down, the production workers who were able to put them back to work had to stop their work and wait for the repairmen to arrive and put things right for them. This practically throttled the initiative of workers within the framework of division of work and turned them into slaves of division of work. Since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, the worker masses have said: "Though we do different jobs, we are all masters." We not only practice rational division of work and a necessary system of responsibility at individual posts but also break down the past narrow confines of division of work which stifled the initiative of the workers. Campaigns in various forms and activities of "specializing in one thing and capable of doing many other things" have developed flourishingly. Many of us workers have gone beyond the system of responsibility at individual posts and the demands we imposed on ourselves. By hurling the false accusation at us

that we now are “without a system of responsibility” and “carry out production in a chaotic manner,” doesn’t Teng want us to go back to the old road? We must tell him bluntly: You can’t do that!

So-Called “Two Kinds of Initiative”

(Text) “As for dual leadership bearing on the overall national economic situation, the central departments concerned should not only take care of the principles, policies and unified planning for large enterprises of mainly local nature, but should also take care of the allocation of products produced by these enterprises and handle the problems of major material supplies which localities are unable to solve.”

(Criticism) In accordance with Chairman Mao’s directive “**Having two kinds of initiative is much better than having only one kind of initiative**” and “**localities should be encouraged to do more things under central unified planning**,” we criticized the dictatorship by stereotype and conducted positive reform of the industrial administrative system during the Great Cultural Revolution. This is an important achievement of the Great Cultural Revolution.

But the “20 Points,” leaving no stone unturned in spreading slander, makes ten charges such as “wilful,” “violation,” “unauthorized,” and “indiscriminate allocation and use” to negate the excellent situation that has appeared on the industrial front since an overwhelming majority of enterprises have been handed over to local management after the start of the Great Cultural Revolution. Saying that enterprises handed over to local management “must not be left without control,” it tries by every possible means to stifle the local initiative, to reverse the verdict passed on “the dictatorship by stereotype” promoted by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and company, launch a counter-attack in revenge and seeks restoration and regression on the industrial front. Under the pretext of “concentration” and “centralization,” they call for “control” and “resumption” in an attempt to “rigidly control” those enterprises that have been handed over to local management as well as national economic plans so as to hold the local initiative “in check.” They vainly try to “centralize” enterprises that have been handed over to local management and bring them onto the road of capitalist restoration and to “concentrate” the power of decentralization in the hands of the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping so as to turn socialist ownership by the whole people into ownership by capitalist roaders.

(Text) “From each according to his ability and to each according to his work is a socialist principle. In the socialist period this principle must be resolutely enforced since it basically meets the demands of the developing productive forces. Practicing egalitarian distribution without regard

to the nature of work, the physical capacity of people and the amount of contribution made would dampen the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses."

(*Criticism*) From each according to his ability and to each according to his work is a socialist principle of distribution. Lenin said, "**In the sense that products are distributed 'according to work,' 'bourgeois rights' still hold the dominating position.**" ("The State and Revolution") From each according to his ability is the premise of distribution according to work. Only when everyone does his best, promotes the communist spirit of labor and criticizes bourgeois rights is it possible to correctly handle and carry out distribution according to work. The worker comrades say rightly: "To make contribution to the best of one's ability, one must not bother solely with distribution according to work."

Not only must we see the necessity of practicing distribution according to work in socialist society, but we must also see the necessity of restricting bourgeois rights manifested in the course of distribution according to work. The "20 Points" mentions only the aspect of "basically meeting the demands of the developing productive forces," but not the other aspect of incompatibility, thus essentially denying the existence of bourgeois rights in the field of distribution in a vain attempt to protect and extend the soil engendering capitalism and new bourgeois elements and undermine the socialist economic base.

To advocate that distribution should be carried out according to "the physical capacity of people and the amount of contribution made" is to openly preach the virtue of working for money, that whoever works better makes more money. This is material incentive, pure and simple. Enthusiasm "stimulated" in this way can never be socialist enthusiasm but bourgeois individualist "enthusiasm." We workers still remember vividly the harm done by the practice of material incentives before the Great Cultural Revolution. In those days, work performance was assessed and bonuses were given every month and with "increasing rigidity," thereby seriously corroding the workers' ranks. Didn't the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping cry aloud that he himself "had done hard work if he had won no merit, or even if he had done no hard work, he had done tiresome work"? Since he himself made the "greatest contribution," it was only logical that he should "receive" the most. In the final analysis, "to reward according to merit" was intended to protect the interests of the revisionist big officials.

(*Text*) "Bourgeois rights must not be restricted in isolation from material and spiritual conditions at the present stage. Under no circumstances must we reject distribution according to work, refuse to recognize the necessary differences and instead practice egalitarianism."

(Criticism) It is utterly nonsense to make the false accusation that bourgeois rights are criticized and restricted “in isolation from the material and spiritual conditions at the present stage.” Talking about conditions, the most important one is the communist consciousness on the part of the broad masses of workers. In 1958, we workers voluntarily proposed the abolition of piece-work wages, thus effectively pounding at bourgeois rights in the sphere of distribution. Do you still remember this? During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, criticism of the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao resulted in the appearance of large groups of socialist new things and the continuous emergence of heart-stirring deeds reflecting the communist spirit. Have you forgotten that? It is our belief that only by persistently criticizing and restricting bourgeois rights is it possible to gradually create conditions for the elimination of bourgeois rights and, failing that, bourgeois rights will prepare the conditions for capitalist restoration. Bourgeois rights are the root of life for capitalist roaders, and no wonder that they resent and are hurt by our criticism of bourgeois rights.

Chairman Mao says: “**Even now China still practices the eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs little from the old society.**” It should be seen that the main tendency we must prevent and combat in the field of distribution at present is not toward “egalitarianism” but toward expansion of differences between grades. Even in the case of so-called “egalitarianism,” what we oppose is “absolute” egalitarianism, and we are in favor of general equality and common affluence. In opposing “practice of egalitarianism,” the “20 Points” actually counters Chairman Mao’s important directive on the question of theory and paves the way for the extension of bourgeois rights and the enforcement of the revisionist line of material incentives and putting banknotes in command.

(Text) “It is necessary to introduce a normal system of promotion. According to the attitude of the workers and staff toward labor, the rise in their technical capability and performance in labor and work . . . each year the wages of a number of workers and staff should be increased.”

(Criticism) Here the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping smilingly made out a check: “Increase the wages each year.” It sounds very nice indeed, but on a close examination, it isn’t right. Only “a number” will see their wages increased. Which “a number”? Here there are three criteria, which are concerned only with labor and not with putting proletarian politics in command, and only with techniques and not with revolution. In other words, you must honestly toe his revisionist line and become his docile tool, and he will give you a reward. If you criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie, he will give you hardship.

Such a “system of promotion” is one of “carrot” and “stick” by means of which he imposes bourgeois dictatorship over the workers. Buying off workers and suppressing them was what capitalists had done in the past. If his “system of promotion” were followed, “a number” of workers who were so “promoted” would become worker aristocrats and betraying the working class, while the vast majority of workers who persevere in revolution not only would not be “promoted” but would be “degraded” and “reduced” into wage laborers to be exploited by a handful of capitalist roaders. Nothing can be more vicious than this method, but we workers will never fall into the trap.

So-Called “Concern for the Livelihood of Workers and Staff”

(Text) “It is basically wrong to adopt an indifferent attitude toward the difficulties in the livelihood of the masses.”

(Criticism) Our Party has always shown concern for the livelihood of the masses. It is an undeniable fact that since the Great Cultural Revolution began and in the wake of continuous development of the national economy, the livelihood of the masses of people has further improved. But the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping, hoisting the signboard of “pleading for the people,” gives the expression that he alone understands the sufferings of the people most and is most concerned about their livelihood. His “concern” actually harbors a sinister motive. He alleges: “Without vegetables and without meat, how can we develop industry well?” This is a malicious vilification of the excellent situation of the national economy, a shameless slander against the working class, and a vicious provocation aimed at driving a wedge between the Party and the masses. The workers of Taching opened up the Taching Oilfield at a high speed and with satisfactory results by sheer hard work on a barren plain. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai transformed nature and reaped bumper harvest on barren hills short of water and under harsh circumstances where crops failed in nine years out of ten. Can it be that this was achieved through “stimulation” by “pork”? Such socialist enthusiasm is generated only if we arm ourselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. Teng Hsiao-ping’s fallacies are no better than a reprint of Lin Piao’s “inducements in the form of official appointments, high emoluments and favors,” and are sugar-coated poison.

So-Called “Red and Expert”

(Text) “To create an atmosphere where everyone strives to study

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and at the same time delves into technical and vocational studies, it is particularly necessary to pay heed to making the two mutually coordinated and not antagonistic to each other. It is necessary to positively create conditions for the broad masses of workers and staff to become both Red and expert."

(*Criticism*) Chairman Mao has always encouraged everyone to be Red and expert. Since the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution, mass movements to study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works have flourished in factories and enterprises. Socialist new things—such as workers' theoretical contingents, July 21 workers' universities, mass scientific research activities, and "three-in-one" technical innovations and new product experiments—have sprung up endlessly like bamboo shoots after rain, and large groups of both Red and expert personnel have grown up rapidly.

But the "20 Points" charges us with making Red and expert "antagonistic to each other," while at the same time resorting to eclectic tactics, it puts "study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought" and "technical vocational studies" on an equal footing with a view to emasculating the role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in guiding technical and vocation work in order to achieve the criminal goal of transposing the relationship between Red and expert and publicizing the white and expert road. They negate the Party's policy of uniting, educating and transforming intellectuals, accuse the Party of being unconcerned about intellectuals, and do everything they could to advocate that "white and expert is good for the Chinese People's Republic" and "should be cherished and praised." In the light of their absurd arguments spread everywhere to incite people to stir up the "vocational typhoon" and "economic typhoon," and "if the 8th-grade typhoon is not strong enough, blow the 12th-grade typhoon," it is not difficult to see that while hoisting the banner of "creating conditions for the broad masses of workers and staff to become both Red and expert," the "20 Points" actually encourages some people to take the white and expert road and train "talent" for capitalist restoration.

So-Called "Methods of Work and Style of Work"

In its last two sections, the "20 Points" pretentiously deals at length with "promoting materialist dialectics" for the purpose of attaching the "materialist dialectic" label to these regulations.

What is false is false, and the mask should be taken off. What does the "20 Points" promote after all: dialectics or passing off eclecticism for dialectics? As the "general program" for industrial development, the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link"

puts the primary and secondary issues on an equal footing and confuses them altogether. It exemplifies eclecticism of confounding the primary with secondary issues. Take another instance. On the question of relationship between revolution and production, they say, on the one hand, that "it is quite wrong" to fail to pay attention to continuing the revolution in the superstructure and the economic base. On the other hand, they say that "it is quite wrong" to fail to pay attention to production and make no effort to carry on production successfully. On the question of Party leadership, they talk about "unified leadership by Party committees" on the one hand and, on the other hand, they talk at length about "setting up production management systems which are effective and capable of operating independently." And so on and so forth. In all this, they make no distinction between the principal and secondary contradictions and confuse the principal and secondary aspects of a contradiction. "**Judging by the philosophical source of this phenomenon, this is to secretly replace dialectics with eclecticism and sophistry.**" (Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*) In talking big about "dialectics," the "20 Points" is intended entirely to hoodwink people.

However, when we analyze and criticize the "20 Points" with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the weapon, we will unmask the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping as a man who pretends to follow dialectics, catch his black hand attacking the proletariat, and grasp his fox tail in restoring capitalism. It is precisely they who "affirm everything or negate everything without making any differentiation." In the "20 Points," without making the slightest differentiation, they negate and condemn all the great achievements made and all the new socialist things that appeared on the industrial front since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, they laud to the skies that revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. The "20 Points" is filled with nothing but revisionist sinister stuff such as the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces which Liu Shao-chi trumpeted for 17 years and Lin Piao vainly attempted to inject into his report at the 9th Party Congress. If the proposals contained in the "20 Points" were implemented, that would lead to general restoration of capitalism on the entire industrial front.

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The working class is the main force in repulsing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. We firmly support the CCP Central Committee's resolution on appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to be the First Vice Chairman of the CCP Central Committee and Premier of the

State Council of the Chinese People's Republic and the resolution dismissing Teng Hsiao-ping from all his posts both inside and outside the Party. We wrathfully condemn the counter-revolutionary political incident which took place at Tienanmen Square in the capital. We must take concrete action to protect Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. "**Oppose the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, carry on both revolution and production**"—this is the common resolve of the broad masses of workers. We must unite around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, thoroughly criticize the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and make greater contributions to defending and developing the grand achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, speeding up the pace of socialist construction and further strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(This article was based on collective discussion conducted at a study class attended by a number of worker theoretical backbone elements.)

TEXT 32

COMMENTS ON TENG HSIAO-PING'S ECONOMIC IDEAS OF THE COMPRADOR BOURGEOISIE

Kao Lu and Chang Ko

The arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping made many absurd statements about economic construction. In a nutshell, his economic ideas are essentially those of the comprador bourgeoisie. Domestically speaking, he represented the bourgeoisie and wanted to seize the leadership over the national economy from the proletariat and turn China's socialist economy into a bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist economy. In foreign affairs, he practised capitulation and national betrayal, and vainly attempted to turn China into a colony or semi-colony of imperialism and social-imperialism.

Reimposing “Direct and Exclusive Control of Enterprises By the Ministry Concerned”

After Teng Hsiao-ping took up work again, he imposed without the knowledge and approval of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao an economic administration system of “direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned.” This means a few top persons in the central ministries concerned could directly issue orders to enterprises in all parts of the country and exercise leadership over them. Enterprises of the same trade thus formed into a separate system operating by themselves, thereby liquidating the controlling power of the Party Central Committee and the local Party committees over the economy and negating the unified leadership of the Party committees at various levels.

As early as 1956, Chairman Mao pointed out that in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthen the socialist economic base and build a strong socialist country, it is necessary to handle correctly the relations between the central and local authorities and “let the localities undertake more work under unified central planning.” This will bring the initiative of both the central and local authorities into play. However, Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping for a long time refused to implement this correct principle; instead, they lauded the imperialist trusts to the skies.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution smashed the two

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bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. During the revolution, the masses and the revolutionary cadres rose to revolt against "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" and promoted the implementation of Chairman Mao's correct principle. China no longer has to ship grain from the south to the north nor coal from the north to the south. Deposits of coal, petroleum and natural-gas have been discovered in the south. Small iron and steel, chemical fertilizer, cement, machinery and hydro-electric power industries have mushroomed in the various localities and output has multiplied, while many small and medium-sized cities have developed into new industrial centres. All this shows the absolute correctness of Chairman Mao's instruction that "**it is far better for the initiative to come from two sources than from only one.**" This is of great and far-reaching significance to developing the national economy with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

After Teng Hsiao-ping resumed work, he lapsed into his old ways. On the pretext of exercising "centralized and unified" leadership, he wanted to "turn over to the higher authorities" what he called "key enterprises which serve the whole nation and require organized co-ordination on a national scale." If this policy had been followed, most of the big enterprises and the lesser ones working in co-ordination with them in all parts of the country would have been "turned over." This would inevitably have undermined the initiative of the localities and the broad masses of the people and sabotaged socialist construction as a whole. What Teng Hsiao-ping undertook to do fully shows that he was stubbornly opposed to Chairman Mao's principle of bringing into play the initiative from both the central and local authorities, that he wanted to reverse the correct appraisal of the Cultural Revolution, and that he wished to continue pushing the revisionist line and take the beaten track of imperialist trusts.

The system of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" is diametrically opposed to the Party's unified leadership. It is splitism and advocates the doctrine of "many centres" in opposition to the Party Central Committee; it is despotism and bourgeois dictatorship over the localities and the masses. The purpose of Teng Hsiao-ping's reimposing "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" was the liquidation of our socialist economy through "rectification." This kind of "control" would inevitably divide up the socialist economy of ownership by the whole people and turn it into the "private property" of respective trades. And the various trades and departments would become sharply opposed to each other. The overly distinct division of labour would lead to undermining each other's work and the relations between them would be turned into

capitalist relations of competition.

Since “direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned” disregarded inter-departmental equilibrium in the national economy, it would inevitably undermine the rational distribution of the national economy and the multi-purpose utilization of resources and obstruct extensive socialist co-operation.

Teng Hsiao-ping’s “rectification” of the economy by means of “direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned” was intended to bring about a capitalist concentration of production and monopoly and enforce the revisionist practices of running factories by relying on experts, putting profits in command, offering material incentives, giving first place to production and putting technique above everything else. It also aimed at negating Chairman Mao’s line and policies concerning the socialist revolution and construction, at expanding and strengthening bourgeois right, at changing the socialist orientation and road of our enterprises and turning the socialist economy into a bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist economy.

Pushing the Soviet Revisionist Managerial System

Resurrecting the economic administration system of “direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned” and introducing the Soviet revisionist managerial system in the enterprises to exercise bourgeois dictatorship over the working class are two aspects of the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalism Teng Hsiao-ping worked for. Chairman Mao pointed out in 1964: “**Management itself is a matter of socialist education. If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, eat, live and work with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class.**” Teng Hsiao-ping always acted in contravention of Chairman Mao’s instruction that “**we must wholeheartedly rely on the working class,**” and obstinately tried to push his revisionist line characterized by the hostility to the working class. He openly declared that “reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative,” categorically refused to regard the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants as masters of the state, and denied that they had the right to control the economy. He showed the utmost hatred for the revolutionary action of the working class during the Great Cultural Revolution in criticizing the capitalist and revisionist managerial principles, rules and regulations, and he lost no time in mounting a vengeful counterattack the moment he came into office again. He not only brought out again the set of rules

aimed at “controlling, checking and repressing” the workers but clamoured for dealing with them “as strictly as possible.” This proves to the hilt that he was indeed the general representative of those “**bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers**” whom Chairman Mao had scathingly criticized.

Which political line is followed and which class wields the power of leadership in an enterprise are factors determining which class actually owns it. If Teng Hsiao-ping had been allowed to carry on with his revisionist line, the leadership of the enterprises would inevitably be seized by the capitalist-roaders, the bourgeoisie in the Party, who would use the power in their hands to embezzle and squander huge amounts of wealth created by the working class and ride roughshod on the backs of the workers. In that case, the socialist enterprises would exist only in name and would be turned into bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist enterprises.

What Teng Hsiao-ping pushed was merely a carbon copy of the so-called “economic reforms” introduced by Khrushchov and Brezhnev. To develop bureaucrat-monopoly capitalism, the Soviet revisionists energetically pushed what they called a “new economic system” with material incentives and putting profits in command as the core. They gave top priority to expertise and relied on specialists to run the enterprises, and the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class completely controlled the leadership over the national economy. The rules and regulations of their enterprises stipulate explicitly that the managers are vested with the power to sell, transfer or lease any part of the enterprises’ means of production, to recruit and fire workers at will, and to do whatever they like to the workers, that is to say, exercise bourgeois dictatorship over them. The Soviet revisionists exercise vertical leadership over the enterprises through the two-level organizational system of “ministry—production combine enterprises” or the three-level system of “ministry—industrial combines—production combine enterprises.” These combines, which are large in scale, have centralized practically all the managerial functions of the enterprises. By pushing this “new economic system” the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has intensified its monopoly and control over the enterprises throughout the country.

The reality of the Soviet Union is a mirror. It helps us to see clearly that once the socialist economy turns into bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist economy, it will bring disaster to the labouring people. Powerless politically and exploited economically, the working people of the Soviet Union today are having a very hard time. The Ninth Five-Year Plan, decked out by the Soviet revisionists as a “welfare plan,” has gone bankrupt; the rate of industrial growth is constantly diminishing; agriculture is in a hopeless mess; there are serious

disproportions between the various departments of the national economy; and the contradiction between the worker-peasant masses and the handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists is sharpening with each passing day. All this is steadily aggravating the political and economic crisis of Soviet social-imperialism. Teng Hsiao-ping's attempt to follow in the footsteps of the Soviet revisionists could only lead to a serious disruption of China's socialist relations of production and superstructure and destroy the socialist economy.

"Major Policy" of Capitulation and National Betrayal

Chairman Mao has pointed out that under China's historical condition, those who stubbornly choose to take the capitalist road are in fact "**ready to capitulate to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.**" This was the case with Teng Hsiao-ping. In his eyes, the Chinese people were no good at carrying out economic construction or bringing about the modernizations of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology, nor, for that matter, was the socialist system of any help. The only feasible way to "speed up the technical transformation of industry and raise labour productivity" is to "import foreign techniques and equipment." For this purpose he put forward a so-called "major policy" under which China would sign "long-term contracts" with foreign countries, with the foreign capitalists supplying the "most up-to-date and the best equipment" to be "paid for" by China with its mineral products. This "major policy" was purely a policy of out-and-out capitulation and national betrayal.

In economic construction, whether to rely on the strength of our own people or to worship everything foreign and rely on foreign countries represents two diametrically opposed lines. Chairman Mao has taught us: "**Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary, break down blind faith, go in for industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently, do away with slavishness, bury dogmatism, learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it. This is our line.**" Teng Hsiao-ping completely betrayed this line advanced by Chairman Mao. His so-called "major policy" actually opposed putting China's economic construction on the basis of the strength of the Chinese people and advocated instead "importing foreign techniques and equipment."

Whether or not to adhere to the principle of independence and self-reliance is not only an economic question but, first and foremost, a political one. An important means employed by imperialism and social-imperialism to control and plunder other countries is to monopolize ad-

vanced techniques and equipment and use their economic strength to check the other countries' development and carry out extortion, infiltration and expansion. In the world today, if a country is not independent and self-reliant economically, it cannot become politically independent or cannot consolidate its independence and is liable to fall under the control of one or the other superpower.

We hold that, under the guidance of the principle of independence and self-reliance, it is necessary to import some foreign techniques and equipment on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and in accordance with the needs of our country's socialist revolution and construction. But we absolutely cannot place our hopes for realizing the four modernizations on imports. If we do not rely mainly on our own efforts but, as Teng Hsiao-ping advocated, rely solely on importing foreign techniques, copying foreign designs and technological processes and patterning our equipment on foreign models, we will forever trail behind foreigners and our country's development of technology and even its entire national economy will fall under the control of foreign monopoly capital.

Some economists of the monopoly capitalists allege that industrially backward countries can only "take off" by relying on the techniques of imperialism. That Teng Hsiao-ping, with the label of a Communist Party member, should chime in with such nonsense was a big irony indeed! This of course was not a mere coincidence. It showed that Teng Hsiao-ping's economic concepts fully met the needs of imperialism.

The Soviet revisionists' newspaper *Pravda* had advocated mortgaging Soviet resources to bring in foreign capital and experience and using part of the products turned out by the factories to be built to pay back the debts some time in the future. Teng Hsiao-ping's "major policy" is of the same stuff as that of the Soviet revisionists. The essence of this "policy" is to ask for foreign loans by selling out China's natural resources and state sovereignty.

Teng Hsiao-ping shamelessly asserted that his "major policy" had three "advantages," namely, the policy made it possible for China to export, to promote technical transformation and to absorb labour power. What kind of "advantages" are these? They mean nothing but this: the foreign monopoly capitalists would contribute money and equipment while China would supply the necessary labour power, thus the doors would be thrown wide open for the imperialists to plunder China's natural resources and bleed its people. The Chinese people had more than enough of such "advantages" before liberation. If this capitulationist "major policy" of Teng Hsiao-ping's were followed, China would be reduced step by step to a raw materials supplying base for imperialism and social-imperialism, a market for their commodities

and an outlet for their investments. And not only would the fruits of socialist revolution be forfeited but those of the democratic revolution would also be brought to naught. This fully reveals the ugly features of Teng Hsiao-ping who worked as a comprador for the imperialists and represented the interests of big foreign capitalists.

Historical Experience Merits Attention

Historical experience over the past hundred years tells us that it is but an illusion to think that China can become strong and prosperous by depending on imperialism for techniques and loans to develop its economy. In the latter half of the 19th century, advocates of the "Westernization Movement" of the late Ching Dynasty stressed the need to "accept loans to develop the country." They considered that China's only "chance of making progress" and "way of survival" was to use the country's natural resources as mortgage to borrow large amounts of money from the imperialist countries and to "copy" foreign techniques to build up an industry. Things turned out to be just the opposite. It was these capitulationist ideas which suited the imperialists perfectly to dump their surplus goods, export capital and carve up China. The "Westernization Movement" drained China's resources day by day and deepened her national crisis.

In the semi-feudal and semi-colonial old China, there were some people enthusiastically advocating "saving the country by industrialization." They deemed that the root cause of China's poverty and backwardness was her underdeveloped industry, and they believed that China would become strong and prosperous by developing industry and commerce on a large scale. They did not have the courage to launch a thorough-going struggle against imperialism and feudalism but harboured the illusion that China could develop a capitalist industry without overthrowing imperialist rule. However, under the dual oppression of the imperialists and their lackeys, the destiny awaiting those advocates of "saving the country by industrialization" was either failure with all their illusions rising in bubbles or throwing themselves into the embrace of the imperialists and ending up in the same way as comprador capitalists. During his youth, Teng Hsiao-ping had cherished the idea of "saving the country by industrialization." In the decades that followed, his bourgeois stand and world outlook had not changed a bit. As the revolution develops in depth, his reactionary bourgeois nature became more and more exposed. From opposing the socialist revolution and attempting to restore capitalism to taking over the mantle of the comprador capitalists and practising capitulations and national betrayal, Teng Hsiao-ping could not but end up in the

same ignominious way as compradors in China's history.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**Only socialism can save China.**" This is the historical conclusion arrived at by the Chinese people after protracted revolutionary struggles. Departing from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, from the dictatorship of the proletariat and from the socialist road, it would be wishful thinking to hope for China's independence and prosperity and the Chinese people's freedom and happiness. Revolution is changing and can change everything. So long as we firmly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, persevere in taking class struggle as the key link and adhere to the principle of independence and self-reliance and resolutely rely on and bring into full play the enthusiasm and creativeness of the broad masses of people, we will surely be able to build China into a powerful socialist state with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of this century and continue to advance towards the great goal of communism.

TEXT 33

A NEW TYPE OF PRODUCTION RELATIONS IN A SOCIALIST ENTERPRISE

—An account of how the Shanghai Clock and Watch Factory observes the “Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Works” and effects the system of “two-way learning on the spot”

In what way can an enterprise establish a new type of socialist relations of production and continue to improve it?

How can we prevent leaders of an enterprise, as servants of the people, from gradually degenerating into capitalist-roaders and members of the bureaucratic class, and how can we prevent the working masses, masters of the enterprises, from being reduced once again to hired hands?

Through what means can we ensure that the leadership of an enterprise will be firmly kept in the hands of genuine Marxists and the working masses?

Chairman Mao’s series of important directives issued during the Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the struggle to beat back the right deviationists who attempted to reverse correct verdicts have indicated the right direction and approach for resolving the above problems.

In which way should these directives be implemented in an industrial enterprise? Many advanced industrial units have answered this question with their own actions. The Shanghai Clock and Watch Factory is one of them. At the high tide of criticizing Teng Hsiao-p’ing in depth, we paid a visit to the factory. To our excitement, we saw with our own eyes a brand-new scene of how a socialist enterprise operates.

Fresh Experience in Managing a Socialist Enterprise

Because of the Cultural Revolution the political movements concerning the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, and especially the great ongoing struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p’ing’s counter-revolutionary revisionist line and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, the Shanghai Clock and Watch Factory has gained new ground in its effort to launch in depth the mass movement of learning from Taching in industry and adhering to the “Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel

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Works." Fresh experience has been gained in organizing the cadres to take part in physical labor and the workers to participate in management. They have initiated a system of "two-way learning on the spot" in which each cadre takes a turn in workshops a hundred days a year while groups of workers serve for four to six months in offices, participating in management. Throughout the entire factory, cadres who were divorced from manual labor have mastered at least one production skill, while the secretary of the factory Party committee and his deputies, five in all, have learned to do two or three kinds of technical production work. When they work in the workshops, they are assigned to the daytime or nighttime shift like other workers and fulfill the same required production tasks. With the workers, they take part in study and criticism conducted by teams and squads. Workers from the forefront of production are sent to the factory headquarters in turns, undertaking leadership and administrative jobs in offices and sections. When their assignments to the headquarters are completed, they return to their former teams and squads. In addition to the above, mass management committees are set up at the team and squad levels and various types of workers' administrative groups are established in workshops. As a rule, workers who directly participate in the administration of the factory account for more than a third of the total number of workers. Acting in the capacity of masters of both the state and factory, the workers exercise revolutionary supervision over the cadres. On top of that, the extensive participation in administrative work on the part of the workers has continuously propelled institutional reforms in the superstructure. Having streamlined the factory organization, administrative personnel now only account for 8 percent of the total number of staff members and workers in the factory.

The revolutionary practice of "two-way learning on the spot" has brought about a revolutionary and profound change in the relations among men, among units, and between the cadres and the masses in the factory. They have made new breakthroughs in such areas as the drive to restrict bourgeois rights and gradually narrow the three major differences, the effort to formulate regulations and conventions convenient for the masses in order to establish a revolutionary order and discipline, and in their endeavor to promote productive capacity.

Cadres Voluntarily Toil as Workers

During the past few years, it has become a voluntary practice for leading cadres of the Shanghai Watch and Clock Factory to learn on the spot in certain grass-root units and take part in production labor. Let's begin with some examples.

In March this year, according to schedule, it was the turn of Lu Wenshi, secretary of the factory Party committee, to learn on the spot and take part in physical labor in the No. 3 Workshop. At that time, the entire factory was ablaze with the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing, a campaign that was in need of leadership. However, it was the opinion of the Party committee that sending Party leaders to participate in production labor at this juncture would strengthen the leadership rather than weakening it. Old Lu took part in labor like other workers and learned from the masses while working along with them. At the same time, he punctually brought back to the Party committee the masses' fresh experience in criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing so that the committee could give instructions to the factory as a whole and step by step guide the progress of the campaign against Teng. Deputy Committee Secretary Ch'ou Chin-tao was in charge of the entire factory's production. After Lu's turn to labor at the lower level, Ch'ou went to learn on the spot by participating in production labor in the pilot manufacturing group for new products.

The maxim of the cadres at the Shanghai Watch and Clock Factory is that they should learn how to toil as workers. They bear in mind the historical experience of the Paris Commune, namely, that it was necessary to prevent cadres from "seeking their particular interests" after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship (*Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Chinese edition, Vol. 2, p. 334). They are constantly on the alert not to convert the power in their hands into privilege. To join the workers in their struggle, every year during the hot season, the cadres go to the hottest and dirtiest spot to take part in production. The cadres regularly make public to the entire factory the number of days in each month that they engaged in direct production work. As for workers who take part in management in the headquarters of the factory, the cadres frequently report to them concerning the progress of the factory's work and also concerning the cadres' own views and ideas. To intensify the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the cadres often invite workers to join the sessions of the nucleus study group held by the Party Committee twice a week so that the workers can educate the cadres in the studies and expound any specific topic concerning the criticism of Teng. On festive occasions, the cadres and workers rehearse, sing revolutionary songs, and stage plays and operas together.

Why is it that cadres in this factory can persist in taking part in labor and voluntarily toil as workers? The basic reason is that the vast numbers of cadres, through the education of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, have come to understand that these two requirements constitute a major aspect of their commitment to prevent and combat revisionism.

What was the relationship between the cadres and workers prior to

the Cultural Revolution when Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line was dominant? Here is how the workers describe things at that time: "The factory manager's office was an impassable threshold which the workers had no right to step across. As a turnip is only allowed to grow in its hole, a worker was obliged to work quietly where he belonged." The workers looked upon this kind of relationship as the one between a cat and a mouse; the cadres thought it was designed to uphold the cadres' prestige and guarantee that they could run the enterprise well. Whenever the workers tried to initiate a technical innovation, they had to present their case to seven related offices and sections for their approval, involving altogether twenty-three procedures. The revisionist-oriented supervision, barriers, and pressure reduced the workers into hired hands and put the cadres in a position sharply conflicting with the workers.

Like a rainstorm, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution washed away the mud and slops left over from the revisionist line pursued by Liu Shao-ch'i. The broad masses of workers broke down the evil traditions which restrained their initiative and created a new situation in which the working class, led by the Party, retains the leadership over the enterprise. Under the guidance of the Party committee, cadres in the entire Shanghai Clock and Watch Factory persist in taking part in production labor as ordinary workers. By working with the workers, the cadres learned through personal contact the fine character of the working class and the workers' lofty spirit of behaving themselves as the masters of the enterprise. They became aware of the extreme importance of improving relations between the leadership and the masses. Deputy Secretary of the Factory Party Committee Chao Hsiu-hua was assigned to work on the morning shift in the materials section of No. 2 Workshop. On the first day, he got to the workshop punctually at six o'clock in the morning. However, he found he was late, for it had become a regular practice over the past few years for workers in the section to start work ahead of schedule. As Little Chao had had no knowledge of this beforehand, he was deeply impressed. He realized that cadres were liable to estrange themselves from the masses once they stopped taking part in production labor. Without sharing the joys and hardships of the masses, the cadres could not appreciate the working masses and learn from them. From that time on, Little Chao has consciously and persistently participated in labor and mingled with the workers as an ordinary laborer.

Deputy Secretary of the Factory Party Committee Liu Chih-lung is a new cadre from a worker's background. Once when he was assigned to learn on the spot and do production labor in the arc-shaping section, he found a worker cutting a stamp while on the shift. Liu was angry and

wanted to criticize the worker. However, since Liu remembered that one has no right to speak without having conducted an investigation beforehand, he decided to have a heart-to-heart talk with the worker. What he discovered through the talk was a great surprise to him. The workers had succeeded in making a new technical innovation. To distinguish the specifications of different products, they needed nine sets of stamps. In order to save state expenditure, the worker took the initiative and cut the stamps on his own. After this episode, Liu made a penetrating examination of his own sentiments at the full meeting of the factory's cadres. He questioned himself about why his attitude toward the workers was liable to change after he himself had been promoted to be a cadre. This incident showed that, though a new cadre himself, he was susceptible to the influence and erosion of ideas about upholding bourgeois rights. For this reason, even a new cadre from a worker's background should pay attention to placing himself in the right position when dealing with the masses. It is a revisionist idea to regard a cadre as someone who takes charge of workers. It is therefore a bad idea, and we should never allow ourselves to be affected by it. The strict demands Liu Chih-lung made on himself served as an education to the cadres throughout the factory.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Management is socialist education in itself. If administrative personnel do not practice the three unities with the workers in workshops and sections and respect them as teachers from whom they can learn a few skills, they will be locked all their lives in a state of severe class struggle with the working class and will finally be knocked out by the workers as capitalists. Without gaining technical know-how and by remaining an outsider all the time, one can never be a good administrator. It is impossible for a muddle-head to give explicit directions to others." In association with their own experience of doing production labor in fixed units at the grass-roots level, responsible comrades of the factory Party committee, as well as cadres in offices and sections, conscientiously studied this important directive of Chairman Mao. They further understood that in order for the leaders of a socialist enterprise to thoroughly break away from the revisionist line pursued by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, completely disassociating themselves from the old relations of production as well as conventional ideas, they have no choice but to toil as an ordinary worker and perseveringly take part in collective production labor. Through participation in labor, they improve the relations between the leadership and the masses and realize a fundamental transformation of their own world outlooks. Right now, the vast numbers of cadres and masses in the factory carry forward the fine tradition of cadres and masses sharing each other's joys and hardships, a tradition which prevailed

during the period of revolutionary war. They have gained fresh ground in developing socialist production relations and have created a new political situation in which both the cadres and the masses are active in thinking and are united as one in fighting for a common goal.

Workers Have Truly Become Masters of the Enterprise

The workers' participation in managing the enterprise constitutes a major aspect of "two-way learning on the spot." As group after group of workers have taken part in administrative work and exercised revolutionary supervision over the cadres, carefully helping and educating them, the Shanghai Clock and Watch Factory has undergone a tremendous change in its relations of production. Take a small incident for example. Last June, several workers sat in on sessions of the nucleus study group held by the factory Party committee. They saw Hsu Ai-hsin, a member of the Party committee and branch secretary of the No. 1 Workshop, receive six phone calls in a row within ten minutes after he sat down for the study session. Then somebody beckoned to him from outside the meeting room. He asked for leave and went away without returning. This incident aroused the workers' deep thinking and concern. Why were there so many people who wanted to consult Old Hsu and interrupt his study? The workers looked into the matter and found out that the six phone calls were all in reference to trifles. They felt that Old Hsu kept a tight hold on small matters but neglected major issues. The workers made Old Hsu understand what they saw in this situation, and their opinion sounded like a warning to him. Deeply moved, Old Hsu sincerely understood that the workers' supervision indicated their concern and assistance for him.

Worker comrades in the factory said: "Participating in management and exercising supervision over cadres does not mean that we merely post wall posters. We must constantly and patiently come to the cadres' aid with meticulous ideological advice. Only by doing so can we consider ourselves to be working in compliance with Chairman Mao's teachings."

Since workers can be assigned to work at leading posts and participate in leadership and management, can cooks be allowed to do the same? Last year a cook and Party member by the name of Yu Hsin-chi was recommended by his comrades to learn on the spot in the armed defense squad. With a vigorous spirit, he learned to work hard and strengthen his ties with the masses. Adhering to political principles, he did a good job during his stay there. Not long after his return to the kitchen as a cook, the head of the defense squad was assigned to learn on the spot in a workshop. Yu was again invited to the squad and worked as its head for two months. Again he achieved good results in

his work, having a notable impact on the entire factory. Lenin once said: "Among the common people, that is, the workers and peasant masses who do not exploit others' labor, there is an extremely large number of people who have a talent for organization." ("Current Task for Soviet State Power," *Selected Works of V.I. Lenin*, Chinese Edition, Vol. 3, p. 514). What Lenin said is a fact, is it not?

The historical period of socialism is an era during which declining capitalism and growing communism are locked in a protracted fight. Having workers participate in management is a factor embodying the growth of communism. Teng Hsiao-p'ing opposed the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Works" and pursued a revisionist line in running enterprises. His purpose was to strangle socialist new things and nip elements of growing communism in the bud in an attempt to restore capitalism. Comrades of the Shanghai Clock and Watch Factory have opposed Teng's line and have created fresh experiences in having workers take part in management. This indicated the direction in which the management of a socialist enterprise should proceed.

Through the great revolutionary practice of persistently implementing the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Works," the Shanghai Clock and Watch Factory has effected profound changes in the two realms of the superstructure and the economic basis. By adhering to the revolutionary system of "two-way learning on the spot" in which cadres are allowed to participate in production labor and workers in management, relations among people have become entirely different. The workers say, "The cadres and the workers, though different in their division of labor, are both masters of the enterprise." The revisionist line pursued by Liu Shao-ch'i interfered with the cadres and workers and divided them into two separate camps by means of the division of labor prior to the Cultural Revolution. Sometimes they were even locked in a state of class struggle. Now, since they have adhered to the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Works" and implemented the system of "two-way learning on the spot," they have been as close to each other as a fish in water.

The system of "two-way learning on the spot" serves as an education for many cadres. They have arrived at an even deeper understanding of revolution after having studied Chairman Mao's teaching that the bourgeoisie is "right in the Communist Party" and after having studied his major instructions on the Socialist Education Movement launched in 1964. Said the cadres: "It was the revisionist line and the old relations of production that alienated cadres from labor and the masses. Leading cadres in our factory are all promoted from among the rank and file workers. However, if we were divorced from labor and the masses for a long time, holding ourselves loftily aloof and acting as overlords, we

would probably evolve into newly emerging bureaucrats and capitalist-roaders who would finally be kicked out by the working class."

"In the past," they continued, "we spoke of adding a brick or a tile to the edifice of socialism. Now, merely stating this is not enough. We must also add a pickaxe or a spade so that we can gradually dig away the soil engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie. It is a great struggle during which we must prepare ourselves for the protracted fight ahead. We must persist in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party and behave ourselves as proletarian revolutionaries all the time."

Adherence to the policy of putting proletarian politics in command of everything as well as the continual improvement of production relations has propelled production in this factory rapidly forward. The factory's total output value in 1975 was 7.3 times that of 1965. During the ten years of Cultural Revolution, it registered an average increase of 23 percent per year. Labor productivity rose by 5.6 times, and production costs went down by 55 percent. The profit it turned over to the state increased by sixteen times, and it has completed more than a thousand items of technical innovation. It has also succeeded in making many advanced machines and much advanced equipment. These include the automatic laser diamond drill, the automatic aligning machine, and the automatic spherical grinder which make it possible for the factory to develop its production in the direction of mechanization and automation. All these facts bear ample evidence for Marx's famous thesis that "the most powerful force of production is the revolutionary class itself." To hell with Teng Hsiao-p'ing's concept that "class struggle is dying out" and the theory that "productive forces decide everything." Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, cadres and workers of the Shanghai Clock and Watch Factory use their brilliant accomplishments as ammunition to combat Teng Hsiao-p'ing's crime of attempting to reverse correct verdicts and being the overall representative of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and of all exploiting classes.

The Shanghai Clock and Watch Factory has always adhered to the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Works" and effected the system of "two-way learning on the spot" so that the worker masses can be mobilized on an extensive scale for participation in management. All this serves as a powerful restriction on bourgeois rights and also as a symbol indicating the tremendous and powerful changes which our country's industrial front is now undergoing and must continue to undergo. Class struggle is the key link. The proletariat must hold it fast in its hands in order to propel the various socialist enterprises. Revolution commands production, and revolution boosts production. As long as we adhere to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we will

achieve even greater growth in socialist productivity. The proletarian dictatorship in our country will be further strengthened, and we will win still greater victories in our effort to advance the cause of socialism.

An NCNA Reporter and a *Jen-min
Jih-pao* Reporter and Correspondent

TEXT 34

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO LINES IN EDUCATION

On February 14, *Renmin Ribao* frontpaged an article written by the Party committee of Chaoyang Agricultural College in northeast China's Liaoning Province. The article discusses the fundamental differences between the two lines in education, warmly praises Chairman Mao's policy on education and criticizes the revisionist educational system.

This is one of the many important articles that have appeared recently in the Chinese press counterattacking the Right deviationist trend in educational, scientific and technical circles which tries to negate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Since last summer, the Right deviationists in educational circles have spread absurdities in an attempt to blur the distinction between the two lines in education and reverse the verdict on the revisionist line in education which has been criticized during the Great Cultural Revolution. The Right deviationist trend has met with prompt and powerful rebuttal by the people throughout the country.

There has been an acute struggle between the proletarian line and the revisionist line on the educational front since the founding of New China. The current mass revolutionary debate is a continuation and deepening of this struggle.

The article by the Party committee of Chaoyang Agricultural College says: Our college was founded and expanded during the Cultural Revolution. Our experience over the years can be summed up as follows: Firmly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, fight tit-for-tat against the revisionist line that dominated education during the 17 years preceding the Cultural Revolution, and strive to make our college an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, the Right deviationists in educational circles asserted that the formulation "fighting tit-for-tat against the revisionist line in education of the 17 years" is wrong. They tried to blur the essential differences between the old line and the new in education. Since this is a cardinal issue of right and wrong concerning the line, the question must be thrashed out.

1. Old Agricultural Colleges Were Dominated by Bourgeois Intellectuals; New Agricultural Colleges Must Strengthen Working-Class Leadership

Owing to the lack of a powerful contingent of proletarian intellectuals during the 17 years before the Cultural Revolution, the schools were dominated by bourgeois intellectuals whose influence went far beyond numerical superiority. Because the question of leadership in the educational field was not fundamentally solved and the important theoretical question of all-round dictatorship by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure was not clarified, the result was that some of the people sent by the Party and the working class to the schools were either edged out or turned into mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie. This enabled the bourgeoisie to exercise dictatorship over the proletariat in the schools.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao smashed the rule of Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education. In 1968 Chairman Mao issued the instruction: "**The working class must exercise leadership in everything.**" The working class and its most reliable ally, the poor and lower-middle peasants, along with People's Liberation Army fighters, moved into the schools to break the monopoly of bourgeois intellectuals and establish working-class leadership in the educational field, thereby opening a new chapter in the history of proletarian education.

The workers' and armymen's Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams in our college broke through strong resistance and guided the teachers and students to move from the city to the countryside. This was done in accordance with the directive issued by our great leader Chairman Mao more than a decade ago that all agricultural colleges should move to the rural areas. Running our school in the midst of the poor and lower-middle peasants, we have thus placed it under their direct management. A new-type socialist agricultural college has come into being with the educational system and the principles and methods of teaching completely overhauled.

Staunch working-class leadership and direct participation in management by workers and peasants are basic guarantees for carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian line in education. But some people in educational circles prate absurdities, alleging that workers know nothing about education and so it "must be placed under the leadership of non-professionals who are enthusiastic about science." In other words, they want to eliminate working-class leadership and restore the domination of the revisionist line in the schools. Practice has shown that the working class is well versed in transforming the old educational

system in the image of the proletariat, and only the working class is capable of carrying the proletarian revolution in education through to the end. Attacks on working-class leadership in the schools are, in effect, directed at the dictatorship of the proletariat and amount to betrayal of the proletariat and capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

2. Old Agricultural Colleges Were Concentrated in Cities; New Agricultural Colleges Are Scattered in the Countryside

Before the Cultural Revolution, all agricultural colleges were located in urban areas and did little to serve the socialist revolution and construction in the rural areas. The poor and lower-middle peasants were furious about this. They said: "It's better not to have any such agricultural colleges at all."

Led by the workers' propaganda team, a number of teachers and students of the then Shenyang Agricultural College left the city in 1970 and set up a socialist agricultural college in the mountainous Chaoyang Prefecture. The local peasants welcomed them with open arms.

Once settled in the rural area, the teachers and students took part enthusiastically in the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. They ran evening courses in the production teams to disseminate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. They formed scientific experimental groups and joined the peasants in improving soil and farming scientifically so that grain output in their host production brigades increased considerably that same year. The teachers and students also helped the production teams with orchard management, pruning the trees and spraying pesticides. The apple crop doubled that year. In the meantime, the students deepened their specialized knowledge.

Moving an agricultural college from the urban area to the countryside is not merely a move in location. It involves such questions as whom should they serve, what road they should take and the line they should follow. If an agricultural college is isolated from the rural areas, it cannot be of any help to the learn-from-Tachai movement, nor can it train workers with both socialist consciousness and culture.

3. Old Agricultural Colleges Advocated "He Who Excels in Learning Can Be an Official"; New Agricultural Colleges Practise the System of "From the Communes and Back to the Communes" and Train New-Type Peasants With Both Socialist Consciousness and Culture

The Confucian concept that "he who excels in learning can be an official" has been the guiding principle of all exploiting classes in running

schools. Aiming at training so-called "red agronomists" and "top specialists in construction," the old agricultural colleges actually were revisionist dyeing-vats and hotbeds for bringing up bourgeois intellectual aristocrats. It is imperative for our new college to break thoroughly with the old educational traditions in order to train workers with both socialist consciousness and culture.

Chairman Mao issued the directive on July 21, 1968: "**Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study.**" This is a powerful ideological weapon to destroy thoroughly the reactionary feudal, bourgeois and revisionist traditions in education. We have implemented this brilliant instruction of Chairman Mao's by carrying out the system of "from the communes and back to the communes," which means students come from people's communes and, after graduation, return to the communes to work as peasants.

Over 340 three-year-course students, enrolled under the system of "from the communes and back to the communes," have graduated from our college since 1971. They have become new-type peasants. They have broken with the age-old tradition of "studying to become officials" and carried out the principle of the Paris Commune that "**careerism be fought not merely in words, but in deeds.**" Working vigorously in the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, they have made contributions in the learn-from-Tachai movement. The poor and lower-middle peasants praise them as "vanguards in restricting bourgeois right" and "new-type socialist-minded peasants."

The system of "from the communes and back to the communes" is an important indication that the schools have become instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat instead of the bourgeois dictatorship. Since it came into being, this system has been strongly opposed by the bourgeoisie and the old force of habit. To train workers and peasants, according to them, there is no need to run colleges, and those who have received a college education should not be workers and peasants. Does this not mean that the difference between mental and manual labour and the monopoly of culture and science by the privileged few should be perpetuated? We should always bear in mind how the Soviet Union has been turned into a revisionist country. In the Soviet Union, many sons and daughters of the workers and peasants managed to climb up to leading positions after finishing college, but they have betrayed the proletariat and become revisionists.

4. Old Agricultural Colleges Stressed “Giving First Place To Intellectual Development”; New Agricultural Colleges Stress Putting Proletarian Politics in Command

The old agricultural colleges followed the bourgeois principle of “giving first place to intellectual development” through stress on specialization, thereby making the schools tools of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

To thoroughly change this serious situation, we have in our practice maintained that socialist agricultural colleges, like other institutions of higher learning, must be made instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our students must first of all be trained to understand class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and become fighters who dare to criticize revisionism and capitalism and who strive to build socialism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only in this way will the scientific and technical knowledge acquired by the students be of real use.

We have strengthened our efforts in ideological and political education in the past several years in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching: “**In all its work the school should aim at transforming the student's ideology.**” The study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works is a required course, and learning from Tachai in agriculture and participation in productive labour are basic courses. The students take part in all political movements and return to their respective communes and production brigades regularly to take part in the three great revolutionary movements. There is ideological education throughout their period of study to strengthen the students' determination to make revolution in the rural areas all their lives. And after their graduation, the college continues to pay attention to the students' political maturing and helps them raise their vocational skill.

5. Old Agricultural Colleges Advocated “Regularization”; New Agricultural Colleges Adhere to Part-Work, Part-Study System

Agricultural colleges before the Cultural Revolution followed a “regular” system that shut the students within the four walls of the classroom and divorced education from productive labour, mental from manual labour and theory from practice. Our new agricultural college upholds the Party's educational policy of combining education with productive labour, mental with manual labour and theory with practice, and puts into practice the system requiring the students to “do

part-time work and part-time study, working while studying."

We have over the years included productive labour in the curriculum. Students do part-time work and part-time study while teachers do part-time work and part-time teaching, so that manual labour has gradually become the basis of school life. The teachers and students rely on their own efforts and work hard to put up school buildings and open up land for cultivation. Since 1972, they have put up 120 rooms and reclaimed 66 hectares of land. They harvested 30 tons of grain in 1972 and 150 tons in 1975, striving gradually to achieve self-sufficiency in grain, vegetables, edible oil and meat. In this way, the students have not only created wealth for the state but also learnt how to build new socialist villages. Only by persistently taking part in productive labour can worker-peasant-soldier students retain the fine qualities of the labouring people.

As society develops, the historical phenomenon of education divorced from productive labour, mental from manual labour, and theory from practice will eventually disappear with the elimination of classes. Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao have all given incisive explanations regarding the significance of combining education with productive labour. As early as 1847, Marx and Engels advocated "**combination of education with industrial production.**" In 1919 Lenin called for "**the closest connection between schooling and productive social labour of the child.**" Our great leader Chairman Mao, in formulating an educational policy for us, said: "**Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour. Working people should master intellectual work and intellectuals should integrate themselves with the working people.**" These directives of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, however, were ignored before the Cultural Revolution by the old schools which trumpeted: "Those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed." The old schools opposed students' participation in productive labour and encouraged the isolation of students from the workers and peasants, thus widening the differences between mental and manual labour and extending the scope of bourgeois right.

6. Old Agricultural Colleges Advocated "Three Centres" and "Three Conventional Stages"; New Agricultural Colleges Set Up "Three-in-One" System

To train intellectual aristocrats of the bourgeoisie, the old agricultural colleges stressed a teaching process "centered around teachers, books and classrooms" and based on the "three conventional stages—basic theory, basic principles of various specialties, and

specialized courses." To bring up a new generation of peasants with socialist consciousness and culture, our new agricultural college must integrate teaching, scientific research and production.

The great teacher Lenin pointed out: "**An ideal future society cannot be conceived without the combination of education with the productive labour of the younger generation: neither training and education without productive labour, nor productive labour without parallel training and education could be raised to the degree required by the present level of technology and the state of scientific knowledge.**"

We have in the past few years tried out a new system of conducting teaching on the basis of scientific research and production in the departments of agronomy, forestry and animal husbandry. For example, the agronomy department organizes the students immediately after their enrollment into eight groups, each specializing in sorghum, cultivation, plant protection, soil and fertilizer or some other subjects. Subjects for scientific research are determined according to the needs of production and the content of teaching is decided on in accordance with the requirements of production and scientific research. Under this system, the students have become more lively and show greater enthusiasm and initiative in study. In this way, they are able to acquire solid knowledge and raise the ability to analyse and solve problems, thus enriching and developing science.

7. Old Agricultural Colleges Were Housed in Buildings And Isolated From Society; New Agricultural Colleges Are Closely Linked With the Three Great Revolutionary Movements

The old agricultural colleges were estranged from proletarian politics, from the workers and peasants and from productive labour. As a result, the longer the student studied, the more stupid he became. Concerning this old educational system, Chairman Mao pointed out that it would take a student 16 or 17 years to advance from primary school through college, and for over 20 years he had no chance to see how rice, sorghum, legumes, wheat, millet and panicled millet were grown or how workers worked, how peasants tilled the land and how commodities were exchanged. Moreover, his health was ruined. It really did a lot of harm.

In order to end this situation in which abilities were stunted and damage done to the young people, our college adopted the training system of "goings-up, goings-down." "Going-up" means that the students engage in certain activities in the college or at research and teaching centres. "Going-down" means that the students return to the communes and production brigades and teams to take part in the three

great revolutionary movements. The duration and frequency of the students' field training in their own production brigades or teams vary with their specialities and length of study.

Experience in the last few years shows that this method is a revolution in the teaching system. Its salient feature is that the concept of wholehearted reliance on the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants in running schools runs through the whole educational process. Students remain commune members and maintain close contacts with the poor and lower-middle peasants at all times. This enables the students to understand clearly the aim of their study—"going-up" for the sake of "going-down." The students bring the problems in production of their own communes or production brigades to the college for study and return promptly to apply what they have learnt to production. This promotes the constant improvement of teaching material and methods and enables the students to contribute their share to the learn-from-Tachai movement.

8. Old Agricultural Colleges Were "Pagodas" for Privileged Few; New Agricultural Colleges Spread Out on Ever-Widening Scale, Reaching to Grass Roots and Providing Education for Masses

Schools before the Cultural Revolution discriminated against the children of workers and peasants and created an intellectual elite tapering off at the top like a pagoda. This was a continuation of the cultural autocracy over the people by the landlord and capitalist classes.

Since the start of the Cultural Revolution, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our college has made great efforts to change this situation and provided the masses with more and more opportunities to study. Our college first set up six research and teaching centres in six counties of the prefecture. These centres were later incorporated with county-run agricultural colleges. Thus agricultural colleges were set up at both the prefecture and county levels. Communes run agricultural middle schools and brigades organize teams for scientific experiments. A network of agricultural science and education is thus formed embracing the entire prefecture. Our college works in close co-operation with schools run by counties and communes to enable this network to perform good work. Beginning in 1973, our college established seven additional research and teaching centres in the counties. The aim is to run the schools near the poor and lower-middle peasants' homes for their convenience and make maximum efforts to meet the needs of Chaoyang Prefecture. The poor and lower-middle peasants in the prefecture are both our teachers and the recipients of our service. In the past few years, our college has trained 16,000 ac-

tivists in the learn-from-Tachai movement through forming scientific experimental teams, running spare-time peasant schools and short-term training courses and organizing mobile classes, thereby contributing to building Tachai-type counties in the prefecture.

9. Old Agricultural Colleges Enslaved Students; New Agricultural Colleges Enable Worker-Peasant-Soldier Students To “Attend the University, Manage It and Transform It”

In the old schools, the students were led to bury themselves in books and ignore affairs of the state. The old examination system treated the students as if they were enemies and the absolute authority of the teachers was upheld, while the students must obey and be subservient without the slightest hesitation.

Now the worker-peasant-soldier students are the new force in the educational revolution. They attend colleges, manage them and transform them with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

To help them fully play their role in “attending, managing and transforming” colleges, we have set up special groups for this purpose at all levels in our college. The leaders of these groups are in the leading bodies of the Party organizations at the corresponding levels. This ensures organizationally that the worker-peasant-soldier students discharge their duties to the best of their ability.

Under the leadership of the college Party committee, the worker-peasant-soldier students always hit back at erroneous trends of thought and defend Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line in education with a firm, clear-cut class stand in the struggle to build a socialist agricultural college. They courageously break with the traditional ideas of all exploiting classes and are determined to become a new generation with socialist consciousness and culture. They share the tasks of teaching, scientific research and production together with the teachers and act as masters of the college in all respects.

Our experience over the past few years shows that with the worker-peasant-soldier students as the rising force in educational revolution, working-class leadership in education is consolidated and strengthened.

10. Teachers in Old Agricultural Colleges Were Divorced From Workers and Peasants; New Agricultural Colleges Help Teachers Integrate With Workers and Peasants and Strive To Build a Contingent of Proletarian Teachers

Chairman Mao has pointed out: “**In the problem of transforming education it is the teachers who are the main problem.**” The old agricultural colleges barred workers and peasants from the lecture plat-

form. As for the vast majority of the teachers whose world outlook was by and large bourgeois, the colleges did not guide them to integrate with the workers and peasants and thoroughly remould their world outlook. Such teachers could only train bourgeois intellectual aristocrats and not successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. In order to transform our college into an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must train a contingent of proletarian teachers.

Over the past few years, our college has organized the students to go to advanced people's communes and production brigades and army units so that they can learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers. Our college has also invited a number of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants to give lectures as full-time or part-time teachers, and we have selected new-type peasant-teachers from among our graduates who receive their pay in work points. This has enabled more and more poor and lower-middle peasants to take a direct part in the educational revolution, so that the proletariat gradually has a superior force in this field. The worker-peasant teachers have profound proletarian feelings and their lectures are delivered in vivid, popular language. In line with the Party's policy of uniting with, educating and remoulding intellectuals, our college guides and encourages the veteran teachers to take the road of integration with the workers and peasants, and this has stimulated their enthusiasm for socialism.

In the past, many teachers worked hard behind piles of books for fame and gain and ignored agricultural production. Now they think what the poor and lower-middle peasants think and do their best to contribute to the three great revolutionary movements. Veteran professor Kung Chi-tao has gained renewed energy in the course of integrating with the poor and lower-middle peasants. Once in helping the poor and lower-middle peasants develop a new strain of sorghum, he walked 20 kilometres of mountain roads to get back to his experimental centre. The professor remarked that he had taken a wrong path before. Now, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, he would try to do more for the people in his later years.

* * *

The article says in conclusion: Our achievements in the educational revolution in the last six years have been won under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in education and by fighting a tit-for-tat struggle against the revisionist line in education. The slogan "Fighting tit-for-tat against the revisionist line in education of the 17 years" demonstrates the determination of the revolutionary teachers and students to break thoroughly with the old educational system. We will adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end.

TEXT 35

REPULSING THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND IN THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL CIRCLES

Mass Criticism Group of Peking and Tsinghua Universities

Around last summer, several leading members in the scientific and technological circles pushing the revisionist line, instigated by the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping, tried to negate the achievements gained in science and technology during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Their attempt was to pull scientific research back to the old revisionist road of Liu Shao-chi before the Great Cultural Revolution.

The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse the correct verdicts in the scientific and technological circles is a component part of the great counterattack initiated and led by Chairman Mao on the Right deviationist wind.

The following article deals with issues involved and the essence of the two-line struggle in that field.—P.R. Ed.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao, has criticized in a penetrating way the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and promoted the vigorous development of China's science and technology. Many new, important achievements in this field, including the recovery of a man-made earth satellite according to plan after orbiting the earth, the man-made synthetic insulin and measurement of its crystallized structure, are indications that China's science and technology have continued to advance to a new high level. However, for a period recently, a Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts was whipped up in the scientific and technological circles. Several people clinging to the revisionist line clamoured: "What is the revisionist line in scientific research? Can anyone give a clear answer?" This reactionary fallacy is itself an example of the revisionist line in the scientific and technological circles.

The Necessity to Uphold the Dictatorship of The Proletariat

“Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office and school.” This brilliant directive of Chairman Mao’s which sets forth in explicit terms the fundamental task on various fronts must be firmly implemented without exception. Yet, advocates of the Right deviationist trend in the scientific and technological circles openly declared: “Don’t talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat in the scientific and technological circles.” One of their reasons was: “You can’t exercise dictatorship over science and technique.”

Dictatorship always means the relations between classes, not the relations between human beings and things. The task of natural science is to study the laws of nature. In class society, those engaged in scientific and technological work as well as research institutes and their leading and administrative organs are all conditioned by class struggle and the two-line struggle, and they all serve the dictatorship of a certain class. In capitalist society, science and technology are in the hands of the capitalists who make **“natural science subservient to capital.”** They are tools serving the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the interests of the capitalists. In socialist society, science and technology should be in the hands of the labouring people and serve as a tool for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the interests of the labouring people. It is necessary to exercise proletarian dictatorship in the scientific and technological circles, but advocates of the Right deviationist wind distorted it to mean exercising dictatorship over science and technology; in doing so, they tried to make use of the particularity of the objects of scientific research to negate the necessity of exercising proletarian dictatorship on the scientific and technological front. This is a revisionist sleight of hand.

The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. For a long time the scientific and technological field was dominated by the exploiting classes and bourgeois prejudices and traditional influences were deep-rooted. In the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-chi and his cohorts pushed a revisionist line in the scientific and technological circle. Many scientific research institutes were dominated by bourgeois intellectuals. Since the Great Cultural Revolution started, many new things conducive to the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship have come to the fore. But the achievements obtained through struggle have to be consolidated and some places are still controlled by the bourgeoisie today. The struggle is still very acute and complicated as to who will hold the dominant position, what line is

implemented and what direction and road should be followed in developing science and technology. To advocate the nonsense “Don’t talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat in the scientific and technological circles” means, in essence, negating the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, negating the principle of taking class struggle as the key link and pitting the theory of the dying out of class struggle against the Party’s basic line. This is in effect a counterattack in an attempt to liquidate the achievements gained in the Great Cultural Revolution and to let the bourgeoisie exercise dictatorship over the proletariat in science and technology.

To exercise proletarian dictatorship in the scientific and technological field means not only the suppression of a handful of counter-revolutionaries who oppose socialist revolution and undermine socialist construction. In a more fundamental sense, it means firmly implementing Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and the Party’s principles and policies, persisting in the criticism of revisionism and the bourgeoisie as well as bourgeois ideology in scientific theories so that scientific research will serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and be combined with productive labour.

In the scientific and technological field, there are large numbers of intellectuals. One of the important tasks of the proletarian dictatorship is to use proletarian world outlook to prevail over bourgeois world outlook and to unite, educate and transform the intellectuals. To help the intellectuals remould their ideology is entirely different from regarding them as “objects of the dictatorship,” which was a slander by advocates of the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts with ulterior motives. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the vast majority of the intellectuals have made progress to varying degrees. Yet the advocates of the Right deviationist trend had put out the reactionary fallacy that the intellectuals were regarded as “objects of the dictatorship.” This was an attempt to vilify and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and it showed nothing but their own fear of the proletarian dictatorship.

Use Marxism to Occupy the Scientific and Technological Field

An important aspect in the exercise of proletarian dictatorship on the scientific and technological front is to use Marxism to occupy all the positions and guide scientific research, so as to continuously wipe out idealism, metaphysics and other bourgeois ways of thinking.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: “**Marxism embraces but cannot replace realism in literary and artistic creation, just as it embraces but cannot replace the atomic and electronic theories in physics.**” This

explains in an all-round way the relation between Marxism and natural science. Advocators of the Right deviationist wind, however, chose to quote out of context. Without mentioning that Marxism embraces natural science, they one-sidedly emphasized that Marxism could not replace natural science. Their aim was to oppose using Marxism to guide natural science.

It should be noted that, in the first place, Marxism embraces natural science. In creating Marxism, Marx and Engels not only summed up the experience of class struggle, but generalized the rich achievements of natural science. Marxism is the crystallization of the entire human knowledge including natural science. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out that Marx “**studied nature, history and proletarian revolution and created dialectical materialism, historical materialism and the theory of proletarian revolution.**” Marx wrote *Mathematical Manuscripts*. Engels, in his *Dialectics of Nature*, made a theoretical summary of many fields of natural science. By summing up the new discoveries in natural science after Engels’ death, Lenin wrote *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* to criticize the reactionary philosophy of the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao has always paid attention to the philosophical generalization of natural science. In *On Contradiction* and *On Practice*, Chairman Mao has summed up in a penetrating way the achievements of natural science, and in *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Chairman Mao has generalized on a high plane the dialectical law of the development of natural science.

Since Marxism has generalized natural science, the general laws of dialectical materialism it expounds are applicable to every branch of natural science. Because of the variation in the forms of motion of matter and the particularity of contradictions, every branch of science has its specific object of study. While we say that Marxism cannot replace natural science, we do not mean to weaken the guiding role played by Marxism. Rather, people are required to learn to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to make a concrete and dialectical analysis and study of their own vocational work.

As a result of the sabotage carried out by Liu Shao-chi and his gang prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, people engaged in scientific and technological work did not conscientiously study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao’s works, and idealism and metaphysics dominated quite seriously over the scientific and technological field. During the Great Cultural Revolution, scientific and technical workers have enhanced their consciousness in studying Marxism. But this is only the beginning. It requires persistent efforts and struggle over a long period in order to be able to really use Marxism to guide scientific research and occupy the scientific and technological

field. In these circumstances, the reactionary fallacies advocated by the Right deviationists were actually aimed at strangling the mass movement of the scientific and technical personnel to study Marxism.

Historical experience has proved that the revisionists often make use of natural science to attack Marxism. Marxists must gird themselves for battle in this field. An important aspect of Marx' and Engels' struggle against Duhring concerned natural science. In *Anti-Duhring*, Engels criticized Duhring's anti-Marxist viewpoints in cosmogony, physics, chemistry and biology. After the defeat of the revolution in Russia in 1905, to oppose Bogdanov's revisionist line, Lenin made deep-going researches into the new discoveries of natural science and the "crisis of physics" and thoroughly criticized Machism and its disciples in Russia. Chairman Mao's directive "**Break down blind faith, go in for industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently**" and his instruction on opposing the suppression of newborn forces have incisively criticized the philosophy of servility to things foreign and other idealistic and metaphysical views in the scientific and technological field. But the advocates of the Right deviationist trend openly opposed using Marxism to occupy all positions in natural science.

Integration With Workers and Peasants

Professional scientific and technical personnel integrating with the workers and peasants and the conducting of scientific research in an open-door way are socialist new things that have emerged in the Great Cultural Revolution. The Right deviationists, however, did their utmost to find fault with these revolutionary newborn things. They asserted that conducting scientific research in an open-door way would mean "too much linking with practice to the neglect of theory" and "too much emphasis on integration with workers and peasants, which would make people not dare to study theory."

To set linking scientific research with production against the development of scientific theory is that kind of theory of knowledge which puts the cart before the horse. What is theory? "**There is only one kind of true theory in this world, theory that is drawn from objective reality and then verified by objective reality.**" Man's activity in production is the most fundamental practical activity. In the last analysis, the emergence and development of the theories of natural science originate from practice in production. "**If society has a technical need, that helps science forward more than ten universities.**" Today, the vigorous development of China's industrial and agricultural production and construction poses many urgent theoretical problems to be solved by natural science, and on the other hand accumulates rich practical exper-

ience for solving these problems and developing scientific theories. If the scientific and technical personnel were to follow what the Right deviationists advocated, completely ignore the needs of China's industrial and agricultural production and cudgel their brains behind closed doors, then they could only find topics for study from foreign magazines and be led by the nose by others. Before the Cultural Revolution, under the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line in scientific research, many research units tried to "raise the standards" through study behind closed doors, and had no contact whatsoever with factories and the villages. The result was lots of money were wasted, no success was gained and the scientists turned revisionist. Having criticized the revisionist line during the Cultural Revolution, scientific and technical workers began to take an active part in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Working according to the theory of knowledge of "practice—theory—again practice," they have begun to achieve some successes.

By integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, the brilliant road charted by Chairman Mao, scientific and technical workers receive re-education politically and this helps them remould their world outlook. At the same time, it is also very necessary for them to study again vocationally. The Right deviationists emphasized "fanning up a hurricane for vocational work" and forbade stressing the integration of scientific and technical personnel with workers and peasants. Isn't it quite clear what they opposed and what they advocated?

"From the very beginning the origin and development of the sciences has been determined by production." The labouring people are those who directly engage in production. In the long process of practice, they have accumulated rich experience, both successful and unsuccessful. This is the source for developing scientific theories. Only by modestly learning from and summing up the masses' new experience and gathering together their wisdom can scientific and technical personnel give full play to their professional skills and make greater contributions in their work. By promoting open-door scientific research, we do not mean doing away with laboratories or negating study and research by the scientific workers and technicians themselves. What we mean is to link research in the laboratories with experiments by the masses and to adhere to the correct orientation of integration with productive labour and with workers and peasants.

Launch Vigorous Mass Movement

Should the masses be mobilized in developing science and technology?

This is a question of principle concerning the political line. The Right deviationists regarded the scientific and technological field as a sacred place where ordinary labourers must not be admitted. In their eyes, the cultural level of the workers, peasants and soldiers was "too low" and they were therefore not qualified to do research work. This was an attempt to bar the masses from scientific and technological work.

"The mass movement is necessary in all work. Things won't go without the mass movement." To launch vigorous mass movements in scientific and technological work is an extremely important feature of the development in China's science and technology.

China is a socialist country. We cannot rely on foreign aid to develop our science and technology. **Maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts** is a fundamental principle in socialist revolution and socialist construction. We must never trail behind others at a snail's pace, but should race against time to catch up with and surpass advanced world levels. To achieve this, it won't do just to rely on a few people; we must launch vigorous mass movements and rely on the masses' wisdom and strength.

The masses doing scientific research is of great importance to narrowing the three major differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between manual and mental labour, and to restricting bourgeois right. By launching vigorous mass movements on the scientific and technological front, ordinary labourers are able to master science and technology, thereby breaking the monopoly of science and technology by the exploiting classes. In present-day China, workers, peasants and soldiers are toppling blind faith and emancipating their minds and are enthusiastically taking part in the mass movement of scientific experiment. From the creation of the new series of oil-extracting technology in Taching to the "sponge farmland" in Tachai which is a development in the science of soil, from the manufacture of a "mass drill" to the invention of new electric light source, from automatic production lines in neighbourhood-run small factories to the building of 10,000-ton vessels with home-made materials and equipment, from the swift progress in industry to reaping rich harvests for 14 years in a row—all are splendid feats performed by China's workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. They vividly speak of the truth that "**the masses are the real heroes.**" Mass contingents engaged in scientific research constitute the main force in promoting science and technology in China.

We have always attached importance to the role of professional scientific and technical personnel. We have always held that they should integrate themselves with the masses and we regard this as the only way to developing China's science and technology at a quick tempo. When

we say that vigorous mass movements should be launched in the scientific and technological field, we also mean reliance on professional scientific and technical personnel and we advocate and put into practice the principle that they should integrate themselves with the masses. China's successes in nuclear and thermonuclear tests and in launching man-made earth satellites are all fruits of the combined efforts of workers, cadres, scientific workers and technicians and the result of mass movements. The aim of the Right deviationists was to lead scientific and technical personnel astray on to the road of separation from the workers and peasants; there could be no future for any vocational work if scientific and technical personnel were to go up this blind alley.

Non-Professionals Can Lead Professionals

Which class wields the power of leadership is of great importance concerning which line is followed. The Right deviationists openly advocated that "first-rate" "authorities" "publicly acknowledged in the scientific and technological circles" should hold the leading posts. They tried to use this to oppose the leadership of the proletariat over scientific and technological work.

This is a typical example of the fallacy that "experts should be in charge of the institutes." Its essence was to slash Party leadership, just as what Liu Shao-chi had done before the Cultural Revolution in letting bourgeois intellectuals control the leadership in science and technology. In this respect, the weapon used by the Right deviationists was the same as that used by the Rightists in 1957 when they attacked the Party, saying: Those who do not have vocational skill cannot hold responsible positions; non-professionals cannot lead professionals.

Dialectical materialism holds that it is a universal law for non-professionals to lead professionals. Anyone who maintains that only those with scientific and technical knowledge can lead a certain branch of work is not only negating the leadership of politics over vocational work but is actually denying any possibility of giving unified leadership over various departments of vocational work. Of course, this does not mean that comrades engaged in Party work on the scientific and technological front should not learn scientific and technological knowledge at all. Our Party has always maintained that cadres should learn the vocational work they lead and strive to be both red and expert, because this helps them to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in a still better way and is conducive to strengthening Party leadership.

The fact that the hackneyed tune that "non-professionals cannot lead professionals" surfaces again and again in the scientific and technological circles shows that the exploiting classes will never retreat from their

hereditary domain of their own accord. In this field, in particular, which requires special knowledge, the bourgeoisie often regard the scientific and technological knowledge it possesses as capital in contending with the proletariat for leadership. Therefore, Party leadership in this field should in no way be weakened but should be greatly strengthened.

Chairman Mao has time and again taught us: "**Guard against revisionism.**" The Right deviationist wind in the scientific and technological circles to negate the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is by no means an isolated phenomenon. It was whipped up by the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping who pushed a revisionist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The essence of this revisionist line is to negate class struggle as the key link, change the Party's basic line and negate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a vain attempt to restore capitalism. The current great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind is to consolidate and develop the fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and to prevent capitalist restoration.

TEXT 36

WHAT IS THE INTENTION OF PEOPLE OF THE LIN PIAO TYPE IN ADVOCATING “PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF KNOWLEDGE”?

Liang Hsiao

Whom should knowledge belong to and serve after all? On this question there has all along been a sharp struggle between the two classes and the two lines. Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the broad masses have persistently taken class struggle as the key link and energetically criticized “private ownership of knowledge.” This is entirely essential. However, that unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party who calls for “taking the three directives as the key link” in a vain attempt to reverse verdicts forbids the criticism of “private ownership of knowledge,” and says that “so long as White expertise is of advantage to the People’s Republic of China,” it “should be cherished and praised.” Under his instigation, some people in educational, scientific and technical, and literary and art circles openly cry that with “private ownership of knowledge” criticized, “how can we get along!” Or else, they unreasonably ask, “Who has seen private ownership of knowledge? Is it square, round or flat?” As they see it, “private ownership of knowledge” fundamentally cannot and should not be criticized! With an ulterior object in view, they even describe the criticism of “private ownership of knowledge” as the pernicious influence of the Lin Piao line so as to confuse people, create chaos and whip up a Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts.

Has Lin Piao ever criticized “private ownership of knowledge”? Fundamentally nothing of the sort. There is irrevocable criminal evidence to show that Lin Piao, like Liu Shao-chi, was a frenzied advocate of “private ownership of knowledge.” This renegade Lin Piao and his gang vociferously advertised that “vocational knowledge is cash” and “ability is capital” for the purpose of luring people into looking upon knowledge (including skill and ability) as private property, a commodity for exchange of “cash,” and capital for snatching fame and gain.

Essentially speaking, scientific knowledge is “a kind of weapon for people to win freedom.” In order to be free in society, people should use social science to recognize and reform society; in order to be free in

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the natural world, they should use natural science to recognize and reform nature. When Engels spoke of Marx, he said: “**H**e first looks upon science as an effective lever of history and a revolutionary force of highest significance. Furthermore, he is making use of science precisely as such a force. As he sees it, here lies the use of the vast knowledge he has mastered—especially knowledge of all spheres bearing on history.” (*Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. XIX, pp. 372-373.) This attitude of the revolutionary teacher to scientific knowledge makes us clearly see how despicable is the soul of people of the Lin Piao type in advocating “private ownership of knowledge”!

Knowledge comes from the people. In socialist society the opportunities, expenses and conditions for people to study are all provided by society. It is natural that “**t**he results created by complicated labor, that is, things of greater value, should also belong to society.” (*Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. III, p. 241) Therefore, all revolutionary people, including the revolutionary intellectuals, have only the obligation to serve the people, but never the right to bargain with the people. Today, the broad masses of worker-peasant-soldier students sonorously cry: “It is the people who send me to university, and I go to university for the people.” Many college students “come from and go back to the communes.” This revolutionary action that knows no precedent is the best criticism of “private ownership of knowledge” and “studying in order to become officials,” and is also the most effective restriction on bourgeois rights.

It must be pointed out that the taking of knowledge as private property and commodity is not any invention of the Lin Piao type of “genius,” but a reflection of the private ownership of the means of production and the commodity economy of the past several thousand years. The slave-owner class and the reactionary feudal landlord class once vociferously publicized that “there is emolument in learning” and that “literary and military skills are acquired for sale to the imperial household.” Confucius even compared himself to the “fine jade” and loudly cried: “For sale! For sale! I am for sale!” He even wanted to auction himself also to the slave-owning rulers at the higher level. The bourgeoisie turned everything into the commodity and further made a commodity of knowledge. Lin Piao and company publicized that “vocational knowledge is cash” and that “ability is capital,” thus fully exposing their capitalist soul. This and the Soviet revisionist Kirov’s clamor that “knowledge” is “stable and reliable wealth” are songs sung with the same excellence and are almost the same. The profit-grabbing nature of the bourgeoisie and the avarice of the upstarts constitute the class origin of private ownership of knowledge and knowledge as a commodity advocated by people of the Lin Piao type.

The socialist society still practices the commodity system and there are still bourgeois rights. This economic base makes the dissemination of these fallacies possible. The reactionary essence of this trash wildly peddled by people of the Lin Piao type lies in their desire to submerge scientific knowledge in the ice water of egoism, to resist Chairman Mao's instruction that the intellectuals must be integrated with the workers and peasants, and to sabotage the turning of intellectuals into revolutionaries and laborers.

What is more, Lin Piao also wrote on a brilliant Marxist book this jargon: "The kind of merchandise the masses want to buy at the political store applies to the study of Marxist-Leninist works—method of study." Look! In the eyes of Lin Piao, Marxism-Leninism has also become a "commodity." The study of books by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao actually means the selection and purchase of "commodities" in the "political store." This rare teaching material by negative example enables us to see more clearly the repulsive features of this political swindler and commodity fetishist. He cried at the top of his voice that "flexible study for flexible application" or "proper study is something that gains enormous profit out of small capital investment." Actually he wanted to use it to practice political speculation on a large scale and to undermine the study of Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings by the masses, so that he could take over control and seize power for pushing the line of regression and restoration based on "subduing one's self and turning to propriety." So long as it was "profitable" to them, they were ever ready to trade away principle until they betrayed the revolution and the country and capitulated to the enemy. This was the dirty deal made by "Lin's Store."

The vilification and attack of the renegade do not impair in the least the brilliance of Marxism! The proletariat and the revolutionary people study and read seriously because our struggle needs Marxism. At present, the broad masses of cadres and the people exert themselves in the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and some Marxist philosophy, in the discussion and criticism of *Water Margin*, and in striking back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts. They take class struggle as the key link for the purpose of better carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and solving this fundamental question of combating and guarding against revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The advocates of the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts oppose the employment of college graduates as workers and peasants and maliciously attack the principle of "from the commune, back to the commune" and of allotment of work points without paying wages. The reason is nothing more than that in this way the tradition of the ex-

ploiting classes based on “want in farming and emolument in learning” and “vocational knowledge is cash” will be fundamentally shattered and the channel to “private ownership of knowledge” will be blocked. In his attitude toward Marxism-Leninism, that unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party also waves the red flag to oppose the red flag and cast forth “taking the directives as the key link” to oppose taking class struggle as the key link and the basic line of the Party. The vital essence of this is to restore capitalism. To him, the “study of theory” is like the signboard of a shop or the “trade mark” for peddling the trash of the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces. It can be seen that on these fundamental questions it is none other than he himself who is a true disciple of the Lin Piao line in opposing Marxism and practicing revisionism.

II

In the socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the advocacy of private ownership of knowledge by people of the Lin Piao type is bound to usher the capitalist principle of commodity exchange into the ideological and cultural sphere to endanger the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. One of the examples of their nonsense is the saying that “I sell my knowledge when paid by the students.”

More than 2,000 years ago, Confucius confessed that “I will not deny instruction to those who come with tuition fees.” To him, there was a relationship of buying and selling between the students and the teachers. Those who could afford to produce ten strips of dried meat naturally were not the slaves who had not even personal freedom. The bourgeoisie declared that all citizens were completely equal, but as Lenin said, **“Class schools fundamentally do not offer secondary education to those who are not in position to pay for their tuition and teaching material fees as well as board and lodging for the whole school term.”** (*Collected Works of Lenin*, Vol. II, p. 405) This shows that this kind of education based on “my selling knowledge when paid by the students” has always been for training men of ability of the exploiting classes for serving their reactionary rule. Lin Piao and company publicized the buying and selling of education for the purpose of resisting the revolution in education and turning the school which should be a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat once again into the “money-making school” of the bourgeoisie which bought and sold knowledge so as to undermine our great cause of bringing up successors to the proletarian revolution.

Capitalist commodity exchange commonly practices pricing and according to grade. The implementation of this principle in cultural and

educational circles is bound to look upon the intellectuals as a commodity. By promoting the “three-famous” and “three-high” principle, didn’t Liu Shao-chi mean that the intellectuals should strive to turn themselves into “goods of well-known brands” so as to fetch “higher prices”? Lin Piao and company also took this course of action. They brought in the business logic of the Western bourgeoisie that “it always pays to buy knowledge at a high price,” added to it the reactionary craft of the Confucian school, and wanted to use “high prices” in the form of “high office,” “high salary” and “great power” to buy over their needed intellectuals. Confucius cried that “the superior men hate to die without making themselves known.” Lin Piao and company vociferously advocated the idea of becoming famous and an expert. They interpreted the old proverb, “The peach and plum trees are dumb, but trails automatically appear under them,” as follows: “Those with true learning will become well known like the peach and plum trees which though dumb are beautiful and laden with fruits, and people coming to see them will beat tracks leading to them.” So it appears that anyone with knowledge will spread its fragrance far and wide and become well-known throughout the country; he can trade with the working people for “rich remuneration and special treatment.”

Look at that unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, he energetically stood for vocational work in command and stated that “technical cadres must mainly be evaluated according to their technical skill” and that the “promotion” and “selection” of engineers “should mainly be based on their vocational and technical conditions.” In 1974 he also said that “the barefoot doctors have little knowledge at the beginning and can only treat some common diseases, but after a few years they will wear straw sandals because they have more knowledge, and after a few more years, they will put on cloth shoes.” According to this logic, when they have still more knowledge, they will wear leather shoes, “ride in special coaches and feed on special meals”! What else is this if not for maliciously attacking such a revolutionary new thing as the barefoot doctors, continuously publicizing “private ownership of knowledge,” and evaluating social standing according to knowledge? Evidently, people like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao are pushing an out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist line here in a vain attempt to exercise dictatorship over the proletariat in the ideological and cultural sphere.

This line severely corrupts the soul of the intellectuals. Due to pursuit of fame and gain, it is inevitable that some people will not go to serve the people and can only become educated sharks struggling for fame at court and gain in the market. These people have no correct political orientation. They look upon their proficiency in vocational work and

technical skill as means to uplift themselves. They either regard themselves as a rare commodity which can be hoarded for sale at the right price, or behave as Tso Chung-ho in *Breaking with Old Ideas* who "comes to join the revolutionary force with culture as capital" to trade for a "discount certificate." They even behave like those intellectuals whom had been strongly denounced by Engels: "**As a rule, they look upon the bourgeois university as the Saint Cyr Military Academy of socialism, and think that a student from it will have the right to join the Party ranks with the title of an army officer or even the title of a general.**" (*Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. IV, p. 476) Before the Great Cultural Revolution, many among the intellectuals had come to the brink of revisionism, and some even had fallen or rotted away. Going back to the origin, wasn't this due to the revisionist line?

This line severely hampers the development of science and culture. Because they are interested in personal fame and gain, they will not painstakingly pursue scientific truth for the revolution or brave difficulties and dangers to scale the pinnacles of science. With their minds filled with bourgeois ideas and the idealist or metaphysical world outlook, their recognition and mastery of objective truth will also be affected. "People are afraid of becoming famous and pigs are afraid of growing plump." The idea of fame and gains often makes people with a little fame become timid and cowardly. They either look upon themselves as an "authority" or repress the new things. They even take the evil road of falsifying, copying and plagiarizing things until they have become braggarts and wild and ignorant charlatans like Duhring. Historical experience shows that if the intellectuals are fettered by the chains of fame and gain and depart from this sole source for the development of science and culture—the worker-peasant masses and the three great revolutionary movements, they can only make a living by copying so-called changeless dogmas from piles of old papers, or put blind faith in that "the moon over foreign countries is rounder than that over China" and promote the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind others at a snail's pace. In this way, how could there be any creation in science and technology, and how could there be any talk of surpassing the advanced standards of the world?

For the sake of opposing the criticism of "private ownership of knowledge," those advocates of the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts oddly ask whether there is now "private ownership of knowledge" or "no private ownership of knowledge" after all. Paraphrased, this means that if you have no knowledge, you are not fit to criticize "private ownership of knowledge," and if "private ownership of knowledge" is criticized again, nobody would bother to acquire knowledge. Gentlemen, we really possess not a bit of such "profound"

knowledge as whether “private ownership of knowledge” is round or flat, and this is also the first time we have the good fortune of hearing it. However, the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants valiantly fighting on the forefront of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment have most abundant knowledge of the practice of the three great revolutionary movements, and they see most clearly the danger of “private ownership of knowledge” advocated by people like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. As regards the allegation that knowledge will not be learned if “private ownership of knowledge” is criticized, this is but a major exposure of the reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie who contend for what is profitable and refuse to do anything unprofitable, as well as a self-portrayal of the gloomy minds of the concocters of the revisionist absurd arguments. As they see it, knowledge not “privately owned” is equal to an extinct “engine” of life and everything looks dismal. How can there be energy for learning knowledge to speak of?

However, practice shows that only when the intellectuals break away from the restraints of the revisionist line, make a clean break with such traditional concepts as “private ownership of knowledge,” “are re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the leadership of the correct line and thoroughly change their old way of thinking” can they mature healthily and bring their ability and wisdom into full play. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the broad masses of intellectuals in China are further integrated with the workers and peasants and have taken on a new spiritual outlook. Some of them have also been credited with inventions and creations. The new ranks of the intellectuals of the working class wax stronger with each passing day. On our cultural, educational, scientific and technical front, a vigorous and prosperous scene has appeared. These facts are an effective criticism of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. They also give the apologists of “private ownership of knowledge” a resounding box on the ear. The fact that the two lines yield two different kinds of results makes us further understand that the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. Just as Marx said, only the working class can **“turn science from the instrument of class rule into the strength of the people, and the scientists themselves from the peddlers of class prejudices, the parasites of the state chasing after fame and gain and the ally of capital into free thinkers!”** (*Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. II, p. 422) Aren’t those people who describe themselves as “enthusiasts in science” concerned with the intellectuals but are opposed to the criticism of “private ownership of knowledge” and energetically turn back the wheel of

history precisely desirous of impeding the development of science and culture and “pulling back the four modernizations” in a vain attempt to turn the broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals once again into “parasites of the state chasing after fame and gain”?

Those big Party lords and big warlords of the Lin Piao type who do not read books and newspapers and have no learning whatsoever frenziedly advocate “private ownership of knowledge” entirely out of the counter-revolutionary need of the exploiting classes. What then is their reactionary political objective after all?

Lin Piao wrote in his sinister notes: “Knowledge is the business of the intelligentsia.” A very important member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique also wrote: “Let everybody take part in practice” and “let theory go to a few people.” They completely separated practice from theory, and “everybody” or the worker-peasant-soldier masses from the “intelligentsia” and stood them against each other. Such “few people” who monopolize “theory,” look upon knowledge as their monopoly and ride roughshod over the people can only be the bourgeois spiritual aristocracy, and they naturally are not included in what is called “let everybody take part in practice.” What is the difference between this kind of wild rumor, which openly publicizes the monopoly of culture and theory by “a few people” so as to widen with every effort the disparity between physical labor and mental labor, and the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, such as, “the people may be made to follow a path of action, but they may not be made to understand it” and “those who labor with their minds govern others; those who labor with their strength are governed by others”? This is entirely the same kind of trash of the Soviet revisionists who call for “the leadership of the intellectuals with the actual work carried out by the workers.”

Beginning in 1956, that unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party publicized that “the cadres who are well versed in production techniques and other kinds of specialized vocational knowledge form the basic force in building socialism.” By 1957, he clamored that “the White experts are of advantage to the People’s Republic of China” and it was necessary to “cherish and praise” those intellectuals taking the “White expert” road. The reactionary stand and world outlook of the bourgeoisie determine that he is “in communion” with Lin Piao and company. All of them wish that they could knock down the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers with one blow so that the bourgeois intellectuals could continue to preserve their “hereditary territory” in cultural, educational, scientific and technical circles. This absolutely cannot be tolerated.

There is a jargon credited to Lin Piao: “Implement a policy of special privileged treatment to bring up pace-setters.” As a represen-

tative of the new and old bourgeoisie, Lin Piao also pinned his hope on energetically bringing up new bourgeois elements. Lin Li-kuo belonged to such a category. Lin Piao and company cried, "Universities are run by us!" He asked Lin Li-kuo and his ilk to get hold of knowledge and technique in certain fields for the counterrevolutionary cause. He also made use of his unique conditions to enable them to get in touch with abundant feudal, capitalist, revisionist and imperialist ideology and culture so as to give them a course of reactionary education. He also gave them all kinds of prerogatives in the political and economic fields. This was Lin Piao's "implementation of a policy of special privileged treatment." The new bourgeois elements of the Lin Li-kuo type also became the sworn confederates and backbone elements of the counterrevolutionary coup d'etat unleashed by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, and played the role of pace-setters in restoring capitalism.

It can be seen from this that the fundamental object of people of the Lin Piao type in publicizing "private ownership of knowledge" is to effect the monopoly of knowledge by a few exploiters and to bring up a spiritual aristocracy so as to extend their social foundation for the practice of "subduing one's self and returning to propriety" on a large scale. In the final analysis, in this opposition to the criticism of "private ownership of knowledge," those who whip up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts also seek to preserve this piece of "fertile land" for restoring capitalism. This once again makes us understand that for the sake of preventing people of the Lin Piao type from coming into power, the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure including all spheres of culture. It must oppose bourgeois prerogatives, restrict bourgeois rights and realize Chairman Mao's instruction on "imparting knowledge to the working people and requiring the intellectuals to take up manual work." It must energetically foster new things with communist factors, gradually narrow the three major differences until they are eliminated in the end in the future, and strive to create conditions that will make it impossible for the bourgeoisie to survive and to emerge again.

Chairman Mao teaches us, "**In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines.**" The criticism of "private ownership of knowledge" seeks to eliminate the pernicious influence of the revisionist line of people of the Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao type, and to call on the broad masses of intellectuals to further correctly orient the line, solve the question of for whom, and hence master more properly cultural and scientific knowledge for the revolution and consciously serve the workers, peasants and soldiers as well as proletarian politics.

The advocates of the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts say that the criticism of "private ownership of knowledge" means that

knowledge is not wanted and is criticism of the intellectuals. This kind of unfounded reports and sophistry seeks nothing more than to smother the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat which has just emerged, to undermine the criticism of the bourgeoisie and revisionism by the broad masses, and to sow discord in the relations between the broad masses of intellectuals and the Party.

Lenin once pointed out, "**Negation of revisionism is for covering up one's own revisionism.**" (*Collected Works of Lenin*, Vol. XX, p. 324) Those who insist on saying that "private ownership of knowledge" is no longer in existence and that "everything is for serving the people, private ownership or not" are precisely trying to cover up their own despicable behavior in peddling "private ownership of knowledge" and practicing revisionism on a large scale. In "taking the three directives as the key link" to revise and negate taking class struggle as the key link, it is apparent that that unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party seeks to abolish the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, including the criticism of "private ownership of knowledge," so as to facilitate his launching a counter-attack in revenge against the revolutionary masses. The great leader Chairman Mao has most recently pointed out, "**Reversing verdicts is against the will of people.**" That unrepentant capitalist roader who goes against the tide of history is picking up a rock only to drop it on his own feet.

Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has clearly pointed out to the broad masses of intellectuals a bright future. The socialist system has opened up a broad world for the development of science and culture. The excellent situation at home and abroad marked by "the world is being turned upside down" and "past scenes are transformed" is encouraging the broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals to work hard and forge ahead along the promising Red-and-expert road. We surely must firmly grasp this key link of class struggle, resolutely strike back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, and more penetratingly criticize that unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party who stubbornly pushes the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. We must criticize the idea of bourgeois rights, including "private ownership of knowledge," continue to criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and expose the criminal conspiracy of the followers and descendants of Confucius who want "to subdue one's self and return to propriety" at the first opportunity. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals certainly will play a full part in combatting and guarding against revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and building a socialist modern power, and strive to make contributions worthy of our era.

TEXT 37

A REACTIONARY PHILOSOPHY THAT STANDS ON ITS HEAD

—A criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping's sophistic tactics in opposing the restriction of bourgeois rights

Hung Yu

Inside "On the General Program for All Work of the Party and the Country" concocted on instructions from Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party, no mention is made of the struggle against Party persons in power taking the capitalist road, nor is there any mention of the restriction of bourgeois rights, on which the capitalist-roaders rely for peace and stability. This is by no means a matter of coincidence but the inevitable exposure of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's bourgeois nature.

In his directive on the question of theory, Chairman Mao clearly points out that regarding bourgeois rights, "they can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Although "On the General Program" touches on this directive of Chairman Mao's, it does not say a word about the most important content of this directive—the restriction of bourgeois rights. This is sufficient to show that what Teng Hsiao-p'ing calls the need to study Chairman Mao's directive on the question of theory is completely false, and what is true is his opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restriction of bourgeois rights. Doesn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing openly cry that "in order to restrict bourgeois rights, there must also be a material foundation; otherwise, how is restriction to be effected?" This most clearly shows that Teng Hsiao-p'ing actually opposes the restriction of bourgeois rights on the ground that conditions are not available for restricting bourgeois rights.

Since Teng Hsiao-p'ing is opposed to the restriction of bourgeois rights, he naturally is also opposed to the criticism of bourgeois rights. Nevertheless, he plays another trick, saying that even if "criticism" has to be made, only the idea of bourgeois rights can be "criticized." This is in fact to sever the idea of bourgeois rights from the bourgeois rights arising from it. The consequence is bound to be the "criticism" of the idea of bourgeois rights on the one hand, and the unrestricted

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strengthening and extension of bourgeois rights on the other. Such a trick played by Teng Hsiao-p'ing takes standing philosophy on its head as its ideological foundation. This kind of reactionary philosophy must be thoroughly criticized.

First, this kind of philosophy takes away the actual foundation of the idea of bourgeois rights, and describes it as something independent and divorced from bourgeois rights. A basic viewpoint of Marxist philosophy is "the need to explain social consciousness with social being." (Karl Marx, *Selected Works of Lenin*, Vol. II, p. 584) While "conceptual things are nothing more than the reformed material things transferred into human minds." (Marx's "Afterword to 2nd Edition of *Das Kapital* Vol. I," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. II, p. 217) The idea of bourgeois rights is a reflection of bourgeois rights in man's mind. There are still bourgeois rights in socialist society, and this is the objective foundation which makes possible the indefinite existence and functioning of the idea of bourgeois rights.

However, in Teng Hsiao-p'ing's philosophy which stands on its head, the idea of bourgeois rights seems to have become the decisive thing of prime importance, the thing which determines rather than rely on social being. Therefore, bourgeois rights "are forgotten and distorted by idealism 'right from the beginning.' " (Excerpts from Hegel's "Recorded Speeches on History of Philosophy," *Collected Works of Lenin*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 324) According to this kind of idealist philosophy that stands on its head, the restriction of bourgeois rights becomes "an infeasible truth," which the handful of counter-revolutionaries yelled when staging the T'ienanmen Square incident.

Next, this kind of philosophy has taken away from the idea of bourgeois rights its concrete class content and turned it into a class concept that stands above classes. Marxist philosophy holds that any social consciousness in class society has its specific class content. For example, the idea of bourgeois rights is what the bourgeoisie looks upon as the "concept of their having the prerogative to exploit the workers." (Engels: "On the Question of Housing," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol.II, p.476) Only by fully understanding the class essence of the idea of bourgeois rights can we heighten our understanding of the necessity to restrict bourgeois rights. Otherwise, the idea of bourgeois rights can only be criticized falsely while bourgeois rights are genuinely shielded.

What is the fact? Like Teng Hsiao-p'ing, such unrepentant capitalist-roaders within the Party are also opposed to criticizing the idea of bourgeois rights. For instance, such typical ideas of bourgeois rights as "study in order to become officials," "private ownership of knowledge," pursuit of the "White-and-expert" road, "acquiring

fame and prestige," should have been criticized according to logic! However, the Teng Hsiao-p'ing-type of capitalist-roaders within the Party yell that "they cannot be unanalytically criticized." After their "analysis," these corrupt ideas all become things that stand above classes and "are good to the People's Republic of China." Therefore, he can carry on his sinful activities in strengthening and extending bourgeois rights and restoring capitalism.

Next again, this kind of philosophy negates the important role of revolutionary practice. Marxism fully affirms the dynamic role of social consciousness and emphasizes the importance of struggle in the ideological sphere, but it particularly attaches significance to the enormous role of revolutionary practice in transforming the objective world under the guidance of the correct ideology. The criticism of the idea of bourgeois rights is doubtlessly very important, but this cannot replace entirely the restriction of bourgeois rights in actual life. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's sinister attempt in advocating that the idea of bourgeois rights can only be "criticized" in isolation is to negate the significance of revolutionary practice, write off a section of revolutionary measures adopted by our Party for restricting bourgeois rights, smother a large number of socialist new things for restricting bourgeois rights on all sides and cover up his true image in transforming the idea of bourgeois rights into restorationist action.

The philosophy which stands on its head publicized by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is no new invention. In the workers movement, the opportunists and new and old revisionists, for the sake of opposing the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, have all vociferously peddled this kind of idealist philosophy that stands on its head because it is particularly suitable to the political need of the reactionary class on the decline to deceive and corrupt the masses of the people and to defend and restore the old things. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the capitalist-roaders within the Party of their kind—similar to the reactionary class on the decline in history—all go against the historical tide and have no truth in their hands. Therefore can only seek help from this kind of reactionary philosophy that stands on its head. Liu Shao-ch'i chanted for several decades his idealist "self-cultivation," and Lin Piao openly advocated "to reverse" Marxist historical materialism and publicized with every effort the fallacy of "the eruption of revolution in the depth of the soul." What they worshipped is precisely this kind of philosophy which stands on its head—subjective idealist philosophy.

At the time of opposing the restriction of bourgeois rights, Teng Hsiao-p'ing toys with sophistic tactics. This is determined by his subjective idealist world outlook. His ideology is "characterized by the breach

between the subjective and the objective, the separation of knowledge from practice.” (Chairman Mao, “On Practice”) He fundamentally ignores objective existence and the practice of struggle by the people, overestimates his own counter-revolutionary “subjective” force and underestimates the strength of the masses of people. As he sees it, so long as he plays with sophistic tactics and casts forth the philosophy that stands on its head, he can befuddle and hoodwink the masses, and hence continue to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights and practice his own fraudulent deals for restoring capitalism. However, the proletariat armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought is an ir-resistible “material force which changes society and changes the world.” (Chairman Mao, “Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?”) Such kind of capitalist-roaders within the Party as Teng Hsiao-p’ing can only be swept by the proletariat onto the garbage pile of history together with their philosophy which stands on its head.

Marx points out: “Nothing can prevent us from integrating our criticism with political criticism, and with the clearcut political stand of these people. Hence, we also integrate our criticism with actual struggle and look upon criticism and actual struggle as one and the same thing.” (“Excerpts from Letters in the *German-French Almanac*, ” *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. I, pp. 417-418) We must adhere to these several “integrations” mentioned by Marx, thoroughly criticize Teng Hsiao-p’ing’s reactionary philosophy that stands on its head, link the criticism of the idea of bourgeois rights and the criticism of bourgeois rights with the restriction of bourgeois rights, consolidate and develop the achievements gained from the restriction of bourgeois rights, carry through to end the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and gradually create conditions which make it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or to emerge again.

TEXT 38

FROM BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATS TO CAPITALIST-ROADERS

Chih Heng

The great struggle initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse previous correct verdicts is developing soundly in various spheres of the superstructure, including education, science and technology, and art and literature. The spearhead of the criticism is directed at the capitalist-roader inside the Party who refuses to mend his ways, the one who put forward the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link." A continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, this struggle is yet another major trial of strength on the political and ideological front between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, and between Marxism and revisionism.

Through this struggle, the cadres and masses will certainly receive a profound lesson in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and further raise their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Through it our country's socialist revolution and construction will certainly take a giant stride forward.

The deepening of the revolutionary mass debate has raised a number of thought-provoking questions: Why is it that some people who were revolutionaries in the period of the new-democratic revolution have become capitalist-roaders in the period of the socialist revolution? Why does the capitalist-roader who refuses to mend his ways deny the existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society, oppose taking class struggle as the key link and run counter to the basic line formulated by Chairman Mao for our Party?

We can find the class and ideological origins of the Right deviationist wind by using the Marxist method of class analysis and draw beneficial lessons accordingly.

At the Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee in 1959, Chairman Mao penetratingly pointed out that Right opportunist elements in the Party had never been proletarian revolutionaries. They were merely bourgeois or petty-bourgeois democrats who had found their way into the proletarian revolutionary ranks. Nor had they ever been Marxists-Leninists, but were fellow-travellers of the Party.

The capitalist-roader in the Party who refuses to mend his ways is also one of this kind. When he and other such people joined the proletarian revolutionary ranks, they brought with them the ideology of bourgeois democracy. When they accepted to varying degrees the Party's minimum programme, that is, the programme of the new-democratic revolution, they did not associate it with the Party's maximum programme, that is, the winning of socialism and communism. They do not understand the Party's maximum programme, nor are they prepared to work for its realization. In other words, their world outlook is not a proletarian communist world outlook but a bourgeois one. Furthermore, this bourgeois stand and world outlook have not been remoulded in the course of protracted revolutionary struggles. When the revolution advanced from the stage of the new-democratic revolution to that of socialist revolution, their ideology failed to keep pace with the revolutionary advance. On the contrary, although they had physically entered socialist society, ideologically they were still in the stage of the democratic revolution. This determined their inevitable conflict with and even opposition to the socialist revolution. The bourgeois democratic stand and world outlook represent the bourgeoisie and are the class and ideological origins of the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts.

The new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party are two revolutionary stages whose character, targets and tasks are essentially different. The former took place in the old China of semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. The principal contradiction it aimed to resolve was the contradiction between the masses of the people including workers, peasants, the petty and national bourgeoisie on one side and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism on the other. Therefore, it was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal bourgeois democratic revolution in character. Its task was to strive under the leadership of the proletariat to overthrow the rule of imperialism, the feudal landlord class and the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie in China, and to lead the revolution to socialism.

With the victory of the new-democratic revolution, the character and principal contradiction of the Chinese society changed. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie became the principal contradiction in our country. This contradiction not only exists in society at large but is also reflected in the Party. The socialist revolution we are carrying out is a revolution waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. The spearhead of the revolution is directed mainly against the bourgeoisie and against Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Its task is to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat, use socialism to

defeat capitalism, and through protracted class struggle gradually create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, and finally eliminate classes and realize communism. The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the beginning of the socialist revolutionary stage.

If one's ideology still remains at the old stage and views and treats the socialist revolution from the stand and world outlook of bourgeois democrats, one will become a representative of the bourgeoisie, a capitalist-roader and a target of the socialist revolution.

After the victory of the new-democratic revolution in China, the ideology of some people in the Party remained at the stage of the democratic revolution and they did not want to continue the revolution along the socialist road. Isn't this true of the capitalist-roader in the Party who refuses to mend his ways? He and his followers are afraid that the socialist revolution will bring them under fire and will affect private ownership, bourgeois right which they cherish, the traditional ideas they want to uphold and their bourgeois class stand and world outlook. They therefore become representatives of the bourgeoisie. The deeper the socialist revolution goes, the sharper becomes the contradiction between them and the revolution and between them and the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants who persevere in continuing the revolution. As the socialist revolution moves forward, they fall back and oppose revolution.

It is precisely the capitalist-roader refusing to mend his ways who opposed agricultural co-operation and the people's commune and supported "the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own." Later, he set himself up against the Great Cultural Revolution and suppressed the revolutionary mass movement, and now made every effort to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**Revisionism is one form of bourgeois ideology. The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line.**" (*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.*)

In terms of ideology and class origin, the bourgeois class stand and world outlook are in accord with revisionism. Opportunism, or revisionism, is a faction and school of thought in the workers' movement which represents the interests of the bourgeoisie. Its special feature is betrayal of the fundamental interests of the proletariat and capitulation to the bourgeoisie. Revisionists invariably preach class conciliation, the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces from a bourgeois class stand. They invariably use these revi-

sionist fallacies to oppose the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. From Bernstein and Kautsky to Trotsky and Bukharin, and from Khrushchov and Brezhnev to Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, all acted in this way. This is true also of the capitalist-roader who has refused to mend his ways. He put forward the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" and advocated the theories of the dying out of class struggle and of productive forces to counter the theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He also used it to interfere with and undermine the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the criticism of the novel *Water Margin*, both initiated and led by Chairman Mao. He also used it to push the revisionist line in various fields. The absurdities, which appeared last year in the educational, scientific and technological fields, in literature and art and other spheres in opposition to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Great Cultural Revolution and the socialist new things, all stemmed from this revisionist programme. He whose ideology remains in the stage of the democratic revolution, denying the existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the socialist period, is bound to practise revisionism.

Chairman Mao has said: "**What 'taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.**" This is a penetrating criticism of the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link." We have won great victories in socialist revolution in the past 20 years and more but class struggle has not died out. Members of the defeated class are still around, this class still exists and is still struggling and dreaming of a comeback; the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie still exist; large numbers of intellectuals who have not been thoroughly remoulded still exist; the force of habit and conventional influences of the small producers still exist and are still engendering the bourgeoisie and capitalism. Are these not facts known to everyone? Were people not greatly shocked at the subversive activities of the anti-Party cliques of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, agents of the bourgeoisie inside the Party who attempted to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism? Isn't the emergence of new bourgeois elements in the Party such as Lin Piao and his like a profound lesson to us? Under such circumstances, how can it be said that class struggle has died out? In putting forward ideas such as "taking the three directives as the key link" and talking of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, people like the capitalist-roader in the Party who has refused to mend his ways do not

really want to abolish class struggle. What they are really after is to extinguish the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and fight the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie. They pretend to want stability and unity and to develop production; what they really want is to reject the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Their revisionist line is in fact detrimental to stability and unity and socialist production.

After the victory of the democratic revolution, the issue is whether to stop the revolution at the old stage and not going forward or to persist in making socialist revolution and strive for the goal of communism, that is, whether or not to persevere in making revolution against the bourgeoisie. Herein lies the fundamental difference between proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois democrats and between Marxists and revisionists. The struggle between the two lines within the Party during the socialist period precisely centres on this issue.

Why does the capitalist-roader in the Party who refuses to mend his ways so resent the Great Cultural Revolution? Why does he regard the socialist new things which have emerged in the Great Cultural Revolution as a thorn in his flesh and something to be got rid of at all costs? Why is he so reluctant to part with the capitalist and revisionist trash which was repudiated in the Great Cultural Revolution, and is so eager to reinstate it? This is because, as Chairman Mao has said, "**the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is in essence a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.**" This great revolution smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, criticized their revisionist line, brought the capitalist-roaders in the Party under fire, made the bourgeoisie in the Party the target of the revolution, criticized the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and transformed education, literature and art and other parts of the superstructure not in conformity with the socialist economic base. All these run counter to the bourgeois interests represented by the capitalist-roader in the Party who has refused to mend his ways and to the capitalist road he is so eager to take. Because of this, people like him have inevitably become opponents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The birthmarks of the old society remain in socialist society as is the case with bourgeois right and the three major differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between manual and mental labour. These provide the soil and conditions for engendering the bourgeoisie and capitalism. The long-term task in the period of socialism is to restrict bourgeois right and gradually wipe out the vestiges of the old society. The deeper the socialist revolution goes, the more imperative it is

for us to put forward this task and set about to accomplish it.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: “**Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted.** Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works.” This instruction of Chairman Mao’s reflects the desire and demands of the proletariat and the revolutionary people to push the socialist revolution forward. At the same time it arouses fear and opposition from people whose ideology still remains at the stage of the democratic revolution. They want to retain these fundamental aspects of bourgeois right. These people come out in opposition when the revolution hits them directly by moving to restrict those aspects of bourgeois right which they wish to uphold. Why does this capitalist-roader who refuses to mend his ways hate the socialist new things which restrict bourgeois right in various fields? Why does he censure in every way the criticism of material incentives and of regarding knowledge as private property and other ideas arising from bourgeois right? Why is he so afraid of raising the question of restricting bourgeois right and why is he dead against it? It is because he represents the bourgeoisie and wants to safeguard and strengthen bourgeois right and safeguard and expand the basis on which the bourgeoisie is engendered and survives.

Resentment of and opposition to the socialist revolution stemming from ideology which remains at the stage of the democratic revolution—this is a historical phenomenon which has repeatedly appeared in the Party over the past 20 years and more. For example, our Party in 1953 decided to carry out the policy of planned purchase and marketing, an important step in undertaking socialist revolution and construction. At that time, there were people in the Party who leapt out in firm opposition. They were Communists in name, but spoke out for the urban and rural capitalist forces against the socialist revolution. In the period when agricultural co-operatives were being developed, Liu Shao-chi and his like disbanded large numbers of co-operatives and attacked the movement. What they planned and did was contrary to the wishes and doings of the peasants numbering hundreds of millions. In 1957, when the bourgeois Rightists took advantage of the Party’s rectification drive to launch a wild attack upon the proletariat, there were also people in the Party who advocated a bourgeois programme in co-ordination with the bourgeois Rightists of that time. In 1959, Peng Teh-huai’s Right opportunism opposed the Party’s general line, negated the great leap forward and the people’s communes. This once again exposed the true colours of those who remained bourgeois democrats.

These people, who tried to push forward a capitalist programme and bourgeois slogans in the period of socialist revolution, could not but be washed away by the current of the socialist revolution.

It is by no means strange that, in the period of the socialist revolution, there are still some in the Party whose ideology remains at the stage of the democratic revolution and who deal with things from the standpoint and world outlook of the bourgeoisie. Ours is a great, glorious and correct Party. Under the guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the revolution led by the Party has won great victories. But because the Party over a long period in the past led revolutionary movements which were bourgeois democratic in nature, many bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats joined the revolutionary ranks and the vanguard of the proletariat. Many who were educated in Marxism-Leninism and were tempered in protracted revolutionary struggles gradually abandoned their bourgeois world outlook and accepted or fostered the proletarian stand and world outlook. But there are still a few who have been profoundly influenced by bourgeois ideology but have not accepted the Party's education and remoulding, and their stand and world outlook remain unchanged. In socialist society, the bourgeoisie still exists and its ideology will inevitably influence certain people in the vanguard of the proletariat and turn them into bourgeois democrats and revisionists. Their world outlook is bound to find expression stubbornly on political and ideological questions by every possible means. One cannot expect it to do otherwise. When the socialist revolution is rolling forward, there inevitably are people who obstinately want to stop it and turn it back. Such people appeared in the past, are still around at present and will emerge in the future.

The proletarian Party must wage resolute struggles against such attempts to transform the Party and society in the image of the bourgeoisie. With regard to those comrades who have made mistakes, our Party's consistent policy is: "**learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient.**" In the current struggle, we should continue to adhere to this policy, patiently help those comrades who have made mistakes to mend their ways so as to promote unity and do our work well.

TEXT 39

CAPITALIST-ROADERS ARE THE BOURGEOISIE INSIDE THE PARTY

Fang Kang

In the great struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao has pointed out: “**With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. 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.**” This scientific thesis has incisively laid bare the bourgeois essence of the capitalist-roaders in the Party, further indicated the main target of the revolutionary struggle throughout the historical period of socialism, and defended and developed the great Marxist-Leninist theory on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a powerful ideological weapon for us to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to combat and prevent revisionism.

An Important Feature of Class Struggle in The Historical Period of Socialism

The emergence of capitalist-roaders—the bourgeoisie inside the Party—is an important feature of class struggle in the historical period of socialism and is closely linked with the change in class relations under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the period of democratic revolution, the principal contradiction in our society was the contradiction between the proletariat and the masses of the people on the one hand and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism on the other. At that time, there were also opportunists, revisionists and chieftains of the various opportunist lines inside the Party; they were agents of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes in the Party, but for the bourgeoisie as a whole, they were merely its appendages. Since the landlord and comprador-capitalist classes held the reins of government at that time, the nucleus and the main force of the bourgeoisie, its head-

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quarters and its chief political representatives were outside and not inside the Party.

After great victory had been won in the new-democratic revolution, the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism was overthrown and the proletariat led the people of the whole country in seizing the political power of the state. Since then China has entered the historical period of socialist revolution and the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has become the principal contradiction in society. Since our Party has become the ruling party, the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois and revisionist line determines not only the nature of our Party but also the character and prospects of our country as a whole. From that time on, our struggle against the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party has gradually developed in depth in all spheres, centering around the basic question of whether or not to carry out the socialist revolution. The *san fan* and *wu fan* movements,* the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and the anti-Rightist struggle** were all major struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie since the founding of New China. In these struggles, the bourgeoisie outside the Party still had some strength to engage in a trial of strength with the proletariat and was still able to nominate its own protagonists; but even then a complicated situation had already developed in which the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party responded to and colluded with each other. In their unbridled attacks on the Party, the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes outside the Party had the support of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and banked on its help. Through the two-line struggle in the Party, we brought to light the activities of the bourgeoisie inside the Party against the socialist revolution and criticized its revisionist line, thereby ensuring the victories of the various major campaigns in the socialist transformation.

With the continuous deepening of the socialist revolution, the bourgeoisie outside the Party which is in a position of being ruled has lost its means of production economically and met with one defeat after another on the political and ideological fronts; consequently, its

*These movements were carried out between December 1951 and June 1952. The former was against the three evils of corruption, waste and bureaucracy in the Communist Party and government organs and the latter was against the capitalists' five evils of bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information from government sources for private speculation.

**This refers to the struggle in 1957 to counterattack the bourgeois Rightists who took advantage of our Party's rectification campaign to launch wild attacks on the proletariat.

strength has been gradually weakened. If during the bourgeois Rightists' attack on the Party they still had the so-called "Chang-Lo alliance"** playing the commander's role, then after the anti-Rightist struggle it has become much more difficult for the bourgeoisie outside the Party to openly muster its forces to wage an all-round struggle against the proletariat, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

The principal contradiction in the entire historical period of socialism is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. With the balance of class forces having undergone a change, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie finds expression in the Party in an increasingly profound and acute way. Thus the capitalist-roaders emerge in the Party as the force at the core of the bourgeoisie as a whole and become the main danger in subverting the proletarian dictatorship and restoring capitalism. While carrying out the socialist revolution, we must not only see that the old bourgeoisie and its intellectuals still exist in society and that large numbers of the petty bourgeoisie are still in the course of remoulding their ideology, but we must be especially aware of the bourgeoisie hidden inside the Party, that is, those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Only by waging a resolute struggle against the capitalist-roaders in the Party like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping and persisting in directing our revolution at the bourgeoisie inside the Party can victory be ensured in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the capitalist forces in society at large; only thus can it be said that the main target of the socialist revolution has been really grasped. Anyone who fails to understand that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party is not a sober-minded proletarian revolutionary.

In summing up the historical experience of the Paris Commune, Engels pointed out that after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary to guard "**against this transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of society into masters of society**" "**in pursuance of their own special interests.**" (Introduction by Frederick Engels to Karl Marx's *The Civil War in France*.) After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin analysed the actual social conditions in the Soviet Union and clearly pointed out that a new bourgeoisie existed in the country and that it was arising from among the Soviet government employees and the small producers.

*Chang-Lo refers to Chang Po-chun and Lo Lung-chi who were protagonists of the bourgeois Rightists in attacking the Party in 1957. The objective of this reactionary alliance was to topple the Chinese Communist Party and turn the proletarian dictatorship in China into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

In the light of the historical lesson of how the Soviet Union has turned revisionist and the practical experience in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, Chairman Mao has put forward the brilliant thesis that the bourgeoisie “**is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road.**” This is an important development of Marxism-Leninism. Over the last 20 years and more following the founding of the People’s Republic of China, Chairman Mao has not only made a profound analysis of the bourgeoisie inside the Party from a theoretical angle, but has also in practice led us in carrying out repeated struggles against it. The chieftains of the revisionist line Kao Kang, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping were all commanders of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, and the several major two-line struggles in the socialist period have been struggles waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie inside the Party with them as the ringleaders. It is precisely in the course of these struggles that our socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been continually consolidated and developed.

Class Nature of Capitalist-Roaders

Chairman Mao has pointed out in his *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*: “**To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes towards the revolution.**” It is, therefore, extremely necessary for us to apply the Marxist scientific method to reveal, both politically and economically, the bourgeois nature of the capitalist-roaders so that we can clearly see that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party.

The most essential political characteristic of the capitalist-roaders in the Party is that they push the revisionist line and cling to the capitalist road. In analysing them, we must first and foremost grasp this characteristic and, from the viewpoint of political line, get a clear understanding of their essence. It is on the basis of a common effort to push the revisionist line that the capitalist-roaders form a political faction in the Party in a vain attempt to restore capitalism. And the chieftains of the revisionist line that emerged on many occasions in the past were all general representatives of this line. These chieftains, like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, all held a very large portion of the Party and state power, so they were in a position to recruit deserters and renegades, form cliques to pursue their own selfish interests and set up bourgeois headquarters, turn the instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat into those of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and hoodwink for a time a number of people who lack an

understanding of the real situation and do not have a high level of consciousness, inveigling them into following their revisionist line. They were more ruthless and dangerous than the bourgeoisie outside the Party in their efforts to restore capitalism. The revisionist line pushed by the capitalist-roaders in the Party represents in a concentrated way the interests of the old and new bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and this determines the bourgeois nature of the capitalist-roaders. The socialist period is "**a period of struggle between moribund capitalism and nascent communism.**" (Lenin: *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*.) It is beyond doubt that the capitalist-roaders as the bourgeoisie inside the Party are part of the declining bourgeoisie as a whole. Precisely because the bourgeoisie is a moribund and decadent class, its reactionary nature is all the more pronounced. "**The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie.**" Bent on practising revisionism, Lin Piao went so far as to cook up the *Outline of Project '571'* and to launch a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat, while Teng Hsiao-ping who persisted in practising revisionism caused the counter-revolutionary political riot like the incident at Tien An Men Square. These soul-stirring facts of class struggle have bared in an extremely sharp and clear-cut manner the reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie inside the Party.

Economically, the reason why the capitalist-roaders are the bourgeoisie inside the Party is that they represent the decadent capitalist relations of production. In the socialist period, the proletariat wants to constantly transform those parts of the superstructure and the relations of production which are not in harmony with the socialist economic base and the productive forces and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. The capitalist-roaders in the Party, however, do everything possible to preserve those parts of the superstructure and the relations of production which hamper the development of the socialist economic base and the productive forces; their vain attempt is to restore capitalism.

If we examine the position of the capitalist-roaders in the Party in the relations of social production by following Lenin's teaching on the meaning of classes as expounded in his *A Great Beginning* and Chairman Mao's analysis in *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* regarding classes and class struggle in socialist society after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, we will get a fairly clear understanding of their bourgeois nature. We can see from real life that once the leadership in certain units or departments was controlled by capitalist-roaders like Lui Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, they would use the power in their hands to energetically push the revi-

sionist line and turn the socialist mutual relations among people into capitalist relations between employers and employees; they would use legal and numerous illegal means to expand bourgeois right with respect to distribution and appropriate the fruits of other people's labour without compensation; and they would also take advantage of their position and power to dispose of state- or collectively-owned means of production and consumption, with the result that socialist ownership exists only in name but is actually turned into capitalist ownership under the control of the capitalist-roaders. In the final analysis, the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping was designed to preserve the decadent and declining capitalist relations of production, to "**cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system**" and to serve the economic interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole, so as to drag our country back to those dark days of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China.

Class and Historical Roots of the Emergence of Capitalist-Roaders

The emergence of capitalist-roaders—the bourgeoisie inside the Party—in the socialist period is by no means accidental but has deep class and historical roots. In the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of high officials.**" This instruction of Chairman Mao's has stung the capitalist-roaders in the Party to the quick. The switchover from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution is a fundamental change in the course of which division is bound to take place within the revolutionary ranks. The workers and poor and lower-middle peasants want revolution and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line reflects their demand and guides the whole Party and the people throughout the country to continue to make the socialist revolution, but a number of people in the Party who cling to bourgeois democratic ideas and refuse to remould themselves do not want to go forward. In the eyes of these people, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, which were like three big mountains weighing down on the Chinese people, were overthrown while they themselves had gained enormous political and material benefits, and that meant the end of the revolution. Some of them whose

revolutionary will had sagged failed to keep pace with the times; some others clung to the reactionary bourgeois stand and, in order to protect their own interests which are, in essence, those of the bourgeoisie as a whole, came out into the open to oppose the proletarian socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, in a vain attempt to turn back the wheel of history and restore capitalism, and these people are none other than those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. The arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping is just such a person, and turning from a bourgeois democrat into a capitalist-roader is the course he actually followed.

An important reason why the capitalist-roaders oppose the socialist revolution is that they are against restricting bourgeois right. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**Lenin spoke of building a bourgeois state without capitalists to safeguard bourgeois right. We ourselves have built just such a state, not much different from the old society: there are ranks and grades, eight grades of wages, distribution according to work, and exchange of equal values.**" Bourgeois right is inevitable in the socialist period and this birthmark left over from the old society cannot be eliminated overnight. But it must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, otherwise it would lead to capitalist restoration. Bourgeois right is an important economic basis for engendering the new bourgeoisie. Some people in the Party whose world outlook has not been thoroughly remoulded and who try hard to strengthen and expand bourgeois right are bound to turn step by step into capitalist-roaders, or members of the bourgeoisie. To expand bourgeois right is, in essence, to safeguard the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole and to reinforce the social basis for restoring capitalism. That Teng Hsiao-ping was so resentful and panic-stricken when he heard that bourgeois right was being criticized was because bourgeois right is the lifeblood of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, and any restriction of bourgeois right means directing the revolution against it. In the socialist period, what attitude one takes toward bourgeois right—to restrict it or expand it—is an important criterion for distinguishing whether one is continuing the revolution or is standing still or even opposing the revolution. On this issue, our struggle against the capitalist-roaders in the Party—a struggle between restriction and counter-restriction—will continue for a long time to come.

The Fall of the Bourgeoisie and the Victory Of the Proletariat Are Equally Inevitable

The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. Does the existence of the bourgeoisie inside the Party affect its proletarian nature?

This question should be explained by applying materialist dialectics. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**The law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking.**" (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) A socialist society is an entity in which there are contradictions and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Such contradictions and struggle also find expression in the Party. "**Outside any party there are other parties, inside it, there are groupings; this has always been so.**" "**A grouping is one wing of a class.**" The capitalist-roaders are the Rightists inside the Party or the bourgeoisie inside the Party during the socialist period. Whether or not the existence of the bourgeoisie inside the Party will change its nature depends on the roles of the two contradictory aspects. "**The nature of a thing is determined mainly by the principal aspect of a contradiction, the aspect which has gained the dominant position.**" (Mao Tsetung: *On Contradiction.*) The criterion by which we judge whether a party is Marxist or revisionist is not whether there is a bourgeoisie in the Party but, most fundamentally, whether Party leadership is in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries or bourgeois representatives and whether the Marxist or revisionist line holds the dominant position in the Party.

The Chinese Communist Party, founded and nurtured by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, is a great, glorious and correct Party. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and under the guidance of his proletarian revolutionary line, our Party has persisted in carrying out the two-line struggle, constantly got rid of opportunist factions within the Party, overcome the interference of "Left" or Right opportunist lines, thereby maintaining the dominant position of the Marxist-Leninist line in the Party and its proletarian nature. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our Party has become purer and stancher and grown from strength to strength; it has given full play to its role as the vigorous vanguard organization in leading the proletariat and the masses of the people to fight against the class enemies. This is the essential and main aspect of our Party. It is precisely because ours is a genuine proletarian revolutionary Party that we dare to admit the existence of the bourgeoisie within it and dare to mobilize and rely on the masses to persistently wage a struggle against it. Since Khrushchov, Brezhnev and their like came to power, they have pushed a revisionist line effecting an all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, caused the Soviet Communist Party founded by Lenin to degenerate into a revisionist party, a bourgeois party and a fascist party, and turned the first socialist country in the world into a social-imperialist country. These renegades of the proletariat not only

do not dare to admit the existence of the bourgeoisie within the Soviet party, but do not dare even to acknowledge the existence of classes and class struggle in the Soviet society. They can only use such fallacies as the “state of the whole people” and the “party of the whole people” to deceive others. The reason why they do so is that should they admit these facts, it would be tantamount to admitting that they themselves are the monopoly-capitalist class in the Soviet party, and this would mean their own destruction.

Some people are of the opinion that it is not easy to discern the capitalist-roaders inside the Party because they not only have the title of “Communist Party members” but are leading persons and some of them hold very high posts. It should be admitted that since the capitalist roaders, who are the bourgeoisie inside the Party, are in power in the Party and have a variety of political “protective colours” and since they invariably resort to all sorts of wiles and intrigues to deliberately put up a false front, it is therefore much more difficult for us to detect them. But dialectical materialism tells us that all objective things can be known step by step in the course of practice; agnosticism is both idealist and metaphysical. No matter how crafty the capitalist-roaders in the Party are in disguising themselves, they are bound to expose their true colours since they oppose Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and pursue a revisionist line. So long as we really have a good grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought—the telescope and microscope in political affairs—we will be able to distinguish between right and wrong on cardinal issues from the viewpoint of political line and recognize the reactionary bourgeois essence of the capitalist-roaders. As a matter of fact, when Teng Hsiao-ping energetically stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and educated youth in many places took a clear-cut stand and, going against the evil wind, firmly defended Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and waged a tit-for-tat struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping’s revisionist line. They have provided us with valuable experience in discerning and defeating the bourgeoisie inside the Party. We can surely increase our ability of discernment if we assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and earnestly sum up the experience gained in practical struggle.

In 1962, after analysing the situation of class struggle at home and abroad, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out with far-sightedness: “**The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great**

struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past." Chairman Mao's wise conclusion that the bourgeoisie is right in the Party is a brilliant example of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's socialist revolution. The struggle between the proletariat and the broad masses of the people on the one hand and the bourgeoisie inside the Party on the other is a great struggle which has many features different in form from those of the past. However arduous the tasks of the socialist revolution are and however tortuous the road of advance is, we are firmly convinced that, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and under the guidance of his revolutionary line, the prospects of the revolution are bright. As Marx and Engels pointed out in *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: "**Its fall [the bourgeoisie's] and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.**"

TEXT 40

CAPITALIST-ROADERS ARE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CAPITALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

Chuang Lan

Class analysis is an important weapon for revolution. In his brilliant work, *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*, Chairman Mao points out: “**To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes toward the revolution.**” This directive of Chairman Mao’s is of equally important guiding significance to our analysis of the class essence of Party capitalist roaders today and our understanding that Party capitalist roaders are the main target of the socialist revolution.

An economic status means a position in the relations of production in a given society. As Lenin pointed out, socialist society cannot but possess the features or characteristics of two kinds of socio-economic structure, and this is “**the period of struggle between decaying capitalism and nascent communism.**” (“Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat”) Capitalist roaders within the Party vainly attempt to restore capitalism by making the utmost effort to uphold the superstructure and relations of production which hinder the socialist economic base and the development of productive forces. In socialist society they are the representatives of the capitalist relations of production which have been vanquished but have not yet been eliminated.

Let us first take a look at the condition of ownership of the means of production. Our country at present practices basically the socialist system of state ownership and the socialist system of collective ownership. Under these two systems of ownership, the laboring people possess and allocate the means of production they collectively own through the state of proletarian dictatorship or collective economic units, and the power to allocate and manage the means of production and the power to distribute products are expressed in a concentrated way as the power of political leadership. Due to the existence of these two systems of ownership and the practice of the commodity system and exchange by means of money, the law of value and other economic

Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines #879 (76-20). (Translation of an article in Hsueh-hsi yu P'i-p'an [Study and Criticism] #6, 1976.)

categories which hold the dominating position in capitalist production are still operative, though they have been restricted. Not only between units of ownership by the whole people and units of collective ownership but also between various units of ownership by the whole people, independent economic accounting must be practiced under the socialist planned economy. Hence, whether people who control the power of leadership can genuinely carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, whether they can exploit certain positive effects at the present stage of such things as the law of value under the socialist planned economy or willfully extend the principle of exchange of commodities and diminish or undermine the socialist planned economy, has a direct bearing on the class nature of the system of ownership. Chairman Mao points out: "**It seems that it won't do not to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them—leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people among those in charge of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among Party branch secretaries. But they were following that line of Liu Shao-chi—simply resorting to material incentives, putting profit in command and, instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth.**" Here material incentives and putting profit in command are a manifestation of the vicious inflation of the principle of exchange of commodities. If leadership over a department or unit is controlled by capitalist roaders who energetically push the revisionist line, socialist production will turn into a movement to multiply the value of capital with the pursuit of maximum profits as the only goal, a capitalist wage labor system. While the socialist system of ownership is reduced to an "outer shell," it will actually become a capitalist system of ownership under the control of capitalist roaders, and the proletariat and the laboring people will in fact lose this part of the means of production.

Judging from the mutual relations between people, the socialist system, which is not based on exploitation and oppression of man by man, is one under which the relations between cadres and masses and between the higher and lower levels within revolutionary ranks should be comradely relations of equality. But after all, the three major differences still exist and the old practice of division of labor in society and the gradation system exist, and in these respects bourgeois rights still exist to a serious extent. Even those bourgeois rights in the mutual relations between people which must be eliminated today, such as rigid

gradation, lording it over and being divorced from the masses, unequal treatment of others, and so forth, often re-emerge after they have been broken. If the leadership of certain departments is usurped by capitalist roaders, they will strengthen and extend bourgeois rights in the relations between people, subject workers to "control, check, and repression," turn the socialist relations between people into capitalist mercenary relations, and enforce the bourgeois dictatorship. This situation is particularly obvious in the Soviet Union of today. In Soviet state-owned enterprises, the working class has become human material to exact surplus value. Managers can use any "reason" to lay off workers, who have only the "obligation" to "abide by labor discipline and internal rules," to work submissively. On Soviet collective farms, the directors lord it over the peasants and "do whatever they wish." As they themselves have admitted, they are "playing the role of a whip" toward the peasants. Look, the relations between a handful of capitalist roaders within the Soviet Party and the broad masses of workers and peasants have become relations between the employer and the employed, the ruler and the ruled. When exposing the relations between workers and capitalists in capitalist society, Marx and Engels pointed out: the workers "**are not only the slaves of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state, but are also enslaved every day and every hour by machines and the foremen, in the first place by the factory owners themselves.**" (*Communist Manifesto*) Today, the revisionist lines pushed by the arch Party capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping are, in the final analysis, aimed at re-tying the proletariat to the chains of capital and making them slaves of the bourgeois state.

Another feature of the bourgeoisie within the Party is its vigorous effort to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights in the field of distribution and possess the labor of others without compensation. Chairman Mao says: "**Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal too, as in the 8-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat.**" In the period of socialism, there is no alternative to practicing the principle "from each according to his best, to each according to his work." This means distribution according to the different amounts of labor each laborer provides to society. But as Marx pointed out, "**Here the right of equality is in principle still a bourgeois right.**" (*Critique of the Gotha Program*) In fact, many phenomena of inequality still exist in the field of distribution. Whether such inequalities should be gradually restricted and ultimately eliminated under the dictatorship of the proletariat or strengthened and extended at will is an important mark of distinction between Marxism and revisionism. Touching on the birth of

classes, Engels pointed out: “**With the appearance of disparities in distribution, class differences also appear. Society is divided into the privileged and the under-privileged, the exploiter and the exploited, the ruler and the ruled.**” (*Anti-Duhring*) To extend bourgeois rights in distribution actually smacks of allowing a section of people to possess the labor of another section of people without compensation, which means extending class differences. Today in the Soviet Union, hasn’t a handful of the bourgeois privileged stratum and spiritual aristocracy headed by Brezhnev formed and developed into an exploiting class in the course of restoring capitalism? By exploiting the position and authority they have usurped, through such means as raising wages, bonuses and payments for manuscripts, and by way of all sorts of privileges, corruption, theft and profiteering, they expropriate the fruits of labor of the workers and peasants in a big way. On the other hand, the masses of workers and peasants are entirely placed in the position of the enslaved and the exploited and are increasingly stricken with poverty. The historical lesson of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union fully shows how important it is for a socialist state, while consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and public ownership of the means of production, to strive to restrict bourgeois rights in the field of distribution in order to prevent the Party and state from changing color. That was why Marx, in summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, especially praised the measures taken by the heroes of the Commune: “**All public functionaries from the top down, beginning with members of the Commune Committee, should draw a salary equivalent to the wages of the worker. All privileges enjoyed by senior state officials and their office expenses should disappear with the disappearance of these officials.**” (*The Civil War in France*) The reason why renegades from Marxism like Teng Hsiao-ping resent and fear the criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights is that bourgeois rights are the very lifeblood of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and that to restrict bourgeois rights is to make revolution against them.

Through a class analysis, we can see clearly that Party capitalist roaders in power like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, by the position they occupy in the relations of production in society today, fully represent the decadent capitalist relations of production. As individuals, they may not necessarily own capital, run factories and operate banks like the former capitalists, but their political line which energetically upholds the capitalist relations of production reflects in a concentrated way the economic interests and political aspirations of the bourgeoisie as a whole. If the capitalist “**is only the personalization of capital, then his soul is the soul of capital**” (*Capital*). In that case, the soul of these members of the bourgeoisie within the Party like Liu

Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping is the soul of the old bourgeoisie which is dreaming of a comeback though it has been overthrown and of the new bourgeoisie which is being engendered and vainly attempts to seize control. Once they usurp the Party and state power, they will completely overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, change the nature of the socialist system of public ownership and openly restore the capitalist system. By then, capitalist roaders, big and small, will re-divide among themselves and in proportion to their capital and power, all the wealth created by the laboring people. Lin Piao cooked up the "Outline of Project '571'" and staged a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat; Teng Hsiao-ping made every effort to promote restoration and reverse verdicts and engineered the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square. This exposed in a big way the reactionary essence of the bourgeoisie.

The appearance of capitalist roaders within the Party in the socialist period, apart from being attributed to various causes such as the existence of bourgeois rights and encirclement by imperialism and social-imperialism, is not fortuitous, judging by the social position capitalist roaders occupy. After describing "how people who were public servants of society at first gradually turned into its masters while the going was smooth" in the latter stages of the primitive society, Engels pointed out that one of the underlying factors was that: the work of safeguarding public interests, "**though it was under the supervision by all society, could not but be carried out by individual members.**" (*Anti-Duhring*) Because these "individual members" took advantage of the opportunity accorded by their management of public property and exploited their power to distribute articles of consumption and products to make private gains and own more surplus product than others, sprouts of private ownership appeared on the land under the clan system of public ownership and, as a result, those who were originally "servants" of society became rulers enjoying all sorts of privileges. Although the birth of capitalist roaders is much more complicated, there are also similarities. When later Engels summed up the historical experience of the Paris Commune, he again stated that after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it was necessary to "**prevent the state and state organs from turning from servants of society into its masters**" and "**pursuing their own special interests.**" ("Engels Introduction to the 1891 edition of *The Civil War in France*") Chairman Mao also pointed out recently: "**After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials**

and want to protect the interests of the high officials.” These remarks made by the mentors of revolution not only hit the Party capitalist roaders where it hurts most, but also elucidate an important cause behind the appearance of capitalist roaders within the Party in the socialist period.

The appearance of capitalist roaders within the Party in the period of socialism is not strange at all. Everything is divided into two. The political party of the proletariat is no exception. So long as classes, class contradictions and class struggle remain, such struggles will inevitably be reflected in the Party. “**The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road”**—this will be a long-term historical phenomenon. Marxism is different from revisionism in that the latter is afraid of mentioning the existence of class struggle in socialist society, and particularly the appearance of the bourgeoisie within the Party. Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their like tried to deceive themselves and others with such fallacies as “The party of the whole people” and “the state of the whole people.” And Teng Hsiao-ping is as afraid of hearing the term “capitalist roaders” as Ah Q is of hearing others talk about the scab on his head. This is because if they admit this fact, it is tantamount to admitting that they themselves are the bourgeoisie inside the Party and it means their destruction. This to them is both painful and unthinkable. The proletarian revolutionary party and Marxists not only dare to admit that the bourgeoisie may exist within the Party but also dare to wage the Great Cultural Revolution and arouse the masses in airing views, putting up big-character posters and holding mass debates in a resolute struggle against capitalist roaders. For it is only in this way that we can consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration and finally send the bourgeoisie to its grave and realize communism. The socialist revolution is a great revolution aimed at burying the last exploiting class ever since mankind came to existence. “**Living in such an era, we must be prepared to wage a great struggle which has many features different in form from those of the past.”** This then requires us to apply the method of class analysis to fully understand the features of class struggle and the changes in class relations so as to make clear this important problem—the bourgeoisie being in the Party, persist in the exercise of overall proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and thus carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

TEXT 41

TALKS CONCERNING “CRITICIZING TENG HSIAO-PING AND REPULSING RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND”

Chang Chun-chiao

Comrades:

In a fiduciary capacity assigned by the Central, I pay regards to you Comrades from various organic agencies of the Central and from leadership organs at various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions who are attending the Study Class; I am going to say a few words to you.

Storm-Like Struggle

After the occurrence of the April 5th counterrevolutionary incident, on April 7 the Politburo of the Central Committee reached two decisions based on Chairman Mao's recommendation. These timely pointed out to the people throughout the country the general direction of the struggle, smashed the right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts being whipped up by a handful of capitalist roaders headed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, suppressed the sabotaging and trouble-making counterrevolutionary elements, braced against the adverse current and stopped the evil wind, and consolidated the social system and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central, hundreds of millions of the worker-peasant-soldier masses throughout the country are now riding the revolutionary east wind of these two decisions and, by taking concrete actions, stirring up a new high tide throughout the country to repulse the right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts and to search out the counterrevolutionaries.

The April 5th counterrevolutionary incident is a continuation of the struggle between two lines in the Party, and is the inevitable outcome of the life-and-death struggle on the question of political power and between the two classes, which is associated with the continuously deepened development of the socialist revolution. Similar to all previous class struggles, it ended as a stage marked by failure of the counterrevolutionary and victory of the revolutionary. This storm-like struggle tells

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the whole Party and all the people throughout the country a very important subject: "Class struggles still exist, the capitalist roaders are still moving; all revolutionaries must never be full of the air of bookish intellectuals who think that the country is in peace."

At present, all in the Party must, in the first place, clearly understand the new trend of the struggle. After issuance of the two decisions on April 7th, many comrades only managed to see the small circles before their eyes, lacking a sufficient assessment and understanding of the whole environment and the overall situation. Not a few comrades even brought up the theme that "we can catch our breath after all these in a moment," thinking about resting for a while. Actually, this viewpoint is not only impractical but also harmful, because the class enemy exactly hopes that we would relax, that is to say, "you catch your breath, and he'll catch his breath." Class struggle experience tells us: "Any relaxation of fighting will bring extremely great losses in the revolution." In the past, the Yunnan Provincial Party Committee brought up the incorrect slogan of "conscientiously embodying into the tasks of production the class struggle in the sphere of production." As a result, not only was production not grasped well and the tasks not accomplished; on the contrary, owing to ignorance of grasping the class struggle, the class enemy exploited the chance to sabotage while capitalist tendencies were rampant everywhere, almost to the degree of irreparability. This time, the responsible comrades of the Yunnan Provincial Party Committee who are attending the Study Class said with profound understanding that "Our brains lacked a sensing nerve and we cast away the key link in our work; thus the tasks were not accomplished. If we had not reined in the horse at the edge of the precipice, we might have lost the power." Hsiao-chia-chuan has implanted the great grasping of class struggle into all kinds of work, in an unswerving manner which never missed any production work and wasted no time, and thus enabled the revolutionary production to go one level higher and created everywhere a new atmosphere of vigorous and refreshing socialism. Since there are similar examples everywhere, I'm not going to dwell on it. What I'm going to mention are a few manifestations reflected by cadres at various levels after publication of the two decisions. Affirmatively speaking, the overwhelming majority of cadres are good—they have cherished and carried out without discount the Central's decisions, they have led in a satisfactory manner the members of their leadership squads by using themselves as models, they have mingled with the masses to study and understand the spirit of the decisions, they have conscientiously implemented it and led the others to conduct grand criticism, to grasp works and production. Because the Party committeemen have had such good squad leaders, the areas are

able to have a new situation and new atmosphere.

Leadership Squads Put “Fear” in the Fore

One of the other situations is that the cadre comrades, especially the squad leaders of the leadership squads, put “fear” in the fore; they dare not open-handedly support the new-born things which have emerged in the movement, they regard localized troubles in the society as great chaos under the whole heaven and don’t know how to cope with them, they dare not to take decisive action against the class enemy’s sabotage, they have acted indecisively during the entire movement and appeared weak and strengthless and failed to bring into play the Party organizations’ role as fortresses in battle. The “fear” of these cadres can be summarized as the fear of chaos, which is a question of world outlook. China has an old adage: “Once bitten by a snake, one will have a fear of ropes throughout his lifetime.” Because in previous political movements some cadres were affected in varying degrees, or were somewhat wronged, and they failed to have a correct understanding about the impacts they received in previous mass movements, therefore, whenever a movement comes along, they fear that there might be tigers in front and wolves behind, that the revolution might fall on their own heads and have their official hats revolutionized away. All the cadres who put “fear” in the fore have had, after the April 5th counterrevolutionary incident, manifestations of indiscrimination between ourselves and the enemy. Thus, neither do they dare to come out to support the newborn things, nor do they dare to exercise dictatorship over the handful of bad guys. The masses say: “Our cadres failed to distinguish good and bad, right and wrong; they stick to old practices and made the movement quite cold.” We must encourage this portion of cadres to replace “fear” with “dare.” One must at first have a determination of conscious revolution in order to comprehend the Party’s basic line in the socialist period, search out the cause of “fear” in his world outlook, and then ready himself to lead the movement. Otherwise, he will be sooner or later rejected by the time.

Carry the Struggle to Repulse Right Deviationist Wind to the End

The third situation is that the capitalist-roaders in the Party have managed to usurp leadership power in a certain area and they are colluding with the class enemy in the society of that area to suppress various opinions emerging among the masses, suppress democracy, turn the proletarian dictatorship into bourgeois dictatorship, and greatly

whip up the capitalist wind, which makes the movement in that area frustrated, production unpromoted, the genuine revolutionary masses oppressed, and the spirit of justice depressed. Those areas exactly resemble independent kingdoms. They have adopted the attitude of overt obedience and covert disobedience towards the Central's decisions. On the surface, they also convened mass rallies with scores of thousands, or even a hundred and scores of thousands, of people in support of the Central's two decisions; in the manner of never falling behind the others, they sent cables or wrote letters in support of the Central's two decisions. In fact, no matter how high they raise the flags, or they shout the slogans sufficiently loud, they can never cover up their true essence and original forms. "Even the pedestrians on the streets know well what Ssu-ma Chao [an usurper who took over the Wei Dynasty] is thinking of" means exactly these persons. For the time being, perhaps they may fool the masses for a certain period of time; but, from a longer perspective, they will inevitably show their fox-tails, for the reason that their essence is counterrevolutionary.

The reason that Teng Hsiao-p'ing still dares to fight back when cornered is because there are these Teng-like persons, big and small in his following. Some of them wave flags and shout in the open, while some shoot murdering arrows and spread poison behind the scene. No matter whether they are in the open or behind the scene, as long as they want to be counterrevolutionaries, they will inevitably expose their counter-revolutionary faces. Now, the Central calls the whole Party and the people throughout the country to "continuously take Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, ruthlessly grasp class struggle, carry to the end the political struggle to repulse the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts with criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing as its main objective, and stir up throughout the whole country a high tide of searching out counterrevolutionaries on a still larger scale." "If we cannot push it through this year, we will continue next year. If one year's time won't do, then, two years, three years, five years if necessary, and we will carry it on for even ten years." We can eat less, sleep less, need not be afraid of losing a few catties of muscle; we can tighten up our waist bands and we can afford to lose some other things, but we must never ignore this while we are concentrating on other matters, and thus relax the conduct of political struggle. This is a matter of great importance which concerns the future of the Party and the state, which may cause thousands of millions of heads to fall onto the ground. Some people say this is only a "desire for power." We told the Chairman about this saying. Chairman Mao says: "Tell them our power is given by the workers, peasants and soldiers, is given by the broad masses of people who occupy more than ninety per cent of the populace. The Communist Party

will, for the existence of this political power, exercise dictatorship over those who oppose [our] seizing power, never wavering." The Chairman also says: "What is desire for power? The proletariat has the proletarian desire for power and will never share a bit of its acquired power with the bourgeoisie. What is the bourgeoisie's desire for power? It is that they will never give a bit to the proletariat. We have learned it from them, but we learned it better." The fifty-five years of struggle by the Chinese Communist Party is for this political power. For creating this political power we have shed our blood and sacrificed ourselves; and in order to protect this political power, we are prepared to shed blood and sacrifice at any time until the Communist revolution has won a thorough victory.

The Ultra-Leftist Trend Is Raising Its Head

What we must pay attention to at this moment is that in the movement to repulse the right deviationist wind there is a Leftist inclination and the ultra-Leftist trend of thought is raising its head. "Using a positive trend to cover up a negative trend" is the usual trick invariably adopted by the counterrevolutionaries. When the situation of the revolution is developing continuously and puts them in great disadvantage, for the sake of survival they will inevitably pick up revolutionary slogans. When you go to the right, they will go further right, and when you go to the left, they will go further left, in order to interfere with the general direction of the struggle and confuse the others' hearing and seeing. In some areas there emerged very recently an abnormal adverse current. The bourgeoisie inside the Party stepped behind the scene and let a handful of class enemy and persons with ulterior purposes use the pretext of anti-Teng Hsiao-p'ing for attacking the majority. They have brought up the slogan of "Every official has made mistakes and every mistake will be opposed." No matter whether one is a big cadre or a small cadre, as long as one is a cadre, he will be held responsible. As a result, there is now not a single county Party committeeman who can be trusted, not a single prefectoral Party committeeman who can be trusted; and among the provincial Party committeemen and those of the Central, no one can be trusted except Chairman Mao. In Shansi and Shensi provinces, there is the old Central instruction which says: "Drive the big and small cadres upstairs, and then let them come downstairs and through the check-point one by one for examination." Wouldn't this be something like Liu Shao-ch'i's sham Four Clean-Ups and Taoyuan Experience which were Leftist in form and Rightist in nature? Is it not an odd thing that a member of the Chinese Communist Party, or the leadership organ of an area, would

not listen to and ask question about it when they were confronted with such things? What I am saying does not mean that I or some of the responsible comrades in the Central are the tiger's ass which one cannot touch or oppose. Without exception, if any of the responsible comrades in the Central has made mistakes or engaged in serious anti-Party activities, not only should you mobilize the masses to expose and criticize him, but also struggle him and purify the remnant poison. But, there must be leadership for it, there must be sufficient evidence. A chaotic bombardment can make the matter fail, not succeed. It can neither wipe out the agents of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party, nor can it purge away the remnant poison through the movement to educate the broad masses and enable them to distinguish what is right and wrong, what is Marxism-Leninism, what is revisionism, what is the correct line, what is socialism, and what is capitalism. On the contrary, it can only frustrate the activeness of the overwhelming majority of revolutionary cadres and masses. Repulsing the right deviationist wind and searching for counterrevolutionaries is a part of the socialist revolution; and this is the checkpoint everyone must pass through. But the spearhead is primarily directed at the handful. As to the majority of cadres, we must first look into [them] and then help [them]. To cope with questions concerning the ideology of the masses, there can be nothing but education. The ultra-Leftist trend of thought now emerging in the society and the evil wind of anarchism among the masses are a new trend in the class struggle. On the one hand, Party organizations at various levels must strive to reverse it while, on the other hand, one should never abandon the current general direction for the reason that there exists this adverse wind.

About Methods to Suppress Counterrevolutionaries

In certain provinces and municipalities some problems emerged. Peking has suppressed a bunch of counterrevolutionaries and smashed their sabotage and disturbances. It is right to take resolute and decisive action to handle things in places where counterrevolutionary sabotage activities have emerged, such as Chengchow, Changsha, Wuhan, and Nanking, etc., as long as one pays attention to grasping the policy well, and it will not cause expansion of suppressing of reactionaries, for fear of that the policy may not be carried out, which pushes those who are not enemies over to the side of the enemy. But, to haphazardly arrest and drag out people, on the strength of the Central's instruction to suppress counterrevolutionaries and at places where no counterrevolutionary incidents similar to that which happened in Peking has occurred, is erroneous "arresting of people," no matter whether it is done con-

sciously or unconsciously and is not a good thing. Such things can only be done when there is no other choice. It is common for the masses to argue on different opinions, even take some excessive actions. But, it is something entirely different in nature from counterrevolutionary sabotage. To use instruments of the proletarian dictatorship to solve contradictions among the people, when improperly handled, may lead it to contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; and this can only be in favor of the enemy, not ourselves. It is undeniable that in some individual areas the capitalist-roaders inside the Party have usurped the leadership power there; and these handfuls of persons are afraid that the masses might rise to make revolution and afraid that the east wind of revolution might blow away their "divine mountains and jade-built pavilions" and these vampires' top buildings. Therefore, they are scared when the masses rise. In the beginning, they try to use all kinds of plots and tricks to hinder the mass movements, then they whip up ghost winds, shoot murdering arrows in the dark, confuse right and wrong, and reverse black and white. When they can no longer muddle through, they simply reveal their hideous faces and direct the spearhead of the struggle at the genuine revolutionaries, even resort to using tools of the [proletarian] dictatorship and measures of the dictatorship to suppress the correct and uphold the wrong. But, this way of doing things has produced something contrary to their expectation, for it has not scared off the genuine revolutionaries, but, on the contrary, exposed themselves. For the sake of the revolution, such an early exposure is better than a later exposure. At present, some accusation groups in certain areas have come to Peking to reflect local situations directly to the Central, while some of them have reported through letters or other means the local situations as they were to the Central. These situations will be handled by the Central one by one. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, and other responsible comrades in the Central have repeatedly stated, in their reception to comrades concerned, and student delegations from various provinces and municipalities as well as to representatives of the militia, the people's police, and the garrison fighters [soldiers] who have participated in the suppression of the April 5th counterrevolutionary incident, that problems will be solved one by one, by province and by prefecture, from the Central to local areas and from inside the Party to outside the Party; and "the movement must be carried on, the bourgeois antagonists who have wormed their way into the Party must be cleaned away, problems in local areas must be solved; this is our decision, and it should also be the wish and decision of every responsible cadre in the audience as well as that of the whole Party, the whole army, and the people throughout the country."

Here, we also hope that comrades who have made mistakes, for the

reasons that they have unconsciously carried out erroneous lines or policies, that they lacked a high enough awareness of the line, that they have directly or indirectly implemented the things advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, would be able to consciously make corrections and would not stubbornly persist in taking the erroneous direction. Comrades who are willing to correct their mistakes, no matter who they are, are still welcomed by the Party and the people. There will be absolutely no good outcome for those who persist in being stubborn.

Some Important Tasks for the Time Being

In the following, I am going to talk to you about some important tasks for the time being:

1) The Party's centralized leadership is the key link to guarantee the victory of the struggle to repulse the right deviationist wind. Our Party is a great, glorious, and correct party, is a party cherished and supported by people of all nationalities throughout the country. Such a great party can never have its greatness jeopardized by the existence of bourgeois elements. On the contrary, our Party is a party which is courageous enough to make self-criticism, daring enough to expose contradictions, and having no guilty conscience toward the broad masses of people. Thus, Party organizations at various levels must repeatedly explain to the masses, pointing out that mistakes made by individuals and the very few bourgeois elements emerged inside the Party must never be identified with the Party itself and that they should not negate the Party's leadership role in the entire socialist revolution by citing the problems of a few. One must remember at all times that the central power of our cause is the Communist Party of China and that the theoretical foundation which guides our cause is Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought. At no time can one try to weaken the Party's leadership; weakening, resisting, and sabotaging the Party's leadership are counterrevolutionary actions. As a leadership member of a cadre, one must "grasp the power well, use the power well," and persevere in the centralized leadership. In Party committees, it is mandatory to achieve "unified planning, unified command, unified policy, unified goal, and unified action." Cadres of the old, the middle-aged, and the young must have mutual respect, stressing principles on great matters, seeking general consensus on small matters, disregarding trivial details, not cooking up mountaintops, and not cooking up factionalism.

2) Strengthen organizational construction and ideological construction. Through studying Chairman Mao's theory concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, elevate consciousness of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line; using the class struggle as the key link, satisfactorily

carry out investigation and research work and mass mobilization work in movements; continue good work in Party-building, drag out, on the strength of the east wind of the movement, the class antagonist elements who have wormed their way into the Party, strike them down and purge them from the Party. Before this question of great right and wrong, one must not become soft-handed and dish out "benevolent administration." Not only must the handful of bad guys who have wormed their way into the Party be dragged out, but also struggled down and thoroughly discredited politically, ideologically, economically, and in all other spheres. But one should not handle these things hastily; request instructions beforehand. In Party rectification, one must also do Party construction and pay attention to cultivation and elevation of the advanced worker-peasant-soldier masses who emerged out of the movement—boldly absorb them into the Party when they have sufficient conditions, and pay attention to promotion and cultivation of new blood and getting them into Party leadership organs at various levels. July 1 is the Party's birthday. On this date, millions of advanced elements who have emerged from the movements and from various battle fronts have joined the Party. This is a joyful event, an indication of our Party's prosperity, and the best counterblow to Teng Hsiao-p'ing. To do organizational construction well we must first grasp the ideological construction well. Deviating from the road of ideological construction of the Party committees will cause the Party organizations to lose the right direction, becoming devoid of great plans and disorderly, even resulting in disintegration of the Party organizations which renders the places where "all people can have their say" into places where "my word is final." Then the organizations become undisciplined and cannot move a single inch ahead in the movement.

3) Development of grand revolutionary criticism. Grand criticism cannot be rendered in such a way that the more the criticism, the more the chaos, without purpose and direction, shooting arrows without definite targets. Criticism is an important weapon of Marxism-Leninism. This kind of criticism must have bones and muscles; it must be able to give reasons and expose mistakes, so that people can learn from the criticism and then be able to distinguish that this thing is right and should be upheld and that thing is wrong and should be cast away. Not only should criticism be well explained in terms of theories, but also with content. One must prevent criticism for criticism's sake which may lead a political struggle to the evil road of pure academic criticism. At the same time, one must prevent the kind of criticism which is simplistic and rude name-calling. One must remember Lu Shun's word that "Name-calling does not equal fighting." Now, I am going to bring up a few opinions for your consideration.

a) From now on, criticism should be deepgoing exposure and criticism with emphases on some major points, aim at the targets accurately, find the right weapon, and criticize them one by one systematically. Every blow must be dealt where it hurts most. During the criticism, cadres and Party members must take the lead. In the grand revolutionary criticism, leading cadres must persevere in association of study, criticism, and the actual situations of their own unit together with the masses. They must put themselves into the picture, not merely criticizing Teng without a conscious remoulding of their own world outlook. Don't be that kind of cadre, as depicted by the poor peasants of Huangsantung Production Team in Kwangtung, who "Charge ahead when going to revolutionize somebody else, and sound the retreating drum when they are being revolutionized," and who become more muddle-headed after more criticism. Acting that way will not only flunk the grand criticism, but also makes one incapable of leading the masses well. We must achieve three combinations. 1) Combining development of grand revolutionary criticism with study of Chairman Mao's theory concerning the proletarian dictatorship and conscientious implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line; this is a question of direction. 2) Combining development of grand revolutionary criticism with the unit's class struggle and the work of criticizing Teng and repulsing the right deviationist wind as well as that of cleaning up the class ranks. 3) Combining the development of grand revolutionary criticism with opposing revisionism and preventing revisionism as well as restriction of bourgeois right, criticizing capitalist tendencies, feudalist mentality, and all other non-proletarian thoughts. One can never develop grand revolutionary criticism on the one hand, letting capitalism flood on the other. Otherwise, when the criticism of Teng is ended, the unit will become completely rotten.

b) There are many big-character posters, and a good number of criticism articles. But, those of higher quality are comparatively few. What we see is either lengthy ones stuffed with quotations from canonical writings of Marxism-Leninism, or short and empty articles containing a few sentences. Not a few units look for quantity but not quality. But, one live bullet is always better than a hundred rounds of blank cartridges. The development of grand revolutionary criticism at this time is not polemics on paper by the scholars, competing to see who has copied down more quotations and memorized more Marxist-Leninist works, nor is it a basketball game to see who scores more shots. This is class struggle, a revolution, which must be conscientiously grasped and cannot be muddled through. The *People's Daily* published an article entitled "New Soldiers on the Theoretical Battle Front," in which several sentences are good: "The spring thunder resounds, urg-

ing me to march to the battle field”; “Going deeply into the tiger’s lair in order to kill the tiger”; “the weapons must be good, so they can hit the fatal points”; “Revolutionize continually, and persevere in protracted operations.” These are well said, and clearly expound the issues. All of you should read newspapers more when you have spare time. The newspapers have published many criticism articles written by workers, peasants, and soldiers; and they are of representative significance. They may not be lengthy, just short ones, but they excel the intellectuals who have been holding books in their arms for scores of years. You Comrades in the audience may not be able to write articles like those by the workers, peasants and soldiers. The reason that those articles are good is because they are written in simple language which conveys profound meanings, and are associated with reality, they are not shallow and empty. To see whether they are really so, you Comrades may make some study into it.

While talking about this question, I want to add that the *People's Daily* urgently needs some criticism articles of representative value and articles which will reflect the advanced examples of local workers, peasants and soldiers, to be contributed by various localities. You Comrades in the audience should make it a task assigned by the Party, and commonly provide supports to run the Party's newspaper well.

4) Concrete embodiment of policies and development of the search for counterrevolutionaries. “Policy and strategy are the life line of the Party.” When policies are erroneously carried out or with deviations, the Party's cause will suffer losses. The success or failure in implementing policies depends on the Party leadership's implementation of policies without any discount. Many times, the Party's policies have been put through from the Central to lower levels. The middle echelon gives some discounts; when they reach the local areas, they become something unlike the original. Of course, deviations in policy implementation can be attributed in most cases to the cadres' incomplete understanding of the policies; and it is something done unconsciously. But, no matter whether it is done consciously or unconsciously, the outcome is that we lose the masses, while, of course, the enemy also slips away. Not a few cadres do love the Party and do love Chairman Mao in their subjective consciousness; they work actively and always wish to implement the policies well. But owing to insufficient study, habits of doing things arbitrarily, and a dislike of inviting teachings from the masses and submitting briefings to higher echelons, they distort the policies in the process of implementation, cause the masses to lose faith, and impose losses on the revolution. Then they could no longer stay in their posts and were either suspended or transferred. Whom can they blame? Therefore, Chairman Mao has elevated the importance of

policy to high level of the Party's life line, for the purpose of letting you Comrades pay sufficient attention to it.

At the same time while the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulsion of the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts has been deepened, a high tide of searching for counterrevolutionaries is also whipped up throughout the whole country. In this high tide, the one and only policy is emphasizing investigation and research. In all matters, evidence is the most important thing. In handling the April 5th counterrevolutionary incident, we have taken the stand of initiativeness from the beginning to the very end. What we relied on is the policy of making explanations to the masses. The counterrevolutionaries hope that we will open the gunfire. They want to become martyrs in order to incite the masses' sentiments. We just do not play into their hands. Practice has proven that this handful of counterrevolutionaries are afraid of the masses and afraid of criticism. In this grand search cooked up in various areas, the troops and public security organs should not open fire carelessly, unless it is absolutely necessary and for protection of the people's lives. While the Chairman has told the premier of Thailand that they should not create martyrs, we just cannot do things otherwise and create martyrs. Of course, it is permissible [to open fire] when necessary; but instructions must be elicited. Another thing is that those who are to be killed are very frequently the masses. Genuine counterrevolutionaries will never thrust out their chests to stop bullets. In the principle, the policy requirement is "No one is to be executed while the majority are not to be arrested." As to detailed scope and requirements of the policy, the Central will distribute related stipulations and documents to organs at various levels, and, in addition to that, Comrade Wang Tung-hsing, as a representative of the Central, is going to make more concrete explanations to you. At present, what must be prevented are the Leftist tendency of "rather Left than Right" and the erroneous Rightist thought of "theme of invisibility." In the process of the search [for counterrevolutionaries], participation by all the people is needed; not sole reliance on the public security agencies. But, mere emphasis on the dictatorship of the masses without coordination with the leadership and specialized organs will not do either. It needs a three-in-one combination. Steadiness, accuracy, and ruthlessness are important. One must pay attention to investigation and research; oppose distortion of confession, not cook up armed struggles, give [the criticized] a way out, and give consideration to strategies, in order to effectively deliver blows on the enemy.

This time, Peking has arrested a few too many persons. At the beginning, no one opened up fire and the policy was upheld; afterwards, things were less than desirable. In Peking alone 40,000 to 50,000 per-

sons were put under arrest. Every unit engaged itself in arresting and dragging out this or that person. A couple of lives were sacrificed also, while some were wronged. The good thing was that these situations were quickly rectified when pointed out by the Central. This must be taken as a lesson.

"In handling questions about persons, a prudent attitude must be adopted." The units should do this well in the present movement to search for counterrevolutionaries. Only by uniting all forces that can be united can effective blows be dealt to the handful of the class enemy; and only effectively dealing blows to the handful of the class enemy can offer the best protection to the broad masses of people.

5) Grasp revolution, grasp production, promote work, promote early preparedness. In the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the right deviationist wind, there is a refreshing scene full of socialist vigor on every battle front throughout the whole country. Hundreds of thousands of worker-peasant-soldier students have marched into the society, into the countryside, to take part in class struggle, to conduct investigation and research, and to associate the knowledge they have learned from books with practical work. Group after group, college graduates have rushed to border areas, the countryside, and the mountainous areas to take the road of associating with worker-peasant masses being pointed by Chairman Mao. May 7th Cadres Schools and July 21st Workers' Colleges have bloomed, like spring bamboo shoots rising out of the ground after raining, all over the whole country. As a result, we have also achieved very great accomplishments on the industrial battle front. Workers of the 7002 Drilling Team of the Petroleum Control Bureau of Szuchwan have drilled our country's first super-deep well with a depth of 6,011 meters. The generator system of double water-cooling turbine with the capacity of 300,000 kilowatts made in China has joined production. In the beginning of June, a great many industrial and mining enterprises had completed ahead of schedule the production missions for the first half of 1976. In the last couple of days, joyful events followed each other, with victory reports constantly coming from all battle fronts. The situation on the agricultural battle front is excellent; the enthusiastic wave of socialist competition to learn from Tachai and catch up with Hsiyang is just beginning. Two thirds of the communes and one half of the production brigades throughout the country have electricity. For a period of ten years, the countryside throughout the country has constructed more than 56,000 hydro-power stations, big and small. The spring planting of this year is good. Bumper harvests of the third-season wheat and rice, etc., are expected. In a word: "The situation is excellent." This excellent situation not only brings spiritual encouragement to the people

throughout the country, but can also serve as the most powerful refutation of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line of "using the three instructions as the key link" and "four modernizations." This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, also a great victory in the movement to criticize Teng and repulse the right deviationist wind.

But, under the excellent situation there still exist some problems. These problems must be solved, not ignored. The growth and rise of anarchism has lowered working efficiency and caused production to fall below full capacity, which have resulted in failure to accomplish industrial projects missions for the year. Anarchism does not mean doing away with a government. What it does not want is the proletarian government but a government of individuals of the bourgeoisie, a government of their own small circle. This trend of thought must be well directed. One must be able to direct non-proletarian thought onto the track of proletarian thought. This is a mission for party organizations at various levels. A class struggle on the ideological battle front must be developed to criticize all kinds of non-proletarian thought so that production can be guaranteed. It is noteworthy that there exist a great many questions on the nature of contradictions among the people which cannot be treated in the same manner as the previously mentioned struggle against the enemy. Otherwise, great "disorder" will be the outcome.

In our criticism of the erroneous practice of using production to suppress politics, cadres must never, for this reason, leave production alone and give it a free rein. At present, industries of steel and iron, nonferrous metals, machinery, automobile, construction, chemical production and coal mining still have a certain distance from their completion of the missions projected for the first half of the year, especially the machine tool production in the machinery industry which has only maintained the production index of the first half of the year before last. These situations must be reversed. The Party Central and Chairman Mao call the whole Party and the people throughout the country to unite together to grasp revolution, to promote production even more. I believe that under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our missions will be accomplished and our goals will be realized. Best wishes to you Comrades for creating still better achievements in study and in work.

(Translated by Chou Hsing-chih)

TEXT 42

DEEPEN THE CRITICISM OF TENG HSIAO-PING IN ANTI-QUAKE AND RELIEF WORK

Earthquakes serve to temper people's revolutionary will. Efforts to conquer difficulties bring heroism into sharper relief. During the present anti-quake and relief work, our people have waged an indomitable fight, stood rigorous tests, worked numerous wonders and won tremendous victories.

With the loving care of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and under its leadership, the masses of people, cadres and commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army fighting in the forefront in the quake-afflicted area have displayed the dauntless revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, rushing to places where the effects of the earthquake were the most serious and the hazards the greatest. They have carried forward the lofty communist spirit of working in unity and helping one another and risking their own lives to save others. They have demonstrated a high sense of organization and discipline, showing steadfastness and self-possession and obeying orders in all their actions. The stronger the quake, the harder their efforts—they are brimming with confidence and are high in morale and full of revolutionary optimism. With unstinting support and assistance from the people throughout the country, the Party organizations at all levels in the afflicted area have relied on the masses in waging an all-out struggle to offset the effects of the earthquake and carry out relief work. Maximum efforts have been made to rescue the victimized class brothers. Arrangements have been made to provide the people with clothing, food, accommodation and medical care. The damaged communication lines have been rapidly restored. Production is being resumed step by step in the Tangshan-Fengnan area. The people of Tientsin and Peking are remaining at their posts and grasping revolution and promoting production with still greater drive. The whole affected area is now a revolutionary scene marked by the people's united struggle and determination to conquer nature.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.**" The victories won in the anti-quake and relief work have

Peking Review #34, August 20, 1976. (*Renmin Ribao [People's Daily]* Editorial, August 11, 1976.)

once again confirmed this brilliant truth. To wrest further victories over the disaster, it is essential to take class struggle as the key link, carry on the study of Chairman Mao's important instructions, and resolutely implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

In class society, man's struggle against nature is closely connected with class struggle. The history since liberation has shown that the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines becomes acute every time a serious natural calamity occurs. Chieftains of the opportunist lines in the Party always try to take advantage of the temporary difficulties brought on by natural calamities to divert the revolution from its course and restore capitalism. To take class struggle as the key link and keep to the socialist road or to liquidate this key link and allow capitalism to spread unchecked, to put proletarian politics in command and have faith in the masses and rely on them or to ignore the human factor and see only the material factor and pay no heed to the wisdom and strength of the masses, to believe firmly that man will conquer nature and carry forward the spirit of self-reliance or to succumb to difficulties, remain passive and pessimistic and sit with folded arms—these are questions of principle on which Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is diametrically opposed to the revisionist line. During the three years (1959-61—*tr.*) when our national economy met with temporary difficulties, Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party, was scared by the difficulties like Liu Shao-chi, and preached that "whether it is a white cat or a black one, it is a good cat as long as it catches mice." He energetically stirred up a sinister wind for going it alone and reversing past correct verdicts in an attempt to turn back the wheel of history. Chairman Mao sharply criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and company, and issued the great call: "Never forget class struggle." It is precisely under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line that the Chinese people beat back the onslaught mounted by the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, overcame the effects of the severe natural disasters and kept to the socialist orientation.

In the current anti-quake fight and relief work, we should bear in mind this historical experience, persevere in taking class struggle as the key link and deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. We should use the heroic deeds of the masses of people and cadres in the anti-quake and relief work to criticize his "taking the three directives as the key link" and his other revisionist absurdities. Didn't Teng Hsiao-ping say that only "material incentives" could bring into play the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of the people, and that a "material base" was essential in the restriction of bourgeois right? Our heroic people are selfless and

fearless; they keep the difficulties to themselves while leaving the conveniences to others, breaking through the narrow confines of bourgeois right and displaying the communist spirit. We should like to ask: Has all this been "stimulated" by "material incentives"? And hasn't all this been achieved before there is a "material base"? How reactionary and petty the representatives of the bourgeoisie like Teng Hsiao-ping are in comparison with the revolutionary actions of millions upon millions of people! The site of the anti-quake and relief work is also a battlefield for criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping. We should take the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping as the motive force to do the anti-quake and relief work well.

The revolutionary people armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can stand the tests of acute class struggle and those of serious natural disasters as well. The heroic workers of the Kailan Coal Mine have put it well: "The imperialists and reactionaries failed to subdue us with guns in the years of war; the bourgeoisie in the Party and all the class enemies failed to destroy us with their onslaughts in the period of the socialist revolution; and the present severe natural disaster also will never overwhelm us." The Chinese people, who have been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and are now advancing triumphantly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, have the aspirations, the confidence and the ability to overcome all difficulties by giving play to the spirit of self-reliance, win new successes in the anti-quake fight and relief work, and score still greater victories in the socialist revolution and construction.

TEXT 43

PROLETARIANS ARE REVOLUTIONARY OPTIMISTS

Pi Sheng

The struggle initiated and led by Chairman Mao to repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts has smashed the criminal plot of Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. This is another great victory we have won in combating the bourgeoisie in the Party after the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao were shattered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In spite of the fact that our struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party will be protracted and tortuous and that there is the danger of capitalist restoration in the entire historical period of socialism, the bourgeoisie is doomed to fail and the proletariat is bound to win. There is no doubt whatsoever about this general trend of historical development.

Revolution Will Triumph Over Reaction

The emergence of the bourgeoisie in the Party and the existence of contradictions and struggles inside the Party are objective realities. Everything develops through the struggles of its internal contradictions. The Party is no exception. As Engels pointed out long ago: “**The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles.**” “And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one’s life long against the alleged socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as *class* and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out.” (*Frederick Engels’ Letter to August Bebel, October 28, 1882.*) Speaking of the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party, Chairman Mao has stressed: “**Without struggle, there is no progress.**” “**Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!**” The capitalist-roaders in the Party, such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, represent in a concentrated way the interests of the new and old bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; they are the main force endangering the Party and

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subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our struggle against them is a concentrated expression of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in the period of socialism, and will decide the destiny and future of our country. If the capitalist-roaders' plot to usurp Party leadership and seize state power is not exposed and smashed in good time, there will be a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat; and if their revisionist line is not criticized, the gains of the revolution achieved by the proletariat both in the superstructure and in the economic base will be lost. It is quite clear that it won't do without struggle. Only when we fully realize the danger of capitalist restoration by the bourgeoisie in the Party and consciously wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it, can we effectively consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and enable the cause of socialism to advance steadily. Denying or evading the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, to be weary or afraid of waging struggles against the bourgeoisie in the Party—this is not the attitude Marxists should take.

The proletarians are revolutionary optimists; they are fully confident of victory in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party. "**The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe.**" (Mao Tsetung: *On Contradiction*.) Newborn things are bound to triumph over the decadent and revolution is bound to triumph over reaction. The bourgeoisie in the Party, just as the bourgeoisie as a whole, represents the decadent relations of production and is a declining reactionary force. The fact that the bourgeoisie has moved its headquarters into the Communist Party is not an indication of its strength. It only shows that the bourgeoisie outside the Party, after our repeated struggles against it, has become so notorious that it is difficult for it to hoist its own banner and concentrate its forces for an open, all-round trial of strength with the proletariat. Though the bourgeoisie inside the Party still possesses a certain amount of reactionary potentiality and counter-revolutionary destructive force, its perverse acts only reflect the death-bed struggles of the overthrown reactionary classes. Like all reactionaries in history, the bourgeoisie in the Party is also a paper tiger and is nothing to be afraid of. It goes against the trend of history and "**clings to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system.**" This determines that it will be crushed to pieces by the wheel of history. The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. No matter how the chieftains of the revisionist line Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping wailed in desperation and frantically attacked and smeared the excellent revolutionary situation, the Chinese people will

not waver in their iron will or lose their confidence of victory in taking the socialist road and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Source of Strength

Chairman Mao has pointed out: “**We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing.**” (*On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation.*) To have faith in the Party and the masses is our inexhaustible source of strength in defeating the bourgeoisie in the Party.

Our Party is a political party of the proletariat founded and fostered by our great leader Chairman Mao. The emergence of the bourgeoisie in the Party will in no way change the nature of our Party as the vanguard of the proletariat, nor will it in the slightest obscure our Party’s radiance. On the contrary, the fact that our Party dares to openly acknowledge the existence of the bourgeoisie in the Party and expose it shows precisely that our Party is strong and powerful. “**The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.**” Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line holds the dominant position in our Party and is striking a deeper root in the hearts of the people with each passing day. This is the basic guarantee for our Party to vanquish the bourgeoisie in the Party. Our Party has become purer, stronger and more vigorous in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which exposed and criticized the representatives of the bourgeoisie, such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, and the renegades and secret agents under their protection. Our Party has summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat both at home and abroad and has in particular drawn historical lessons from the fact that the Soviet Union has turned revisionist; our Party has also accumulated rich experience in its protracted struggles against opportunism and revisionism. This is an important condition for our Party to defeat the bourgeoisie in the Party. In the past 55 years our Party has been advancing in the great storms of the struggles between the two classes and the two lines. The chieftains of opportunist and revisionist lines have come forward one after another to split our Party from within, but they have all failed. On the contrary, through the elimination of these “worms” inside the revolutionary ranks, our Party has become more solidly united round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao in its triumphant advance along Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line. Historical experience has convinced us: “**This Party of ours has a bright future.**”

The masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants are the main force in vanquishing the bourgeoisie in the Party. Chairman Mao has pointed out: “**After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution.**” “**Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now?** There is always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don’t like big-shots oppressing them. **That’s why they want revolution.**” The “big-wigs” of the bourgeoisie in the Party like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping made use of the power in their hands to work for restoration and retrogression and to oppose revolution. Since they offended the majority, they were inevitably opposed and spurned by the masses of the people. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has fully demonstrated the great might of the masses in combating the bourgeoisie in the Party. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping were haughty for some time, but they were overthrown one by one when the masses rose against them. By reading and studying conscientiously and having a good grasp of Marxism and by taking part in the great struggle of combating and preventing revisionism, hundreds of millions of people have enhanced their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and raised their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. No matter how the bourgeoisie in the Party changes its tactics and no matter what conspiracies and intrigues it resorts to, we are fully confident that it will be exposed, opposed and criticized by the revolutionary people who have a high level of political consciousness. In the current great struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, large numbers of ordinary workers, peasants, P.L.A. fighters, students and cadres at the grass-roots level were the first to step forward to resist and repudiate the revisionist programme of “taking the three directives as the key link” concocted by Teng Hsiao-ping, and they have become courageous fighters in the struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping’s revisionist line. This is indeed inspiring. History has proved and will continue to prove that in the great struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, there is bound to emerge from among the masses large numbers of outstanding people who uphold Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, and tens of millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause will be trained; they will carry through to the end the great cause initiated by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries.

Thoroughgoing Materialists Are Fearless

"The future is bright; the road is tortuous." (Mao Tsetung: *On the Chungking Negotiations*.) The revolutionary optimism of the proletariat differs from blind optimism in that we understand the dialectics of historical development. Blind optimists fail to see or cannot see clearly the law governing class struggle in socialist society. They are susceptible to a slackening of vigilance and are easily beguiled by the theory of the dying out of class struggle, or they become pessimistic and despondent when the revolution comes up against difficulties. We should not only see the bright future of the revolution and have full confidence in victory, but also see the twists and turns on the road of revolution so that we will enhance our revolutionary fighting will and be prepared to strive for the bright future consciously and with indomitable fortitude. The declining classes are like a giant tree which has lost its life and is rotten to its foundation. However, they will not retreat from the stage of history of their own accord but will carry on a death-bed struggle to protect their lives with every possible means. An old system will be buried only after many reverses for a fairly long historical period. In the past, the replacement of an old system by a new and the triumph of a rising class over a decadent and declining class invariably took place after a long and tortuous struggle. In China, the revolution in which the slave system was replaced by the feudal system—from 594 B.C. when the State of Lu started to levy taxes on private land in accordance with the acreage under cultivation* to 221 B.C. when Chin Shih Huang unified China—took more than 370 years which were replete with struggles between progress and retrogression and between revolution and restoration. After the rising landlord class seized the political power of the country, these struggles continued for many more years. The bourgeois revolutions in Britain, France and the United States lasted 48, 86 and nearly 100 years respectively, and the struggles were full of twists and turns. This is the case with the revolutions in the past in which one exploiting system replaced another. The proletarian revolution which aims at completely eliminating the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and all exploiting systems will of course take much longer time and will go through many more twists and turns and reverses.

*This is a great change when slave society was replaced by feudal society. The land of a state under the slave system was previously owned entirely by the royal families. Since 594 B.C., taxes were levied on the private land owned by the rising feudal landlords, thereby recognizing the private ownership of land.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And so once again every seven or eight years. Monsters and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out.**" So long as there are still classes and class struggle and bourgeois right at home and imperialism and social-imperialism abroad, it is inevitable that "**the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road.**" The collapse of one or two chieftains of the revisionist line does not mean the complete destruction of the bourgeoisie in the Party or of the bourgeoisie as a whole. They will never take their defeat lying down, but are bound to rally their counter-revolutionary forces, change their counter-revolutionary tactics and continue to have a trial of strength with the proletariat. Class struggle and the struggle between the two lines are independent of man's will. How can we cherish the illusion that the class enemies will change their reactionary class nature, that the monsters and demons will not jump out themselves, and that the old and new bourgeoisie will stop plotting and sabotaging? How can we harbour the illusion that after several struggles the entire bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party will be thoroughly vanquished, and that all the trash left over from the old society will be swept into the dust-bin? The fact that class struggles and struggles between the two lines are carried out repeatedly is something completely conforming to the law governing it; we should not feel surprised, still less should we feel annoyed. Chairman Mao has said: "**Swimming in rivers with counter-currents builds up will-power and courage.**" To the masses of cadres and people who persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, reverses and zigzags in revolutionary struggles will build up their will-power, stimulate their enthusiasm, enhance their talents and raise their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism.

In the last analysis, it is a question of world outlook whether or not one takes a revolutionary optimistic attitude towards actual struggles and the future of the revolution. Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the ideological foundation of revolutionary optimism, while idealism and metaphysics are the root cause of pessimistic views as far as the theory of knowledge is concerned. Some good-hearted comrades among us always have the illusion that the revolutionary ranks should be absolutely pure and the revolutionary road should be absolutely straight. So when they meet with twists and turns, they become depressed and fail to see the bright future. When analysing the situation of the revolutionary struggle, more often than not they overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people and arrive at an unrealistic estimate of class forces. The reason for this is that in looking at a question their way of thinking is to

a great extent subjective, superficial and one-sided; they cannot distinguish the essence from the appearance and the main aspect from the secondary aspect of things. So, when they analyse the class struggle and the future of social development, they are easily influenced by pessimistic ideas spread by the bourgeoisie. We must also take a revolutionary optimistic attitude towards natural disasters and display the spirit of revolutionary heroism, fearing neither natural disasters nor earthquakes. "Men will conquer nature," this is a great truth. "**Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless.**" (Mao Tsetung: *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.*) To be proletarian revolutionary optimists, we must be thoroughgoing materialists. Therefore, we must diligently study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, take an active part in the fiery mass struggles, draw rich political nourishment from them, earnestly remould our world outlook and frequently rid ourselves of the influence of idealistic and metaphysical ideas. Only thus can we heighten our revolutionary spirit, strengthen our confidence in victory in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party and become vanguard fighters in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.



VI

BIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL ON THE FOUR

In the months since their arrest in October 1976, many stories have been circulated about China's "gang of four" charging them with all manner of things. Outside of China, most people have heard something of Mao's widow, Chiang Ching. But many know little of the other three former leaders—Chang Chun-chiao, Wang Hung-wen and Yao Wen-yuan.

Who were these four, and what were their backgrounds that led up to their prominent role in Mao's last great battle—and made them so hated and vilified by the present Chinese leadership?

Chiang Ching was born in Shantung Province, East China, and joined the Communist Party when in her late teens. Chiang was sent to Shanghai by the Party, where she became a stage and film actress. After a few years, like many other progressive artists and writers, she asked to go to Yenan, the revolutionary citadel, to engage in cultural work more directly linked with the struggle. It was here that Mao and Chiang met. He had been divorced from his previous wife, Ho Tse-nien—who had not taken well to the revolutionary rigors of the Long March and life in Yenan—claiming she interfered in his political work. Mao and Chiang decided to marry. The Political Bureau was agreeable that Mao should divorce Ho since there had been complaints against her, but they were vehement in their opposition to the Chairman marrying Chiang, on the ground that she would become a burden on his political work as well, that she had a "low political level" and so on. But Mao had no intention of living like a monk, and besides he obviously was taken with this young revolutionary, so he insisted. The Political Bureau finally gave grudging consent—on the condition that Chiang would not be given any post and be kept strictly out of politics.

It was a strange demand, but Mao finally acceded to it, whereupon he and Chiang were recognized as man and wife, and later the family was expanded by the birth of a daughter. However, for Chiang Ching her troubles started at that point. She became the repeated target of vicious gossip. Every time one of Mao's political colleagues sought to aim some charge against him but was afraid to do so openly, the

rumor mill would start the campaign against the wife. It used to be said in China that Chiang Ching had hardly a day of comfort since she married Mao.

Under such conditions, it was quite obvious that Chiang became frustrated in her desire to participate in the revolution. She was constantly being put down or shoved aside. There are some who say that Chiang Ching was vindictive. It would be no wonder if, under these conditions, she occasionally acted that way. Certainly once the Chairman himself put her in a leadership position of the Cultural Revolution, as First Deputy-Chairman of the Cultural Revolution Group (a leading body set up by Mao during the early stages of the Cultural Revolution), she was fierce in struggle against the enemies of Mao's line and the continuing revolution. When she blasted Liu Shao-chi and his wife, Wang Kuang-mei, she was hitting at people who were not just her main tormentors, but were the political targets of the Cultural Revolution. It must be kept in mind that Chiang Ching always acted under Mao's direction for the purpose of carrying out his political objectives, even if on occasion she did go to extremes and was criticized and corrected by her husband. The fact is that Mao, feeling isolated politically from many of his old comrades, recognizing that they would not follow him in his quest to shake up the bureaucracy and maintain the purity of the revolution and carry it through to the end, had to rely on those he could trust, and quite obviously primary among them was his wife, Chiang Ching.

Chang Chun-chiao was born in Anhui Province, also East China, and began his revolutionary activities in the 1930s. As a young man, Chang was most active in the literary field as part of the underground Party in Shanghai. It is true that at that time this area was under the direction and influence of Wang Ming, who was then Secretary-General of the Party, and that his line politically would later be characterized by Mao as "Right opportunist," meaning capitulating to the whims of Chiang Kai-shek and thereby endangering the Party and the revolution. But during that period, those in the field could not have known of the debates going on in the central organs of the Party, and therefore faithfully carried out Wang Ming's instructions as coming "from the Central Committee." This even included some criticism and attacks against Lu Hsun, whom Mao later called one of China's great thinkers and revolutionaries.

These facts were well known to many people in China, certainly to Mao and other leaders, and most assuredly to Liu Shao-chi and An Tse-wen, for many years Liu's man at the head of the Organization Department of the Central Committee and in charge of personnel files and assignments. In fact, in March 1968, Liu's people, in an attempt to

divert the direction and orientation of the Cultural Revolution away from its attack on Liu and his "bourgeois headquarters," thereby saving their own hides, leaked out Chang Chun-chiao's file and tried to whip up a storm to unseat him from the leadership of the Cultural Revolution Group and the city of Shanghai, positions to which he had been appointed by Mao. Quite obviously, this did not meet with Mao's approval. The people in Shanghai were informed that Chang's record had been gone over with a fine-tooth comb not once but three different times and he was found to be a good revolutionary cadre. The attempt to unseat him subsided almost immediately, as it was taken in reality as an attack against "Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters."

If Mao had had serious doubts about Chang, he most assuredly had the opportunity to do something about it at that point. Instead he repeatedly gave Chang important tasks in the Cultural Revolution because Mao believed his political line would be adhered to, and later he entrusted Chang with high positions in the Party and government.

During this same period both anarchist and rightist elements had attacked Chang. His house had been broken into and his life threatened. When word of one such incident reached Mao, he is quoted as having said, "If that meeting is held to bombard Chang Chun-chiao we will certainly take the necessary steps and arrest people."

Going back a bit, after the liberation of Shanghai in 1949, Chang became part of the administration of the Party and the city. For years he was Deputy Secretary of the Municipal Party Committee and Deputy Minister of Propaganda of that committee. He was also one of the heads of the Shanghai Committee for Friendly Relations with Foreign Countries and frequently met with guests from around the world.

During this period Chang had written an important article entitled "Break Away from the Idea of Bourgeois Right," which reflected ideas Mao had put forward concerning the egalitarian virtues of the free supply system practiced by the Red Army in the war of resistance and pointing out the stratification that the wage system currently practiced could lead to. This article was written as the Great Leap Forward—an unprecedented social movement which led to the formation of the people's communes in the countryside—was coming under attack from powerful forces in Party leadership as coming "too early, too quickly and too crudely." Mao ordered that Chang's article be reprinted in the *People's Daily* and he wrote some editorial notes basically supportive of it.

Starting from the mid-1950's, Chang worked very closely with Ko Ching-shih, the mayor of Shanghai until his death in 1965. Ko was known for his staunch support of Chairman Mao and his political line, and as well for his disdain of Liu Shao-chi personally and the line

emanating from his "bourgeois headquarters," although at that time it was not called that. In the Cultural Revolution it would be revealed that Ko and Liu had been at loggerheads since the 1930s when they had worked in the same underground organization in Peking and Tientsin. One of the centers of their conflict was what policy to follow regarding Party members who had been arrested by Chiang Kai-shek's police. Liu advocated allowing these people to sign anti-Communist statements and to vow never to engage again in revolutionary activity in order to escape execution and get out of prison; Ko said this was betrayal and only opened the Party ranks to all kinds of traitors and spies, for it was Chiang's practice to spare lives on the condition that the released person would work for him. Mao sided with Ko, but Liu often acted to the contrary, meanwhile hosting a bitterness against Ko that would continue for years.

During the "Rectification Movement" of 1942 in Yenan, Liu and his supporters attempted to brand Ko as a traitor and spy for the Kuomintang, and actually placed him under arrest for a year and a half. The campaign against him was so virulent that Ko's wife could not stand the pressure and committed suicide. It was only when Mao personally intervened that Ko was released and given work to do, but for years after that Liu managed to hang a cloud over his head and prevented him from rising to the highest leading circle. The battle between the two would continue until Ko was no longer on the scene.

Under these conditions, for Chang to openly become Ko's man in Shanghai was a clear indication of where he stood politically, which was four-square behind Mao's line. He was to suffer for this allegiance once Ko passed from the scene, for those who succeeded him as mayor and First Party Secretary in Shanghai, Tsao Ti-chiu and Chen Peihsien, were connected with Teng Hsiao-ping and Liu Shao-chi, the leaders of the "bourgeois headquarters." Chang was shoved aside and actually demoted and left without any concrete work to do, until Mao decided to put him in the leadership of the Cultural Revolution Group as Deputy Leader. This was how he made his political comeback, in the forefront of the mass movement Mao led to prevent revisionism in China.

It was during the early 1960s that Chiang Ching spent long periods in Shanghai. She was recovering from an operation for cancer of the cervix, high blood pressure and a few other ailments, and on the doctors' instructions attended plays, saw films and other artistic productions with the assistance of Chang Chun-chiao. It was during this period that they discovered what they felt was serious deviation from Chairman Mao's line on art and literature, and that actually culture was being utilized to prepare people's minds for a revisionist turn in Chinese

politics. Chiang wrote her husband about this and he encouraged her and Chang Chun-chiao to document their findings and prepare to expose the wrong-doers.

This work in culture involved two intertwined tasks—criticism of the old and creation of the new. Even before coming to Shanghai, Chiang Ching had battled to change Peking Opera. The reform fought for in the Peking Opera heralded a new day in proletarian culture and was regarded as one of the earliest victories of the Cultural Revolution. It was a victory because the highly stylized Peking Opera had been the dominion of the old culture and had proved over the years practically impervious to change. What distinguished Chiang's revolutionary model operas was the fact that these were plays which took up topical political themes in modern dress, though they used many of the artistic elements of classic opera. The struggle over the nature of these operas was really the curtain opener to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It was a struggle that pitted Mao's supporters led by Chiang Ching against the Party Propaganda and Cultural Departments.

And a fierce struggle it was. In November of 1963, Chiang Ching tried to make changes in *The Red Lantern*, a popular work, which would accentuate the traits of a true proletarian fighter. The Ministry of Culture, headed by Chou Yang, objected to her suggestions. Shortly after, she rewrote the script to an anti-Japanese war story to highlight the armed struggle. Peng Chen, mayor of Peking, banned the staging of the play and Chou Yang scoffed at the suggestion that it be made into a symphony, since according to him the peasants couldn't understand the music.

It was in the counter-attack against this rightist stranglehold on culture that Yao Wen-yuan made his appearance, joining together in Shanghai with Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. Yao had been a young literary critic attached to the Shanghai Branch of the Writers' Union. For years he had been under attack by the powers-that-be in the Union, most of whom were led nationally by a group of literary personages who were later identified as being in close collaboration with Liu Shao-chi. The reason for the ire they directed against Yao was his highly effective criticism of the political line which Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, Yang Han-sheng and Tien Han, whom Mao later termed the "four rogues," were promoting throughout art and literature. Yao was insistent that they were openly violating socialist standards which Mao had set down in his Yenan talks on art and literature in May 1942. Such people were later to refer to Yao as the "club" or the "assassin" because of his devastating commentaries.

During the "anti-Rightist" movement in 1957, in which Mao led the attack against advocates of reversing the historical process toward

socialism in China, an attempt was made by the supporters of the "four rogues" to label Yao as a "Rightist" and push him out of the Union. But Yao was able to defend himself as a supporter of Mao's line and of socialism, consequently this move failed. Attempts were even made to link Yao with his father, Yao Peng-tzu, who was a rightist and expressed very reactionary thinking, but this failed also, as Yao "drew the line" as they say in Chinese, between his political beliefs and those of his father and maintained his adherence to Chairman Mao's political line and the revolution.

It was against this background that Mao had to take action to meet the "revisionist" onslaught in the cultural field, which he felt was an attempt to restore capitalism in China. When he needed a vehicle for opening his counter-attack against Liu Shao-chi and his henchman, Peng Chen, Mao, through Chiang Ching, chose Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan to work on a document that would be his opening salvo.

Under Mao's direct instructions and with his personal supervision, Chiang Ching led this work, which had to be carried out with the greatest secrecy in Shanghai. Peking was no longer tenable for Mao, with Peng Chen bugging his living quarters, keeping him under surveillance and trying to keep the Chairman isolated, both physically and politically. Peng could not have done this without the instructions and support of Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, who was then Secretary-General of the Party.

Mao selected as his initial target the play "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office," written and produced in 1959, the very year that open attacks began to be made inside the Party Central Committee against the Chairman's leadership. The author was Wu Han, the well-known historian who was also the vice-mayor of Peking and a close associate of Peng Cheng. The opera was a thinly disguised scolding of Mao for dismissing Peng Teh-huai in 1959 from his post as Minister of Defense. While audiences at the time could not catch the nuances, to Mao the play was a political attack, and Yao's long article, published in November 1965, had the task of meticulously dissecting the play and launching a political refutation to expose the whole plot to change China's socialist orientation and direction.

No amount of rhetoric at present can distort the fact that when Mao was in dire political straits, it was Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan who were at his side fashioning the approaching Cultural Revolution. Mao quite pointedly passed over many of the old cadres. He passed over the old marshals and generals in his army; he passed over the old and established figures in art and literature. This was not by chance, but by choice. It was deliberate because Mao had seen so many of these people disregard his advice to be aware of "the

sugar-coated bullets" of the deposed classes, who could not defeat them with arms but would corrupt their revolutionary ardor by elevated positions, special privileges and a living style far above that of the ordinary workers and peasants. Forming an important segment of society, especially becoming a force inside the leadership of the Communist Party, their attack against Mao and his political line obviously meant that they intended to reverse it.

Mao in fighting them back had to rely on those with the quality of judgment, and loyalty to his policies for the Chinese revolution. There is no doubt he recognized that too many of his old comrades would not follow him in this new development of the revolution. Succeeding events proved his judgment to be correct, when these very same marshals, generals, old cadres and established literary and art figures hated the Cultural Revolution and all its implications from the very beginning.

People like Peng Chen openly cursed Mao, but most of the others hid their dislike of Mao's criticism of the direction China's revolution had been going by leveling their attacks against Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan. Mao tried to make peace with those in opposition, to get them to change their minds and join him in the Cultural Revolution. He spoke with them face to face atop Tien An Men in Peking in 1966, after he had reviewed millions of Red Guards. He warned that the Chinese revolution had to take this new turn if it was to prevent revisionism, and encouraged them to join the youth of the nation and the masses of Chinese people in carrying out the Cultural Revolution. "What if we discover revisionism in the Central Committee?" he asked the assembled leaders. He indicated he intended to fight it tooth and nail, no matter what they decided.

Later, in March 1967, Mao would not give up on his old comrades, even though by now many of them were openly hostile to him and the Cultural Revolution. He dispatched Chiang Ching to talk to them again after the "February Counter-Current," a rump Central Committee meeting called illegally to protest the seizure of power from below in Shanghai in January of that year which Mao had supported, and which he said should serve as the model for the rest of the country. Chiang Ching spoke of Mao's high regard for these old timers and their contributions to the revolution. She said that Mao had specifically told her to inform them that he was counting on their backing in the future as well. But these efforts did little or nothing to alleviate their antagonism toward the Cultural Revolution or toward Chiang Ching and her associates personally.

Wang Hung-wen entered the picture much later. He was born in Northeast China (Manchuria). His family background was never clear,

but what is known is that as a very young man he joined the Volunteers that went into Korea to defend the northern part of that country against U.S. aggression in the early 1950s.

Apparently while in the army he displayed unusual political sagacity, for he was retained in the ranks long after the above conflict ended. This was the case only for those who had something special to offer the armed forces, and for a number of years Wang worked as a political commissar.

He was finally demobilized in 1964 and assigned to work in Textile Mill #17 in Shanghai. This was a factory with a long history of foreign and comprador control, therefore, the work force itself was extremely complicated as far as their political history and sympathies were concerned. The middle ranks of management and those of the workers, in addition, had gone through Japanese occupation and Kuomintang control, which only compounded their complexity. Wang Hung-wen was placed in charge of security work in the factory, which included physically guarding the plant from sabotage and intrusion, but most importantly working with personnel questions, that is, understanding the history, thinking and actions of those working there. This was important because Chiang Kai-shek had planted secret agents by the thousands in Shanghai, and it was always possible that there would be disruptive elements hidden within the work force.

After the death of Ko Ching-shih in 1965 and a change in the leadership of the Party and government of Shanghai, Wang Hung-wen began to discern subtle changes in the policies coming down from the Municipal Party Committee, which he felt violated Mao's political line and were out and out revisionist. Therefore, when the Chairman started the Cultural Revolution in earnest in 1966, Wang was one of the first people in Shanghai to grasp the significance of the movement and to put up *dazibao* (big-character posters) questioning the leadership of both the Municipal Party Committee and the city government.

In September 1966 Wang participated in a meeting at the East China Textile Institute and took the lead in organizing a city-wide criticism of the mayor, Tsao Ti-chiu, and the First Party Secretary, Chen Pei-hsien. By November Wang was in the leading group of a city-wide organization of Mao's followers in Shanghai's factories, educational, cultural and administrative institutions and other units. They decided to associate themselves with the Red Guards from several Peking organizations and form the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebels General Headquarters. Wang's activities did not go unnoticed, naturally, and the mayor and First Party Secretary had him marked for arrest as a "counter-revolutionary." It was even rumored that they wanted him assassinated. But mass support for what he was saying and doing

prevented the authorities from taking any action toward him.

The Shanghai struggle was very complicated. For example in November, in the face of continued refusal by Chen and Tsao to make self-criticism, a number of organizations sent off a delegation of 2500 workers by train to Peking to present their criticisms directly to the Party Center. In a suburb outside Shanghai, the train was surrounded by rightist forces. Chang Chun-chiao, representing the Cultural Revolution Group, went directly to the scene. At great personal risk, he waged long hours of struggle. He signed the demands of the rebels and demanded that the Municipal Committee hold a meeting. He then struggled with the workers on the train that they should go back to Shanghai to carry out the struggle there and send only a few representatives to Peking. What kind of example for the whole country, he asked those workers, would it be for the workers of Shanghai to abandon their posts, both in revolution and production, in Shanghai?

By January 1967 Wang's Headquarters had enough support from the masses, as well as encouragement from Chang Chun-chiao and the Cultural Revolution Group in Peking, to thwart any maneuvers Tsao and Chen took as they sought to evade the consequences of Mao's great political movement. In fact, the more they thrashed about, the more risky their evasions became, until it became quite obvious to the workers, students and other intellectuals and the peasants of Shanghai that they had to be thrown out of office. This the masses proceeded to do in what was called "The Shanghai January Storm."

Chang Chun-chiao described the nature of the process this way: "... we used to hold joint discussions. We would ask the rebels to come to our meeting to discuss each problem. One day forty organizations might be represented and the next day a hundred. Nobody knew anyone else. Although we were very busy and often in a state of chaos, we felt that this sort of thing was liable to happen in a revolution, and this was the way to get problems solved. It would have been wrong to be too hasty." Mao openly and specifically approved the "seizure of power" through the "January Storm" via editorials and Central Committee resolutions, and furthermore, called upon his supporters all over the country to emulate this action wherever it was needed to get the revolution back on the right track again.

Wang Hung-wen became a vice-head of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee in March of 1967. He was one of the leaders in the meticulous dissecting of the theory and practice of Liu Shao-chi's "bourgeois line" as exemplified in Shanghai through the policies of Tsao and Chen. His prestige was very high among the workers especially, but he also had the respect of the intellectuals and other sectors of society, for he was seen as a direct representative of Chang Chun-chiao,

who was leading the City Revolution Committee, and together they were considered as part of "Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters."

Wang was for a while one of the key leaders of Shanghai, as both Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan were working in Peking most of the time. Later in 1971, after Lin Piao's conspiracy against Mao was discovered, and with his subsequent disappearance, Wang was suddenly transferred to Peking and elevated to the Vice-Chairmanship of the Central Committee just behind Mao and Chou En-lai. Such a move could not have been made without the specific approval of Mao himself, more so since Wang had leaped over Chiang, Chang and Yao, all of whom were members of the Political Bureau, having been elected to this position at the Ninth Party Congress in April 1969.

No clear explanation was ever offered for this development, although inside China the general public read it as adhering to Mao's policy of cultivating successors to the leadership of the revolution. Wang had distinguished himself in standing up to Lin Piao at a Central Committee meeting in 1970 where Lin and his forces had made their first major move for power. As to why Wang was chosen ahead of Chiang, Chang and Yao, an educated guess would include two components. First Wang, exactly because he was a young man and a "newcomer," was probably viewed by those opposed to the Left as a person who could be more easily dismissed, discredited or pushed aside in the immediate struggles for succession after Mao's death. Secondly, because he had not been working at the Party Center he was not so easy to tar with the brush of association with Lin Piao during the start of Cultural Revolution. Chiang, Chang and Yao, to varying degrees, had been associated with Lin in some ways at the start of the Cultural Revolution. But then so had the whole Left, as Lin was the leading public figure in the struggle. Some of them may even have made mistakes which went along with some of Lin's wrong positions, but all of them strongly opposed his traitorous bid to usurp power and reverse the gains of the Cultural Revolution itself. In 1967 both Chiang and Yao wrote and spoke against the "May 16" conspiracy, an "ultra-left" group which has been linked to Lin Piao. And Chang was one of the very few leaders, including Mao, who were named as enemies in Lin Piao's Project 571 Outline for his attempted coup in 1971. Nonetheless Wang, having been in Shanghai, was most in the clear of the accusations being thrown around about ties with Lin Piao.

However, Mao faced bigger problems in that Lin Piao's defection was a traumatic event inside the Party and the country, and he had to forge a new unity. In resolving this issue, Mao sought younger and untainted political figures to move up the leadership ladder, and Wang

Hung-wen would be outstanding in this regard.

This did not sit well with the old marshals, generals and bureaucrats, who saw Wang simply as an extension of Chiang, Chang and Yao and thus sure to be a hard-liner as far as Mao's political program was concerned. But they could not dislodge the young man, still in his thirties, since he was Mao's choice, and after all, now he was Vice-Chairman of the Party. However, they could make jokes behind his back, such as labeling him "the helicopter politician," referring to his rapid rise, and putting obstacles in his path when Mao dispatched him to various parts of the country to resolve urgent problems. This is what took place in the city of Hangchow in the summer of 1975 when there was factional strife left over from earlier struggles in the Cultural Revolution and Wang's efforts were defeated by behind-the-scene maneuvering on Teng Hsiao-ping's instructions. At that time Teng was Deputy Prime Minister and was exercising great power as Chou En-lai's health deteriorated and he could not attend to daily affairs.

As can be seen, the political infighting was intense and bitter, with Chiang, Chang, Yao and Wang seeking to support what Mao wanted, and the "establishment" figures with Chou En-lai's increasing support seeking to reverse many of the decisions taken during the Cultural Revolution, including the restoration to power of many of the former Party leaders and bureaucrats who had been criticized and deposed.

The Chairman had decreed during the Cultural Revolution that "old cadres who have made errors, even serious ones, should be allowed to make self-criticism before the masses, and if they pass be put back into positions of authority." But there had always been sharp conflict in carrying out this instruction. First, Lin Piao held final decision back on many cases for his own purpose; that is, he wanted to place his own people in those positions of authority in preparation for his ascendancy to the top position. Secondly, it became a partisan battle to decide where to draw the line in each case between "serious error" and "unrepentent capitalist roader." This was a life and death political struggle, since crossing that line turned the problem into an "antagonistic contradiction" and a class enemy. There were those, who either out of conviction or otherwise, wanted to put certain old cadres on the other side of the line, and those who sought to pull them back into a "non-antagonistic contradiction" and restore them to power.

Each side saw this in larger political terms. Some, such as Chou En-lai, argued that practically all the old cadres except Liu Shao-chi and a few others should return to work. Mao, while believing the rehabilitation of some was necessary and correct, had insisted on two points. First it must be recognized that those overthrown certainly included bad eggs who should not return to power. And second those who were

returned to office should do so only on the basis of self-criticism for the mistakes they had made and on the basis of a correct attitude toward the Cultural Revolution. Even Teng Hsiao-ping was forced to say, he'd "never reverse the verdict"—a statement which could, and would, be later used against him when he made a mockery of those words by launching a major assault on the new institutions and policies of the Cultural Revolution. Chiang, Chang, Yao and Wang clearly felt that too many of the old leading cadres had betrayed Mao's line, had bitterly opposed the Cultural Revolution and by no means should be allowed to crawl back into power and thus open the way to reversing the whole process started by the Cultural Revolution.

What about Teng Hsiao-ping? While he had no shady associations in his distant past, he had for some time been part of Liu Shao-chi's "bourgeois headquarters." Still, due to the disarray inside the Party and army because of the Lin Piao incident (which came to a head in late 1971), Mao needed someone with broad connections within the bureaucracy and in the army. In this regard Teng was second only to Chou. In light of all this, Mao agreed to rehabilitate him and put him to work under Chou's guidance and supervision after Lin's fall. Mao was not then in basic agreement with Chou, he was battling the line—and many of the forces—Chou was supporting. But Mao recognized that it was necessary, if at all possible, to win over Chou, and therefore undoubtedly tried to do so down to the very end. To a great degree he had to work through Chou to try to win over others in Chou's camp, including Teng.

Why didn't the Chairman prepare to replace Chou with Chang Chun-chiao, for example? Most likely Mao understood quite clearly just how far he could go in any direction, and he knew that any attempt to put one of the Four into higher positions of power would immediately provoke rejection by the old bureaucrats and the army. Mao was undisputed leader of the Chinese Communist Party and of all China, but even he operated within definite political situations, and on more than one occasion, as he himself remarked frequently, he found himself in the minority. Therefore, no matter what his personal wishes may have been in this instance, he had to compromise in the face of the antagonism directed against the Four for carrying out the Chairman's own political line, from the very beginning of the Cultural Revolution. The most Mao could do at this juncture was to have Chang Chun-chiao appointed as Deputy Prime Minister and chief political commissar of the People's Liberation Army.

The activities of the Four in the final period of showdown with the forces of Chou, Teng, Hua, etc., have been described elsewhere, in the Introduction and texts of this book.

Yao Wen-yuan, in his capacity as leading member of the Central Committee Propaganda Department, played a very important role in propagandizing Mao's line and directives as well as addressing many particular struggles. Yao himself wrote the important article "On the Social Basis of the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique" in 1975 which analyzed the conditions of socialist society that give rise to careerists and conspirators of the Lin Piao type and the reasons that various strata of society can be hoodwinked by such counter-revolutionaries. It put forward what it described as a dual task in the socialist period: "on the one hand to gradually dig away the soil breeding the bourgeoisie and capitalism, and, on the other, to be able promptly to see through the new bourgeois like Lin Piao when they appear or are still emerging."

Wang Hung-wen and Chiang Ching took an active part in many struggles. By 1974 the Right had launched an attack in the cultural sphere. Literary and art workers under Chiang Ching's leadership fought to defend the new proletarian culture that had been developing (by the end of 1974 the number of model operas had expanded from 8 to 18, a number of new films had been produced and amateur theater and art groups had grown up throughout the country).

Chang Chun-chiao's article, "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie," published shortly after Yao's piece, helped lay the theoretical basis for the campaign to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and combat and prevent revisionism—a campaign launched early in 1975 by Mao. It has been reported that in the same period Chang authored a work entitled *Socialist Political Economy* which based itself on and attempted to expand on Mao's analysis of the nature of socialist society.

All these four, and Chang in particular, threw themselves personally into the first wide-open battle with Teng's line in late 1975. This was termed the "farrago on the educational front" and involved the question: was education a mess which required a return to the old ways rejected in the Cultural Revolution, or should it continue to be developed according to the basic principles established in the Cultural Revolution. This "farrago" on the campuses was crucial in establishing the orientation of the political campaign which would soon be launched against Teng and the "right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts." As Mao was to say, "The question involved in Tsinghua [University] is not an isolated question but a reflection of the current two-line struggle."

After Mao's death, the movement toward the final clash was rapid. Hua, Teng and others made their plans and the arrests of the Four were carried off on October 6, 1976, on the eve of a Politburo meeting.

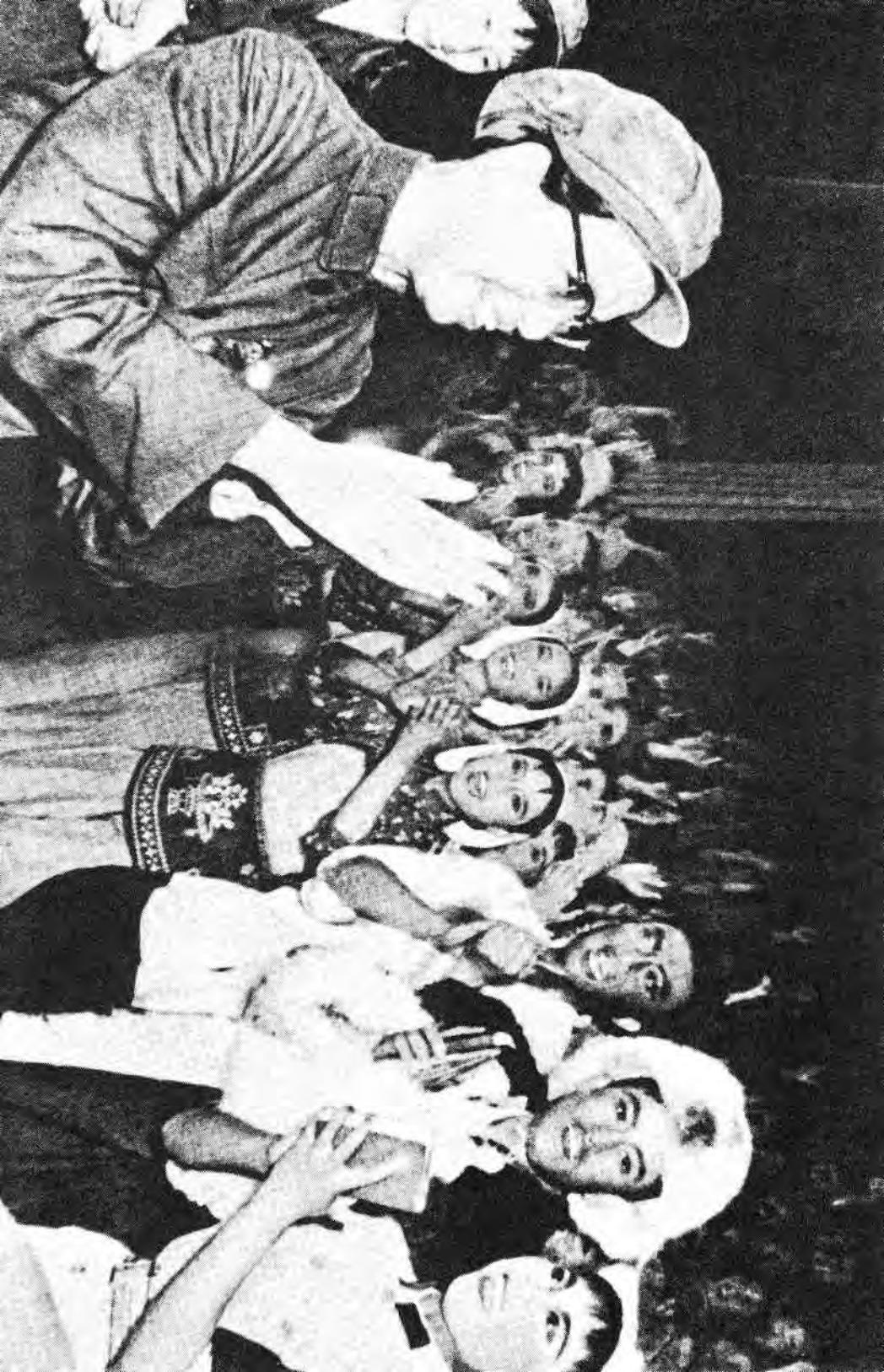
热烈欢呼

中央社·國務院·軍委會·中興公司·中國通訊社
給上海市名譽



Former high officials in cultural work Chou Yang (right) and Hsia Yen (bottom left), two of the "Four Rogues" labelled as such by Mao. The two are shown being marched before the people for mass criticism during the Cultural Revolution. Both have been reinstated to leading party positions since the coup.





(right) Chairman Mao meeting with the performers after seeing the revolutionary modern Peking opera "Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy" in 1967.

(below) Chiang Ching (Mao's wife) meeting with People's Liberation Army literary and art workers in 1967.





The so-called "Gang of Four"—a) Wang Hung-wen, b) Chang Chun-chiao, c) Chiang Ching, d) Yao Wen-yuan.



*Wang Hung-wen speaking at plenary session of Ninth National Congress
of the Communist Party of China, April 14, 1969.*



Mao and Chiang Ching in Yenan.

Yao Wen-yuan (left) with Thakin Ba Thieu Tin, Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party of Burma, 1971.



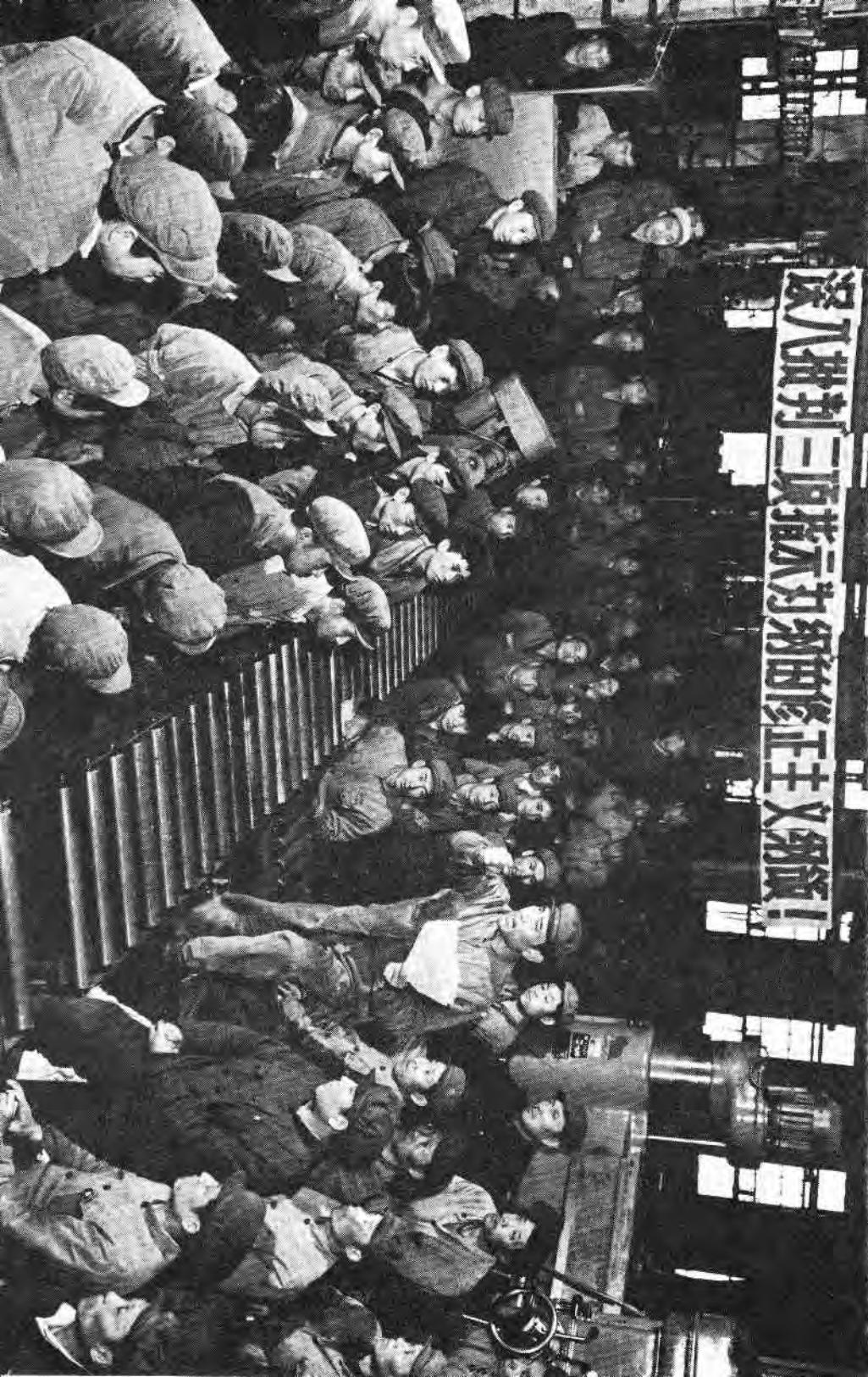
堅持教育革命，反對復辟倒退

(above) Workers and cadres of the engine workshop of Changchun No. 1 Motor Vehicle Plant in Northeast China criticize the line of "taking the 3 directives as the key link", which put economics ahead of politics. Mao and the Four launched this campaign in 1976 against Teng Hsiao-ping and other Party leaders promoting this line.



(left) Teachers and students of the No. 8 Middle School in Chungking putting up big-character posters to criticize the attempts to reverse the revolutionary measures in education, made during the Cultural Revolution.

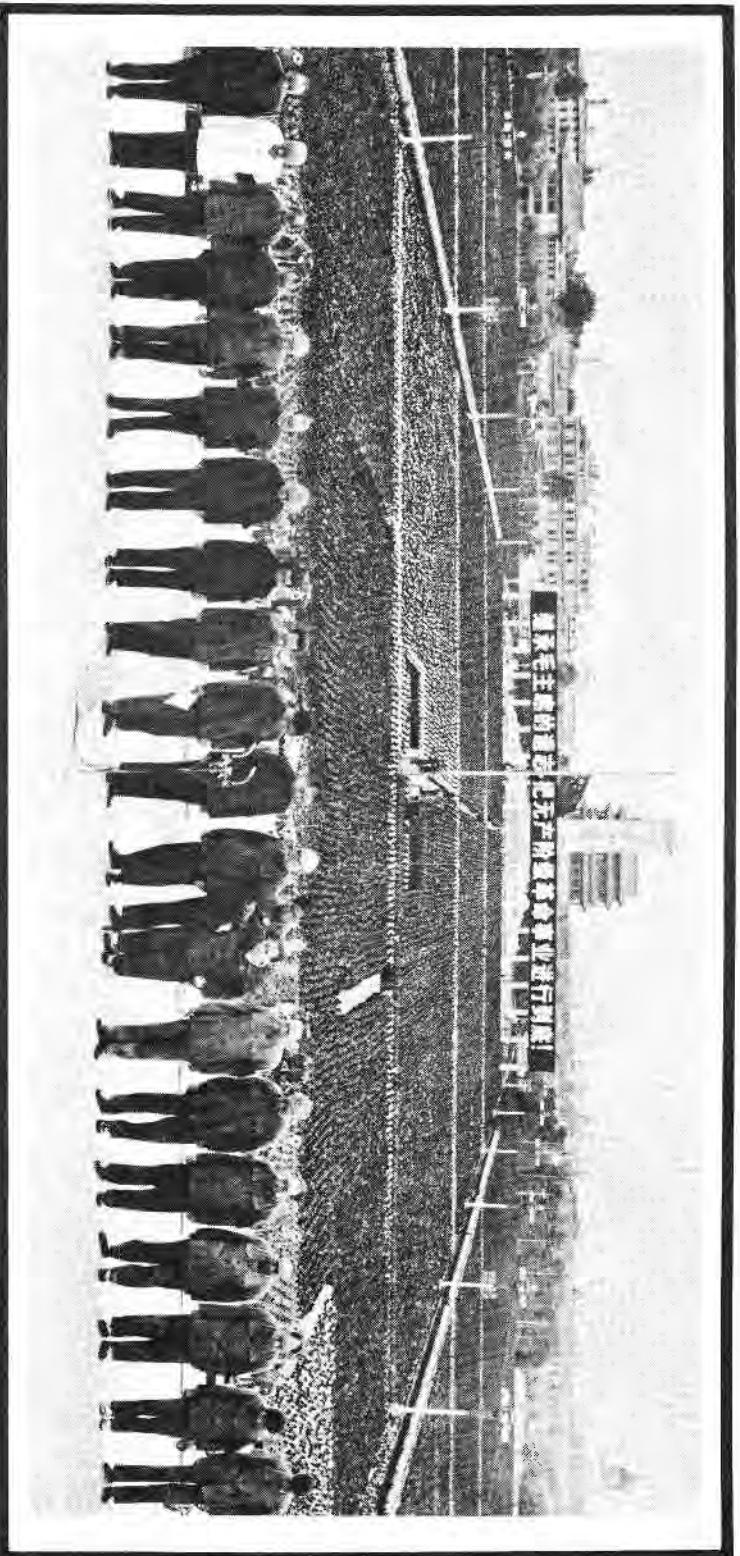
深入批判三項指示為綱領修正主義邪說



This demonstration in Tien An Men Square, Peking, April 1976, in support of Mao's line and against attempts to reverse the Cultural Revolution, followed hot on the heels of the "counterrevolutionary Tien An Men Square Incident." Inspired by the Right and Teng in particular, the "Tien An Men Square Incident" upheld Chou En-lai and Teng and was a direct attack on Mao himself and the Four.



Mao's memorial was attended by 1 million representatives of the masses of Chinese people. In front, standing in silent tribute were the then leading party and state officials. From left: Wei Kuo-ching, Wu Teh, Chi Teng-kuei, Li Hsien-nien, Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Wang Hung-wen, Hua Kuo-feng, Yeh Chien-ying, Soong Ching Ling (being assisted), Yao Wen-yuan, Chen Hsi-lien, Wang Tung-hsien and Ni Chih-fu. Shortly afterwards, everything came to a head.



Erratum. The photo caption on the previous page should read:

Mao's memorial was attended by one million representatives of the masses of Chinese people. In front, standing in silent tribute, were the then leading party and state officials. From left: Saifudin, Su Chen-hua, Chen Yung-kuei, Wei Kuo-ching, Wu Teh, Chi Teng-kuei, Li Hsien-nien, Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Wang Hung-wen, Hua Kuo-feng, Yeh Chien-ying, Soong Ching Ling (being assisted), Yao Wen-yuan, Chen Hsi-lien, Wang Tung-hsing, Hsu Shih-yu, Li Teh-sheng, Wu Kuei-hsien, and Ni Chih-fu. Shortly afterwards, everything came to a head as the coup was staged.

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)

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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.¹

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."² 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."³ 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."⁴

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."⁵ 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.”¹⁶ 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.”¹⁷

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.¹⁸ 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,"⁹ 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."¹⁰ 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."¹¹

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.

¹*Jenmin Jihpao*, March 10, 1976.

²*Jenmin Jihpao*, Feb. 14, 1976.

³*Hung Chi*, No. 5, 1976.

⁴*Ibid.*, Feb. 14, 1976.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1976.

⁷*Jenmin Jihpao*, Feb. 29, 1976.

⁸*Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1976.

⁹*Hung Chi*, No. 5, 1976.

¹⁰*Kwangming Jihpao*, Feb. 11, 1976.

¹¹*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)

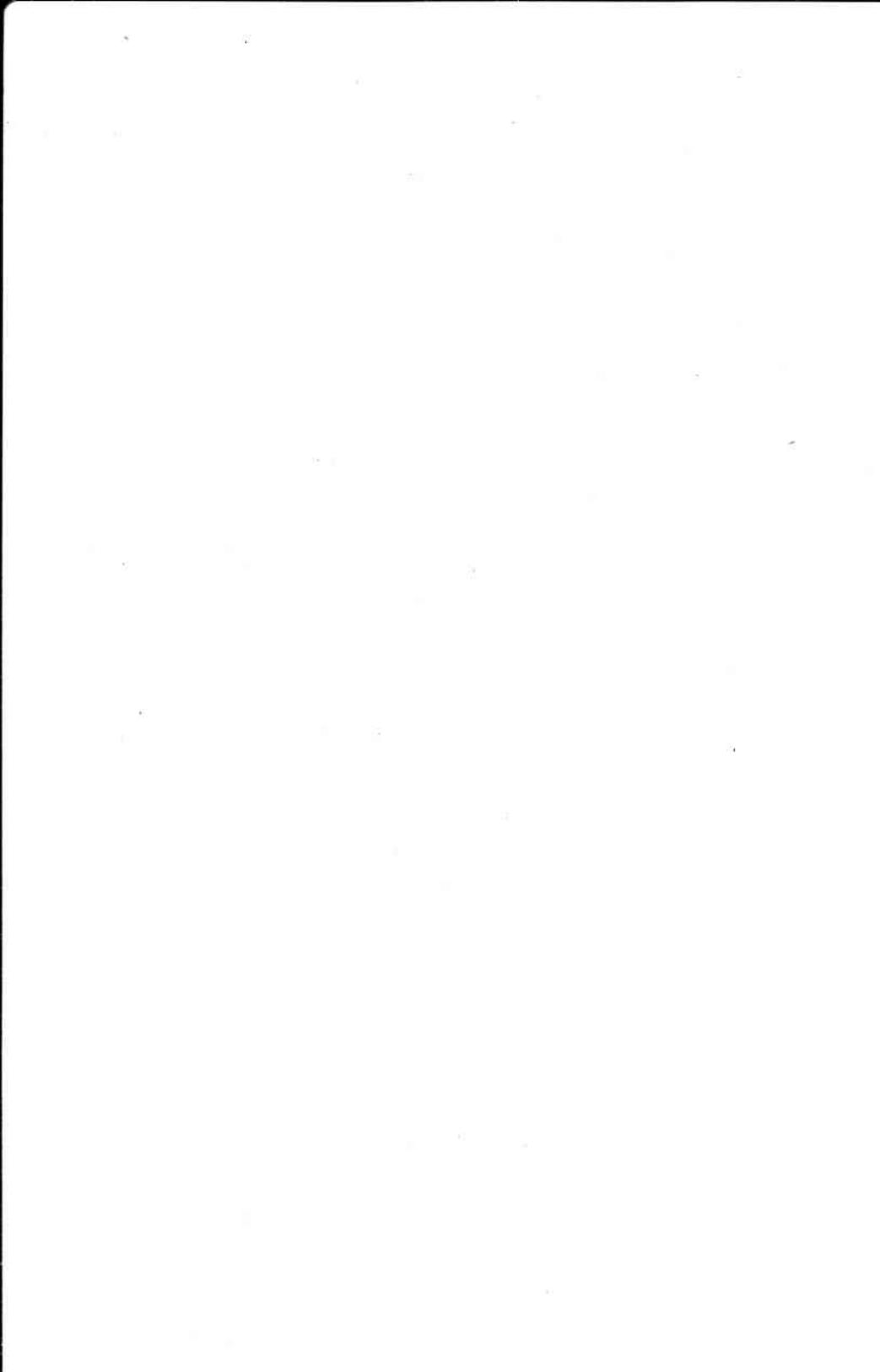
The counter-revolutionary revisionist theories and line of the “gang of four” seriously hampered the development of the productive forces in our country. The most powerful of the productive forces is the revolutionary class itself. The key to the growth of production lies in arousing the labouring masses’ 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.



AND MAO MAKES 5

Edited with an introduction by Raymond Lotta

A MUST FOR THOSE WHO WANT TO KNOW WHAT HAPPENED IN CHINA FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF "THE GANG OF FOUR."

And Mao Makes 5 boldly puts forward and documents what has been whispered in China since October 1976 when the so-called "Gang of Four" were overthrown: The "Gang of Four" was actually a "Gang of Five" including and led by Mao himself.

This volume collects a large number of primary sources that document the battle led by Mao and the Four (which included his wife Chiang Ching) against a Right wing led by Chou En-lai and aggressively championed by Teng Hsiao-ping. The appendices to this volume contain representative writings from the Right that lay out their position. It includes the notorious "Three Poisonous Weeds," written under the direction of Teng, Hua Kuo-feng and others of the top leadership today.

In his introduction to these documents Raymond Lotta traces the political struggle as it unfolded in the years between the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China and the arrest of the Four in 1976. He argues that the struggle culminated in a right wing coup after Mao's death. The crux of the struggle was how to evaluate the changes in Chinese society brought about by the Cultural Revolution. Mao and the Four sought to consolidate and extend the developments of the Cultural Revolution. The Right, composed of much of the encrusted bureaucracy of the Party and state apparatus including the armed forces, grouped around and protected by Chou En-lai, sought to reverse these "correct verdicts" and sabotage Mao's relentless efforts to dig out all the roots of feudalism and capitalism in China.

And Mao Makes 5 should prove invaluable to those interested in examining the position of Mao and the Four and in studying the political struggle that has raged in China, as well as the new course charted by China's current leadership in the post-Mao era.

■**A stinging indictment of the current leadership in China.**

■**A valuable collection of hard-to-get documents.**

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