

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 uncleanes," 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-roads, 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-

cial 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 "idealist, 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.