

REVISIONISM IN INDUSTRY, COMMUNICATIONS SCORED

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[Excerpts of an article by Chung Shih published in RED FLAG No 5: "Criticize the Revisionist Absurd Fallacies on the Industrial and Communications Front"]

[Text] Great victories have been won in the struggle to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts which has been personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. However, the struggle has not yet ended. We must continue to firmly grasp as our fighting task criticism and repudiation of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line politically, economically and ideologically.

The workers fighting on the front line of the struggle as the main force are, under the leadership of party committees, adhering to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production, and with Chairman Mao's many important instructions as a weapon, are roundly criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist program and line and his many revisionist fallacies spread on the economic front. This is an important aspect of carrying the struggle to beat back the right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts through to the end.

Pushing his revisionist program and line and taking the lead in fanning up the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the party, has not only spread a great many absurd arguments in the various spheres of the superstructure but also has pitted himself against Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on the economic front. Under the signboard of "all for modernization," he took a hand in industry and communications, attending and addressing all meetings, big or small. He also gave instructions on concocting the so-called "regulations for industrial development," energetically peddling revisionist trash in a vain attempt to transform socialist industry into a basis for his capitalist restoration. The workers and cadres boycotted and repudiated Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist trash from the beginning. In many factories and enterprises, the workers used revolutionary slogans to directly counter the revisionist line, persisted in taking class struggle as the key link and rejected all that he had promoted.

Representing the interests of the workers and other laboring people, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the struggle to beat back the right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, which greatly boosted the workers' revolutionary will to fight. In the course of struggle, the heroic workers and revolutionary people have come to understand still better the reactionary nature of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line.

Bent on restoration and retrogression, Teng Hsiao-ping trumpeted "taking the three directives as the key link," denied that the principal contradiction on the industry and communications front was one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and opposed taking class struggle as the key link. For him, the main danger at hand allegedly was that "nobody dares talk about grasping production." He also alleged that "maintenance of equipment is bad," "no attention has been paid to quality," "skills and techniques are backward" and so forth, and that these problems were quite pervasive. He openly negated the party's basic line and the commanding role of the industry and communications front in a vain attempt to alter the socialist orientation of industrial development.

What are the widespread problems on the industry and communications front? What is its main danger? Chairman Mao long ago provided answers to these questions. Ever since 1949, Chairman Mao has consistently stressed that the principal contradiction at home is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

This is also the principal contradiction on the industry and communications front. As this contradiction exists and develops, the widespread problem on the industry and communications front over a fairly long period of time is still whether we should take the socialist road or the capitalist road and whether the leadership is in the hands of Marxists and workers or of the bourgeoisie and capitalist roaders in the party. The main danger lies in revisionism and capitalist restoration.

Analyzing the necessity of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution at the first plenum of the party's Ninth Central Committee, Chairman Mao pointed 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 not good people among those in charge of 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." "But there were indeed bad people in the factories. This showed that the revolution remained unfinished."

The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the industry and communications front will never end until after classes become extinct. Old bourgeois elements are still around. Unreformed intellectuals are still around. Embezzlement, theft and speculation are frequently reported. Existing bourgeois rights are engendering new bourgeois elements. The revisionist line on running enterprises embodied in "putting profit in command," "material incentives" and "bonuses" is still being followed by some people. The situation of "the capitalist roaders being still on the capitalist road" will prevail for a long time to come. Aren't these facts known to everyone? Teng Hsiao-ping denied that there was class struggle on the industry and communications front precisely because he wanted to cover up the struggle he waged on behalf of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the party against the proletariat, his revisionist line and his taking the capitalist road.

Under the socialist system, factories and enterprises are the battleground where the proletariat wages class struggle against the bourgeoisie. Factories by no means should be considered merely economic organizations. By no means should the theory of productive forces be observed. Chairman Mao has said: "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." Only by consolidating the proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and perfecting socialist production relations can we develop socialist production with great, faster, better and more economical results. Only in this way can we make factories and enterprise strong fighting bastions for combating and preventing revisionism. If they were to discard the goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and class struggle and merely grasp production as such, factories and enterprises would never be able to develop production for socialism. Instead, they would become the soil which engenders the bourgeoisie and capitalism. In the long run, the socialist ownership of factories would turn into capitalist ownership and the workers would once more be reduced to hired slave. The workers have put it well: The theory of productive forces is purely a capitalist and revisionist theory.

Clamoring that people should dare to talk about grasping production, Teng Hsiao-ping did not mean to achieve truly successful socialist production but tried to induce people to write off factories and enterprises as the battleground for class struggle and to give up the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie so that he could restore capitalism without any difficulty. It is a matter of course that socialist factories and enterprises should strive to fulfill and overfulfill their production plans and to constantly solve all problems concerning the maintenance of equipment, technical innovations and quality of products. However, the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie should by no means be cast aside while these problems are being solved. Opposing taking class struggle as the key link, clinging to his theme of "white eat, black eat" and making no distinction between Marxism and imperialism, Teng Hsiao-ping naturally took the capitalist road, thereby undermining socialist production. The modernization that he talked about is a capitalist modernization which will be achieved in the interest of the bourgeoisie, thereby turning China into an economic appendage of imperialism and social-imperialism. We workers and other laboring people are firmly opposed to this.

To criticize the revisionist trash such as putting profit in command and material incentives is an important aspect of the proletariat's class struggle against the bourgeoisie on the industry and communications front. Ever since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the workers have never ceased their criticism of this trash. This greatly infuriated Teng Hsiao-ping. He slandered the criticism of putting profit in command as a one-sided rejection of profit, alleging that "aren't you criticizing putting profit in command? It doesn't matter if profit is put somewhat in command. Otherwise, what is the state to count on?" He also openly opposed the criticism of material incentives, making no secret of his revisionism.

In our socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, why should we run industry and economic enterprises? For what reason are factories turning out products and for what reason are workers working? For profit and money, or for the revolution and the people? We must achieve a clear idea about this question through debate.

Chairman Mao said: "The general policy guiding our economic and financial work is to develop the economy and insure supplies." Our purpose in developing production of all heavy and light industries is none other than to insure supplies, meeting the requirements of socialist revolution and construction, and the needs of the people in production and daily life. We must "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people." This is closely linked with the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the eventual realization of the long-range objective of communism.

The basic difference between socialist production and capitalist production is that the former is for the revolution and the people. Advocating putting profit in command and material incentives, obliterating the basic difference between socialism and capitalism, Teng Hsiao-ping once again exposed his reactionary bourgeois stand and world outlook.

"Putting profit in command" and "material incentives" seem to refer to money and material gain. In reality they are a kind of bourgeois politics, a corrosive agent the bourgeoisie uses to corrupt our cadres and the masses and disrupt the socialist relations of production. How can anyone say that it is all right to practice such rubbish in socialist factories and enterprises?

A socialist economy is a planned economy. It is to be developed proportionately in a planned way. What a factory produces or doesn't produce and how much it produces must be determined by specific plan and be in the interests of the people. If every factory puts profit in command, producing more if profit is big, less if profit is small and not at all if there is no profit, wouldn't this adversely affect and undermine the socialist planned economy and lead to anarchy in production?

"Putting profit in command," one-sidedly stressing output value and profit, resorting to bonuses and so forth, and using material incentives to stimulate people's enthusiasm will inevitably corrupt the minds of the cadres and masses, undermine the unity of the workers, lead people onto the evil road of thinking only about personal gains and losses and striving for fame and wealth, and turn the relations between people into relations between the employer and hired hands and into monetary relations.

It is obvious then that by putting profit in command and using material incentives the socialist relations of production will be undermined and bourgeois rights will grow malignantly. This, if allowed to develop, will inevitably lead to the restoration of the capitalist system of ownership. In this respect, Soviet social-imperialism is a mirror reflecting the vicious designs of Teng Hsiao-ping.

To meet the needs of revolution and construction it is necessary for socialist enterprises to calculate costs and practice economic accounting. It is also necessary for them to fulfill specific profit plans as required by the state. This is common sense and has not been discarded since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution. The profit of socialist enterprises is the main source of socialist accumulation. We have always paid great attention to economic accounting and accumulation. We have always opposed the erroneous ideas of disregarding costs, ignoring accumulation, extravagance and waste.

Teng Hsiao-ping attacked criticism of "putting profit in command" and "material incentives" as one-sided opposition to making profit. This was a gross, deliberate attempt to create confusion with ulterior motives.

To run industries by taking class struggle as the key link it is necessary to wholeheartedly rely on the working class, bring into full play the socialist enthusiasm of the masses, and launch vigorous mass movements. This has been Chairman Mao's consistent thinking, and a truth that has been proved by practice.

By contrast, Teng Hsiao-ping nonsensically claimed that "reliance on the workers peasants and soldiers is relative" and opposed reliance on the working class. On the one hand, he peddled anew the practice of "control, check and suppress" and of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" to strangle the socialist enthusiasm of the masses. On the other hand, he vigorously advocated "reliance on specialists in running factories" and the slavish comprador philosophy, prostrated himself before bourgeois "authorities," both Chinese and foreign, and looked indeed like a big bourgeois comprador.

Whether to trust and rely on the masses of workers--this is an important issue in the struggle between the two classes and the two lines. Only by wholeheartedly relying on the working class, mobilizing the masses of workers to take part in the leadership and management, (?discuss politics) and grasp the major issues, and exercise revolutionary supervision over the leadership of enterprises can we implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, transform enterprises according to the ideology and image of the vanguard of the working class, make sure that the leadership is really in the hands of Marxists and the masses of workers and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

A major change in factories and enterprises since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is that the position of the working class as the master has been further affirmed. The party organizations of many factories and enterprises have relied on the masses of workers in managing enterprises and thus broken the bourgeois prejudice, criticized by Lenin, that it seems that only the so-called upper class, the rich, or those educated by the rich class can manage the state and organize construction in socialist society. This has fully shown the great role of the working class in socialist revolution and construction. This is an effective repudiation of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist fallacies.

What must we rely on to take our own road of industrial development and speed up socialist modernization of industry? We rely neither on hegemonism to expand and plunder abroad nor on the slavish comprador philosophy to beg for help from foreign capitalists. Rather we rely on the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on the working class and the masses of the people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought.

The imperialists blockaded us. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique tried to strangle us. It is precisely because we have relied on the masses, mobilized the masses, criticized the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and aroused the revolutionary spirit of independence, self-reliance and hard work among the masses that we have been able to overcome all difficulties and obstructions on our road forward and to win today's great victories. As long as we wholeheartedly rely on the working class and launch vigorous mass movements, revolution will advance full steam ahead, and greater, faster, better and more economic results will be achieved in production.

Teng Hsiao-ping claimed that "reliance on the working class is relative." This is a refurbished version of Liu Shao-chi's theory that "the masses are backward." This so-called relative reliance is in reality non-reliance and anti-reliance. Teng Hsiao-ping opposed reliance on the working class. Whom, after all, did he want to rely on? After he resumed work, didn't he look everywhere for hermits, call to office those who had fallen into obscurity, and clamor that he would bring back to power the unrepentant capitalist roaders who had become case-hardened and were not afraid of being overthrown for a second time? This shows that he wanted to rely on the bourgeoisie in the party. Didn't Teng Hsiao-ping advertise that he wanted to elevate to leading posts bourgeois intellectuals whose interests were identical and who had knowledge? This shows that he wanted to rely on a small number of bourgeois "specialists" and "authorities." Didn't Teng Hsiao-ping prostrate himself before foreigners and regard as sacrosanct foreign specialists and equipment? Didn't he try his utmost to preach the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace? This shows that he wanted to rely on foreign capitalists.

Judging by the counterrevolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square in early April, those who supported Teng Hsiao-ping were a handful of class enemies, newly engendered bourgeois elements and the dregs of society, including hoodlums, who were all hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This, too, was what he wanted to rely on.

Teng Hsiao-ping's siding with the bourgeoisie and opposition to reliance on the working class show precisely that he represented the interests of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the party and that he was the chief behind-the-scenes boss of the counter-revolutionary restorationist forces.

In pushing a revisionist line on the industrial and communications front, Teng Hsiao-ping used "developing production" as a pretext and adopted the measure of all-embracing "readjustment." Teng Hsiao-ping described the industrial and communications front since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution as a mess, alleging that "in industry, problems are quite numerous," that "necessary rules and regulations have disappeared," and that "old habits are difficult to get rid of." In short, in his eyes all seemed to be in disorder. He clamored that "this calls for serious attention" and that "he wants to risk his life and dares to make readjustments to correct the situation." Teng Hsiao-ping's words and deeds told us that his "readjustments" meant reversal of the verdicts of the Great Cultural Revolution and restoration and retrogression.

What has been thrown into disorder by the Great Cultural Revolution? Everyone knows the answer. The Great Cultural Revolution has destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, criticized the revisionist line, and given a violent pounding to the capitalist things in the superstructure and the relations of production. Such trash as "putting profit in command," "material incentives," and the slavish comprador philosophy are no longer attractive. Such fallacies as "the plant manager in command and the four chiefs in control," "control, check and suppress," and "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" no longer work. Isn't it the bourgeois and revisionism that have thrown into disorder? What is wrong with this kind of revolution? Without exception, the working class and the masses applaud these changes favorable to socialism on the industrial front and in the superstructure and the relations of production. But Teng Hsiao-ping regarded them as a mess and attempted to correct them. How close this resembles the wailing of Confucius in the period of the collapse of the slave system that "the rites were lost and music was ruined" and that it was necessary to "restrain oneself and restore the rites"!

Teng Hsiao-ping said: "The rules and regulations concocted in accordance with Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line for running enterprises before the Great Cultural Revolution are still good and can still be used."

This single statement explains all. So this is what he meant by necessary rules and regulations. The "some problems in accelerating industrial development" concocted at his instruction inherited the mantle of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line in its entirety and went even further. This fully exposes the reactionary character of his "readjustments." What he called "readjustment" was nothing but a "big club" to suppress the new things, a synonym of "restoring the old things." What he wanted to get rid of by "readjustment" was Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. What he wanted to inherit was the revisionist tradition. What he wanted to get rid of was the socialist relations of production that had been established and the new things which restrict bourgeois rights in the superstructure and the relations of production. What he wanted to restore and expand was capitalist and revisionist things. What he wanted to get rid of was the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company." What he wanted to restore was the rules and regulations of the Magnitogorsk iron and steel combine of the Soviet Union.

Teng Hsiao-ping said: "The key to readjustment is the leading body. It is necessary to establish from top to bottom leading bodies that are powerful, put daring to the fore and are capable."

This meant that it was necessary to bring into power those who dared to practice revisionism and were experienced in and capable of practicing revisionism, so that he could push a revisionist line, reverse verdicts and restore capitalism from top to bottom.

To give his "readjustments" a semblance of legitimacy, Teng Hsiao-ping found a pretext, alleging that "the productive capacities have not been brought into full play," as if he wanted "readjustments" for the purpose of developing production. He fooled nobody. Both positive and negative experiences have proved that only revolution can liberate the productive forces and promote the development of production. To bring into fuller play the productive capacities of industries it is necessary to adhere to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production and constantly resolve the contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base. Teng Hsiao-ping tried his best to oppose reforms in the relations of production and the superstructure. This exposed his true features in undermining socialist revolution and socialist production and attempting to restore capitalism.

MEMORIAL RITES HELD FOR CC MEMBER LI TA-CHANG

Peking NCNA in English 1641 GMT 8 May 76 OW

[Text] Peking, May 8, 1976 (HSINHUA)--Comrade Li Ta-chang, member of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, director of the United Front Work Department of the party Central Committee and member of the Fourth National People's Congress, died of illness in Peking on May 3, 1976, at the age of 76. [Peking NCNA Domestic Service in Chinese at 1501 GMT on 8 May adds the phrase "despite medical treatment" at the end of this paragraph.] A memorial meeting for Comrade Li Ta-chang took place at the auditorium of the Papaoshan Cemetery for Revolutionaries here this afternoon. A portrait of the late Comrade Li Ta-chang was hung and a casket containing his ashes draped with the flag of the Communist Party of China was placed in the hall.

Our great leader Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China presented wreaths. There were also wreaths from other party and state leaders Chu Te, Hua Kuo-feng, Wang Hung-wen, Yeh Chien-ying, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing and Wu Te. The other wreaths were sent by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council, the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the General Office of the party Central Committee, the Organization Department of the party Central Committee, the United Front Work Department of the party Central Committee, the PEOPLE'S DAILY, the HSINHUA NEWS AGENCY, the State Planning Commission, the State Capital Construction Commission, the Ministry of Public Security, the Ministry of Public Health, the General Office of the State Council, the General Office of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee, the Szechwan Provincial Party Committee and the Szechwan Provincial Revolutionary Committee, the Chengtu units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and the party committee and the Revolutionary Committee of Hochiang County of Szechwan Province.

Party and state leaders Wang Hung-wen, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Te, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Li Ching-chuan, [2621 0064 3123] Ngapo Ngawang-jigme, Li Su-wen, Ku Mu and Sun Chien, and Vice-Chairman Shen Yen-ping of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference attended the memorial meeting and extended their condolences to Comrade Sun Ming, widow of the deceased.