

EASTERN HORIZON

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COVER PICTURE

*A painting by Kuan Liang under the title
'We Greet the Monkey King', a line in Chair-
man Mao's verse calling for struggle against
revisionism.*

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EASTERN DIARY

The higher one climbs, the more heavily one will fall. This is a Chinese proverb which may not be true all the time. But it did ring true when applied to the dramatic rise and the no less dramatic fall of the Gang of Four, all of which happened within a little over a decade. Little or absolutely nothing was in fact known of the four before 1964. It is true that during the Great Leap Forward Chang Chun-chiao wrote and published an article on the bourgeois right which caught Chairman Mao's attention. But the fact that the practical measure proposed by Chang—abolition of the wage system—was not adopted or even seriously discussed, showed that it was considered with a great deal of reservation. Chiang Ching was known only for the claim she staked out in 1964 on modern revolutionary operas. People vaguely remembered Yao Wen-yuan as a junior member on the editorial staff of the Shanghai *Wen Hui Pao* who climbed on the bandwagon of the anti-Rightist campaign to denounce his paper for its Rightist tendency. In the mid-sixties, Wang Hung-wen was completely unknown. In fact even his part in the January Revolution in Shanghai, which obviously started him on his upward swing, remains hazy to this day. And yet by April 1969 they were Political Bureau members or members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, or both. Only seven years passed, however, before the four were toppled in a clean sweep on October 6, 1976.

Now the four are under nationwide criticism and new facts about them are emerging every day. But with a fair knowledge of what happened in the Cultural Revolution and abundant information made available in the Chinese press since the beginning of the criticism of the four, it is already possible for one to put together a reasonably accurate story of how the four, taking advantage of the Cultural Revolution, intrigued their way into power, overplayed their hands and exposed themselves to the indignation of the people, thus precipitating their own sudden downfall.

Most of the activities of the four which led to their downfall were concentrated in the period after the beginning of 1974 with the launching of the campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. It was in fact during that period that they over-reached themselves by stepping up their attack on Premier Chou

En-lai and large numbers of veteran revolutionary leaders, thus sealing their own fate. But their collaboration with Lin Piao was what started them on their quest for power, and their strategy of bringing down a large

number of veterans of the Chinese revolution was already visible in the early days of the Cultural Revolution and could also be identified with Lin. So I am beginning this story with the first signs of the Cultural Revolution.

The Rise and Fall of the Gang of Four

For the dregs which have been thrown up to the surface are but dregs, their surfacing can only enable people to see even more clearly what they really are. And being what they are, they will in the end sink again.

Lu Hsun

Revolutionary Operas

Chiang Ching's rise in the Cultural Revolution was based on the claim that she was 'the creator of the model theatrical works' and a 'standard-bearer of the revolution in literature and art.'

But it is a well-known fact that the revolution in literature and art was first launched by Chairman Mao at the Yanan Forum in 1942 in which Chiang Ching could have played no meaningful role, much less standard-bearer. As to revolutionary Peking opera, Chiang Ching's involvement in this art form dates back only to 1964 when a festival of modern Peking operas was held in Peking on the approval of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, and at the suggestion of Ulanfu, a Vice-Premier of the Mongolian minority and an opera lover.

A considerable harvest of modern Peking operas was inspired by Chairman Mao's repeated calls for working class heroes to occupy the centre of the operatic stage. As early as the 1940's, Chairman Mao had hailed the Yanan Peking Opera Theatre for the staging of *Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels*, which recognizes the toiling people as the motive force in the making of history. In 1963 Chairman Mao complained that theatre, along with various other forms of art, was still dominated by 'the dead', i.e., emperors, prime ministers and generals of the olden days. Most of those operas staged at the festival and later to be known as model revolutionary theatrical works came into being around 1964 when revolutionary opera artists, in response

to Chairman Mao's criticism, devoted themselves to their creation. *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* was staged as early as 1958 by the Peking Opera Theatre of Shanghai. But even in 1963 Chiang Ching still spent a great deal of her time on old Peking operas, including *The Death of Tsutu*, a ghost, acrobatic opera which was also very much encouraged by the revisionist leadership in the Ministry of Culture at that time.

When Chiang Ching became an advisor to the festival of 1964, this recent convert surprised many with the zeal and gusto with which she applied herself to the new operas. At a meeting called by Premier Chou during the festival, Chiang Ching set herself up as the champion of revolutionary operas. She asked those opera artists present where their 'conscience' was when they persisted in staging operas eulogizing emperors and lords instead of the working people, though many of them had been working hard to promote revolutionary operas long before Chiang had shown any interest. At that time, however, few could have known that the enthusiasm she displayed was more for her personal advancement than for the promotion of revolutionary operas.

Soon she was taking advantage of the mistakes of people like Peng Chen who advocated the preservation of old Peking operas, and step by step she took over the leadership of various opera and ballet companies. Having made a few alterations here and there, she claimed authorship of five Peking operas, two ballets and one symphonic work and named them model revolutionary theatrical

works. Nobody was allowed to tamper with the eight works. When staging them or adapting them to other regional forms of opera, no one was to change a single word or a single note. At the same time regional operatic groups trying to produce their own revolutionary operas were frowned upon. Any other forms of art which could compete with the model works, such as films and straight plays, were likewise discouraged. For years all the movie studios in China did was film model works or documentaries. Almost all the model works were adapted from films or theatrical works of an earlier period, and all such original works had to be suppressed. The opera *White-Haired Girl* had been very popular, and musically it represents China's first successful attempt at blending Chinese and Western music. Most of its music, or at least its musical themes, went into the ballet adapted from it. But by blowing up its few shortcomings out of all proportion, Chiang Ching had the original opera shelved and its composer, Ma Ko, set aside. What was most insulting and distressing was that, after Ma's death, his obituary listed only a few of his works, and the best of them, his music for *The White-Haired Girl*, was not even mentioned! In order to conceal the fact that *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* was actually adapted from the popular novel *Tracks in the Snowy Forest* set in the War of Liberation in Northeast China, Chiang Ching would have changed the name of the hero in the opera, actually the name of a Liberation Army man who died on the battlefield towards the end of the Liberation War, had Chairman Mao not intervened and stopped her.

Later on we were to see how Chiang did everything to block the production of other forms of stage art, the re-staging of earlier plays and the rerunning of films made in the fifties and early sixties, just so that *her* works could monopolize the Chinese stage and screen, and even radio and television. Resentment ran high among the people and all Chairman Mao's and Premier Chou's exhortations to rectify this intolerable situation fell on deaf ears.

No real efforts were made to realize Chairman Mao's directive that literature and art should be inspired by a combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism. Nor was anything done to make 'a hundred flowers blossom' and 'weed through the old to bring forth the new' as Chairman Mao had called for. Instead, Chiang Ching laid

down a set of rules for Chinese revolutionary theatre which, if really followed, would have acted as a straitjacket on the very thing she said she was developing. Take for example what she called the rule of the 'three dominations': among all the characters, the positive ones should dominate the stage; among the positive ones, the heroes should dominate the stage; and among the heroes, the chief heroes should dominate the stage. She often used such rules as criteria to criticize works created by others. The fact is that rules like this could hardly apply to even *her own* works. Could one allow a supporting character, say an ordinary member of a PLA contingent in *Tiger Mountain*, who is certainly a positive character, if not a hero, by Chiang Ching's definition, dominate the stage when he appears at the same time as the chief villain, the boss of the Tiger Mountain? Worse, the dominating position Chiang gave to the heroes only made them into born supermen who were entirely isolated from the masses, and stood high above the masses they were supposed to serve.

An Opera Critique

As Chiang Ching thus pushed herself into the limelight, the Cultural Revolution was launched and this proved an absolute necessity. In 1959 Peng Teh-huai raised a hue and cry against the Great Leap Forward. He was voted down in the Party Central Committee, which fact cost him his job as Defence Minister. But neither he nor the opportunists behind him in the Party took this lying down. Taking advantage of the three difficult years and the necessary re-adjustment in industry and agriculture, Liu Shao-chi tried to reverse the advance of socialism in the Chinese countryside by advocating household farming and small private enterprises. In the field of propaganda and literature and art dominated by revisionists, all-out efforts were made to stage ghost operas or operas exalting either emperors and high-ranking officials in Chinese history or young, elegant dandies and their delicate lovers. Such works were designed either as vehicles for settling personal accounts or of personal revenge, thus playing down class struggle, or to undermine the spirit and confidence of the working class, all of which would tend to slow down socialist revolution or, worse, foster capitalist restoration. A sudden spate of operas and plays came into being, heavy with political overtones, and lauding good, upright officials

who, with the interests of the common people at heart, were not afraid of openly confronting the emperor. Among these were what was called the 'new historical opera'—*The Dismissal of Hai Jui*. No effort was spared to drive home the parallel between Hai Jui and Peng Teh-huai (Hai Jui, a mandarin at the Ming court, was once also a Defence Minister!) in order to impress the audience that the dismissal of Peng was wrong and that he should be reinstated.

So to stop this insidious drift towards revisionism, it was natural that following Chairman Mao's complaint that the Chinese stage was dominated by 'the dead', a first move in the form of a critical article should be made against this 'new historical opera', *The Dismissal of Hai Jui*. It was obviously Chairman Mao's idea to have such a critique written. But with the media and propaganda organs in Peking almost wholly controlled by Liu Shao-chi and his lieutenants, it was impossible to have such an article written in Peking, let alone have it published there. Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan were tipped off, and seizing this opportunity they drafted the article and had it published in Shanghai. Not to bias the issue from the very beginning, the name of the less known of the collaborators was used.

A recent check through old issues of *Wen Hui Pao* turned up material to show that Yao, a then young but prolific writer, was quite a nimble opportunist. Only a few weeks before the launching of the anti-Rightist campaign in 1957, Yao was still writing articles in his paper in sympathy with a Rightist writer in Shanghai. But soon he did a complete about-face, berating the same writer and thus setting himself up as an anti-Rightist hero. The same political wavering was again revealed in the article on the Hai Jui opera. Chairman Mao had made the point quite clear that, in stressing the 'dismissal' of Hai Jui, Wu Han was alluding to the dismissal of some one in present-day China, namely, Peng Teh-huai, and that only by bringing out this point could Wu Han's motivation be thoroughly exposed. But Yao, who had repeatedly praised Peng for his 'Party spirit', his 'revolutionary will of iron' and his 'outstanding skill in battle', deliberately slurred over this key point and weakened the political impact of the article. Chairman Mao was so unhappy with the article, which was published in *Wen Hui Pao* on November 10, 1965, that he soon had another written to drive home the meaning of the 'dismissal'.

Lin Piao-Chiang Ching Alliance

Because of Peng Chen's manipulation, the Cultural Revolution initiated by Chairman Mao did not get going until almost a year later, following the disbandment of the Cultural Revolution team led by Peng Chen and the setting up of a new one on May 16. On the same day a circular was issued by the Party Central Committee setting out the meaning and objectives of the Cultural Revolution, one of which was the toppling of 'persons in power in the Party taking the capitalist road.' This was followed by the First Marxist Big-character Poster which appeared in Peking University and was approved by Chairman Mao on June 1 for publication in the *People's Daily*. Chairman Mao's own big-character poster 'Bombard the Headquarters', was issued on August 5 and the resolution of the Party Central Committee on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (the Sixteen Points) was adopted on August 10.

But before this, in February, an alliance was sealed between Lin Piao and Chiang Ching when the latter was entrusted by the former with the supervision of a forum called by him to discuss literary and art work in the Liberation Army. At the forum, Lin Piao was lauded by Chiang Ching as 'a brilliant example in studying Chairman Mao's works', and, in turn, Lin told the gathering that Chiang was a 'thinker' and that she was 'strong in politics and well-versed in art.' Chen Po-ta, who may have brought the two together, compared Chiang with Dante of the European Renaissance and Lu Hsun of the May 4 Movement era.

That alliance was to last till September 13, 1971, when Lin Piao's plane crashed in Outer Mongolia after his attempted armed coup had been foiled. Immediately before that, Chiang Ching took a picture of Lin pretending to study Chairman Mao's works which was intended for publication on the following National Day.

Down with Everyone

Though Chairman Mao had clearly stated in the 'Sixteen Points' that capitalist roaders comprised merely a fraction of the cadres, the slogan which called upon the masses to 'suspect all and pull down everyone' was launched by Lin Piao and members of the Gang of Four very early on in the Cultural Revolution and had since persisted on and off in different forms till the downfall of the

Gang of Four.

When this slogan was criticized, Yao Wen-yuan put the blame on Tao Chu and the so-called May 16 Movement, a group of seemingly ultra-Leftist youths with a strong anarchist tendency. But the controversy over the slogan 'suspect all and pull down everyone' was already raging in the big-character posters for everyone to read in the autumn of 1966, and at that time nobody had yet heard of the May 16 Movement or even any single May 16 group. By September of 1967, however, this ultra-Leftist tendency had become so strong that the *Peopel's Daily* had to come out with an editorial warning that in no way was the Cultural Revolution to be considered a movement for struggling against all leading cadres, or against the masses. But that did not deter ultra-Leftists who had gone all out yelling for the blood of large numbers of leading cadres. Even a year later, when Tao Chu was finally toppled, the movement had not run out of steam.

The struggle against Chen Yi, Foreign Minister and close lieutenant of Premier Chou En-lai, was a typical case. On the surface the struggle launched against Chen was instigated by a bunch of young zealots who had set their hearts not only on criticizing Chen, but also on pulling him down. On their insistence, a meeting was finally called in July 1967 to criticize Chen Yi, provided that they criticize him, but did not demand his dismissal. At the meeting, however, a section of the gathering did not stick to their side of the agreement and started to yell: 'Down with Chen Yi!' On a matter of principle like this, Chou En-lai, who was also at the meeting, would not budge an inch. He walked out of the meeting in indignation, leaving orders for the security guards to accompany Chen safely away.

In the following month, a crowd besieged Chou with questions, arguments, complaints, and repeated demands to allow them to criticize Chen Yi again. For 18 hours Chou stood firm and went without either food or rest. When some threatened to intercept Chen Yi's car if he ever appeared in the street, or force their way into the Great Hall of the People where Chen was staying at the time, Chou was adamant. 'Whoever tries to intercept Chen Yi's car will find me right there with him,' he told the crowd. 'If any of you tries to grab and struggle with Comrade Chen Yi, I shall plant myself in front of the Great Hall of the People, and you'll have to walk over my body to get at him.' In actual fact, people

other than hooligans were trying to get at Chen and, through him, Chou En-lai. Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta had found Chou a stumbling-block in their way of getting to top posts in the Party and government. Moreover, Chang Chun-chiao's scheme of setting up a Shanghai commune had just been frustrated by Chou, with the support of Chairman Mao.

January Storm

The January Storm in Shanghai in 1967 was a fine example of the working class taking over power from a handful of capitalist-roaders who practised economism in an attempt to undermine the Cultural Revolution. Chang Chun-chiao was first opposed to the workers' move. When he learned later that Chairman Mao was with it, however, he immediately turned around and set himself up as leader of the 'January Revolution'. This, according to him, began a new era and out-ranked in importance even China's Liberation in 1949 and the smashing of the Chiang Kai-shek regime. Class relations in China had changed, he insisted. To match this 'importance', he set up the first city commune in Shanghai and began to boast about 'Chang Chun-chiao thought' as 'the fourth milestone of Marxism'. But with Chairman Mao's support, Premier Chou pointed out to Chang that the objective of the January Storm, like that of the Cultural Revolution of which it was a part, was to seize power from a handful of capitalist roaders. It could not mean and never was a change of regimes, nor the smashing of an old regime to give way to a new one. Having failed to obtain Chairman Mao's approval, the proposed commune was set aside. Weeks later, following the example of some provinces, a revolutionary committee was set up with the participation of revolutionary leading cadres and army representatives as well as young rebels. Chang Chun-chiao's original scheme was obviously based on the reactionary concept of 'suspecting all and pulling down everyone', which, though censured yet again, still persisted.

The meteoric rise of Wang Hung-wen began in the January Storm of 1967. Vague hints were made at the time about his going against the tide, but what tide and how? In fact his real role in the January Storm in Shanghai was never clearly spelled out until recently. According to big-character posters put up during the past few months at the No. 17 National Cotton Mill in Shanghai, where he was a worker after his demobilization from the

army and later became a member of the factory security section, he seemed to suddenly become politically active towards the end of 1966, and his power base was a fraternity of sworn brothers he had managed to gather, and organized more or less on the pattern of the old Shanghai underworld. At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, he tried to ingratiate himself with the work team sent by the original Municipal Party Committee, hoping that they would make him the head of the Cultural Revolution team of his factory. When the work team gave the job to some one else in the factory, he turned against them and he and his fraternity declared themselves 'rebels'. On the eve of the seizure of power by the Shanghai rebel workers, Wang Hung-wen got himself elected deputy commander of the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters by flaunting his qualifications of being a 'demobilized armyman', 'factory security cadre' and 'member of the Communist Party' and promising to bring 3,000 men from his factory to the inauguration of the Rebel General Headquarters, a promise which he never kept. Obviously when Chang Chun-chiao decided to switch his support to the workers' side, he found in Wang and his fraternity a useful ally and immediately put them under his wing.

First Attack on Taching

Among the numerous manifestations of the concept of 'suspecting all and pulling down everyone' was what happened in Taching in 1967. A group of young 'rebels' from Peking came to this by then world re-nowned oilfield, ostensibly 'to learn from Taching'. After going through the motions of 'investigating the situation' there, they charged that Taching was inspired not by the thought of Mao Tsetung, but by the revisionism of Liu Shao-chi. They denounced Wang Chin-hsi, an oil worker who had risen from the rank-and-file to become the leading spirit of China's biggest oilfield, as a shady character with a questionable history.

Later on another group came from Peking to call an accusation meeting of workers, and charges were hurled at Wang Chin-hsi and the Taching leadership. Some-one shouted at Wang: 'You're not a man of iron (for that was what he had come to be called throughout the country because of his undaunted spirit). You're a man of mud.' Wang raised his head and replied: 'Whether I'm a man of iron or of mud doesn't matter. What matters is

whether Taching is a white banner or a red banner.' He then went on to review the history of Taching since its earliest days, and in a resolute voice he declared: 'Taching belongs to the 700 million people of China. All its successes have been victories for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Whoever tries to topple this red banner will be smashed.'

Such repeated attempts to run Taching down were obviously in line with Lin Piao's designs to oust Premier Chou whom he considered a stumbling-block to his taking over Party and state. But such attempts can also be traced to the Gang of Four, or at least to Chang Chun-chiao, their foremost schemer. For he was known to have said openly that Wang Chin-hsi could no longer be a revolutionary with the position and fame he had won. 'The privileged,' he said 'cannot have any desire for revolution; Wang can only transform himself into his opposite now.' The implication of this statement went much further than any single man. Chang was actually hinting that all those who had reached a high position in the Party would ipso facto turn revisionist. Here one sees a variation of the 'suspect all—pull down everyone' concept and also the beginning of what he was to advocate later—the theory that at least 75 per cent of leading cadres are bourgeois democrats and therefore necessarily capitalist roaders.

'Armed Struggles'

It was also in early 1967, after the nationwide movement to seize power was launched, that factionalism began to appear and violent struggles among the masses began to break out. In a sense it was probably unavoidable that heated debates among young people holding different views would at least in some cases develop into scuffles. But since Chairman Mao had made it very explicit that no violence would be condoned, it was up to the leaders in the Cultural Revolution team to do all in their power to discourage violence from the outset. Nevertheless, even at a time when violence was far from widespread, Chiang Ching chose to come up with the principle of 'using reasoning in attack and violence in defence'. Anyone could see that this was a dangerous proposition. In the first place it made no distinction whatsoever between the social classes involved or the difference between right and wrong. In the second place it was couched in such vague terms that it could

lend itself to all sorts of interpretation and pave the way for further and fiercer violence.

It is true that Marxists have never denied the importance of revolutionary violence. Revolution is violence. But for Marxists violence on the part of the revolutionary people should be used only against the enemy and not among themselves. Chiang Ching's woolly rhetoric, however, merely escalated factionalism and violence among the revolutionary masses. This escalation only benefited the enemies of the Cultural Revolution and made broad revolutionary unity impossible. Thus the forming of revolutionary committees at all levels was retarded. When factionalism and violence spread from schools into factories, even production broke down, and in some places equipment and products were smashed up. Because of such disturbances, industrial production suffered some reverses in 1967 and 1968.

Behind Chiang Ching's advocacy for violence was a sinister motive. The Gang of Four was obviously aware of their own weakness—the army was not in their hands. In spite of their alliance with Lin Piao, they knew that they could not go very far without the armed forces they could rely upon. The call for 'dragging out a handful in the army' was first heard in the middle of 1967. Its origin was traced to Wang Li, then much later to Chen Po-ta. But this was certainly connected with Chiang Ching's call for 'defence by violence'. While talk about 'dragging out a handful in the army' was being broadcast around, on July 31 Chang Chun-chiao circulated a proposal on the question of the so-called Shanghai workers' demand for a 'defence-by-violence organization'. He alleged that the proposal had been drawn up by him after hearing Chairman Mao talk about reforming the militia, and that it had been approved by the Chairman himself. With this he began to set up his 'reasoning in attack and violence in defence' contingents. Wang Hung-wen boasted that his militia ought to take over from public security departments and become the main agency in charge of law and order. Later he was to openly advocate a 'second armed forces headquarters' under Chang Chun-chiao and himself.

Greater Unity and Victories

Despite interference by Lin Piao and the Gang of Four, the setting up of revolutionary committees on the basis of the three-in-one combination (revolutionary cadres, army and

rebels) and the combination of old, middle-aged and young was finally completed by September 5, 1968. This was followed by Chairman Mao's directive on struggle-criticism-transformation. In-fighting in universities and schools had come to an end with the introduction of Workers' Mao Tsetung Thought Propaganda Teams, who now took a leading role in struggle-criticism-transformation activities in educational institutes. Responding to Chairman Mao's call, young people began to settle in the countryside and border regions. Cadres renewed their links with the working people by spending some time at May 7 cadre schools.

The 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee was held from August 13 to 31 that year, and Liu Shao-chi, who had been criticized in the press as China's Khrushchov, was officially expelled from the Party. The proletarian policy of uniting with the great majority, including the children of denounced cadres and members of the enemy classes, was given emphasis.

With the whole country aroused by the Soviet invasion of China's Chenpao Island in the Northeast, the Ninth Party Congress took place in Peking in April 1969. The enthusiasm awakened by Chairman Mao at the congress for unity and victory was marred by Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta. They put forward a draft political report incorporating an earlier thesis devised by Liu Shao-chi that the main contradiction lay between advanced production relations and lagging productive forces. The draft was rejected by the Party Central Committee and Lin Piao reluctantly agreed to read another report drafted by its own appointed committee.

The successful conclusion of the congress heightened people's enthusiasm for new unity and new victories. The 'liberation' of cadres soon got underway. Criticism of revisionism was launched. Chairman Mao's principle of 'grasping revolution, promoting production' was emphasized once again, and the question of industrialization and the mechanization of agriculture returned to the agenda. Chairman Mao's directives on the transformation of intellectuals and the establishing of socialist institutes of higher learning were circulated. In July 1970, it was announced that university students were to be enrolled again for the first time since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. According to regulations announced at that time, an applicant has to spend at

least two years as a worker, peasant or soldier, and be recommended by his superior with the approval of his fellow workers. He has also to go through appropriate tests for ascertaining his cultural level.

The Cultural Revolution had won a decisive victory and seemed to be entering a period of relative stability. With the programme of struggle-criticism-transformation, the revolution in education which began with the Cultural Revolution was now being consolidated, and its results institutionalized, to bring up a new generation of workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. Industrial and agricultural development was to be put into higher gear, and research by scientists both in laboratories and in collaboration with grass-root research workers among the labouring people was to be encouraged. Continuing to grasp revolution, the nation was poised for a leap forward in socialist construction.

The Lin Piao Debacle

In this new situation, Lin Piao began to feel the ground slip from under his feet. He felt that time was against him and he had to seize power now if he was ever to succeed. In September 1970 he took the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Party Central Committee by complete surprise by delivering a report on the question of 'geniuses'. The session had been called to discuss the convocation of the Fourth National Congress and the draft of a new Constitution to be submitted to the Congress. At Chairman Mao's recommendation, the office of Chairman of the People's Republic of China, which had been held first by Mao and later Liu Shao-chi, was to be abolished. To this, Lin and his handful of henchmen in the top Party leadership took strong exception. Lin wanted that office badly and refused to see himself deprived of such a position and all the power which would go with it. For his report on the question of 'geniuses', in fact the theory on which he based his claim to the office of head of state, Lin was criticized by Chairman Mao and a number of other Central Committee members. Chairman Mao was determined to help Lin see his own mistake and be won over to the position of the majority in the Central Committee.

But Lin was adamant. He refused to listen to Chairman Mao's or anybody else's arguments. Instead, he went on to scheme with

his handful of sworn followers, putting together the notorious 'Outline of the 571 Project', a blueprint for armed take-over of the Party and government, including even the assassination of Chairman Mao. The attempt was foiled, however, even before it was launched, and Lin and his closest followers fled the country in a Trident on September 13, 1971, in the direction of the Soviet Union. They were only 200 kilometres inside Outer Mongolia when their plane crashed, killing all on board.

Though the whole country was told of Lin Piao's attempted coup and his death in the air crash soon after the event, criticism of him in the press specified no one by name. 'Political swindlers like Liu Shao-chi' were criticized for their apriorism, and people were exhorted to give full play to the fine revolutionary style of political study closely integrated with practice. They were asked to study Chairman Mao's 'On Practice'. The criteria by which one can distinguish between genuine and pseudo-Marxists was summarized by Chairman Mao in the 'three do's and three don'ts': 'Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and above-board, and don't intrigue and conspire.' 'Political swindlers like Liu Shao-chi' were criticized for divorcing politics from practical work, and theory from practice. Their assertion that 'it is all right for politics to sweep aside practical work' was vehemently denounced. The correct relations between agriculture and light and heavy industry once again received attention. The stereotyped literary style spread by Lin Piao, again without naming names, was to be set right. Modernization was put on the agenda for the first time in years. To bring the intellectuals' initiative into full play, correct implementation of the Party's policy towards them was urged. Cadres were exhorted to carry on the revolution, work for progress and evaluate themselves in an objective way.

Temporary Eclipse

Many of these points were similar to those made now in relation to the Gang of Four. And one can well imagine the predicament the four were in at that time, particularly because their close relations with Lin Piao, including Chiang Ching's personal association with Lin and his wife, were pretty well known. And in the early seventies after the exposure of Lin, one did somehow feel that the four were going through a political eclipse. They were less

in the public eye and made less noise. But they did not completely fade from the picture. The downfall of Chen Po-ta and Wang Li left them in control of some of the most sensitive of the media, including the Party journal *Red Flag*. Chiang still had a great deal of pull in the field of literature and art, and the four were building up their power base in universities and schools. In the autumn of 1971, Yao Wen-yuan was powerful enough to suppress an editorial on the mechanization of agriculture. This had been written for the *People's Daily* following the trend of thinking revealed at a national congress on that subject convened by the State Council under instructions from the Party Central Committee.

But even in those fields they had come under pressure. In 1972 Chairman Mao added his support to the growing general dissatisfaction with the scarcity of theatrical works. In talking to an actor he said there had been too few of those works and it was necessary to make the stage blossom anew.

At a meeting with film workers, Premier Chou said: 'The masses have been complaining that there are too few films . . . Right they are. This has not only been true with films, but also in publishing . . . The masses have an urgent desire for films and books, but have been given too few . . . We must give them new revolutionary works.'

Scientific Research in Universities

The importance of basic theoretical research in the natural sciences, a department which had been ignored because of the strait-jacket put on institutes concerned by Lin Piao's followers, was raised once again by Premier Chou En-lai in 1970 and, after the death of Lin Piao, in 1972. In that year, Professor Yang Chen-ning visited China and suggested to Peking University and the Institute of Physics of the Academy of Sciences that study and research should be promoted in the field of basic theory. After a meeting with Yang on July 14, the Premier said: 'Yang Chen-ning was very straightforward. Chairman Mao thought highly of him after reading the minutes of his talks.' The Premier then said to Professor Chou Pei-yuan, China's leading physicist and Vice-Chairman of the Peking University revolutionary committee: 'Build up your university's science departments and raise the level of basic theoretical research. This is a task I am entrusting

you with. If there are any snags, push them aside; any obstacles, remove them.' Based on this instruction, a project to strengthen basic theoretical research and teaching in Peking and Tsinghua Universities was drafted and submitted to the Premier. On November 8 he returned the document with the comment: 'Revise this document carefully . . . with due regard to the respective characteristics of the two universities. Present it to the faculties and to new and old students for serious discussion. Then submit it for scrutiny to the scientific education section (of the State Council) before sending it on to me.' Following his instruction, a project was finally drawn up and submitted to the State Council. Though the Gang of Four were able to make a great deal of hullabaloo against the project, they were compelled to have Chou Pei-yuan's article on the revolution in scientific education in comprehensive universities published in the *Guangming Daily* on October 6.

Blank Examination Paper

Chang Chun-chiao felt strongly about the shameful end of Lin Piao. He lamented that whatever power they had gained in collaboration with Lin was now completely lost. There would have to be a second seizure of power, he told his confidants. Though their all-out attempt to seize back power did not start until 1974 in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, initial skirmishes took place in the summer of 1973, again in the field of education.

In April 1973 the State Council pointed out in a circular on the 1973 enrolment of university and college students: the principle of enrolling outstanding workers, peasants and soldiers with two years of practical experience, and the principle of having the masses review and recommend every candidate must be strictly adhered to. On the basis of political qualification, the candidate's cultural level should also be taken into careful consideration. For that purpose, a candidate must go through cultural tests in order to have his level of basic knowledge and his ability to analyse and solve problems ascertained. But at the same time measures must be taken to avoid 'putting marks in command'. This was actually a re-iteration of general principles laid down for the first post-Cultural Revolution enrolment in 1970.

One of the Gang of Four's henchmen in Liaoning was touched to the quick and react-

ed vehemently. (In the Chinese press his name was withheld, obviously out of the respect for the Chinese principle of pre-judging none of the top villains' followers until his degree of involvement is fully revealed. For convenience's sake let us call him L.) He immediately went to Peking where he closeted himself in with a sworn follower of the Gang of Four at one of the universities. Upon his return to Liaoning, he declared: 'They can go ahead with their cultural tests, but I reserve my right to criticize.'

Hsingcheng was one of the places in Liaoning where a pilot set of cultural tests was held. Candidates were allowed to refer to books and questions were in no way designed to catch them out. But even before the results were known, L began to castigate the tests as 'an attempt at retaliation by the bourgeoisie'. In Peking Chang Chun-chiao echoed that the tests would close the doors to youths for whom the proletariat holds out great hopes and heighten the expectation of the revisionists. On July 10, at a briefing session on cultural tests, the case of Chang Tieh-sheng, a production team leader of a commune at Hsingcheng, was brought up. Chang was

said to have turned in a blank paper with a letter addressed to 'the leadership.' L jumped at it. He ordered the paper and letter to be sent to the *Liaoning Daily* for publication under an editor's note, eulogizing the young man for his spirit of 'going against the tide'.

But when the final copy for publication was in, it must have been disappointing to L. Chang's father was a small-time capitalist of dubious political and historical background, and Chang himself was so anxious to be enrolled that he had tried pulling every string available to him. Even his letter to the 'respected leadership' concludes with the following: 'I do hope consideration will be given to me as a production team leader that I am, that I may realize my heart's desire and ideal.' Blind with a desire to hurl this young man at the State Council, L crossed out this last sentence in the letter and inserted into the editor's note the remark that 'no political or historical problems have been found' among Chang's family members and their social contacts.

Thus expunged of incriminating remarks, the letter, along with the editor's note, was published in the *Liaoning Daily* on July 19 and reproduced the following day in the *Peo-*

Ten Counter-accusations

When criticizing the film based on Taching Oilfield—The Pioneers—Chiang Ching and her cronies levelled at the film 'ten accusations'. Recently at the National Conference on Learning from Taching in Industry, Vice-Premier Yu Chiu-li brought upon the Gang of Four also ten accusations. They are, in his words:

(1) They viciously attacked Taching's basic experience of getting things going with Chairman Mao's two theses and opposed the application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the industrial front. Chairman Mao's brilliant works, 'On Practice' and 'On Contradiction', are scientific summaries of the experience of the Chinese people's protracted revolutionary struggle, a development of Marxist philosophy and an important theoretical basis on which our Party shapes its line, principles and policies. If the Taching workers, with just the blue sky over their heads and the grasslands under their feet, had not armed themselves with the dialectical and historical materialist world outlook of the proletariat in changing the world, could they have overcome so many difficulties and opened such a big oilfield at such unusually high speed? If

Taching had not used Mao Tsetung Thought to build up a revolutionized contingent of the 'Iron Man' type, could it have withstood the storms and won one victory after another in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines? By opposing Taching's experience of getting things going by studying Chairman Mao's two theses, the Gang of Four attempted to tear down the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and confuse people's thinking with their idealist and metaphysical nonsense so as to push their ultra-Right counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

(2) They tampered with the Party's basic line and opposed deep-going education in this line on the industrial front. Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism, put forward the great theory of

ple's Daily in Peking. Chang was not only admitted to an agricultural college in Liaoning, but also appointed to its revolutionary committee. He became an overnight celebrity as 'the candidate who turned in a blank paper'. To be exact even that is a misnomer. For in that science paper, he did in fact answer six of the minor questions in the chemistry section and got six marks out of a possible hundred. In the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and that of fighting back at attempts to reverse correct verdicts, Chang was to become the Gang of Four's chief loudspeaker when they challenged the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line at every turn.

Later in the year, a teenage girl student was set up by Chiang Ching's No. 1 errand woman to stir up teacher-student confrontation, eliminate all discipline and make the normal holding of classes impossible. Chaos and even destruction began to spread through schools and colleges.

Going Against the Tide

There was no lack of people who deliberately went against the tide to criticize the

continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and formulated the basic line for our Party, which is the life-line for all our work. Betraying the Party's basic line, the Gang of Four brazenly slandered education in the basic line as 'criticism of the petty bourgeoisie by the big bourgeoisie' and slandered Taching's class education in the basic line which contrasts past bitterness with today's happiness as 'vulgarization' and 'outdated'. They deliberately distorted the principal contradiction during the historical period of socialism, turned things upside down as to the relations between the enemy and ourselves, set as target of their 'revolution' to be overthrown leading cadres at various levels who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and incited landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and old and new bourgeois elements to rebel against the proletariat in an attempt to topple the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

(3) They formed a bourgeois factionalist set-up, ganging together to pursue their own interests and usurp supreme leadership of the Party. They tried everything in their power to undermine the Party's centralized leadership

Gang of Four for their evil-doing. In the case of the teenage girl mentioned above for example, three young men working in a regimental political department of the Inner Mongolian Construction Corps wrote a letter to the girl warning her that others might be using her for their ulterior motives. The three armymen pointed out to her that teachers and students are comrades in revolution. They ought to help each other make mutual political and ideological progress and not wrangle over minor matters. This angered Chiang Ching's errand woman so much that, with Chiang's support, she had a letter written in the young girl's name, accusing the three of being spokesmen for counter-revolutionary restorationists. On Chiang's instructions, the ghost-written letter was published but not the letter by the three. It was stressed in an accompanying headline that the three were members of an Inner Mongolian Construction Corps unit. Pressure was also put on the unit and the local public security department to prosecute the three. But these local units, with the support of the people there, refused to take any action against the three. In fact the young girl also received many similar letters from old workers in Peking, asking her to beware of any malicious manipulation.

and incite people to 'kick aside' the Party committees to make revolution' at Taching and elsewhere in the country. But for the Communist Party, there would have been no new China and no victory for socialism, and we would have nothing. If the Party were kicked aside, where would the revolution be! Their 'revolution' was counter-revolution, which meant overthrowing the Communist Party and placing themselves in its stead. If this sinister gang of counter-revolutionaries came to power, it would mean the Kuomintang reactionaries and fascists coming to power, and our country would change its political colour and turn into a colony of social-imperialism and imperialism, and the labouring people would be again thrown into the abyss of misery.

(4) They opposed reliance on the working class and incited bourgeois factionalism so as to split the ranks of the working class. They slandered as a 'political pick-pocket' the 'Iron Man' Comrade Wang Chin-hsi, a vanguard fighter of the Chinese working class who dedicated his whole life to the revolution with boundless devotion. They labelled as 'people with vested interests' and 'forces for restoration' heroes and model workers in

Between July 1973 and August 1975, Chu Ching-to, an actor and martial arts instructor with the Shanghai Chekiang Opera Theatre wrote three letters to Chairman Mao charging Chang Chun-chiao with maligning Chen Yi behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. In the last two of the three letters he denounced Chang Chun-chiao for not being open and above-board, for hiding the true state-of-affairs in the Shanghai militia from the Central Committee, for being deceitful, and for being implicated in Lin Piao's restorationist plot. Public security personnel ordered to arrest and investigate Chu insisted that Chu's was not a case of contradictions between the people and the enemy and that he should be released forthwith.

Lin Piao and Confucius

At the beginning of 1974, a few months after the Tenth Party Congress, the Gang of Four became increasingly dissatisfied with the rehabilitation of large numbers of cadres loyal to Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line, and their own failure to nominate many of their cronies to the Central Committee. They saw Premier Chou's failing health and

Taching and other sectors of the country's industry known for their great contributions to the socialist revolution and construction. They tried in every way to discredit all advanced units and individuals who had been commended by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. On the other hand, they honoured ruffraff, bullies, embezzlers, grafters, people guilty of beating, smashing and looting and new counter-revolutionaries.

(5) They brandished the cudgel of the 'theory of productive forces' everywhere to oppose building socialism with energetic efforts. Not knowing how to work a machine, grow a crop or fight a battle but being masters at sucking the blood of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, they had the impudence to slander Taching, which had made great contributions and performed outstanding deeds for the proletariat, as a 'sinister example in following the theory of productive forces.' They slandered workers throughout the country who persisted in grasping revolution and promoting production as 'working to lay the foundations for capitalism.' In so doing they aimed to sabotage the socialist economy and undermine the material basis of

Chairman Mao's ageing as an opportunity for seizing greater power again, and in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they directed the criticism at Premier Chou and other members of the Political Bureau instead of at either of the supposed targets.

On January 24 and 25, they called two separate meetings of military and civilian personnel in Peking without consulting Chairman Mao or the Political Bureau. At the meetings, Chiang Ching was repeatedly lauded by her two lieutenants. Material presented for criticism was said to be compiled entirely under the 'direct concern' and 'concrete guidance' of 'Comrade Chiang', whose name came up again and again in the speeches. To criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, they added criticism of using personal relations for private advantages. The latter should be criticized. But treating it on a par with Lin Piao and Confucius would be tantamount to assigning large numbers of cadres to the enemy camp and summarily pushing them aside. The Gang made no secret of their attack being primarily directed against the army. They talked about blazing trails into the army and sending men like Yang Tsu-jung (a PLA hero in a Peking opera who penetrates

the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(6) They opposed the establishment and improvement of rational rules and regulations in socialist enterprises and smeared Taching as a 'typical example in controlling, checking and suppressing the workers.' Chang Chun-chiao went so far as to equate the rules and regulations which the workers consciously observed with the feudal yoke which the landlords used to oppress the peasants. He yelled: 'Taching's system of personal responsibility is no innovation at all. When Wang Hsi-feng straightened up Takuan yuan she was introducing a system of personal responsibility for the women servants and handmaids.'*

(7) They opposed Taching's revolutionary style of being honest and strict, denigrating it as 'imposing spiritual fetters' and 'practising

* Chang Chun-chiao was alluding to an episode in the classical Chinese novel *Dream of the Red Chamber*, in which Wang Hsi-feng, the young lady who manages her father-in-law's manor-house and the huge garden Takuan yuan attached to it, allotted specific responsibilities to each and every servant, maid or slave-girl to put the household back in order. In this way Chang was trying to insinuate that Taching's management was similar to the management of a feudal household.

a Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang to collect information and pave the way for a PLA raid on the gang) into different army units! A number of instructions were sent out by Chiang Ching, some of which even suggested 'trail-blazing' into the PLA General Staff!

Chairman Mao soon learned about their activities. Charging that 'metaphysics, one-sidedness, is rampant', he stopped the planned distribution of a tape made at the January 25 meeting. On March 20 he criticized Chiang Ching for her failure to carry out instructions and her amassing of special privileges. At the Political Bureau meeting on July 17, Chairman Mao warned the Gang of Four: 'You'd better be careful, don't let yourselves become a small faction of four.'

At the same time, the media under their control, and *Red Flag* in particular, under the pretext of criticizing Confucius published a number of historical articles in reality directed against Premier Chou En-lai. Not long after the Tenth Party Congress there was an article published criticizing a prime minister who served under Chin Shih-Huang-Ti and was later forced to commit suicide, calling him an eclectic. It pleased Chiang Ching a

slavishness.' By opposing Taching's 'three rules for being honest', they were encouraging lying, double-dealing, conspiring and intriguing. In opposing Taching's 'four regulations for being strict', they aimed to sabotage the revolutionary discipline of the proletariat so that they themselves could do as they wished. Didn't Lin Piao say that 'without telling lies one cannot achieve great things'? The Gang of Four and Lin Piao were of the same stock.

(8) They opposed socialist accumulation and slandered fulfilment of the task for handing in financial returns according to the state plan as 'putting profit in command.' Without accumulation there could be no expanded reproduction and development of socialist undertakings. The Gang of Four deliberately blurred the demarcation between socialist accumulation and the capitalist practice of putting profit in command, confused people and caused many enterprises to run at a loss for years on end, all for the purpose of dissipating the wealth of our socialist country.

(9) They propagated such reactionary slogans as 'We prefer workers without culture' and opposed people becoming both red and

great deal. She called for further criticism of 'Confucian prime ministers' and 'the great Confucian of the present time'. Thus a string of prime ministers during the Han and earlier dynasties came under fire. Confucius was criticized as a prime minister, though only an acting one. The Lord of Chou, first prime minister of the Chou dynasty, was not spared either. This ancient statesman lived some 800 years before Confucius and from a historical point of view was considered a progressive. He helped found the centralized Kingdom of Chou which formed the core of a network of alliances and laid the basis of China's eventual unification. That Confucius should preach restoration of rites formulated by this Lord of Chou cannot be blamed upon him. After all he could not have suspected that 800 years later some one would try to apply a set of rites and regulations he drew up to strengthen the kingdom he helped found and later governed. Strictly speaking Chi was his surname, but unfortunately he had the character Chou in his title, and so had to be 'bombarded'. For Chiang Ching was hardly concerned with historical truth.

Two Empresses

In the same vein, Chiang Ching's scribes

expert and training the proletariat's own experts. It would be impossible to realize the four modernizations and build our country into a powerful socialist state without a high degree of political consciousness, a developed culture and a mammoth army of proletarian scientific and technical personnel. The Gang of Four tried to dampen the enthusiasm of the masses of cadres, workers and technicians to study politics, raise their educational level and learn professional skills and techniques for the revolution. Their purpose was to turn our country back to a state of ignorance and backwardness so that they, the 'standard-bearers' with 'culture', could ride roughshod over the labouring people.

(10) They slandered the stipulations of our proletarian state on strengthening planned management as 'revisionist decrees' and tried their utmost to oppose socialist economic planning. Those regions and departments under their control went their own way without restraint in production, recruiting workers, exchanging products, fixing prices and starting construction projects, which greatly intensified the spread of capitalism and crippled our socialist economy.

lavished praise upon Empress Lu, wife of Liu Pang, the first emperor of Han. This schemer of a woman was said to be a Legalist who succeeded to her husband's throne and upheld his Legalist policies. In actual fact she was only manoeuvring to put her brothers and nephews into important military positions, thereby acquiring the empire for her own clan. In the end this landed her in trouble with her husband's former lieutenants who restored the empire to the Liu family. Chiang Ching of course chose to ignore the last days of Empress Lu's reign. But again truth was none of her concern. Historical facts were considered only in so far as they could be distorted to strengthen her claim to the country's top position.

As if Empress Lu was not enough to back up Chiang Ching's claim to the 'throne' (she actually said that there would be 'empresses' even in a socialist society). Empress Wu was also added to the list by Chiang Ching's scribes—among them Liang Hsiao, the pseudonym for a group of writers recruited by the Gang of Four from among the faculties of Peking and Tsinghua Universities. Wu was a minor concubine of the founder of the Tang dynasty, Emperor Tai Tsung. After his death, his son, Emperor Kao Tsung, was so captivated by this woman, who was actually five years his senior, that he made her his Empress in complete disregard of the opposition of at least two of his prime ministers (during the Tang dynasty there were usually three or more prime ministers at any time forming a council under the emperor). Being of indifferent health and mentally a weakling of an emperor, he soon handed over the reins of the state to his wife. After his death, she pushed aside her two sons to proclaim herself 'Emperor'. She was a capable woman and her dynasty thrived under her reign (Chiang Ching has actually pitifully little to compare to her in this respect). But she was also known for her cruelty, vindictiveness and tyranny. She put to death all those who were opposed to her or even so much as criticized her, including her own son, grandson, granddaughter and the empress she had displaced. Moreover she never forgave the two prime ministers who advised her husband against making her empress. Under Liang Hsiao's pen, however, Empress Wu became an entirely different woman. Both she and her husband were said to be anti-Confucian Legalists and because of his 'old age' he ceded power to his wife so she could carry on his 'Legalist line'. (At that time the emperor was

actually 33 and his wife 38!) The two prime ministers, whom she put to death, were accused by Liang Hsiao of being Confucian, though they had been trusted prime ministers of Emperor Tai Tsung whom Liang exalted as a 'Legalist emperor'! The motive behind such historical distortion was only too obvious.

The Battle of the Hsishas

Also during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the Gang of Four, as part of their attempt at seizing power, spread their tentacles out towards the navy. Their interest in it had begun much earlier. In the years 1964-1971 Chiang Ching paid three visits to the naval forces on Hainan. While there she acted as if she were over-all commander of the Liberation Army, and on each different occasion wore either an army or navy or airforce uniform. She and her gang visited army and naval commands, spoke at meetings, and brought reference materials for the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, maintaining a constant battery of attacks against Premier Chou and other leaders of the Party Central Committee.

In January 1974 the armed forces, fishermen and militiamen on the Hsisha Islands in the South China Sea warded off invading forces of the Saigon regime and recovered the three islands of Kanchuan, Shanhu and Chinyin. The combined Chinese forces were highly commended by the State Council and the Party Military Commission on January 23 for their victorious operations. Five days later, without the knowledge of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, Chiang Ching sent the Hsisha forces a 'letter of congratulation' in her name. Without a single word about the leading role played by the Party Central Committee and the Party Military Commission in the battle of the Hsishas, nor their concern over it, Chiang Ching tried to set herself up as the sole leader in the Party Central Committee preoccupied with the forces on the Hsishas. As if this were not enough, she sent a 'representative' of hers to the Hsishas to 'greet' the military and civilians on the front. When the 'representative' arrived in Kwangchow, he took the Kwangchow command headquarters to task for failing to hold a big meeting in acclamation of Chiang Ching's letter. 'This is a matter of your attitude towards a leader in the Central Committee,' he lectured the commanding officers. Once on the Hsishas, he patted everyone on the back and offered them Chiang Ching's warm regards.

Painters in China Today

Han Suyin

X is a painter who incurred the displeasure of Chiang Ching about three years ago, by painting a bird which she denounced as 'lugubrious and cynical'. She deemed it insulting to herself and 'who insults me insults the Party.' This was the way she proceeded to harass and persecute all those she did not like; and since she seems to have had a persecution complex, no one knew when she would fix a baleful eye on a person and declare loudly: 'This is not a good person.' Upon which, immediately, the unlucky man or woman was harassed by an 'investigation team.'

So X was held in custody, not in a jail, but in a room in the Art Institute where he taught

painting, while the investigation team interrogated him. 'Why did you paint this bird? What was your hidden intention? Who instigated you to paint this bird?' 'They were always looking for someone behind the scenes,' says X. 'They wanted us to denounce someone higher up; and by that they meant one of the old, able administrators around Chou En-lai. The Gang of Four's campaign in art and literature, which devastated these sectors in the last five years, were really aimed at denouncing Chou En-lai and the older cadres, especially the Long Marchers, as 'capitalist roaders'.

'But my friends all stuck by me. They

However, his real task was to return to Peking with a 'poem reportage', a term he had racked his brain to coin. The word 'reportage' would vouch for the 'truth' of what he wrote, whilst 'poem' would give the author a great deal of licence. The result was a sickening adulation of Chiang Ching. A photograph taken by Chiang and reproduced on a calendar became a 'silent order' and a 'spiritual atom bomb' which a captain gazed at for encouragement before he gave the order: 'Fire!' and which inspired his men to disregard all perils. There was also a sea breeze which brought a resounding voice bidding the men to 'throw out all invaders'—a remark said to have been made by Chiang Ching some four years ago when she visited Hainan. The 'poem reportage', was dragged out into almost a thousand lines, published in newspapers and printed in beautifully bound pamphlets to be circulated inside and outside China. Had it not been for the serious nature of what the Gang of Four set out to achieve, the whole episode, including the 'poem reportage', could have been treated as a bad joke.

The Feng Qing

On May Day 1974 the 10,000-ton freighter Feng Qing, built at a Shanghai shipyard, sailed for Europe. Her 32,000-mile voyage took her across the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans

before she returned to Shanghai 150 days later on the eve of China's National Day. This was not the first time that a 10,000-ton class ship built in China had crossed the oceans. For two years such ships had sailed across the seas to Canada and West Africa, yet the Gang of Four had shown not a single trace of interest in them. Nevertheless, when the Feng Qing returned, Chang Chun-chiao ordered there to be a rousing welcome and lengthy stories in the newspapers. One did not have to look very far for the motivation of this sudden enthusiasm. The press was full of stories blowing up certain differences the shipping company had had with the shipyard, slandering the former for 'worshipping foreign things', and at the same time hinting there were very important people behind the shipping company. It was then that the Fourth National People's Congress was about to be convened. Obviously to bag most of the important posts, the Gang of Four had decided they needed something which they could throw at Premier Chou and his faithful lieutenants, and the Feng Qing was precisely that. But as it turned out, in spite of all the dust they had kicked up, they failed miserably to blind any one.

Lee Tsung-ying

(To be continued in our next issue)