

# China's Press Reveals That... Factional Squabbles Dominate Country's Leadership

China's leadership is in turmoil, a fact revealed by the recent appearance of scores of articles in the country's press which are clearly factional documents. The Chinese population, and foreign analysts, have been exposed to a feast of articles telling at least some of the gruesome realities of the last 10 years of Mao's rule, as well as revelations of disagreements and debates in the new leadership. Yet, these articles rely on Maoist style of hyping the population. More important, China's foreign policy continues to center on hysterical attacks on the Soviet Union.

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## CHINA

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The peremptory arrest of Mao's widow and her three closest collaborators in the Politburo, the "gang of four", and the reinstatement of Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping last August, should have cleared the way for the new leadership to tackle the mess Mao and his 'gang' created in the economy, science, education, and culture.

But despite the appearance of stability at the top, the recent spate of articles betray dozens of personal power plays. Younger men are vying for positions while the old guard of septagenarians is involved in their own scuffles and power grabs. Mixed in with these squabbles are multifarious disputes over the allocation of limited national resources to defense, industry, agriculture, and of disagreement on how to mobilize the population behind whatever policies are chosen. It is clear that all of these articles are factionally motivated, but it is not yet clear exactly what the factions are, or who is in them.

The excerpts below reveal the larger goals of expunging the Maoist mode: launching a major export drive, revitalizing the press and making it readable by downgrading the use of Maoist phraseology, and allowing much greater freedom in science and culture. Though the sentiments are laudable, the obstacles are mammoth, and the proposals are clearly inadequate to the task they pose.

### China's Economy

*In the first article excerpted below, the degree of breakdown of economic life under the Maoists is revealed, as well as the measures which are an attempt to deal with that breakdown. Particularly notable is the reference to the high prices for agricultural machinery and low prices for farm products, a classic "scissors*

*crisis." No real solution is presented to this or other problems.*

*The second article lays out for the first time that a crash drive to produce exports is on, auguring a major crunch in items for domestic consumption. The article reveals the leadership's quandary in not wishing to lower consumption, but having little alternative to asking for belt tightening. This is contradicted by the third article's call for frequent increases in peasant living standards — provided they work hard! In the last excerpt, Teng indicates the desire to raise wages and catch up in science.*

*A speech by Vice-Premier Yu Chiu-li at at 4th Session of Standing Committee of 4th National People's Congress on Oct 4.*

Owing to grave interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," there are still many problems in the economy. Some of the proportional relations in the national economy and the normal order of the socialist economy are deranged and these problems cannot be solved within the short space of one year. First, the growth of agriculture and light industry falls short of demand for the country's construction and the people's life. Second, the development of the fuel and power industries and the primary goods industry is not keeping pace with the growth of the whole national economy. Third, consolidation of economic management and the management of enterprises has just begun, and no significant improvement has yet been made as regards the poor quality of products, large consumption of material, low labor productivity, high production cost and the tying up of too much funds, which continue in some of our enterprises. And finally, there are some problems in the people's life....

First, it is necessary to deal relentless blows at the sabotage by class enemies and at embezzlers, grafters, speculators and profiteers. It is necessary to carry out criticism and education concerning capitalist tendencies within the ranks of the people and check them conscientiously... Second, enterprises and communes and production brigades must be consolidated in a down-to-earth way...

(We must determine) whether appropriate rules and regulations are adopted and strictly observed, the organization of the enterprise has been simplified and surplus non-production personnel returned to the work shops, and whether there are significant improvements in fulfilling the eight economic and technical norms, especially those relating to quality, consumption of material, costs and the maintenance of equipment and installation. ...Third, economic work must be consolidated. The crux of the matter is better management

of plans and strengthening the planning of work. The "gang of four" undermined our planned economy so seriously that for the past few years the national economy was in fact developing in a semi-anarchical fashion....

Fourth, great efforts must be made to strengthen the weak links in the national economy. In the first place, agriculture must be strengthened to ensure the fastest rate of increase in the production of grain and economic crops and in diversified economic undertakings. If the agricultural foundation is not solid and firm, industry cannot develop at high speed and the people's livelihood cannot be improved...The emphasis should still be placed on improving soil, building water conservancy projects, applying more fertilizer and breeding of fine strains of seed...We must take all possible measures to increase grain production by a bigger margin every year from now on, so that the needs created by population increase are met and at the same time we can expand the scale of construction, improve the people's livelihood and increase the amount of grain reserves. Farm mechanization must proceed from and conform to the actual local conditions with emphasis on practical results....In line with the spirit of Chairman Hua's instructions, we must give prominence in industry to the power, fuel and raw material industries and communications and transport and develop them vigorously so as to give more effective aid to agriculture and light industry... Fifth, ...increasing the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism (and meeting our goals) demand that we investigate and study a number of important policy matters covering prices, the labor force, wages, energy and the development of new techniques, and solve them step by step. As regards the price policy, we must study and settle the problems flowing from the relatively high prices for certain items in the means of production in agriculture and the relatively low prices of certain farm and sideline products, raw materials and fuel. As for the labor force and wage policy, we must study and settle the problems of how to further implement the principle of over-all planning the proper arrangement, use labor power rationally and raise labor productivity; and how to apply better the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" and to ensure "more pay for more work and less pay for less work" in distribution...

Sixth, efforts must be made to solve some key problems in the people's life which the masses want immediately solved. For office employees and workers in the cities, we should focus our attention on improving collective welfare and the supply of non-staple foods, solving the problem of housing group by group and stage by stage and providing better public utilities...Efforts should be made to improve commercial and service work. For commune peasants the major issue is to solve such problems as increasing production and income and supplying more consumer goods and building materials needed for house construction....

*Article by Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang, "Distinguish Between Right and Wrong in Line and Actively Develop Socialist Foreign Trade," in Oct. Red Flag.*

...To import, we must export a corresponding amount of goods. This is common sense....

We must continue to improve the administrative structure of foreign trade in accordance with the principle of facilitating the application of unified standards in dealing with the outside world....

...Premier Chou said: "Foreign trade must promote domestic trade and production..." foreign trade departments in various localities must closely coordinate with relevant departments in going deep into the spheres of production, in maintaining contacts with the masses, in conducting investigation and study, in participating in production, in doing a great amount of work, and in acquiring abundant experience. For instance, on the basis of international market requirements, they should outline exports categories, assist production departments and rural communes and teams to organize and promote production and handle procurement work well....

Premier Chou said in 1972, "Why can't we let plants with better facilities produce export items?" Practice has shown that doing so will facilitate meeting the requirements of the international market, promoting the sales of commodities of high quality and well-known brands, and stabilizing the supply of export items on a regular basis according to fixed schedules and established norms for quality and quantity....

First, the export of essential supplies having a bearing on the national economy and people's livelihood is to be limited. Second, actively develop the production of these commodities in short supply and earmarked for the domestic market and for export purposes, and set aside a portion for export. Third, commodities that are insignificant in the domestic market may largely be used for export. Implementing this three-prong principle calls for "setting aside" a portion of commodities for export on the basis of developing production. Chairman Mao often pointed out: "We must economize on food and clothing to insure exports, otherwise what little extra we have may be consumed by our 650 million population."...

We must be good at using different products, times and markets in importing and exporting and flexibly use all trading methods under various complicated conditions. Doing business with flexibility is not only the task of the people engaged in foreign affairs but a task shared by various quarters concerned with foreign trade. We must give full rein to the superiority of our socialist system and make an effort to meet Premier Chou's demand to "do every business transaction well."

*People's Daily Oct. 22, "Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Be Sure to Increase Production and Income"*

...Chairman Mao said "We must see to it that, except in case of extraordinary natural disasters, given increased agricultural production, 90 percent of the cooperative members get some increase in their income and the other 10 percent break even each year....

To increase production and income, it is necessary to implement the party's policy and management system for running people's communes and uphold the principles: "To each according to his work, the more one works, the more one gets," and "Those who do not work must not eat."

*Teng Hsiao-ping, in an interview with Claude Roussel, editor of Agence France-Presse, Oct. 21.*

*On wages:* "It is ten years since we increased wages...In future we count on raising wages a little each year."

*On modernizing the economy:* "We have a lot to do in this field...we will introduce advanced foreign techniques... (In science and technology) the gang of four carried out sabotage for 11 or 12 years but the efforts will be felt for 20 or 30 years...."

## China on Education

*China recently announced that all high-school graduates over the last ten years are eligible and encouraged to sit for examinations to enter college. This is an attempt to make up for the virtual cessation of higher education during that period. The two excerpts below reveal the extent of damage done to education, and the necessity of correcting it — but fail to provide a means to rectify the problems identified. No numbers are given, but the number of eligible students must be in the neighborhood of 100 million — for perhaps 200,000 college spots. If only 20 percent of those eligibles apply, there will be one opening for each 100 students!*

*People's Daily article, Oct. 23, by Pien Ku: "Scholastic Examinations Are Very Necessary."*

Profound changes will be occurring in college enrollment procedures. Everyone is elated over this news. With the downfall of the "gang of four" education has a bright future.

(Under the gang,) scholastic exams in college and middle and primary schools were abolished outright or existed only in name... (To determine the extent of damage done by the "gang," tests were recently given in Shanghai) that covered basic knowledge that middle schools students should know. Advance notice and ample time was given to review the lessons. Only a few people scored relatively good results: the scores of the majority were not so ideal. 68 percent flunked mathematics, 70 percent flunked physics and 76 percent flunked chemistry. What was really shocking was that some people could not even answer one question which pertained to their own specialties. They could only turn in blank examination papers. Nobody knows the actual situation when tests are not given, but the results of these tests were indeed shocking...Can we blame these college students for not studying while they were in college? No we can't...As for students who suffered under the gang, we must enthusiastically help them acquire the knowledge which they were unable to attain. They suffered a great deal from the fallacy that "studying is useless"...Now we can see clearly that the sabotage of the "gang" in the educational revolution delayed the training of thousands of young people. This damage is more serious than that caused by the reduction in output of tens of millions of tons of steel....

*Kwangtung Daily editorial on Oct. 21 on selecting students for college enrollment: "Make an All-round Assessment and Select the Best."*

...On the whole, the contingent of scientists,

technicians and other types of qualified persons in our country is still rather small and poor in quality...College enrollment has a direct bearing on the quality of higher specialists trained by universities...When they enroll students this year, the institutes of higher learning should extensively recruit talented people... We are not yet in a position to have universal higher education and we can only select a small number of people to go to college.

## Maoism Gets Backhanded Lashing

*It is impossible to identify factions, but the clear attacks on mindless Maoism and its use in political debates revealed in the excerpts below are definitely part of behind-the-scenes factional maneuvering. The first article by the Army, attacks the destruction of the media by the "gang," and then decries using 'the spirit of so-and-so' to sanction deception. The second article, by a top military man, openly attacks using Maoism as it has been in recent years, and all but calls for its being put on the shelf for ceremonial occasions. The Army has always been mostly anti-Mao. The third article amplifies the same theme, while the fourth calls for greater openness and freedom in the arts and sciences. The fifth, by Teng, indicates the limits on liberalization.*

*Liberation Army Daily editorial's commentary Oct. 18, "Rectify the Style Writing by First Eliminating the Word 'Sham' "*

A major crime of the "gang of four's" stereotyped writing was telling lies. They were dishonest in word and in deed, dished out sham reports, concocted sham typical cases, peddled sham experience, fabricated sham history, and even dared to forge the revolutionary teacher's words...

(Instances of sham news reports were):

...Starting rumors based on nothing but thin air and fabricating facts. A fine, sunny day in a certain place at a certain time in a certain month is arbitrarily defined as "a day with heavy snow falling from the skies." (Etc.) ...Changing the point of view at will...Some journalists "change facts" or change the point of view at random to force objective reality to meet certain needs of present-day propaganda...Such directing and manipulating are especially serious in press photography...Exaggerating, playing up, and bragging at will. A press report should be as honest as a battle report should be in time of war...In order to heighten the so-called ideological horizon, some typical reports went to great lengths to use "flashy" language, deliberately embellished the facts and reported everything as perfect. Some arbitrarily credited a single unit or even a single person with the fruitful results achieved by several units in their collective coordination. Some referred to the part in terms of the whole, to the individual case in terms of the general situation, and to the occasional in terms of the consistent. They reported what was still in the plan as already being underway and what was under way as already completed, and so on and so forth...

The cases of deception listed above are relatively obvious. But in addition, there are a variety of "subtle" cases of deception such as: making a piece of news out of old information by putting in a perfunctory phrase like "inspired and spurred on by the spirit of so-and-so;" ...In

recent years, due to the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" and Lin Piao, some people started to doubt what has been said in the newspapers. This actually damaged our party's prestige among the masses. Can we overlook its seriousness?...

*Nieh Jung-chen, Politburo member, article in Sept. issue of Red Flag.*

...The idea underlying "On Practice" (a work by Mao written in 1937), is seeking truth from fact. Practice and objective reality are primary.... We must resolutely oppose taking words and phrases torn out of context from Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung thought as dogma with no regard to time, place and circumstances. Seeking truth from facts means opposing empty talk and lying. (We must combine proletarian democracy with centralism.) Without democracy (in the party) there can be no correct centralization. Without democracy, it is impossible to know the situation at the lower levels and ensure a smooth exchange of views between higher and lower levels. Without democracy, it is impossible to sum up experience correctly and derive correct policies. This is true in party life and true also in the political life of the country.

*Article in People's Daily by Party History Research Group of the Museum of Chinese History: "Carry Forward the Party's Fine Style of Study" PD, Peking, November 3.*

...Chairman Mao bitterly hated the idealist opinion and practice which deifies the wisdom and strength of an individual. He said: "I think it would be presumptuous for anyone to claim god-like omniscience and omnipotence." Chairman Mao also consistently taught us to do things honestly seek truth from facts and work in a scientific way. He said: "We must believe in science and

nothing else, that is to say, we must not have blind faith in anything. What is right is right and what is wrong is wrong, whether it concerns Chinese or foreigners, whether it concerns the dead or the living. To believe otherwise is blind faith."

...Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought is not the "absolute truth" dropped down from the skies, but a scientific theory verified in the course of revolutionary practice...The objective world changes all the time. In order to push the revolution forward all the time, it is necessary to incessantly develop the revolutionary theories which reflect the objective laws. There should be no end to this development...it is necessary for us to re-study important teachings of rectifying the style of study given by Chairman Mao...We say that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought is a universally applicable truth. What we mean are the basic theories which we sum up in the works of Marx and Lenin and the writings of Chairman Mao. We do not mean that everything they said is a wonder drug that can cure all diseases. Of course we do not mean it.

*Radio lecture on Mao's "Double Hundred Principle," Nov. 1.*

In the artistic field, we should encourage people to fully develop their versatile talents in pursuit of a career which serves workers, peasants, and soldiers, (and we should) spur the free development of various art forms and styles.

In the scientific field, the principle encourages people to boldly undertake creative explorations and various schools of thought in freely contending with one another. Regarding the question of right and wrong in the scientific and artistic fields, it must be resolved by upholding the method of free discussion and practice. Measures should not be allowed which impose one style and one school of thought and prohibit another.

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AUG 18 - IN A HIGHLY UNUSUAL PROCEDURE, THE STATE-RUN ALASKA PIPELINE COMMISSION, ITSELF SPENDING MORE THAN 1 MILLION DOLLARS IN ITS INVESTIGATION, HAS CHARGED THAT THE ALYESKA PIPELINE SERVICE CORPORATION 'WASTED' SOME 1.5 BILLION DOLLARS IN CONSTRUCTION OF THE MUCH PLAGUED ALASKA OIL PIPELINE. THE ALYESKA CORP. HAS CHARGED THAT THE STATE REPORT IS BIASED AND THAT THE INVESTIGATORS 'NEVER INTENDED OBJECTIVITY.' THE 670-PAGE REPORT WAS PREVIOUSLY INVOLVED IN THE DIRTY POLITICAL SCENES AGAINST NIXON WHEN LENZNER WAS DEPUTY COUNSEL TO THE SENATE WATERGATE COMMITTEE. INFORMED SOURCES BEHIND THE INDUSTRY CONFIRM THAT THERE HAS BEEN AN INTENSE BEHIND THE SCENES EFFORT BY THE ROCKEFELLER FAMILY POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL EMPIRE ACTING AT TIMES THROUGH ITS EXXON PETROLEUM BACKED EFFORT TO DEVELOP THE VAST ALASKA OIL RESERVES. THE DAMAGE CAUSED BY AN EXPLOSION AND FIRE EARLIER THIS SUMMER HAS ALREADY CAUSED SUBSTANTIAL DELAY IN BP ALASKA OIL REVENUES, WHICH FURTHER AGGRAVATED BY A US INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION DECISION FORCING DOWNWARD REDUCTION IN RATES CHARGEABLE BY THE PIPELINE CONSORTIUM TO ITS CUSTOMERS.

BRITISH NUCLEAR REPROCESSING INQUIRY GETS BOOST

AUG 18 - THE ONGOING BRITISH GOVERNMENT-ORDERED PUBLIC INQUIRY INTO THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE EXISTING NUCLEAR FUEL RE-PROCESSING CENTER OF BRITISH NUCLEAR FUELS LTD. AT SINDHURAY IN SCOTLAND GOT A MAJOR BOOST WITH THE TESTIMONY THAT 'THERE APPEARS TO BE NO SIGNIFICANT SAFETY PROBLEMS THAT CANNOT BE OVERCOME. IN OTHER TESTIMONY, DR. STANLEY BOWLE OF ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY DISPELLED THE MYTH, WIDELY CIRCULATED BY VARIOUS ENVIRONMENTALIST GROUPS, THAT THE PLUTONIUM BYPRODUCT SUCH REPROCESSING WAS ONE OF THE MOST DEADLY SUBSTANCE EDWIE POINTED OUT THAT ALMOST EQUALLY DEADLY SUBSTANCE THE COFFEE PEOPLE DRINK EVERY DAY IN THEIR COFFEINATED BRITISH AFFILIATE OF THE SO-CALLED BADDY FALTERING LEADED BY ANONY LOVINS IS BELIEVED BADDY FALTERING HEADED BY ANONY LOVINS IS BELIEVED BADDY FALTERING HEADED BY ANONY LOVINS IS BELIEVED BADDY FALTERING

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