They coposed Chairman Mao's policies on literature and art, refused to implement the party's principle "let a hundred flowers blossom and let a hundred schools of thought contend" and set up their bourgeois political and artistic criteria in place of proletarian political and artistic criterion. They distorted and altered Chairman Mao's scientific thesis that the bourgeoisie "is right in the Communist Party" and, under the signboard of reflecting the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist-roaders, dished up a number of posonous weeds to confuse friend with foe, attack revolutionary leading cadres and prepared public opinion for their plot to interfere with the work in various provinces and municipalities, split the party Central Committee and usurp party and state power. They advocated idealism, metaphysics and scholasticism to fetter the people's minds guiding creation in literature and art. They threw their weight around, abused the power in their hands and bullied the people and acted in the manner "those who comply with us survive and those who resist us perish". They arrogated to themselves the contributions made by others and acclaimed for themselves the achievements in creation made by the worker-peasant-soldier masses and the revolutionary literary and art workers under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art so as to gain political capital. They agitated for the theory of achieving personal fame and career by performing in a single play to expand bourgeois right and corrupt and poison the ranks of literary and art workers, and other things. Their actions brought great harm to revolutionary literary and art work.

The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng carried out Chairman Mao's behest and adopted timely and decisive measures to smash the plot of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-party clique which plotted to usurp party and state power. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, we are determined to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and carry through to the end the socialist revolution and the proletarian revolution in literature and art.

## **RED FLAG Analysis**

Peking Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 5 Nov 76 OW

[November PEOPLE'S DAILY article by Hung Kuang-Szu: "What Does the Repudiation of 'Pioneers' by the 'Gang of Four' Showf"--originally published in RED FLAG No 11]

[Text] Two years have passed since the color feature film "Pioneers" was circulated for showing. During these 2 years an acute struggle between the two classes and two lines centering on the question of "Pioneers" has developed. "Pioneers" drew warm applause from the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers immediately after its debut early in 1975. They praised "Pioneers" as a good film, a song in praise of the policy of energetically building a prosperous country through self-reliance and hard struggle, and a song in praise of the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

But the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao antiparty clique tried in every possible way to find fault with "Pioneers," and unscrupulously leveled a variety of charges against it. They pressed the case with accusations, investigations and criticism articles written by others under their direction.

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Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN From the "iron and steel" and "label" plants they administered came one "label" after another against the film. Their attempt was to finish it off at one blow. They concosted "ten major non-existent accusations" against the film, crowning it with a variety of "labels." They alleged that serious errors, political and artistic, existed in the film, which was described by them as "too sentimental," "stereotyped" and "abstract," and as a story of "real characters and true events." They then exercised the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the film by issuing a decree to prevent it from being advertised,, eopied, rerun on television and radio stations, and distributed abroad.

As the struggle reached a crucial moment, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao persisted in supporting "Pioneers" and sternly criticized the "gang of four."

On 25 July 1975, Chairman Mao gave the following unequivocal directive in a letter he received from one of writers of the film production group: "There is no error in this film. Suggest that it be approved for distribution. Do not nit-pick. And to list as many as ten accusations against it is going too far. It hampers the adjustment of the party's current policy on literature and art." The broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionaryliterary and art workers were greatly encouraged by this important directive of Chairman Mao's, unanimously hailing this as a victory for his revolutionary line in literature and art.

However, the "gang of four" who styled themselves the supporters of Chairman Nao and adherents to his instructions did nothing to propagate and carry out Chairman Nao's important directive. On the contary, they resisted it through conspiracies and intrigues in an effort to cover it up.

Shortly after Chairman Mao issued this directive, Yao Wen-yuan, a member of the "gang of four," personally instructed someone to write an article entitled "The True Materialists Are Fearless," directing the spearhead squarely at our great leader Chairman Mao. Until September 1975 when the National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture was held, Chiang Ching ferociously threatened and intimidated the writers of "pioneers" into writing another letter to Chairman Mao criticising themselves, requesting the return of their first letter, and suggesting that "Pioneers" not be distributed abroad, and a new version of it be filmed instead in a vain attempt to negate Chairman Mao's directive. How despicable and vicious were their motives! How crafty and dangerous were their tactics!

The hard fact that the "gang of four" opposed our leader Chairman Mao on a series of occasions unmasked them as opponents of Chairman Mao and of adherence to his instructions. This also exposed their counterrevolutionary feature of opposing Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line and undermining the proletarian revolution in literature and art.

In exposing the reactionaries who cruelly persectued the people, Lu Hsun once said: "Their approach to world affairs is that they usually passed verdicts on others before accusations-normally ten of them--were collected." This was precisely what the "gang of four" had done. The revolutionary spearhead of the "Pioneers" was a thorn in their counterrevolutionary nerwous system. At first they decided to pass verdicts on the film before proceeding to gather and list the accusations. The accusations were exactly ten. This bears a striking resemblance to the despicable tactics used by the reactionaries against the revolutionary people, tactics exposed by Lu Hsun.



What kind of trash were the so-called "ten accusations" concocted under the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao antiparty clique's instruction? They are something that compound right and wrong and mistakenly labeled people with nonsensible language filled with contradictions.

"Pioneers" is a theatrical theme based on the brilliant achievements made by the heroic Taching working class in building China's first large-scale oilfield during the early 1960's. To do a good job in dramatizing this theme, its creators went deep into the oilfield where they could live, study and work together with workers and broaden their study and investigations. With the proletarian revolutionary enthusiasm, they eulogized the red flag of Taching personally hoisted by Chairman Mao and praised his proletarian revolutionary line.

With touching scenes depicting the heroic faces of the petroleum workers, the film wholeheartedly eulogizes the mighty revolutionary will of these workers who, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, dare to struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, against the erroneous line and against nature in order to free China from being called a country with a backward petroleum industry and to end the dependence on foreign oil. When the film, having overcome the hindrance of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao antiparty clique, was shown throughout the country, tens of thousands of people warmly appreciated it by saying that it was a great inspiration and a profound education to them.

The "gang of four," however, complained that the subject matter of the film was good but had not been satisfactorily reflected. They killed it with one blow by concocting the "ten major accusations" against the film. This shows how different are the thinking and feelings of the "gang of four" and those of the masses and points to the degree of antagonism existing between them.

The revolutionary and political theme of "Pioneers" is very clear-cut: To the gratification of all. it demonstrates that "sailing on the seas depends on the helmsman" and that "making revolution depends on Mao Tsetung Thought." It is precisely under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line that the victory in establishing the oilfield is won. It is precisely the radiance of Mao Tsetung Thought which guides the heroic petroleum workers in carrying out their pioneering undertaking. Those who have seen the film cannot forget the touching scene depicting the jubilation of the workers when volumes of "On Contradiction" and "On Practice," presented by the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, arrived at the worksites; nor can they forget the scene in which the workers, with tears in their eyes, enthusiastically studied Chairman "We depend on these two articles in carrying out our pioneering under-Mao's worker. taking." These simple but profound words of (Chou Ting-shan) demonstrate that the petroleum workers have obtained great spiritual strength from Chairman Mao's works.

"The stars are twinkling brightly in the blue evening sky; over the expanse of wasteland, brushfires are burning red; with their hearts turned toward the party, the petroleum workers look toward Peking with deep feelings." These lines in the film show that the great Mao Tsetung Thought has armed the workers, given them keen eyesight, and enabled them to grasp the principal contradiction--they key link of class struggle--in the struggle against complex contradictions in the course of building the oilfield. As a result, they win one victory after another.

It is obvious that the film sings praises of victory to Mao Tsetung Thought and to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, but the "gang of four" slanderously charged that it tries to glorify Liu Shao-chi. How reactionary is their act of calling black white! This is the despicable trick employed by the "gang of four" to fabricate accusations against others and wantonly label those they want to topple.

"Ficheers" successfully portrays the image of (Chou Ting-shan). The writer selects a typical plot and language from the indefinitely abundant spring of life to vividly depict the process through which (Chou Ting-shan), nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought, matures from a camel boy to an advanced proletarian fighter within the stress and storms of class and two-line struggles. The film not only depicts (Chou Ting-shan's) revolutionary spirit of daring to advance in the vanguard of class struggle and the struggle for pro-duction but also demonstrates his wisdom and boldness in maintaining close ties with the masses and in succeeding at ideological-political work and at struggling against the class enemies. (Chou Ting-shan) is a noble character, yet plain and simple, a character sharing weal and woe with the masses. To the masses of workers (Chou Ting-shan) is an ordinary worker in their ranks but is also an example from whom they learn. That is the basic reason why (Chou Ting-shan) has a high degree of artistic appeal among the masses and also plays the role of educating them.

With bitter hatred for a typical character of the workers deeply loved by the masses, the "gang of four" slandered him as a rough and hotheaded fellow who is simple and This fully shows that they are the sworn enemies of the working people who atypical. create world history. There are more profound reasons why the "gang of four" hates the heroic image of (Chou Ting-shan). (Chou Ting-shan), as a proletarian fighter who resolutely combats and prevents revisionism, incisively exposes those renegades such as (Feng Chao) and his ilk, who escape from the enemy prison. (Chou Ting-shan) says: "Some communists hoist the banner of socialism but travel on a different road. There were these types of people in 1957 and 1959, and there are still these types of people even today. Therefore, it is necessary to be particularly vigilant against those persons who wear red hats but have sinister hearts." These words which hit the nail on the head hit the fatal spot of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao antiparty clique. Isn't this gang comprised of precisely those careerists and conspirators and counterrevolutionary doubledealers who wear red hats but have sinister hearts? No wonder they hastily came out to suppress the film!

Does the film "Pioneers" have any shortcomings? Naturally it isn't perfect. It has shortcomings. However, the so-called "especially strict requirements" advanced by the "gang of four" were definitely not meant to perfect the film. They were used as a pretext in their attempt to strangle it. It is this Chiang Ching whom the renegade and traitor Lin Piao lauded as being "politically strong" and "artistically expert" in the field of literature and art but who actually knows nothing about revolutionary literature and art. Proceeding from the sinister intention of undermining the revolution in literature and art, she resorted to the idealist and metaphysical method of establishing taboos and restrictions on the creation of literary and artistic works under the pretext of perfection. A minor violation of the "requirements" would be given a "death sentence" by her. Many revolutionary literary and art workers have been strangled by her in this way.

Lu Hsun once exposed those fake revolutionary people by saying: "Their critical instructions show that they will not approve of anything as long as it is not perfect and has some shortcomings." He also said: "To be safe, therefore, it is best not to make a move."



Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN These people attempt to bind the revolutionary people hand-and-foot under the pretext of "perfection." In this way they can restrict their movements and can present them as their sacrifices to the reactionaries. Lu Hsun angrily pointed out: Their "perfection" is in fact a sweet medicine for "poisoning the revolution."

The "demand for perfection and censure" of the "gang of four" has no other objectives other than poisoning and strangling revolutionary literature and art, undermining proletarian revolutionary policy toward literature and art, undermining Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and realizing their frantic ambition of usurping the party and state power. Chairman Mao's directive concerning "Pioneers" has hit the "gang of four" precisely where it hurts.

The despicable tricks employed by the "gang of four" to strangle the film are not new. In the 1930's Ti Ko, that is, Chang Chun-chiao, living comfortably in "the foreign concession in March," frantically attacked progressive literature and art reflecting the struggle of resistance against Japan. Forty years later, the "gang of four," hiding in their counterrevolutionary "comfortable nest," tried any unscrupulous means to strangle "Pioneers." This amounts to reutilization of the old tricks used 40 years ago.

Forty years ago, Chang Chun-chiao followed the "four villians" including Chou Yang to strangle progressive literature and art in order to push Wang Ming's right-deviationist opportunist line and smear Lu Hsun who persisted in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Now the Wang Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" attempted to strangle "Pioneers" in order to pursue their counterrevolutionary revisionist line aimed at usurping party and state power and turn the sphere of literature and art into their tool for shaping public opinion for the restoration of capitalism.

For a long time, the "gang of four," especially Chiang Ching, have appropriated to themselves the meritorious services of others, and regarded as theirs the achievements scored by the masses of literary and art workers under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and have shamelessly styled themselves as the "standard-bearers" of the revolution in literature and art. In fact, they have frantically opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art. Their crimes are immeasurable. Their strangling of the film "Pioneers" is one of their crimes.

Our literature and art are under the leadership of the party and serves the workers, peasants and soldiers. But the "gang of four" vainly attempted to make literature and art depart from the leadership of the party and depart from the correct road of serving proletarian politics. They attempted to turn the sphere of literature and art into a sectarian guild solely dominated by the antiparty clique and the use literature and art for creating counterrevolutionary public opinion for usurping party and state power. Their deeds prove that they are by no means the "standard-bearers" of revolutionary literature and art but are the chief culprits undermining the proletarian revolution in literature and art.

"Even if your bodies and names should perish, the flowing of the rivers will not thereby stop." The true features of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao antiparty clique has been exposed by the magic mirror of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. However, our socialist literature and art will develop vigorously under the illumination of Mao Tsetung Thought.



We must rally most closely round the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, lift the mighty revolutionary baton to disperse the noxious and evil winds stirred up by the "gang of four" in the field of literature and art, and fight heroically to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policy on literature and art, defend the party spirit and the principle of proletarian literature and art, and further develop and flourish socialist literature and art.

AFP DENIES 'GANG OF FOUR' TO BE TRIED

Hong Kong AFP in English 1310 GMT 5 Nov 76 OW

[By Rene Flipo]

[Text] Peking, Nov. 5 (AFP)--Reports published abroad that the "four" radical leaders purged at the beginning of October would be "tried" are completely contradictory to the political reality in China.

Nearly all observers in Peking agree that certain recent statements by Chinese officials to visiting foreigners have been wrongly interpreted. The officials in fact, speaking to a Finnish delegation, did say that the "gang of four" would be tried.

But the message they were trying to get across, taking into account the Chinese custom, was really referring to the inquiry currently underway into the "counter-revolutionary" activities of Mao Tsetung's widow Chiang Ching and her "accomplices". The sole aim of this inquiry is to show their guilt.

The leader of the Finnish mission, Governor Kaarlo Pitsinki, and several members of his group said today in reply to questions before leaving for Shanghai that during their stay in Peking they had heard nothing about a "trial", in the Western sense of the term, of the "four".

An official Chinese spokesman also said today that during their stay here the members of the delegation had heard nothing about a "trial." "Nobody told them that they (the "gang of four") would undergo a trial", the spokesman declared.

The guilt of Wang Hung-wen, Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan is certain and will certainly not be disputed. It is inconceivable that a formal trial would be held in Peking or that a verdict would be given: The verdict has already been delivered.

Whenever people were dismissed in contemporary Chinese history, "inquiries" were opened into the lives of the victims and special committees were appointed to look into the matter. (The committee on the "gang of four" is headed by Marshal Yeh Chien-ying, who is party vice-chairman and defense minister). But no "trial" has ever been held, and it is probable that none ever will be held in the case of Mao's widow, unless there is a complete break with the customary practice.

PEKING MILITIA OFFICIALS IMPLICATED IN 'COUP'

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[Text] Hong Kong, Nov 5 (AFP)--Two Peking Militia officials were implicated in the recent "gang of four" coup attempt in China, a local newspaper specialising in Chinese affairs reported today.

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