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THE NEWBORN STRENGTH OF THE PEOPLE IS
INVINCIBLE --
IN COMMEMORATION OF THE GREAT
13TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

[Following is a translation of an editorial
in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-
ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 19, 1962, pages
6-11.]

On 1 October this year we celebrate the great 13th anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of China. The last 13 years have been years of uninterrupted victory for our country's Socialist Revolution and Socialist construction, years in which our fatherland has secured a new lease on life and had a vigorous development.

A few days before the 13th anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was opened. This session has made a penetrating analysis of both the international and domestic situation and worked out a more advanced plan for the various basic problems connected with our country's Socialist construction. It has called on the Party and the people of the

whole country to intensify their unification, perform their work satisfactorily, and, on the basis of the great achievements of the past, win a new victory for our country's Socialist construction and continue to wage a resolute struggle against imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries, and modern revisionists. This has been a session of great historical significance in the course of our country's Socialist construction.

The history of the 13 years of vigorous growth on the part of the People's Republic of China has been a source of inspiration and encouragement to the people of the whole country, won the celebration and congratulations of our friends all over the world, and greatly disappointed the reactionaries and modern revisionists of all countries. Thirteen years ago, when we had just won our nationwide victory and begun to set up the people's political power, our enemies spread the propaganda that the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people could only fight and could not construct and that although the people's political power had been established, they could certainly not maintain it. They claimed that we could not do this or that and that eventually we would have to go begging to imperialism or perish. However, on the very eve of the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Comrade

Mao Tse-tung had already clearly prophesied: "The Chinese 7
people will see that once China's destiny is held in the
hands of the people, she will, like the rising sun in the
east, shine over the whole of the good earth with its bright
light, rapidly clean up the quagmire and dirty water left
by the reactionaries, heal the wounds of war, and establish
a brand-new People's Republic which lives up to its name."

The prediction of Comrade Mao represents the faith of
China's workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals,
and patriotic people and reflects the hopes felt for us
by our friends all over the world. Our enemies are eager
for our defeat, but the people are convinced that we are
bound to win. Which side expresses a desire consistent
with the trend of historical development? Which has the
power to convert its desire into an objective fact? These
are questions which it is no longer difficult to answer.

Imperialism and all reactionaries have remarked
that we cannot handle properly the broken machine left to
us by the Kuomintang reactionaries. As a matter of fact,
however, contrary to their expectations completely, we
have, after spending only three years, succeeded in trans-
forming the tragic situation created by the reactionary
rule and long war of the old China and in fulfilling the
task of restoring the national economy. Imperialists and

All reactionaries claim that the Socialist Revolution is not suited to the "national condition" of China and that the transformation of an economically backward China with a population of 650 million into a Socialist China is merely a dream. As a matter of fact, immediately after the conclusion of the democratic revolution we guided our revolutionary work from the democratic stage to the Socialist stage and began our historic task of Socialist construction, and it has taken us only a few years to complete successfully our Socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft, and capitalist industry and commerce. Imperialists and all reactionaries have ventured to say that we do not have and cannot even learn to undertake construction. As a matter of fact, at the same time that our Socialist transformation has taken place, our Socialist construction work has been started on a large scale.

Between 1953 and 1957 our people victoriously fulfilled the First Five-Year Plan, and the first foundations were laid for our country's Socialist industrialization. In 1958, our Party adopted the general line of "stepping up full vigor, energetically striving for the upper-stream, and more, faster, better, and more economical Socialist construction." In that year, the situation of a great leap forward in our national economy was presented, and in all rural areas

Communalization was rapidly carried out. In 1960 we fulfilled the principal output targets for industrial products set by the Second Five-Year Plan two years ahead of schedule. The Chinese people have built for themselves a heavy industry with comparatively firm foundations and complete departments and given light industry an enormous development. The facts effectively demonstrate that the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have been able not only to destroy an old world but also to establish a new one. The scientific prophecy of Comrade Mao has begun to come true.

Between 1959 and 1961 our country was continuously the victim of serious natural calamities, and at the same time certain defects and mistakes in our work caused certain difficulties in our national economy. At that time imperialists and the reactionaries and modern revisionists of all countries showed their maliciousness and took the occasion to spread rumors to the effect that our three red flags of the general line of Socialist construction, the great leap forward, and the people's commune would have to be lowered. The facts are still directly contrary to the expectations of our enemies. The brave and industrious Chinese people, firmly united under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, worked

Hard and ceaselessly and overcame their difficulties with a stubborn struggle, to bring about a victorious situation in our country's Socialist construction. The Party Central Committee has summarized the last few years' rich experiences in Socialist construction, adopted a series of concrete policies relating to agriculture, industry, commerce, money, science, culture, and education, further enriched the substance of the general line of Socialist construction, rectified some of the defects and mistakes which have arisen in our work, and more effectively advanced the wholesome development of our national economy.

In rural work, owing to the thorough implementation of the series of concrete policies and measures adopted by the Party Central Committee, the people's commune has been enabled to take the road of more healthy development. Reliance on the collective strength of the people's commune, coupled with the effective support from all directions, has resulted in the increase of the actual output of this year's summer crops, compared with last year, with the autumn crops bidding fair to register a similar increase.

On the industrial front we have since 1961 begun to implement the national-economy plan of adjustment, consolidation, filling out, and raising standards, taken a series of active measures toward these, and made outstanding

achievements. Our commercial work has also had new improvements. It can clearly be seen that the entire national economy is showing a new look. The evil intentions of the enemy are suffering another ignominious defeat.

During the last 13 years, imperialists and their running-dogs have adopted a series of insidious and mean steps toward the strangulation and destruction of our revolutionary and construction work. Twelve years ago when imperialists of the US launched the war of aggression against Korea and threatened our security, the Chinese people sent their volunteers to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people and, after three years of courageous struggle, scored a great victory in the war against the US and in support of Korea. The US imperialists are to this day in occupation of our territory in Taiwan and have committed incessant aggression in our air space and territorial waters. Recently the US imperialists instigated the Chiang Kai-shek bandit group's preparations for the invasion of the coastal areas of the mainland, and in so doing have aggravated our people's enmity toward them. The Chinese people have effectively exposed this US-Chiang conspiracy and nipped it in the bud. The shooting down by our air force of the U-2 plane doing espionage work over our air space at the instance of the US imperialists was an important event, which

gave great satisfaction to the Chinese people and to the peace- and justice-loving peoples the whole world.

The US imperialists and their running-dogs have also thought of economic blockade as a strong measure for coping with the Chinese people. But by instituting a blockade against the Chinese people, they have merely strengthened their determination to be strong and seek their revival through self-help and steeled them to expedite the solution of their construction problems by relying on their own hard struggle. Imperialists and the reactionaries and modern revisionists of all countries have long joined in their "chorus" against China, thinking that they can thus isolate our position in the world. But the Chinese people have had plenty of experience in dealing with this anti-Chinese chorus. The curses made by imperialists and their running-dogs can only strengthen our determination in our revolutionary stand and show the peoples of the whole world that this stand is entirely correct. Our friends are all over the world, and those who stand or who can stand on our side constitute more than 90% of the world's population. History has already and will continue to prove that we are not the ones that are isolated, but that it is the imperialists and the reactionaries and modern revisionists of all countries, who are in the minority, that are

isolated.

Precisely as stated in the communique of the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Party, "imperialists and their running-dogs both in and out of the country have miscalculated in their wishful thinking. All their wicked activities not only have further exposed their hideous faces, but have intensified the Socialist and patriotic spirit of the Chinese people. Our people have resolutely shattered and will continue to shatter any of their invasion, provocation, aggression, or subversive conspiracies within the country and within the Party."

Also, entirely as observed in the report on the said session, "all tests of the struggle prove that our country deserves to be a great country, our people a great people, our army a great army, and our Party a great Party."

Imperialists and all reactionaries have no way of stopping the development and growth of a Socialist China nor the development and growth of all Socialist countries nor the development and growth of the revolutionary movements of all oppressed peoples and nations of the world.

US imperialists and all new and old colonialists have also consistently sought to strangle the movements of national democracy in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. But what are the facts? Against the will of imperialists the people of Cuba have won their victory, so have the peoples

of Algeria and Laos. Against the will of imperialists, many colonies enslaved for a long time have obtained their independence. The revolutionary struggles of the peoples of oppressed countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia have risen like a tide and incessantly broken the dams built by imperialists and new and old colonialists and already showing signs of collapse. Imperialists have no way of stopping the development of the struggle for liberation on the part of the people of South Vietnam nor the development of the anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples of Japan, Indonesia, and other countries. Nor can they crush or stop the struggles of the peoples of capitalist countries headed by the proletariat against the oppression of monopoly capital and for democracy and social progress and the struggles of the peoples of the world against the policies of aggression and war of imperialism and for securing enduring peace.

In the age of capitalist revolution in Europe, the reactionaries of countries of Europe organized the so-called "Holy Alliance" to suppress the movements of revolution and national independence in various countries, but without succeeding in stopping the historic advance of the countries of Europe, the notorious "Holy Alliance" was destined to become bankrupt and vanish, and the reactionaries of countries participating in it were those who suffered

ultimate defeat. After the great October Socialist Revolution, the imperialists and reactionaries of all countries organized an anti-Soviet armed intervention, which was ignominiously defeated. Thereafter they entered into the anti-Soviet Treaty of Locarno. But what was the result? The newly established USSR developed and grew at an increasing pace. Not only was the anti-Soviet objective of the imperialists unfulfilled, but German imperialism, which had been revived by the Treaty of Locarno, was smashed to smithereens by the anti-fascist forces of the world headed by the USSR.

Since World War II, the situation of the world has undergone a tremendous change, the great People's Republic of China having been born, a series of European and Asian Socialist countries emerged, a strong Socialist camp has been formed, and many colonies and semi-colonies become independent. The national democratic revolutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are still being vigorously developed. In this great epoch, the epoch of unprecedented change in the world, imperialists, reactionaries of all countries, modern revisionists, for the purpose of opposing the Communist Party, the people, the mass struggles of all oppressed peoples of the world, the People's Republic of China, and all independent countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and other parts of the world which are against enslavement,

have committed many criminal acts. Imperialists and their running-dogs of all hues have banded themselves together and have actually conspired to organize a counter-revolutionary "Holy Alliance," which is an extremely reactionary alliance. All counter-revolutionary associations and associations against the people in history have become bankrupt. Now the "Holy Alliance" plotted by imperialists and their running-dogs will doubtless also be smashed by the peoples of the world and become bankrupt. Precisely as pointed out in the communique of the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Party, the criminal activities of the imperialists, reactionaries of all countries, and modern revisionists "will reap exactly the opposite results, merely expose further their repulsive looks, and increase their isolation. Although the struggle with imperialists, reactionaries of all countries, and modern revisionists is a protracted and intricate one, the revolutionary work of the peoples of all countries is still developing, the international Communist movement is growing day by day, and we have more and more friends."

The situation in China and in the world fully demonstrates that any movement which is deeply rooted in the broad masses of the people is one of the greatest vitality. The masses demand liberation, progress, and revolution. This is a very intense desire, and it can and must inevitably become a material force, which is irresistible. Imperialists and

reactionaries of all countries stop at nothing to resist people's movements, but they are doomed to failure.

Marxism-Leninism resolutely stands on the side of the people who demand revolution and directs the masses to carry on the struggle for their own liberation, pointing to them the correct road to victory. So, Marxism-Leninism is always full of vitality. Modern revisionists like Titoists have fallen into their disgraceful position because they have rebelled against the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. Instead of supporting the people's revolution they prohibit it. Instead of directing the people to carry on their struggle against imperialists and reactionaries of all countries, they advocate defeatism among the people. Instead of standing on the side of the people who demand revolution, they stand on the side of imperialism which is against the people.

The present domestic and world situation gives us fuller confidence in our work. Let the imperialists, reactionaries of all countries, and modern revisionists make their curses. The Chinese people must resolutely progress on the road selected by themselves and fulfill their tasks step by step.

The task of developing the national economy confronting us is very difficult. We must, on the basis of the decisions of the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Com-

mittee of the Party, implement the general policy initiated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung of developing the national economy with agriculture as the basis and industry as the principal factor. We must adopt all effective measures to advance the rapid development of agricultural production and consolidate further the collective economy of the people's commune. We must gradually expedite the technical transformation of agriculture according to plan. We must correctly deal with the relationships between agriculture and industry and resolutely place the work of the industrial department on the basis of agriculture.

According to the decisions of the above-mentioned session, our state planning, industrial, communications and transportation, commercial, financial and monetary, scientific, technical, cultural, and educational departments must base their plans and the measures adopted by them positively on agriculture, turn their faces toward rural areas, and place the support of agriculture and the collective ^{economy} of the people's commune in the front rank. The heavy industrial department must seriously engage in research and experimentation and do its level best to provide such production materials needed by agriculture as all kinds of machinery, chemical fertilizer, agricultural chemicals, construction materials, fuel, power, and means of communications for local and seasonal use as well as raw and other materials

required by light industry for increasing the supply of consumer goods on the market. The commercial department must also turn its face to rural areas and effectively carry out the work for the service of agricultural production and peasants' livelihood as well as the work of purchasing subsidiary agricultural products. At the same time, the commercial department must properly carry out its work for the service of industrial production and urban supply.

The above-mentioned communique, in pointing out the great achievements in our work, also observes: "There is some work which we have not performed well. For example, there are still a number of production teams, plants, and stores, which, owing to the ineptness of leading cadres, have declined in output and no longer receive the welcome of the masses. We should strive to alter this condition, so that they can rapidly improve." We should continue to develop the glorious traditions of our hard struggle, be industrious and sincere, step up full vigor, and substantially and energetically carry out our work. We should further strengthen the system of democratic centralization and, under the guidance of the Party Central Committee's unified policies and the state's unified planning and with our reliance on the collective intelligence and positiveness of the masses, continue to overcome the difficulties in our way, to pave the way for the new rise of Socialist construction.

The said communique points out: "Although goods and materials produced last year and this have had an increase and the people's living has been improved, the volume of our production is still inadequate to meet the requirements of the urban and rural population. The whole Party and the people of the whole country must continue to struggle hard for the development of production, the guarantee of supplies, and the gradual improvement of the people's livelihood. At the same time, the urban and rural population of the whole country must pay attention to studious and frugal nation- and home-building, the practice of economy, and the habit of savings, so as to attain gradual affluence and prosperity and make preparations for meeting the requirements of natural calamity and other unexpected occurrences.

The wise and correct leadership of the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the all-out unification of the people of the country under the Party's leadership are the basic guarantee for our continued success. Progressing according to the line of Marxism-Leninism and the line adopted by the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our forces will inevitably grow from day to day and our activities become more and more prosperous. The 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Party pointed out emphatically that in the entire historic period of transition from capitalism to

Communism there exist the class struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist class and the struggle between the roads of Socialism and capitalism. We must obey the decisions of the plenary session, continue to struggle against our class enemies in and out of the country, exercise timely vigilance against and oppose resolutely the tendencies of all forms of opportunist thinking in the Party, and strengthen the Party's unity and increase its fighting strength incessantly.

The communique of the session referred to above states: "We should continue to hold high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, insist on the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement, and resolutely and thoroughly oppose modern revisionism, the principal danger to the movement of international Communism. These are our main tasks for the present and for a long time to come. At the same time, we should resolutely and thoroughly oppose dogmatism, sectarianism, the chauvinism of great Powers, and narrow nationalism, which is also a long-term task. In short, the struggle is aimed at the safeguarding of the purity of Marxism-Leninism."

All our Party comrades, workers, peasants, intellectuals, patriotic elements, and national minorities must increase their unity and, under the leadership of the Party

Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, hold higher the brilliant banners of the general line, great leap forward, and people's commune and continue to progress on the victorious road of Socialist construction. We must also be more closely united with all the Socialist countries and the peoples of the whole world and continue to advance in our Socialist struggle against imperialism and for the achievement of peace, national independence, and democracy.

In their advance with the peoples of the world, the Chinese people will overcome all their difficulties and defeat all their enemies. Their future is illimitably bright and the newborn strength of the people is invincible.

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SOME PLEASANT THOUGHTS ON THE STUDY OF HISTORY

[Following is a translation of an article by Ch'en Yuan (7115 0997) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 19, 1962, pages 12-14.]

With full enthusiasm and unstinted delight let us celebrate the 13th anniversary of the establishment of the new China.

These 13 years have not been commonplace. They have given rise to tremendous and staggering changes in Chinese history which had never taken place in forty centuries. Owing to the Party's correct leadership and the bright light of the three red flags, all our activities have made progress and reports of victory have incessantly come from all fronts. As the people of a new China we are proud of our great, glorious, and correct Party, and it is indeed our good luck to receive its nurture.

The great victory of our fatherland's construction work is unprecedented. In the field of history alone our achievements have been innumerable.

I have taught for several decades and performed much historical research on this period. I have had to fight a

hard and lone battle. I have especially been heartened by the rapid development of new China's educational work and the rise of an increasingly penetrating academic world. Faced with a brilliant reality, my thoughts go back to my earlier work. I make comparisons between the old and the new, which are widely apart. What could not have obtained before has become a fact now.

The most basic change in the field of history is that of the ideological awareness and viewpoint on the part of students of history. Formerly, the great majority of those who studied history had no opportunity to delve into the theories of Marxism. Since the liberation, however, we have had plenty of this opportunity and self-consciously applied the theories of Marxism -- the only correct theories -- to our research work. Thus a wholesome development has been given to the science of history. We, workers in this sphere, recognize more and more clearly that both the raising of theoretical levels and the possession of historical materials should be stressed equally, and the planned and organized collection, classification, and publication of historical materials have been carried out only since the liberation.

I have often said that our country's history books being innumerable, if we do not classify them and prepare a larger number of "tool books," such as indexes, we shall not be able, when we do our reading and research, to reap

the best results with the most economical expenditure of time. More than 30 years ago when I talked to scholars of history about the classification of historical materials, certain of them strongly disagreed with me. Their contention was that there is such a plethora of historical materials that it is impossible to classify them and that they had better all be burned. The advocacy of the burning of books is tantamount to that of the destruction of the culture of mankind itself.

At that time I wrote a report on the "classification of Chinese Historical Materials," which was published in the first issue of the Shih-hsueh Nien-pao (Study of History), an annual, of Yenching University. The first point I raised in that article was that old historical works without punctuation and subdivisions should, when they are reprinted, be punctuated and subdivided into chapters and sections. Take for example the Erh-shih-ssu Shih (Twenty-Four Histories). Numerous scholars in the past have punctuated this work in whole or in part. To name a few, Ch'ien Ta-hsin (6929 1129 2500), Chao Ou-pei (6392 3917 0554), Wang Hui-tsu (3076 6540 4371), and Wang Ming-sheng (3769 7686 4141), in writing their works respectively on Erh-shih-erh Shih K'ao-i (Verification of the Twenty-Two Histories), Erh-shih-erh Shih Tsa-chi (Notes on the Twenty-Two Histories), Shih-hsing Yun-pien

(A Rhymed Compilation of Historical Names), and Shih-ch'i Shih Shang-ch'ueh (A Preliminary Survey of the Seventeen Histories), must, it is believed, have made an effort to punctuate books in the above-mentioned monumental series. But it is regrettable that their punctuated copies have not been handed down to us.

As a matter of fact, these Ch'ing scholars were not the only ones who had done punctuation. The Shih-chi (Historical Chronicles) and Han Shu (History of Han), for instance, were written more than ten centuries ago, but we do not know how many scholars in history have punctuated them, but each time succeeding readers have had to do their own punctuation. What a waste of time!

However, the punctuation of the whole of the Erh-shih-ssu Shih is a tremendous job. If left to one or two individuals, the task cannot hope to be finished. Since the liberation, unified arrangements have been made to organize the manpower for the work. The proofread and punctuated copies of the first four histories have been published from time to time, and in the not far distant future the whole series will be completed.

Other voluminous works, like the Tzu-chih T'ung-chien (General History for Statesmen) and Hsu Tzu-chih T'ung-chien (General History for Statesmen, Continued) were reprinted a few years ago in their authenticated and

punctuated versions, thus aiding the reference of research workers tremendously. In addition, various experts have been charged with the classification, authentication, punctuation, and mass publication of the more important collected works of former times and historical writings of value. Thus many new editions have appeared, which are more complete and serviceable than their old counterparts. This is indeed very significant work, which will be beneficial not only to ourselves but perpetually to the coming generations.

Furthermore, large old collections which have not yet been subjected to detailed verification and punctuation, such as Yung-lo Ta-tien (Yung-lo Encyclopedia), not printed for more than 500 years, and Ts'e-fu Yuan-kuei (Biographical Studies) and Ming Ching-shih Wen-pien (Ming Works on Statecraft), not reprinted for 300 years, have been photocopied. Whereas it was impossible to make reference to these works formerly, they are available now in every ordinary library.

As to historical materials which have yet been reduced to book form -- the archives --, their custody and classification have undergone even bigger changes. In 1925 I worked in the palace library which had just then been established. At that time the archives of the old palace were piled up, full of dust, and disorderly. In view of the fact that 8,000 gunny sacks of archives of the Chan-

cellery and the Imperial Academy had been sold as waste-paper, I was greatly concerned with the disorderly but valuable archives of the old palace. I prepared what I called the "Eight Rules for the Classification of Archives" and, handing the paper to the custodians of the palace, I admonished them never to separate the unclassified archives from their dated wrappers so as not to lose track of their continuity. For many years since, I have been anxious about the custody and classification of these archives.

Since the liberation, the Party and Government have paid great attention to archive materials. A few years ago the State Archives Office was set up, in which the large number of the old palace archives have been catalogued and kept in good order. Not only has scientific custody been adopted and the archives will never again be lost, but many of them have been classified, published, or loaned to research organs for reference. At last our archives have been placed in the hands of the people and at their service. It is a radical change from the days when they were stored in the vaults of the Chancellery or other places. My mind is completely set at rest about a matter which has kept me concerned for several decades.

Since the establishment of our new nation, not only have an increasing number of books been published and the archives gradually classified, conferring a great benefit

on researchers, but the Party and Government have provided favorable conditions for research, such as the guarantee of sufficient time, provision of competent assistants, attention to physical health, satisfactory arrangement of living, and, whenever there is a concrete result, opportunity of publication, full expression of views, mutual discussion, and contention among a hundred schools. Before the liberation a thesis, when written, could not be published anywhere in any fashion. In 1923 the first four parts of an article of mine were published in the Kuo-hsueh Chi-k'an (Chinese Literature Quarterly) of Peking University. The intention had been to publish the last four parts in the following issue, but the periodical was suspended from publication for a long time because of the lack of funds. It was not until 1927 that I was able to publish them in the Yen-ching Hsueh-pao (Yen-ching Journal). Thus there was a gap of four years between the publication of the first and last portions of that article of mine, and even after the completion of the publication there was still no news about the Kuo-hsueh Chi-k'an.

In 1931, when I was teaching at the Peking Normal University, the Department of History published the Shih-hsueh Ts'ung-k'an (Collection of Historical Studies). One of my students wrote an article, which appeared in the first issue in part. The publication was suspended be-

cause of financial difficulty, and the second issue never saw the light of day, thus making it impossible for the second half of that student's article to be published.

At that time, it was even more difficult for authors to publish their specialized studies. Publishers always imposed unacceptable conditions, and it was frequently impossible to come into agreement with them. I wrote several books, but to save myself from the impossible negotiations with publishers, I found someone to make wood-cuts for me. Subsequently my eight volumes entitled Li-yun Shu-wu Ts'ung-k'a (Collected Publications of the Li-yun Library) were also printed with wood-cuts. But the cost of printing one's work oneself is quite high, and it involves complicated problems of paper, materials, and publication. It is only after the practice of strict austerity that one can scrape together enough for the printing of a small number of copies, which can hardly have a wide circulation.

Today the situation is altogether different. Publishing agencies do everything possible to help writers. With the possibility of a wide circulation under unified publishers, authors are greatly inconvenienced. Prior to the liberation, there were very few periodicals exclusively devoted to the publication of historical writings, there being only a few academic magazines edited by a limited

number of universities. Now, in addition to the learned periodicals published by almost all the universities in the country, there are historical periodicals and all kinds of academic periodicals of a national and local nature. The only worry now is the absence of written works, since once they are produced, there is plenty of opportunity for them to be published and subjected to the review of experts.

At present, not only are the conditions of research superior to those in the past, but its substance and scope have been increased and widened. Many problems which have never been tackled before, such as those of peasant warfare, the periods of ancient history, and the birth of capitalism, as well as research in modern and contemporary history are being enthusiastically taken up. In the study of the history of our sister nationalities alone there have been new developments in recent years. I used to be greatly perturbed by the fact that all the old books and materials having to do with the Huis, which I had perused, contain expressions/^{of} racial discrimination and oppression. For this reason I decided to make a study of the history of this nationality. But owing to the difference between the Chinese, Western and Hui calendars, it is first necessary to solve the question of the latter, otherwise the research would be most difficult. Therefore I spent three or four years on the preparation of a comparison between the three

calendars. Incidentally there was at that time a Hui student among the graduates of the college. I said to him: "You have more convenient conditions for doing research in your own history. Having laid a foundation for you, I hope you can write a history of the Huis." Now this student has become an authority on Hui history, and he has trained a new group of scholars, who are successfully carrying on the compilation of the Hui history.

In addition, among the students I have taught there are Thais, Na-hsis, Mongolians, and Chuangs, who have undertaken the responsibility for writing their respective histories and made great achievements. Owing to the importance attached by the Party to visits to and inquiries into areas of minority nationalities, they have been carried on for many years. Their number reaches into the hundreds, the whole country has been covered, and very rich results have been reaped. This is something which would have been inconceivable to us individuals in the old days.

With the limitations imposed by the old social system on the development of historical research, even well-conceived ideas could not have been realized. With its correct leadership, the Party today has opened up a wide horizon for our historical scholars. Whenever I enter the magnificent Museum of Chinese History, when I purchase

one batch after another of newly published historical works, when I receive from the various localities their academic periodicals on history, culture, and archaeology, and when I give my reception to one generation after another of young students of the Department of History, I take unlimited delight. I deeply appreciate Comrade Mao Tse-tung's statement to the effect that "we are marching forward" and that "we are carrying on our very glorious and great work which has never been done before by our predecessors." I feel proud that I can live in such a great age and that I can contribute my share to this monumental work and sense the zeal and honor.

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THE BRIGHT FUTURE OF THE SUPPORT OF
AGRICULTURE BY SCIENTIFIC TECHNIQUE

[Following is a translation of an article by
Ch'ien Hsueh-sen (6929 1331 2773) in the
Chinese-language periodical, Hung-oh'i (Red
Flag), Peiping, No 19, 1962, pages 15-17.]

In a country of an area of approximately 9.6 million sq. m. in East Asia there live more than 600 million people with a long history and composed of many nationalities. They are united around a great Marxist-Leninist Party and have in the short span of 13 years fulfilled their inherited task of democratic revolution and the Socialist Revolution and taken a stride toward Socialist construction. They have all along carried on a resolute struggle against the aggressive policy of US imperialism and blocked the counter-current of modern revisionism. This is our great fatherland. The road ahead of us is a bright and correct one.

In Socialist construction work scientific technicians undertake a glorious and difficult task, seeking to extricate ourselves from our backwardness and catch up with the advanced levels of the world's scientific technique. We have full confidence in our ability to fulfill

this task, and we shall rely principally on our own exertions, coupled with international assistance, for the solution of our problems of scientific technique in the country's economic and defense construction. For during the past 13 years, under the guidance of the Party's three red flags of the general line, great leap forward, and people's commune, our country's scientific technique has had a very rapid development and already begun to change the old face of backwardness. What is more important, our scientific technicians have, through extensive practice, obtained a further understanding of the many-sided substance of modern scientific technique and stepped on the road of revival through self-exertion, laying a foundation for greater future development.

Like other work, our work of scientific technique today should follow the Party's policy of adjustment, consolidation, filling out, and raising standards, carefully summarize experiences, perfect achievements, overcome difficulties, and progress incessantly. We should reaffirm the correct orientation we have adopted, i. e., the coordination of theory and practice and the placing of scientific technique at the service of the Socialist construction of today and tomorrow. As long as this is done, our work of scientific technique can certainly advance at a high speed.

In anticipating the future of our work of scientific

technique, we must pay attention to the importance of agriculture. During the past several years our scientific technicians have not had an adequate understanding of the guiding thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his proposition of agriculture as the basis. We should realize that agriculture is an important question not only for today but for tomorrow. Therefore our country's scientific technicians should seriously study the problem of how to support agriculture. Not only should they study the immediate aspects of the problem and enable agriculture to meet better the people's food, clothing, and other requirements, but they should make preparations for the long-term aspects of the problem and study how the livelihood requirements of the people can be met in future and how the scientific technical basis can be strengthened for the better and greater development of agriculture.

From the standpoint of the characteristics of our agriculture we can say that the solution of the problems of scientific technique in agriculture is a very difficult task. There is no big country in the world with as large a population and as small an area of tillable land as ours which has solved its problem of agriculture. There is no international precedent to go upon. Besides, agriculture is intimately connected with geographical conditions and has its very great local characteristics. Here the experiences

of other countries can merely serve as a reference. So, we must make our own exertions and grope for our own road ahead. But from another angle, the support of agriculture can for this very reason open up a wide horizon for developing the creativity of scientific technicians. Participation in the solution of our country's problem of agriculture can enable our scientific technique to make extraordinary accomplishments and even make contributions to the world's scientific technique.

We possess superior conditions for the solution of the question of the support of agriculture by scientific technique. First of all we have the resolute leadership of the Party. The Party's guiding thought of agriculture as the basis is more and more appreciated and taken hold of by the broad masses of the people and is becoming a great material force. In this work, scientific technicians will surely receive the support and assistance of all channels.

Next, we must realize that modern scientific technique has already solved the question of the utilization of atomic energy and that of man's entry into space. Since these difficult questions have been solved, it is unlikely that the questions of scientific technique in agriculture are not susceptible of solution. The problem of agriculture is a very broad one and is related to various aspects of scientific technique. If only we do a little serious re-

search, we shall find that almost every branch of scientific technique has its use in agriculture. Not only this, but we should realize that from time immemorial the scientific technique of the countries of the world has paid little attention to agriculture, so a great many fruits of scientific technique have not yet been applied to agriculture. These achievements of modern scientific technique are already there, and their correct application to agriculture will have an important effect. For example, the technique of long-term meteorological forecasts derived from the study of atmospheric currents and solar activities can have a guiding effect on the plans for crop cultivation. Also, the theory of poly-phase infiltration developed from the extraction of petroleum can be applied to the study of ground-water activities and laws governing them, thus helping solve the problems of farmland water conservancy. In addition, from the long-term point of view it is also necessary to link up all aspects of scientific technique, study the possibility of applying a whole series of techniques to production within the scope of the people's commune, and find out how high the levels of agricultural production can become and what its economic results will be after the full modernization of agriculture. This kind of research will point the correct direction of the production techniques of our agriculture.

Another superior condition for the support of agri-

culture by scientific technique lies in the rich practical agricultural experiences our country has accumulated during the past milleniums. Practice is the source of all scientific creations, and the knowledge of practical experience, once developed into theory, becomes a scientific law, which guides practice and produces a greater effect. Therefore the summary of our country's agricultural experiences is very significant.

During the last few years our biological workers, under the Party's orders, have participated in the summary of our rich agricultural experiences and made given contributions. But this has only been the first step. The summary of our country's agricultural experiences is a tremendous task, which cannot be fulfilled until after a comparatively long period of unrelenting effort. Moreover, this task cannot be carried out by biological workers alone. Workers in the sciences of mathematics, physics, mechanics, geography, and electronics must also participate. For example, the summary of model agricultural labor experiences is along this line. Model agricultural labor, through several decades of production practice, has evolved a set of cultivation methods for certain crops, the nucleus of which is the use of the eye, hand, and foot as tools for measuring production. But the use of sense organs as tools of measurement can, even with the guidance of teachers, be learned only after long practice. Besides, this kind of

measurement cannot express the exact figure nor can it crystallize the experience into a quantitative law. To overcome this difficulty, it is necessary to replace the eye, hand, and foot with scientific instruments, so physicists, chemists, and electronic workers are required for the creation of the new instruments.

Thus it can be seen that the support of agriculture by scientific technicians is not only necessary but possible, and that it has a far-reaching prospect. Since the establishment of our new nation, our scientific technicians have made great progress and done a great deal in the fields of the national economy, defense construction, and scientific reserves. Hereafter they should make an energetic effort to strengthen the support of agriculture,

better satisfy the immediate and long-term requirements of our country's Socialist construction, and bring about a more all-round development of scientific technique. In the celebration of the 13th anniversary of the establishment of our great new nation let our scientific technicians encourage one another to fulfill these great objectives.

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THE GRATIFYING SIGHT OF THE SPIRITED DEVELOPMENT
OF SCIENCE IN THE FATHERLAND

Following is a translation of an article by
Chu K'o-chen (4555 0668 2823) in the Chinese-
language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag),
Peiping, No 19, 1962, pages 17-19.

Toward the end of the Ch'ing dynasty China, which was dubbed as the sick man of East Asia, faced the danger of partition by the great Powers. At that time many science and engineering college students had the illusion of bringing about national salvation by science. I was also one of them. But when we graduated from foreign and national universities, we had nothing to do other than teaching school. During the 4 May movement, although science and democracy were promoted, there was no place for them under the Peiyang warlords, who were interested only in their own aggrandizement. After 1927 the Kuomintang Government organized the so-called Academia Sinica, which later branched into more than 10 institutes. Being in the dark about the then situation, I thought that the various natural sciences would soon take root in China. Contrary to my expectations, the deceit of the Chiang Kai-shek Government was soon exposed completely. In the ten

years between the establishment of the Chiang Kai-shek Government and the Lukouchiao Incident the budget of the Academia Sinica had hardly any increase, while the four big families of Chiang, Soong, Kung, and Chen became fabulously rich by robbing peasants and workers of the fruits of their productive labor.

My own profession, meteorology, is a science intimately connected with aviation and agriculture. Many capitalist countries widely establish stations for the purpose of collecting information and forecasting weather, so that social production may not suffer from the lack of precautions against natural calamity. The Chiang Kai-shek Government, however, relied on 20 or more coastal stations or those along rivers of the maritime customs then under British control, and prepared forecasts under the guidance of the Sincawei Observatory established by the Jesuits in Shanghai, to serve as window-dressing. This condition continued until the Japanese invasion of 1937.

During the eight years of our war of resistance against Japan, the coastal meteorological stations were mostly occupied by the Japanese, and nothing could be done about weather forecasts. With the coming of victory, although the Shanghai Concessions were recovered and the Central Meteorological Bureau was established, there were still very few stations in the country. Daily weather forecasts

depended first on the quick transmission of information. Under the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary rule, meteorological messages were classified as first-class telegrams, but owing to the excessive number of official and bureaucratic telegrams, meteorological messages frequently were delayed more than 24 hours and lost their value as forecasts. This was the condition of meteorological work before the liberation.

Things have changed considerably under the Communist Party's leadership since the liberation. Shortly after this event, within less than a year, the Preparatory Commission for the Central Meteorological Bureau was first set up, and then by October 1950 not only had the national network been formed, but the transmission of reports by the various stations was so rapid that it took less than an hour to centralize them. Now radio weather reports are broadcast four times a day and flying weather reports six times a day. This shows how much importance the Government attaches to scientific work.

According to last year's statistics, the number of meteorological stations has had an increase of more than 30 times and the personnel one of 35 times over the early years after liberation. Self-sufficiency has been attained in the supply of instruments and materials, for which reliance had had to be placed on foreign imports before. As to the quality of the personnel, it has also been greatly improved.

Two universities have established the department of meteorology or global physics. Someone has made the calculation that whereas in 1950-1956 China had occupied only the 30th place in the world so far as the number of theses written was concerned, by 1960 she had advanced to the 5th place.

This kind of rapid development is in fact not confined to meteorological science.

In his article on "The Great Victory on the Scientific Front," published in Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily), 1959, President Kuo Mo-jo (6753 3106 5387) pointed out that the research personnel of the Academia Sinica had increased from 224 during the first few years of the liberation to almost 7,000. Besides the Academia Sinica, the Academy of Medical Science, the Academy of Agricultural Science, and a series of research institutions for the natural and social sciences have been established. Local scientific work has also been greatly developed.

However, owing to our weak scientific and technical foundation, we are still backward in spite of the rapid development since the building of our new nation, when compared with the world standards in the 60's of this century. But from the standpoint of an old scientific worker like myself, the important thing is that science has already taken root in our fatherland. This was an ardent hope we entertained before the liberation and a dream we were unable to realize for several decades. Now that it has actually become a

reality before our own eyes, how can we help rejoicing?

What is more important, not only has modern science taken root in our fatherland, but with the advanced social system of Socialism and under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we can foresee that science will have a spirited development in our fatherland, shine brightly in the near future, and strongly support our Socialist construction toward its faster and better fulfillment.

The development of science cannot be achieved overnight. To have rapid advancement, it must coordinate theory and practice as well as educational-cultural work and agricultural-industrial-communications work, so that integral planning can be made. One aspect of the superiority of Socialism to capitalism is that the former can carry out planned construction, including that of science. The training of scientific personnel, the application of funds, the establishment of organs, and the arrangement of tasks must all have long-term (ten years or more) planning. When the USSR was first established, Lenin pointed out the importance of scientific planning and personally supervised the scientific work of laying the plan for the electrification of the whole country. The outstanding record of the USSR in the science of atomic energy during the last ten years or more and her stunning successes in the realm of space aviation recently are no mere accidents. As early

as 1929 the USSR Academy of Science set up its research department and selected a batch of the most promising science and engineering students to fill its ranks. Today these have become the leaders and cream of the Academy.

In 1931 the USSR Academy of Science held its first conference for the planning of scientific research in the whole country, at which a broad discussion was had of scientific planning and the necessity for strengthening the ties between science and practice was pointed out. When the USSR was engaged in its war of defense, conditions were extremely difficult, but her scientific research continued its stubborn struggle and made great progress. In 1955

Nyesmeyanov former President of the USSR Academy of Science stated in his report that in many important fields of science the USSR had won the first place in the world. At first scientists of the capitalist countries did not fully believe the report, but the first successful launching of a Soviet satellite on 4 October 1957 convinced them. It can be seen that there was a lapse of 25 years between the first national scientific conference of the USSR and her attainment of the world's advanced scientific levels.

The long-term planning of our national scientific technique started in 1956, and the selection of brilliant university graduates in the whole country to be research scholars is a recent development. Thus can we deduce the

conclusion that it will take at least 25 years for our science to catch up with the world standards? I think this inference may not be accurate. First of all, we have the benefit of USSR experience as our guide. When the USSR held its first scientific conference, many scientists showed their opposition, because to them scientific research is not something that can be planned. On the contrary, in our country very few have opposed scientific planning since 1956. Furthermore, during the said period of 25 years, the USSR was in part occupied with a destructive war of defense against Nazi aggression, which placed substantial restraints on scientific research and after which rehabilitation took time. So, a rational estimate is that with a peaceful environment it will probably not take as long a time for us to catch up with the world standards as in the case of the USSR.

In addition, under the Party's leadership we have already created a favorable atmosphere for the development of science. Twenty or thirty years ago when I taught at the Southeastern University in Nanking and the Chekiang University in Hangchow, students in the vicinity of Kiangsu and Chekiang expressed usually the wish to secure employment along the two railway lines in the two provinces, when they were asked to fill out their applications as their graduation from the university approached, because they regarded

that region as heaven itself. They were not willing to go to neighboring provinces, to say nothing of the border regions. Young science and engineering graduates are the successors of the older generation. If young people did not have any ambition, could the country have a great future?

Since the liberation, not only has the number of university students in our country increased more than sevenfold, but the majority of the youths have been trained into stout warriors for Socialist construction. Now in all corners of the country, from Sinkiang and Heilungkiang in the North to Hainan Island and Tibet in the South, there are on hand young people newly graduated from scientific, engineering, agricultural, and medical universities, to develop natural resources and construct Socialism. A comparison of this new atmosphere with the conditions of over three decades ago will strengthen our confidence in the scientific work of new China.

Since 1956, especially since 1958, our old scientists and youthful new recruits have greatly intensified their positiveness. After several years of strenuous effort many important science courses have been opened and basic science has also made marked progress. Besides, certain important problems connected with food, clothing, and daily necessities have been put on the agenda and await their solution with concerted effort. It can be predicted^{that} the new-

born scientific work of our fatherland, under the agreeable climate and on the fertile soil of this great country, and with the grueling effort we are making and the benefit of the advanced experiences of our sister Socialist countries and all other countries of the world, is bound to have a spirited development and in the near future reach the front ranks of the world's advanced levels.

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FELICITOUS PROSPERITY

[Following is a translation of an article by Hua Lo-keng (5478 5012 1649) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 19, 1962, pages 20-21.]

On this auspicious festival day let us praise the East Wind and sing of Mao Tse-tung.

After the shooting down of the U-2 espionage plane, US imperialism stamped its feet on the ground and beat its breast and the Chiang clique was stunned and disheartened. Our spirits were boosted, while the enemy was crestfallen. The Socialist system is increasingly strong, and the imperialist camp is sorely divided and full of contradictions. The revolutionary tide is rising and raging in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The world trend is that the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind.

The three red flags of the general line, great leap forward, and people's commune are unfurled and guiding us forward. The thinking of Mao Tse-tung is leading the people of the whole country from one victory to another and from one peak to another. He tells us not to be conceited or impulsive, not to be satisfied with the status quo, not

to be drunk with our achievements, to redouble our effort, and to continue our march forward. In the face of difficulty the light of Mao Tse-tung's thinking is especially brilliant, brightening our eyes and softening our hearts. Even three successive years of natural calamities have not disheartened any of the people nor shaken their determination. The whole country is firmly united, overcoming its difficulties, striving to be strong, and burying their heads in a strenuous struggle. None of the people are pessimistic or despondent, but they are still full of confidence and advancing with increasing faith. True, it is easier to hold the Taishan than the hearts of the Chinese people united around the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao. But the difficulties are being overcome and the situation improving. Another test has been stood and another voyage successfully made. Who can forget the wise helmsman who has steered the course so admirably?

This year is the 20th anniversary of Chairman Mao's "Talk at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art." This article has long become a beacon light and landmark for the advance of intellectuals. For the past 20 years not a few intellectuals have been directed by this article to the correct road -- that of self-reform, that of service to the people, that of coordination with the industrial and agricultural masses, and that of those who seek to be Marxist-Leninists.

During the preceding year, our scientific workers have had a more total and deeper understanding of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, especially a recognition of the importance of the intimate coordination of ideological reform and the improvement of work. With advanced thinking and genuine scholarship, scientific workers can make greater contributions to the activities of the people. All of us must be constantly on our guard against our becoming either soulless or empty scientists.

Unity of an unprecedented magnitude has appeared on the entire scientific front. Between partisans and non-partisans, between scientists, and between them and administrative cadres, an atmosphere of harmony hitherto unseen has been created. Respect for teachers, love and care of students, unity, and friendship have all made their appearance. The only worry that old scientists have is that they may not know enough and may not impart sufficient knowledge to satiate the younger generation's thirst for it. The younger people are studying hard and are determined to become the qualified successors of old scientists and red and expert scientists with Socialist and Communist awareness.

We all recognize that science is a down-to-earth branch of knowledge, and no amount of trickery can avail! Chairman Mao teaches us that only strict, serious, hard, and true-to-the-fact study can constitute scientific attitude. There should be both the spirit of dare-to-think, dare-to-

speak, and dare-to-act and the behavior of strictness, austerity, and minuteness.

The energetic promotion of the spirit of investigation and research has also widely attracted the attention of scientific workers. "There should be detailed collection, scientific analysis, and comprehensive study of material," and "in dealing with the rich sense materials the chaff should be sifted from the grain and the false from the true, one point should be developed into another, and an approach should be made from the surface to the inside, so that a system of concepts and theories can be created out of this process of transformation." People's understanding of things is not accomplished with a single step. "Oftentimes it is after repeated failures only that erroneous understanding can be rectified, objective laws

complied with, and subjective things changed into objective ones." These important principles relating to scientific research deduced by Chairman Mao in his Shih-chien Lun (On Practice), Mao-tun Lun (On Contradictions), and other works are penetrating into people's hearts and playing an important role in scientific research. But this is only the beginning. Scientific workers should be constantly on their guard against what Chairman Mao has in his Kai-tsao Wo-men-ti Hsueh-hsi (Reform Our Study) described as the behavior of "catching sparrows with closed eyes," "the blind

catching fish," and "mastery of coarse branches and large leaves, bragging, and contentment with incomplete knowledge."

It is to be expected that the scientific world will produce results and great talents under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. It is my personal experience that unprecedented records have ^{been} set in mathematical emulation contests, in the entrance examinations of research students, and in the defenses made by research assistants of their theses.

In the mathematical emulation contests, some of the young contestants finished in 45 minutes their answers to basic training questions for which an hour and a half had been allotted, and there were even more who handed in their papers at the end of about one hour. This demonstrates the skill and accomplishment of the young people in their basic training. Especially in respect of questions which required deep and skillful thinking was a high record set. These questions were really not easy to answer, but some even succeeded in dealing with all of them. Compared with previous years this is a new phenomenon. What is more heartening is that these youths are optimistic and active and enjoy both physical and mental health. This is the new generation of the age of Mao Tse-tung.

The same thing was true of the entrance examinations of research students. Participants in these tests were few, but the records showed substantial basic training

and the skillful application of this training. Those research assistants who participated in the defenses of their theses had all had the experience ^{of writing} 70 or 80 of such theses. Some had no-one to guide their research work, and they simply relied on their own "digging." Though some of the others had had some guidance from their teachers, their "digging" overstepped the bounds of the domain with which their teachers were familiar. Some improved on their predecessors and set new records. Others advanced their own unique viewpoints. In short, not one was without original judgment.

Although the records of such middle school students, university graduates, and research scholars were not entirely lacking before the liberation, they were very rare. These promising youths have grown up under the nurture of the Party and under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

To sum up, the construction of the fatherland is making steady progress, and its science and culture are enjoying felicitous prosperity. For many years we have recognized the greatness and depth of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, which is proven by innumerable facts confronting us. In celebrating the 13th anniversary of our National Day I take the opportunity to give vent to some of my thoughts and let myself resolve and actively strive to become a junior and good student of Chairman Mao.

May the East Wind increase its power! May it continue to prevail over the West Wind!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the People's Republic of China!

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MANY HAPPY RETURNS!

[Following is a translation of an article by Lao She (5071 5287) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 19, 1962, pages 22-24.]

Whenever the 1 October National Day arrives, I feel somewhat younger -- nay, not only younger, but rejuvenated, like a child again! Yes, I feel frantically happy on our National Day! Please listen carefully, frantically happy! Otherwise, how could I be like a child?

If you ask why this is so, the story is a long one. However, let us refer to one thing, so as not to waste any time. I still remember how the National Day was celebrated in the old society. If you care to listen, I can simply say that it was not like this in Peiping at that time. To say nothing of the broken houses and dirty streets, human affairs were odd enough. Today the "white-faced giant," wearing a pheasant feather on his head, came in to kill and loot extensively. Tomorrow the "blue-faced giant," also wearing a pheasant feather on his head, came in to have his fill of killing and looting and drove out the "white-faced giant." This happened over and over

again, and each time the people were the poor victims of one or the other of them. The laboring masses were short of food and clothing, and the intellectuals stood the hardships of pay arrears and unemployment. As to the security of life, there was none to speak of. Once the "pheasant-feathered giants" took a fancy to it, a rolling of heads could take place any time.

Be that as it may, the National Day came around once a year. The police were always busy forcing each house to hoist the national flag. Just think, even our pants were taken away by the "pheasant-feathered giants." How were we to find any cloth for making flags? On the heels of the unsolved flag problem came the solicitation for contributions to pay for the erection of a p'ai-lou (decorative street scaffolding) at an intersection or crossroads. When such a p'ai-lou was erected, four big characters, "F'u T'ien T'ung Ch'ing" (Celebration Shared by All), made of fancy paper, were attached to the top of the temporary structure. Lo, we had lost our pants, shirts, and socks, but not in vain, because we had in exchange a celebration shared by all! I asked many friends what there was to celebrate on that day. They all had only tragic smiles on their faces and could give no reply to my question. There was an exception, however, in the person of Mrs. Li, who said: "Don't ask any questions. Let them

celebrate and let us suffer!"

We tasted this more than once. At this point you probably can understand why I am so enthusiastic and even frantically happy about the celebration of the National Day of our new China.

Yes, we are liberated, and the Chinese people are standing erect. How can I help jumping, singing, and passing a happy National Day?

Yes, everybody experienced an indescribable delight even several days before the National Day. Isn't it but natural? For more than a century we suffered from oppression and slaughter at the hands of the "white-faced giant" and the "blue-faced giant," and we had enough of the taste of starvation, poverty, and disease. Once we stand erect, how can we help regarding the National Day, the birthday of the new China, as the most precious day? How can we help expressing in our most enthusiastic yells our gratitude for and support of the Party and Chairman Mao?

Yes, it is the same all over. Big boys and girls prepare new shirts, smaller children want new shoes and silk strips, and both the old and the young are busy making paper flowers, showing tension and extreme happiness, ready for the boys to join the guard of honor and the girls to get into the athletic parade, every one of

them excited and sensing the honor. Even the four- or five-year-old plump brothers and sisters raise their small flags in their rooms and imitate the parade, shouting "Long live Chairman Mao!" Lo, this great National Day has won the hearts of the people, as if it had always been enthusiastically celebrated in the ancient days. No, in the ancient days there was not a day celebrated like this one by millions and with unanimous cheers. Being unprecedented, the day is worthy of our happy observance.

The facts are there, you see. Those who can participate in the parade are very happy, while those who cannot dance just the same to the music and songs. The National Day, Chairman Mao, and T'ien-an-men are associated in^a clear and magnificent picture, which is indelible in the minds of the people. This also explains why the old people and their children love to watch on television the sight of T'ien-an-men and the distinguished features of Chairman Mao and other leaders of the country and listen to radio reports about the glorious parade. This is the festival of 650 million people, every one of whom, in celebrating the day, can think of the good prospects of the country. Yes, everybody can see that on this day red flags are hoisted everywhere, from the Ta-ch'ing Mountains to Hainan Island, and the brethren and sisters of scores of nationalities put on their festival clothes. How

beautiful! How magnificent! What a lovely country!

When that day comes around, I am really like a child again. I wake up before dawn and get up quietly so as not to awaken others. As a matter of fact, all the children are up and discussing in a low voice the program for the day. Both grown-ups and children break into laughs, and in their excitement they cannot lie down and sleep any more. A knock on the door! Our neighbor's children are looking for our children. Not only our own house, but the whole lane is like this, and all Peiping, nay, the whole country, is like this. The 650 million hearts are all pinned on Chairman Mao and T'ien-an-men, and positively no more sleep can be had.

You see, this enthusiasm is a new state of mind, which we had never had before the liberation. That is to say, on the National Day each individual cannot help thinking over what he has done during the year and how well or how badly he has done it. Yes, since the people are the masters of their own house, how can they face Chairman Mao if they have not discharged their responsibility and made a contribution? Do you think what I have said is right? Right! Otherwise why are workers, peasants, militia-men, students, and cadres all so enthusiastic in receiving the review of Chairman Mao? I believe that everyone can think of this truth even before daybreak, namely, "Let us thank

you, Chairman Mao! Please look at our work! We hope we have not failed you and the Party!" Thus with one heart we are no longer a plate of loose sand. On the contrary, heart in heart and hand in hand, we are a new and strong Great Wall built with steel! Be it the thieving U-2 plane, the pilots or the US steel helmet he wears, whoever dares to encounter this Great Wall suffers the same fate -- extermination!

We detest bragging most. It is a fact that our unity is stronger and stronger and that our construction is newer and newer. You have perhaps also seen that in the National Day parade the machinery models held by our working comrades are different from year to year, and many of them are not even recognized by us. What does this demonstrate? The development and progress of every branch of industry, of course! The specimens of agricultural crops, models of horses and cattle, and water conservancy designs and drawings held by peasants are also different from year to year and show steady development and progress!

Look at our students! To speak the truth, when I was young I read the San-tzu-ching (Trimetrical Classic) and Pai-chia-hsing (Hundred Family Names), and the new subjects studied by our students now are really beyond me! While this puts an old "scholar" on the spot, it does prove that our education has had a great development and made great progress. Look at our militia, with both men

and women, with all kinds of cannon, and with their high spirits! How can we help getting excited and how can the enemy help feeling jittery? Look at our army of workers in the fields of literature and art, our army of athletes! Oh, it is simply endless! The more we talk about it, the more endless it becomes! The more endless, the more interest it engenders, and the less people tire of listening! That is why on the National Day every year we get up before dawn.

However, no matter how endless it may be, I want to mention to you the fact that in the parade there are many representatives of our sister nationalities. As an educated person, can you tell me if there has ever been such a thing since the dawn of our history? Being a Manchu myself, I really know something about the meaning of national unity, and I also know how grateful the minorities are for Chairman Mao's policy of nationalism. This gratitude is indescribable. Yes, no matter how hard I work, I always feel that I am^{not} doing enough. This unstinted gratitude, like new blood and a new vitality, makes me perpetually happy, young, and ready to engage in active work. I think that all members of all minority nationalities share this feeling, which is also a great force for the construction of the fatherland. Don't you think so?

Please forgive me for making a few more remarks.

What we have seen are not just some colorful designs and drawings, but the light of the three red flags of the general line, great leap forward, and people's commune. I have just mentioned "development and progress" in several instances, and these are the concrete expressions of the great leap forward. Our foundation being weak and we being in a state of poverty, we cannot hope to achieve greatness by the lifting of a single finger. However, under the brilliant light of the three red flags we are making a stride toward wealth and strength year by year. This is an undeniable fact. Lo, there are many foreign guests on the review stand. The light of our three red flags is really penetrating far and wide, we have really made great achievements, and so our national prestige is steadily increasing and we have friends all over the world.

Let us continue our effort and work with sky-rocketing energy! Our future is bright beyond compare!

Today we are celebrating the 13th anniversary of our National Day. Our accomplishments during this year have been by no means insignificant. Under the leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao our millions of people are united ^{have} and/overcome their difficulties. Not only have they overcome their difficulties, but they have learned many new skills. The summary of these skills can help us construct Socialism better and turn our difficulties into happy events, something especially worthy of congratula-

tion.

Let us go to T'ien-an-men! Let us go there and yell, "Many happy returns to the fatherland! Many happy returns to the Chinese Communist Party! Many happy returns to Chairman Mao!"

6096
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THE LOCAL OPERA AND THE HARVEST

[Following is a translation of an article by Chao Shu-li (6392 2885 3810) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 19, 1962, pages 24-26.]

This year I had the opportunity of spending another Dragon Boat Festival in my home town, and after the festival (7th day of the 5th moon) / I saw some operas in a local theater in a neighboring village. A few days before the festival I saw in the streets a bulletin from which I learned that the operas would be staged. Before reading the bulletin I had only heard an unconfirmed report.

The said neighboring village is Chia-feng, named after the mountain peak rising on the western side of the village. Each year at the time of the Dragon Boat Festival a temple fair is held and operas are staged to show homage to the gods. Those to whom reverence is paid in the village are five Plague Gods. On the shrine's altar are placed five carved figures representing the five gods. On each side there is a standing figure, one of the two holding in his hands a list of names of those who are destined to contract the plague and the other carrying in one hand a pail and in the other a ladle, said to spread the

germs of the plague to those who should contract the disease. The people have always felt that these clay figures cannot be offended, so their worship is carefully kept up. Since the liberation a health station has been established in the temple, so that the worship is suspended. Instead of worshipping the gods, an annual exchange of goods and materials takes place. The operas should have been started this year from the Dragon Boat Festival, but because the actors were busy, they could not start playing until a couple of days after the festival.

When I read the bulletin, someone in the village jokingly said to me: "You have acquaintances in all the opera groups in our special district. Through these connections can you not get one of the best to play for us in the fall?" "Why did you not say so earlier?", " I also jokingly replied. "If you had done so, I would have procured a group for you two years ago." He said, "Two years ago I could have done it myself, and it would have been unnecessary to bother you!" So saying, both of us laughed, which caused those who overheard us to share the joke with us.

To speak the truth, the condition of the village two years ago would not have made it possible to have operatic shows in the village. True, tickets for the shows are purchased by those prepared to attend, but when relatives go to the village to see the shows, a certain amount of enter-

taining is unavoidable. With the prevalence of several years of famine conditions in succession, it would not have been proper to entertain friends with the regular famine food, but it would have upset the arrangement of famine grain inordinately if better food were offered to those coming from outside. In the case of big villages entertaining people from smaller villages it would have been passable. But ours is a small village with less than 100 households, which did not dare to be too extravagant.

Operatic shows have not been given in our village for a number of years. With the year promising to be a good one, a plan was envisaged for presenting some operas after the autumn harvest. Unfortunately it was impossible to get hold of an opera group. Although there are quite a few of such groups, there is an excess of demand over supply, since every small village which has not had operatic shows for a number of years wishes to have them this year.

The shows in Chia-feng Village lasted three days, on two of which I attended. With my comparatively large mobility I have plenty of opportunity to see operas. The object of attending the Chia-feng plays was rather to meet some friends, who come from villages within the diameter of ten li.

It is the custom of this area of ours to give two shows a day, one in the afternoon and another in the evening. The afternoon show is for old people and children, young peo-

ple attending the evening show only. The latter go to the show after dinner and when the show is over they rush back home without having the time to visit relatives. However, guests are not lacking in the various households, because older visitors are welcomed to close relatives' homes even if they do not voluntarily make their visits.

My visit was a voluntary one. On the first day, after the conclusion of the matinee show, many relatives asked me to dine with them. My object was to meet them, and naturally I would like to visit their homes. But to have dinner could become a burden, since I had many homes to visit. Even one bowl in each house would have filled me up in no time. On the said evening the dinners consisted mainly of hot cakes supplemented with fried flour fritters with twisted dough. The latter were largely presents from relatives making visits. At last when I reached a certain household with a full stomach, I could not even go through the motion of eating. The host thought that I was being polite, so he pointed to a sauce-pan on the stove and said: "Look how much we have left. Please do not be too polite to eat." The suspicion of the host was not unfounded, because two years ago I did show some hesitancy when I was asked to eat at friends' and relatives' houses. But since last fall I have felt better at ease, because the harvest then was much better than two years before.

The same thing is true of the supply of opera groups. What we can procure this year could not have been possible two years ago even if the price had been doubled.

Successive years of famine had of course an unfavorable effect on the development of the local opera, but compared with past conditions the present situation is still tolerable. Before the liberation the ticket system was not introduced. Whoever wanted to worship the gods by staging operatic shows had to pay for them, and spectators from other localities did not have to pay a cent. My experience somehow is that it was more enjoyable to watch operatic shows in other villages than in our own. In the latter case I did not feel comfortable even in a good crop year.

The worship of gods usually had three reasons: (1) birthday and death anniversaries of patron saints of the village; (2) expression of gratitude to the gods, where it had been promised, in case escape from flood, drought, or plagues took place; and, most common of all, (3) expression of gratitude to the gods for regular or bumper autumn crops. Except the birthdays and death days of certain gods which do not fall in the fall (e. g., the worship of the God of Fire on the 7th of the 1st moon, that of the God of the Earth on the 19th of the 2nd moon, and the worship of Kuanyin on the 3rd of the 3rd moon), the commemo-

rative occasions are as far as possible combined with the autumn expression of gratitude to the gods and saints, one additional day being devoted to the former. Therefore from the standpoint of the operatic groups, autumn is the busy season and the others are off-seasons.

The latter correspond to the seasons in which peasants have no income. Having to pay for the operatic shows and entertain guests, each village feels the burden of economic pressure, so its inhabitants are apt not to enjoy its own shows. In a good year, middle and poor peasants in general do not enjoy their own village's presentations dedicated to the gods. For example, on the wall on which the above-mentioned bulletin was posted, there used to be notices concerning assessments each peasant had to contribute according to the number of mou he holds, to pay for the shows in question. Usually it amounted to some scores of cents for each mou of land. After receiving such notices peasants had to sell their grain within three days to raise the money. Under these circumstances how could they enjoy art?

In a good year conditions are of course tolerable. But once a famine year comes around, even opera groups have to disperse and face the danger of dissolution. My grandfather used to tell us that this occurred twice in his lifetime. He had forgotten the date of the first occurrence

(possibly 1859). At that time theatrical groups had almost all vanished. There was only one exception in our vicinity. This group exiled to the environs of Hankow, but it returned to its own locality after a few years and after learning the local opera current in the vicinity of Hankow. This style of opera is still being spread outside of Hankow, where it has curiously enough disappeared, maybe because it is an old style of singing.

The other time was in 1878, when the famine caused the death of over 80% of the population of our home town and laid waste most of the land. All operatic groups were dispersed, and even most of the business staffs died off. As on the former occasion some actors were exiled. A number of them returned to our village afterwards, and some were naturalized in the localities to which they emigrated. Certain styles of opera or singing, like the Chua-tzu of Shantung and the Western Pang-tzu of Hopeh (current in the vicinity of Yung-nien Hsien) were spread by them. The former has been transformed, but the latter still retains its original tunes. Of course the exchange of arts made possible by the famine is gratifying, although the old artists who were instrumental had to suffer many hardships.

Whether in its geographical extent or in its duration, the famine of two years ago exceeded those of almost 100 years ago. Fortunately the Government had been changed,

and the age of irresponsibility is past. So, although the business of opera groups is not too good for a short while during the year, they do not have to suffer from dispersion and exile. Moreover, the year is changing for the better, and pretty soon the busy season will be resumed. This is something which could not have come to pass before the liberation.

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LI TA-KUEI (2621 1129 6311) INVITED
TO NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATION

[Following is a translation of an article by
Chou Li-po (0719 4539 3134) in the Chinese-
language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag),
Peiping, No 19, 1962, pages 27-31.]

On 30 September 1949, at 4:00 p. m., Li Ta-kuei, President of the Steel and Iron Plant Labor Union, received a red invitation, to which a red silk badge was pinned. Shortly afterward the plant president's office got a telephone message to the effect that President Li should share the same car with the plant president and the Secretary of the Party Committee to go to the National Day celebration. This 25-year-old wrencher had recently been promoted to be President of the Labor Union, and still retained his habit of engaging in some rough work each day. At that moment he was doing some repair work with his hammer in the repair shop. After receiving the good news, he was greatly excited and threw away his tool, cleaned his hands, went back to his dormitory, and made the following request, which sounded like an urgent order:

"Prepare my meal immediately!"

"Why are you in such a hurry?" Mrs. Li enquired smilingly. She is a fairly pretty woman. Her hairdo had a knot behind, on which a silver pin was fastened. When she is in good humor, she is very pleasant. She has the habit of asking questions. No matter how irritated her husband is, she keeps on prying into everything by asking, "Why? How? What's the matter?" This time was of course no exception. But all Li Ta-kuei said was:

"Please don't mind. Prepare the meal quickly, the sooner, the better."

"But why? If you don't tell me, I refuse to cook for you."

"Let me tell you," said her husband proudly and confidentially, "I just received an invitation to attend the ceremony tomorrow."

"Attend what ceremony?"

"Your questions are endless. Please hurry." Li used the word "please" just to be respectful and polite.

"You are going tomorrow. Why so much in a hurry today?"

"I intend to have an early meal, so that I can go to bed early and get up tomorrow early."

"You will not be together with them?"

"With whom?"

"Our neighbors, who I hear are all going."

"Ah, that's different. Get busy and cook quickly. Don't ask any more questions."

After dinner, when there was still some light, the whole family of Li Ta-kuei, including his three-year-old boy, went to bed. Having good nerves, Li never had insomnia. But that evening he went to bed too early and his head was full. Among other things he thought of his past hardships and bright prospects. He kept thinking and could hardly get some sound sleep. In the middle of the night a racket came in through the windows, including the light beating of gongs and drums, pleasant singing, and women's vociferous laughter. Li turned around and sat up. Still in the dark, he thought it was a dream. After looking at the bright street lights, he realized that it was the crowd, consisting of the functionaries and workers of the plant participating in the parade. They had set out, and one truck after another flashed past. Soon the sound of cars and people's talking died out in a distance, and all was quiet again. Li could no longer sleep. He got up and turned on the lights. He first caught sight of the alarm-clock on the table. It was still 4:00 a. m.

He realized that it was now 1 October 1949, a great and illustrious day. On this day the great new China would be created. What would it be like? What changes would there be? Li could not think clearly. He has the habit

of not continuing with thinking when he cannot think things through. So he stopped thinking and was prepared to ask others. Then he washed up and dressed.

"The dumplings and salted vegetables are in the sauce-pan," said Mrs. Li who had been awakened by the dazzling lights, while patting the child who had also been waked up. "The clothes are in the dresser. Please get hold of them yourself. I won't get up." So saying, she closed her eyes. She felt that since this was a happy day for everybody, she had better have a good sleep to be able to celebrate it.

Dawn came after breakfast. Li changed into a new blue uniform and carefully pinned the red badge under the top left pocket. Then he took a bicycle to the plant to meet President Chiang. After he got to the office building, he set aside the bicycle and went up the cement stairs. Through a dark corridor on the second floor he reached the door of the President's office. He pushed hard one of the leaves of the door, which opened. President Chiang was sitting on an old sofa and reading the newspaper. The sound of the door being opened distracted the President, who raised his head. The name of the President is Chiang Chih-hsun (3068 1807 0534), a little over 40 years of age. During the war he was a thin man, but now he has gained in weight. Seeing Li with his new

attire, he smiled and said:

"Good morning, Li. Sit down. Do you intend to start so early?"

"Early? Everybody is gone."

"Why should we hurry? There is time enough if we leave about noon time."

"Noon time?" Li was somewhat surprised.

"Yes, the ceremony starts at 3:00 p. m." said President Chiang.

After figuring out that there were fully six hours before the opening, he thought that he could still do some work. So he started to leave.

"Where are you going?"

"To the repair department, where I have still some unfinished work to do."

"Come back at 12:30. We leave from here."

On his way Li passed two blast-furnace sites and saw his students installing hoists. His hand itched and ^{he} immediately took off his new blue uniform. He grabbed hold of a tool and helped the installation. After working for a long while, Li was called to the garage by a telephone call from the plant president's office. He quickly put on his jacket and left.

At the garage he saw a middle-aged person standing beside President Chiang. The man was a medium-sized fellow

wearing an old blue-serge uniform and cap. He looked every inch a serious man. He greeted Li with a smile and shook his hand. Grasping the man's hand firmly, Li inquired:

"How now, Comrade Teng (6772)? Did you sleep well last night?"

"Half and half, and you?"

"I fared badly. I could not sleep very well."

"What were you thinking?"

"A whole lot. Just think. I am only an ordinary wrencher, used to rough work. I can do well if I am told to install machines and take up heavy work. Now that I have to take care of such a big factory and participate in today's ceremony, how can I fit in? How can that be done?"

"Not only a factory, but even the state has to be taken care of by us all, including your good self. That thought was just a waste of time."

"That would be more impossible."

"Ha, ha! Possible or impossible, you cannot shirk the responsibility whenever duty calls." Chiang Hung-chih smiled loudly, his smile being always loud and clear. "Get on the car, master of the state."

"No, you should have said, 'custodian of the state and servant of the people,'" Teng Ping-ju (6772 3521-1172) made the correction.

"Then, let's go, Servant Comrade."

They all stepped into the car, which was an old Ford, a legacy of the Kuomintang. With its age it never ceased to pant and make other funny noises. The road was also very unusual, with here a hole and there a crack, here a ditch and there a heap of stones.

"After so many years of its rule, the Kuomintang has not even built a good road," said Teng Ping-ju.

"Otherwise it would not be called the Kuomintang," Chiang Chih-hsun chimed in.

Though the road was bad, the sun was bright and the view beautiful. From the car windows we could see the yellow round faces of row after row of sunflowers and the dark red stalks of sorghum. The sky was blue, and the air clear and temperate. The autumn breeze seemed to bring with it the smell of green grass and the aroma of crops.

"How beautiful the Peiping fall is!" exclaimed the plant's president.

"Why yes, fall is always very pleasant," replied Teng Ping-ju. Turning his head toward Li Ta-kuei, he asked, "How were the workers doing when you joined them this morning? Did they have anything to say about working holiday shifts?"

"No, nothing. They were all doing very well. I asked them, 'Do you have any complaint when others are celebrating and you are working?' A workman stood up and said, 'What difference does it make? Today we work hard

and you rest. Tomorrow when we have our rest, you will have to work hard. Isn't it exactly the same thing?"

The car passed Pa-pao-shan and Kung-chu-fen and finally reached Fou-ch'eng Gate. After entering the city the car was stopped. The road was filled with all kinds of people, with flags, slogans, models, gongs and drums, dragon and lion processions, and men and women in costumes happily dancing to the "sprout song" coming from North Shensi. In front of stores and on sidewalks there were also crowds of people. Stopped by the throng of people, the car could not move even a single step. The honking of the driver was all in vain.

"See, they know where to go," said Li Ta-kuei, spotting one of the electric light posts on the left, where two youngsters perched themselves. "It's not crowded up where they are."

"Very well," replied President Chiang, "but they cannot go to sleep."

"Only you can think of this," smiled Teng Ping-ju. Thereupon he told a story about the war. During the war of resistance against Japanese aggression he was right behind Chiang Chih-hsun in a night expedition. Suddenly Chiang became motionless and was found to be fast asleep.

Despite the efforts of the driver the car still could not move. Both organized troops and disorganized

crowds surged forth from all sides. Behind there was a long line of cars and trucks similarly bogged down. Traffic police used their batons to open up a lane on the sidewalk for the cars to get through and be parked there.

"Now we can only depend on our No 11 cars (meaning the two legs)." So saying, the plant president stepped out of his car and gave the chauffeur this order, "When the crowd recedes somewhat, drive the car to the T'ai-miao (Imperial Ancestral Temple)."

The three of them, led by Teng Ping-ju, proceeded from a quiet lane, turned into another, and detoured to T'ien-an-men. But when they reached Hsi-ch'ang-an Street, there was another big crowd. Suddenly he could not find the plant president and said to Li Ta-kuei:

"Too bad, we have lost Fatty."

"Let me look for him," said Li, turning to the west. Teng disagreed, because he was afraid that all three might be separated and lose contact. At last they found the plant president in front of a grain store. He got lost because he walked a little too slowly. Excited, he felt hot and his head was full of perspiration.

"How are you, Chiang?" inquired Teng.

"Oh, me? I have had enough. In such circumstances I can't help admiring you."

"You can^{do}/better in staying up late. You've got more

on yourself and can stand fatigue."

"Oh yes, I can do much better in that. At any rate, if I am not ahead, I do not fall behind. But in this business here I can't do anything. After all one can't be good in everything. The best thing would be to get fatter when it is necessary to stay up late and to lose weight when you have to squeeze yourself in a crowd."

"Let's go. I'll lead the way. Follow closely behind." Li pushed forth on both sides with his elbows. Being at home with steel and iron, this wrencher has strong muscles through constant drilling. He was irresistible, and the crowd had to dodge him and make way. Thus the three of them, with Li in front, Chiang in the middle, and Teng in the arrear, formed a streamlined front and forged ahead. They encountered practically no obstruction, and the pace of their advance was increased. Unconsciously they entered into the T'ai-miao.

The garden of the temple, with its old cedars reaching sky-high and their thick shade, was originally a cool, austere, extended, and mysterious piece of forbidden ground belonging to the feudal dynasty. Now it has become the property of the people, serving today as the parking space for cars of representatives attending the ceremony. In between the rows of cedars were parked all brands of small automobiles. The three gentlemen adjusted their clothes a little and stepped out of the gate of the T'ai-miao.

Both Chiang and Teng greeted everyone they knew. But Li was acquainted with nobody. Speechless and without restraint he quietly looked around. As they went out of the South Gate, they were confronted with a mass of red flags and a crowd of people. Li almost got dizzy and could not seem to be able to decide what to see. Mechanically following Chiang and Teng, he squeezed again into the milling crowd and slowly walked toward the temporary wooden spectators' stand in front of T'ien-an-men and west of Chin-shui Bridge.

On the stand Chiang and Teng, standing in the crowd, continued to chat with their friends. Looking ahead, Li could see that red flags were flying on top of the pointed and dome-shaped roofs of houses on both sides of Cheng-yang-men. As far as the eye could see, from east to west and from south to north, this long and wide square was turned into a sea of human beings, flowers, and flags. On the two red walls in front of T'ien-an-men were hung the big photographs of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. In the center of the square, facing T'ien-an-men, stood the band with clean and white uniforms in good order. The golden wind instruments shone brightly in the sun. Turning his head toward the east, Li saw the big photograph of Comrade Mao Tse-tung hung on the upper part of ^{the} gate in the center of T'ien-an-men, exactly facing the band.

At this time a loud applause was heard from the gate tower of T'ien-an-men. Li raised his head and saw that on the tower stood many people, a big man in blue-
serge uniform emerging. The applause on the tower and on the spectators' stand was merged into one. This gesture was contagious to the entire square. The children shouted, "Long live Chairman Mao!" The girls waved the flowers in their hands. The band played "The Red East." Chairman Mao, holding to the railing with his left hand, waved his right one to greet the crowd.

Li Ta-kuei was moved to tears. This was the first time he had ever seen Chairman Mao. While he was applauding, he looked at the tower and thought of many things.

"Now the celebration of the establishment of the People's Republic of China is begun."

Old cadres on the spectators' stand who had been to Yen-an could tell that the voice of the announcer was that of Comrade Lin Po-ch'u (2651 0130 3256). This old man with silvery hair continued to say into the microphone:

"Item No 1, raising of the National Flag."

People could see that in the center of the tower Chairman Mao pushed an electric button. The band played the national anthem, i. e., the "March of the Volunteers." Thereupon, in the center of the square, on the site of the monument to the people's heroes, the cornerstone of which

Chairman Mao had personally laid, a silken five-starred flag was slowly raised. This was the first national flag of the People's Republic of China. Under the reflection of the blue sky this red flag flew back and forth in the wind. It raised a fervent hope and rallied the people to a brave struggle.

The whole crowd in the square stood up, and the band stopped playing. All the 300,000 people were silent. Suddenly a blast was heard from the east. This was the salvo in honor of the occasion. It was said that the number of cannon used was 54. Li Ta-kuei counted and found the total to be 24 guns.

When the salvo concluded, old Lin announced: "Now Chairman Mao Tse-tung will read the proclamation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China."

Li borrowed from his neighbor a binocular and with its aid looked toward the tower. He clearly saw Chairman Mao walking slowly toward the microphone, holding the proclamation, and proceeding to read it. Standing quietly, all the 300,000 listened to the distinct voice of this leader. This voice was immediately carried to the whole world, causing rejoicing among our friends and tremor among our enemies. He read:

"Since Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang reactionary

Government rebelled against the fatherland, colluded with imperialism, launched the counter-revolutionary war, the people of the whole country have remained in deep water and hot fire."

At this point Li returned the binocular to its owner. He sank into retrospection and thought of the dreadful days before the liberation, when the paper currency was worth nothing, the whole family was taken sick, the two-year-old boy had nothing but his bones left, and Mrs. Li could only cry. "Deep water and hot fire." Wasn't it exactly like that? While he was thinking, he missed a part of what Chairman Mao was reading. He had already got to

"...cared nothing for themselves..."

"Who 'cared nothing for themselves'?" Li inquired of Chiang.

"The People's Liberation Army," Chiang replied in a low voice. Again Chairman Mao was heard to say:

"...fought bravely and succeeded in eliminating the reactionary army and overthrowing the reactionary rule of the National Government."

"How long did Chiang Kai-shek rule the country?" Li asked Teng.

"Twenty-two years," replied Teng after making a calculation.

Suddenly the masses broke into thunderous applause.

The reading had reached the point that "Mao Tse-tung was elected Chairman of the Central People's Government."

Li Ta-kuei looked again and saw all the members of the Government on the tower surrounding Chairman Mao and slightly behind him. Eight large palace lanterns were hung under the eaves of the multicolored-tiled house, with their yellow silk tassels swaying in the breeze, and eight large silken red flags folded and unfolded themselves in the air.

Li had just turned his sight from T'ien-an-men to Chin-shui Bridge and was enjoying the stone sculpture, while Chairman Mao was continuing his reading.

"...proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China and decided to select Peiping as the capital of the People's Republic of China. The State Council of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China assumes its office in the capital today..."

It is not altogether clear just when Chairman Mao discovered a number of photographers in front of him. With the clicks of cameras going on, his eyes were still focused on the proclamation, from which he continued to read:

"unanimously resolved to proclaim the establishment of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and to accept the Joint Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference as the political plan of this Government."

At this juncture Teng Ping-ju smiled and said in a

low voice:

"The state machine is installed. It will crush all the reactionaries in and out of the country and pave the way for industrialization."

"What a huge machine!" Chiang Chih-hsun declared with admiration.

"Chairman Mao is truly a great political wrencher," said Li Ta-wei with conviction.

On T'ien-an-men Chairman Mao continued to read:

"...resolved at the same time to declare to all Governments that this Government is the sole legitimate Government representative of all the people of the People's Republic of China."

"This is an important sentence. Let US imperialism listen to it carefully," said Teng.

Chairman Mao read the final paragraph:

"This Government is prepared to establish diplomatic relations with any Government desirous of abiding by the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and mutual respect of territorial sovereignty.

"(Signed) Mao Tse-tung,
"Chairman, Central People's
"Government of the People's
"Republic of China
"1 October 1949."

As the music resumed, Chairman Mao stepped slightly backward.

"The curtain is up. More is to come." Chiang smiled when he said this.

"The hard work is also ahead," added Teng.

Old Lin announced the start of the military review. Once more music resumed. Through the central gate of T'ien-an-men a jeep was driven. Commander-in-Chief Chu(2612) stood in the car, wearing white gloves and laying his left hand on a bar. The car proceeded slowly through Chin-shui Bridge and toward the east. After all units of the troops had been reviewed by the Commander-in-Chief, the jeep turned back. The division began, with the band in front and the infantry following behind. Then came the cavalry, with one white horse at the head, followed by a number of chestnut horses. The mechanized corps, whose members shouldered their arms and sat on a large American truck, passed. Then followed the armored troops and finally the artillery, with its different kinds of cannon placed on cars. At the very end were the tanks, which passed T'ien-an-men and proceeded slowly toward Hsi-ch'ang-an Street.

"So many new weapons! How awe-inspiring!" Li Ta-kuei said excitedly.

"All American presents from Chiang Kai-shek," said Chiang smilingly.

"He is truly a good transit leader," Teng said.

"Now not many of his troops are left?" Li inquired.

"I don't think there are many left," replied Teng after deliberating a bit. "In the Liaoning-shenyang, Peiping-Tientsin, and Huai-hai campaigns alone more than 1.5 million were eaten up. All those were crack troops provided with American arms. Chiang Kai-shek, that neither big nor small associate of the Shanghai commodity exchange, can hardly be said to be inept, but whenever he encounters the people's troops, he loses every battle and now he has almost exhausted his original capital."

"Our success is purely a military one," said Li with deep understanding.

"Who says not? Without our military success how could we stand here and how could the red flag be planted on T'ien-an-men?" President Chiang said.

"Chairman Mao has remarked that the Chinese Revolution depends on three magic wands," said Teng, who wanted to give a more total idea of the reasons for the change of the situation.

"Which three?" Li Ta-kuei quickly inquired.

"The Party's construction, armed struggle, and the united front."

A roar was heard in the air. All spectators raised their heads. It was planes up on high, three in a group. One group after another flew down above and over T'ien-an-m to be reviewed by Chairman Mao. With a smile he clapped

his hands. Everybody followed suit, and there was a long-sustained round of thunderous applause.

"When we were fighting guerrilla warfare, we had to sound the alarm and take cover whenever planes were heard. In the air only Japanese and Kuomintang planes showed their strength. We scarcely thought that we ourselves would have planes too." President Chiang appeared greatly excited and pleased. He clapped his fat hands so hard that they became red.

The review took three hours. It was almost dark when workers, peasants, municipal residents, and students began their parade, but everybody was still in good spirits. They had on different kinds of attire, held in their hands beautiful red lanterns, and row after row of them passed T'ien-an-men. Catching sight of Chairman Mao at a distance, they waved their flowers and yelled, "Long live Chairman Mao!" This echoed throughout the square. On the tower Chairman Mao did not cease to wave at the crowd. Later, to thank the people for their homage and cheers, he stepped in front of the microphone and enthusiastically shouted, "Long live my comrades!"

The leader and the masses are amalgamated into one unit. This harmonious unification has given rise to incomparable strength. This power has given birth to our new China, which has begun its tireless race. It will not

cease to run and jump ahead until it carries us to a future of unlimited rapture.

With the conclusion of the ceremony people rushed off the spectators' stand. When Li and his friends followed the crowd to the T'iao-miao to find their car, Chiang said to him:

"I hear that there will be fireworks for the whole night. Do you wish to see them?"

"No, thanks!" Li replied.

"Why not? Are you afraid Mrs. Li will complain?" President Chiang made the inquiry smilingly.

"Not that. Tomorrow I shall have to be on special duty, so I have to rest early tonight."

"Very well, let us all go home," said President Chiang.

In the T'ai-miao we found our car, and the three of them brought back to their factory their festivity as well as their fatigue.

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COLLECTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH

[Following is a translation of an article by Hsing Pen-ssu (6717 6321 1835) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 19, 1962, pages 32-36.]

Collective research and individual research are the two essential forms of scientific research. In these forms exists the question of individual and collective relationships. When we engage in scientific research, to obtain results, we should appropriately select and correctly apply one or the other of the two forms, and whichever form we adopt, we should attach great importance both to collective strength and the full development of the individual role.

Collective research occupies an important position in our present-day scientific research. The trend of scientific development and the task of scientific research in our country demand that we organize ourselves and cooperate in sharing the collective research into many scientific problems.

Modern science, be it natural science or the social sciences, has been developed to very high levels. The

depth and breadth of our understanding and study of nature and society exceed those in any other age and the division of labor in scientific research has become more and more minute. Many of the tasks and problems of scientific research under the new scientific levels require the expenditure of substantial work and minute division of labor and intimate cooperation dependent on collective strength for their successful fulfillment and solution. This condition is especially clear in the field of natural science.

To study certain newly developed scientific techniques, attack certain important scientific fortresses, or solve certain complex technical problems, it is necessary to adopt the collective form of research. For in such research work the objects are complicated and dimensions wide, and not only are the various specialized fields and various aspects of one science, but many sciences, are involved. Under these circumstances it is necessary not only to collaborate with many scientists versed in the same science, but to concert research and exploratory efforts with scientists in many departments. For example, the research into the manufacture of an electronic computer which can engage in complex mathematical calculations requires the cooperation of experts in automatic control, computation technique, radio electronics, mathematics, and mathematical logic. As to research in interplanetary aviation, which

is even more complicated (and which involves almost all the departments of natural science), it is all the more necessary to engage in collective research on a larger scale, involving scientists and engineers of many scientific technical departments.

The same thing is true, in general, of the social sciences. Under the guidance of Marxist theories, our research into the various complex political and economic phenomena of modern society is also becoming more and more profound and more and more minute. Many research tasks require the organization of collective effort for their performance. For instance, research in the rapidly developing and changing world economy requires the collection of material from many directions, the coordination of historical, political, and other conditions, and the timely evolution of laws from them. This is a tremendous and heavy task, which cannot be satisfactorily performed without collective effort.

In addition, the study and compilation, on the basis of Marxist viewpoints, of large-scale textbooks, reference books, lexicons, and encyclopedias also require the adoption of the collective form of research in most cases. For such work is complex and heavy, involves a large number of questions, suffers from the lack of ready-made material, and is in need of research and discussion. If left to an individ-

ual, it frequently takes too long to meet urgent requirements and it is difficult to attain high quality.

The requirement of organized division of labor and cooperation in research work has already made its appearance in the history of scientific development and, in consequence, produced certain embryonic forms of collective research. We can see from the history of scientific development that with regard to certain comparatively complex problems, many scientists have naturally asked to cooperate and share their work with people with the same knowledge and interests, and that the cooperative research of several or many people in the same scientific problem has invariably resulted in the acceleration of scientific development. The formation of many academic centers and schools of thought in history has often contained the elements of collective research. In our own history the Tzu-chih T'ung-chien (General History for Statesmen), the great work compiled by Ssu-ma Kuang (0674 7456 0342) and other scholars, was the result of research work of a collective nature.

Although the collective form of research is demanded by the development of science per se and especially by natural science, this demand cannot be successfully met in a society with private ownership. In a capitalist society, because science is held in the hands of the various capit-

alist groups, it is liable to be cut up by their competition and, like capitalist production, it is placed in an anarchic condition. As between the various scientists and schools of thought there frequently exist irreconcilable jealousies. Therefore, in a capitalist society, there may be collective research to a certain extent under the control of an enterprise or a monopoly group, but generally speaking, it is impossible to have widely planned application of the collective form of research. The capitalist system more and more fails to meet the requirements of modern scientific development and is more and more an obstacle to scientific development.

On the contrary, in a Socialist society, because scientific work is held in the hands of the people, it is possible for the state, in compliance with the requirements of Socialist and Communist construction, to unify the formulation of its policies relating to scientific research and the planning of the development of scientific work. Thus favorable conditions are provided for the unified organization of collective research in the essential scientific departments and tasks. This is one of the most important reasons why Socialist scientific work has forged ahead at a pace beyond the reach of capitalism. The great difference between interplanetary aviation in the USSR and in the US in recent years is a very good illustration.

In old China economy and culture were very backward and scientific work undeveloped. Since the liberation, both economic construction and scientific work have made rapid progress, but our natural science is in many respects still at a certain distance from the advanced levels of the modern world. Our country's Socialist construction urgently demands the rapid development of scientific work so as to catch up with the world's advanced levels in a short time. This makes it imperative for us to develop our collective effort better and apply better and to a greater extent the collective form of research. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China our country has set up many different institutions for scientific research, organized many scientific research programs, and had great achievements in all this work.

The advanced social system and the leadership and solicitude of the Party and the state have provided us with all conditions for the development of collective research. In its scope and results our collective research has far outstripped any historical age and accumulated many rich experiences. Hereafter we shall of course continue with our effort to improve collective research.

Speaking of the importance of collective research, we must not overlook the positive role played in it by individual studies. On the contrary, for the proper per-

formance of collective research, the positive role of individual studies must be fully developed. This is not only because the role of the individual is always very important in any collective activity, but because, in particular, scientific research is a highly complicated spiritual labor and has its characteristics which, compared with those of material production and other work, cannot be overlooked. These characteristics have determined that collective research must and can only be based on individual studies.

The task of science is to expose the laws relating to objective things. We must through scientific experimentation and investigation possess a large mass of material and engage in abstract/^{and reasonable} thinking, before we can gradually and penetratingly discover the inherent nature and relationships of things and objective laws. Abstract and reasonable thinking is an important link in scientific research, and the process of thinking must be carried out by the brain of each individual. True, it is possible to have division of labor in scientific research, as in the collection of material, in which another person can help. True, research problems can be divided into many parts and stages, to be considered by various individuals. But any individual doing research work must personally understand and hold in his hands all the materials involved and do his own thinking. To make a contribution to collective

research, he must make the exploration through his own thinking. Because of this, scientists, when studying a problem, unlike workers in material production, adopt a form which is in general expressed individually. For example, the independent reading of books of consideration of problems requires a quiet environment and time for carrying on separate activities. Although scientists in their collective research can learn from one another, profit by the experiences and pitfalls of others, and attach great importance to exchanges of views, none of these can replace independent, individual study. However colossal the tasks and problems involved in collective research and however extended its scope, it is always brought to fruition through the hard work of individual study undertaken by a research scientist.

The principal object of collective research is to solve problems through division of labor, cooperation, discussion, and even contention. Therefore collective research never denies the role played by individuals and individual creativity. On the contrary it requires each individual to develop fully his positiveness and creativity according to a unified plan and to strive for outstanding accomplishments. For example, as has been referred to above, the collective research into certain complex scientific problems requires, on the one hand, that those participating must possess special qualifications and be able

to undertake independent studies and fulfill tasks lying in their special fields and, on the other hand, that they be able to cooperate with others. Only when each scientist participating in such collective research can fulfill the tasks undertaken by him with outstanding distinction that joint research can be successfully carried out. The more minute the division of labor in modern science, the more it requires each participant to make deep studies. The more the individual creations and the more prominent they are, the more fruitful collective research will be.

In any group doing scientific research, all participants can and should not be limited to the same level. As a matter of fact, it is always through the leadership of a minority of comparatively advanced and outstanding research personnel in making breakthroughs connected with crucial problems that the level of collective research is advanced and the problems of scientific research gradually and incessantly solved. The emergence of large numbers of extraordinary scientists and scientific results is an indication of the high level of collective research.

Collective research based on individual study is an important, though not the sole form of scientific research. Many varied forms may be adopted by scientific research. Individual research is an effective form which cannot be overlooked. In fact many great scientific discoveries and

inventions in history have been the result of individual research. In the history of scientific development it is not uncommon that after engaging in practical experience, collection of material, and discovery of certain local laws for a certain length of time, a number of outstanding scientists, on the strength of their intimate relations with practice and their profound knowledge and hard work, have through their individual research succeeded in making a stupendous stride by breaking through the then existing theoretical levels and thus displayed their genius. To this class of personages belong Copernicus, Newton, and Darwin, and especially Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

Today individual research is still indispensable. This is because the adoption of the individual form of research is frequently more compatible with the conditions and characteristics of certain scientific research. For example, certain scientific theoretical problems require long exploration, protracted preparatory study, and a greater length of time for deducing a conclusion. Certain problems in certain scientific fields have a comparatively narrow scope for research and do not require the joint effort of a great many persons. From the standpoint of research workers, the specialties, interests, and academic judgments of certain scientists are out of the ordinary and unique. Under these conditions the individual form of research can generally be adopted.

In fact in our present scientific research, many tasks and problems are undertaken mainly by individuals. This condition is especially common in the social sciences. Research work in history and philosophy, for instance, has more and more adopted the individual form of research. The writing of textbooks and reference books has in general adopted the collective form, but in this work individual research and individual writing are also encouraged.

Emphasis on the role of individual study in collective research and on individual research is not the same as individualism. The two are basically different. Individual study and individual research are forms of labor adopted by scientific research. The necessity for this form of labor has been determined by the characteristics of scientific research; but individualism is an erroneous idea produced by the exploiting class, especially the capitalist class. Because the activities of scientific research are largely individual activities, the results of scientific research are frequently individually expressed. Especially because of the capitalist influence brought by intellectuals from the old society, certain people improperly exaggerate the individual effect of scientific research, exclude collective research, and deny the role of a group. This is a distortion resulting from the utilization of the characteristics of scientific research. It is really an expression of the individualist thinking of the capitalist class,

which should be criticized and opposed. However, this viewpoint cannot be equated with the correct understanding and recognition of the role of individual study and individual research in scientific research. It would be wrong to deny basically the characteristics of individual study and the individual form of research in scientific research because of the opposition to individualist thinking.

The affirmation of the role of the individual form of research is not the same as the assertion that scientific research can deviate from society and the group to be pursued in an isolated fashion. In practice, the research work of scientists inevitably has an intimate relationship with social practice. To accomplish any individual research, it is necessary to pay attention to the absorption of results achieved by other researchers and to cooperate with other scientists, as well as to submit the results of one's research to collective criticism and to accept the views of others with humility.

Although when a scientist engages in research, as stated above, he can and must resort to individual activities, nevertheless the contents of the subject of his research must be closely related to society and he must in that respect rely on collective effort. First, he must accept the legacy of his predecessors, understand the results achieved by them, the levels reached by them, and the experi-

ences and lessons left by them, and derive from them whatever is beneficial, including the material collected by them after protracted effort and their correct judgments and working methods, on the basis of all of which the research should be continued. At the same time the scientist concerned must absorb "nutrition" from the results of contemporary scientific research (including his own and closely related fields) and enter into joint research with other scientists by cooperating and discussing with them, by learning from them, and by profiting by their experiences and pitfalls. What is more important, he must heed the call of practice, understand and participate in the practical production and class struggles, and derive benefit from practical experiences.

From this it is discernible that scientific research, judging by its content, is a social activity and that the results of scientific research always contain the fruits of the labor of others. In this respect the spiritual labor of scientific research is similar to the material labor of all production. Said Marx: "Labor in general includes/scientific labor, all discoveries, and all inventions. This labor is partly conditioned on the cooperation of those living now and partly conditioned on the utilization of the labor of our predecessors." [See Note]

[Note: Tzu-pen Lun (Capital), People's Publishing

Agency, 1953, page 105.

On this score Marx and Engels, originators of Marxism, have set extraordinary examples for us. They engaged in scientific research in a very difficult environment, and their research encountered the many-sided criticism and attack of capitalist scholars, did not receive the support of society, and naturally could not apply the present-day collective form of research. However, Marx and Engels cooperated intimately, engaged in exchanges of views, made joint research, and got together a large number of students and fellow-warriors. In several decades they originated the revolutionary theories of the proletariat, causing the basic transformation of philosophy, political economy, and the science of history.

Marx and Engels attached great importance to the heritage of historical culture. Their theories critically succeeded to the best results of the classical philosophy of Germany, the political economy of England, and the Socialist theories of France. They also attached great importance to all the important results of contemporary research in natural science. In refuting the erroneous viewpoints of capitalist scholars, they carefully utilized all the useful materials provided by them. In engaging in theoretical research, Marx and Engels consistently and uninterruptedly participated in and led the international

Communist movement and summarized their experiences gained from the practice of proletarian revolution. The most important reason why Marx and Engels had such great achievements in science and made such great contributions to mankind was, in addition to their genius, their ability to learn from the masses and from revolutionary practice.

In scientific research, the correct treatment of individual and collective relationships is an important question. We should coordinate correctly the individual and collective forms of research and adopt different forms for different tasks and problems. At the same time, we must fully develop the role of individual study when applying the collective form of research, and we must pay full attention to the procurement of the collective assistance and support of society when adopting the individual form of research. The Socialist system in our country and the Party's leadership provide very favorable conditions for scientific research, whether in the application of collective effort or in the development of the individual role. So long as our scientific workers can make full use of these conditions, they can achieve better results in their research and rapidly develop scientific work in our country.

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A MARXIST DISCUSSES THE SELF-EDUCATION AND
SELF-TRANSFORMATION OF THE PROLETARIAT

[Following is a translation of an article by
Fan Jo-yu (5400 5387 1946) in the Chinese-
language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag),
Peiping, No 19, 1962, pages 37-41.]

The book of Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i (0491 1421 1142)
entitled Lun Kung-ch'an-tang-yuan ti Hsiu-yang (On the Edif-
ication of the Communist Party Member) represents a com-
bination of the universal truth of Marxism relating to the
proletariat's simultaneous transformation of the objective
world and its own subjective world and the concrete experi-
ences of members of the Chinese Communist Party connected
with their self-education and self-reform. In its very
first chapter Comrade Liu's book presents in a summary
fashion the universal truth of Marxism relating to the pro-
letariat's transformation of the objective world and itself
at the same time, as stated in the following propositions:
(1) that people should transform themselves at the same time
that they transform the world; (2) that the proletariat should
self-consciously transform itself in the revolutionary
struggle for the transformation of the world; (3) that

the broad masses and vanguards of the proletariat should engage in a struggle with the various ideological concepts brought by themselves from the old society; (4) that they should actively participate in the practice of revolution and in that practice strengthen their subjective effort to transform themselves and regard themselves as in need of and capable of reform; and (5) that attention should especially be called to the fact that after acquiring political power, the proletariat should still continue to transform itself.

I

The simultaneous transformation of the objective world and its own subjective world is the historic mission undertaken by the proletariat in the present stage of social development. In his work entitled Lun Shih-chien (On Practice) Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in 1937:

At the present stage of society's development the responsibility of correctly understanding and transforming the world has, as a matter of history, fallen on the shoulders of the proletariat and its Party. This practical process of world transformation based on scientific knowledge has both in the world and in China reached an historic stage -- an unprecedentedly important stage since the dawn of history, i. e., the total overturning of the dark side of the world and China and its transformation into an unprecedentedly bright world. The struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary people for the transformation of the world includes the fulfillment of the following tasks: transformation of the objective world, also transformation of one's subjective world -- transformation of one's own power of understanding, and transformation of the relation-

ship between the subjective world and the objective world. [See Note]

[Note] People's Publishing Agency, 1952, 2d ed, pages 17-18.

The historic mission of the proletariat in all countries is, in accordance with the laws governing social development, to lead its working people in waging a revolutionary struggle, overthrow the rule of capitalism, and transform the entire world gradually into a Socialist and Communist world. This great transformation of the world by the proletariat is not only the transformation of the social system but that of man. Marx pointed out:

With a view to its own liberation and to acquiring the higher form toward which modern society is as a result of its own economic development irresistibly tending, it (the proletariat?) must go through a stubborn struggle and a series of historical processes of total transformation of man and his environment. [See Note]

[Note] "The French Civil War," Ma-k'e-ssu En-ke-ssu Wen-hsuan (Selections from Marx and Engels), 2-vol ed, Vol I, People's Publishing Agency, 1958, page 502.

In the course of the revolution the proletariat, following the transformation of the social system, must at the same time transform the exploiter who eats without working into the worker who lives on his own labor, the small private owner into the worker under the system of public ownership, and finally all men into Communist workers who make no distinction between physical and mental labor. To fulfill its own historic mission of transforming the world,

the proletariat must transform itself into a group of reformers who are capable of transforming the world. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly stressed this point, and in his K'uan-yu Cheng-ch'ueh Ch'u-li Jen-min Nei-pu Mao-tun ti Wen-t'i (Concerning the Question of Correctly Dealing with the People's Internal Contradictions,) he again emphatically pointed out:

In the course of the construction of a Socialist society everyone is in need of transformation, including the exploiter and the worker. Who can say that the working class does not need transformation? Of course the transformation of the exploiter and that of the worker are different and should not be confused. In the class struggle and in the struggle against the natural world the working class should transform society as a whole as well as itself. In the performance of its work the working class must not cease to learn, and it must gradually overcome its own shortcomings, never ceasing to do so. [See Note]

[Note] Op Cit, People's Publishing Agency, 1957, page 20.

The universal truth relating to men's transformation of themselves in their struggle for the transformation of the natural world and society is an important distinction between Marxist materialism and old-time materialism. In the Feuerbach Program Marx pointed out:

A kind of materialism regards man as the product of environment and education and consequently regards the changed man as the product of another environment and changed education, -- this theory forgetting that it takes precisely man to change environment and that the educator himself must receive education. [See Note]

[Note] Ma-k'e-ssu Ch'uan-chi (Complete Works of

Marx), Vol III, People's Publishing Agency, page 4.

The materialist only sees that man is the product of environment and education, but fails to see that environment is precisely transformed by man and that those who change environment must be transformed themselves. For this reason Marx and Engels pointed out:

Those who develop their own material production and material exchanges, at the same time that they change this reality of theirs, also change their thinking and its product.

In revolutionary activities the transformation of environment at the same time changes man himself.
[See Note]

[Note] "Condition of Consciousness in Germany," Complete Works of Marx, Vol III, pages 30, 234.

In men's struggle for the transformation of society they at the same time transform themselves.

II

Since men transform themselves at the same time that they transform the world, the proletariat should self-consciously transform itself when engaged in the revolutionary struggle for the transformation of the world. In Comrade Liu's work, Lun Kung-ch'an-tang-yuan ti Hsiu-yang, it is said: "The proletariat should self-consciously undergo a long-term social revolutionary struggle and in this struggle transform society and transform itself."

As a result of its objective class status the proletariat is instinctively and spontaneously inclined to "smash that chain of the old world." However, from the

standpoint of either the development or the membership of the proletariat, it is not from the very beginning conscious nor is each of its members conscious of the necessity for transforming the capitalist world into a Socialist and Communist world. Only Scientific Socialism has clarified the historic mission of the proletariat. Said Engels:

The fulfillment of this task of world liberation, -- this is the historic mission of the modern proletariat. The study of the historical conditions and substance of this change is therefore also the condition and nature of the work of making the modern oppressed class, which is responsible for the mission of fulfilling this task, understand its job -- this is the task of Scientific Socialism as a theoretical expression of the proletarian movement. [See Note]

[Note] She-hui-chu-i ts'ung K'ung-hsiang tao K'o-hsueh ti Fa-chan (Socialism from Illusion to Scientific Development), People's Publishing Agency, 1954, page 83.

Lenin pointed out that the consciousness of this kind of Scientific Socialism must be instilled into the working class from the outside by the Marxist. He said:

This consciousness can only be instilled from the outside. The histories of all countries prove that the working class, by relying on its own strength alone, can only form the consciousness of a federation of labor unions. [See Note]

[Note] "What Is To Be Done?" (Lieh-ning Ch'uan-chi (Complete Works of Lenin), Vol V, People's Publishing Agency, page 342.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that only after accepting Marxist Socialism was the proletariat transformed from a self-existing to a self-acting class. He said:

From practice, from experiences of long-term

struggle, and through Marx and Engels' summary of these experiences by the scientific method have the Marxist theories been produced, to educate the proletariat, thus making it understand the inherent character of the capitalist society, the relationships of social class exploitation, and the historic mission of the proletariat. At this time it has become a "self-acting class." [See Note]

[Note] "On Practice," Mao Tse-tung Hsuan-chi (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung), Vol I, page 277.

The transformation of the proletariat from a self-existing into a self-acting class cannot be separated from its acceptance of the Marxist theory relating to the transformation of the world. The fact that a worker can self-consciously enter into the revolutionary struggle for the transformation of a capitalist society into a Socialist and Communist society cannot be separated from the fact that he is conscious of the necessity for transforming himself from a poor capitalist slave into a revolutionary. Said Lenin:

A slave who is conscious of of his enslavement and struggles against it is a revolutionary. A slave who is not conscious of his enslavement and lives the life of enslavement in a silent and confused manner is a full-fledged slave. One who eloquently praises the life of enslavement and expresses unlimited gratitude to a good and kindhearted owner is a menial and shameless person. [See Note]

[Note] "In Memory of Baron Ke-i-tien," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol XIII, page 36.

Lenin also said:

The proletariat, as the only thoroughly revolutionary class of modern society, should become the leader of the struggle of the entire people for the the realization of thorough democratic revolution

and the struggle of the workers and the exploited against their oppressors and exploiters. Only when it is conscious of, and seeks the realization of, this idea of leadership can the proletariat be described as revolutionary. [See Note]

[Note] "Reformism in the Russian Social Democratic Movement," Ibid, Vol XVII, page 214.

The proletarian Party, which shoulders the responsibility for the transformation of the world, must first ideologically transform the broad masses of the proletariat from slaves of capitalism into revolutionaries. Only thus can the proletariat fulfill its historic mission of transforming the world. For this reason Lenin again said:

We should first pay attention to the elevation of workers to be revolutionaries... [See Note 1]
When the advanced representatives of the working class have understood the ideology of Scientific Socialism and the ideology of the historic mission of the Russian worker and when these ideologies are widely diffused and bring about a strong organization among workers for changing their presently scattered economic war into a self-conscious class struggle, the Russian worker can lead all democratic elements in the overthrow of despotism and guide the Russian proletariat (together with the proletariat in all countries of the world) along the wide road of open political struggle toward the victorious Communist revolution. [See Note 2]

[Note 1] "What Is To Be Done?" Ibid, Vol V, page 441.

[Note 2] "What Are the 'People's Friends' and How Do They Attack the Social Democrat?" Ibid, Vol I, pages 277-278.

The workers' masses can only become revolutionaries after self-conscious transformation, and revolutionaries can only become mature and experienced ones after continued self-reform. Comrade Liu says in his book: "A Communist

must transform himself in the many-sided struggle against the counter-revolutionaries and reformists, i. e., he should obtain his own progress and improve his revolutionary quality and ability in such a struggle. The change of an immature revolutionary into a mature and experienced one and one who can freely hold and apply the laws of revolution calls for a long process of revolutionary training and edification, a prolonged process of transformation.

III

As stated above, the proletariat must at the same time transform itself in the process of the transformation of the world, and in the course of the latter incessantly improve its own knowledge and raise its class awareness. Only thus can its historic mission/^{be}victoriously fulfilled. In addition, the proletariat should transform itself, because this class, having grown up and developed in the old society, cannot be free from the influence of that society's ideologies of all kinds. On this point Lenin said:

The working class cannot discard its weaknesses and shortcomings immediately after it starts its Communist revolution. These have been inherited from the landlord and capitalist society, from the exploiter and local-rascal society, and from a society in which the minority has become rich by foul means and the majority has endured poverty. [See Note]

[Note] "On Famine," Ibid, Vol XXVII, page 372.

The various forms of ideological consciousness of the old society must have directly or indirectly influenced

the proletariat, especially the ideological consciousness of the petty capitalist class, which has had a more direct influence on the proletariat. Lenin regarded the transformation of those members of the proletariat who have come from the petty capitalist class as an historic mission of the proletariat. He said:

Whenever and wherever it may be, the proletariat has always been recruited from the petty capitalist class, and whenever and wherever it may be, the proletariat is always connected with the petty capitalist class, because as between them there exist many transitional stages, sides, and characteristics. When the labor party had its especially rapid development (as in our own country in 1905-1906), the extensive infiltration of elements with petty capitalist thinking into the labor party was inevitable. But this was not a bad thing. The historic task of the proletariat is to train, educate, and transform all elements coming from the petty capitalist class and left to the proletariat by the old society. However, to this end, it is necessary to enable the proletariat to transform these people who have come from the petty capitalist class and it is necessary to enable the proletariat to influence them and not let them influence the proletariat. [See Note]

[Note] Ibid, Vol XVI, page 49.

There are within the ranks of the proletariat many who have not undergone long-term training in revolutionary practice and who lack the integral Marxist world conception. Said Lenin:

Revolution has very widely placed people of many strata into political life and frequently caused many inconsequential people -- and many novices -- to emerge. Thus many of them basically have no integral world conception, which is entirely an inevitable phenomenon. [See Note]

[Note] "Concerning Two Letters Received," Ibid, Vol

XV, page 265.

It goes without saying that in their training in practical struggle these "novices" should gradually raise their awareness.

For the above reasons the vanguards and broad masses of the proletariat have the absolute necessity for making constant use of Marxism to transform the various forms of ideological consciousness they have inherited from the old society and raising incessantly their awareness in their practice of revolution.

IV

The self-transformation of the proletariat is for the sake of revolutionary practice, which is the most important aspect of self-education and self-transformation. Marx and Engels said:

Whether for the universal production of Marxist consciousness or for the achievement of the object itself, it is necessary to bring about universal change among men, and this change can only be brought about in the practical movement, in revolution. Consequently the necessity for revolution exists, not only because there is no other way of overthrowing the ruling class, but because solely in a revolution can the class overthrowing the ruling class discard all of its own old and dirty things and establish a new basis for society. [See Note]

[Note] "Condition of Consciousness in Germany," Op Cit., Vol III, page 78.

Lenin also said:

Real mass education can never deviate from the masses' own independent political struggle and especially from their own revolutionary struggle.

Only struggle can educate the exploited class, and only struggle can enable the exploited class to discover its own strength, widen its own outlook, increase its own ability, clear its own head, and sharpen its own will. [See Note]

[Note] "Report on the Revolution of 1905," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol XXIII, page 247.

The self-transformation of the proletariat and the edification of the Communist cannot be separated from the practice of revolution, nor from its subjective effort in the revolutionary practice. Comrade Liu's book points out that if a revolutionary deviates from his subjective effort in practice and his self-edification and study, he still cannot succeed in obtaining his progress. Lenin has also repeatedly given us the same guidance. He said:

Theoretical knowledge, political experience, and organizational ability can all be learned, provided a study is made and there is the desire to cultivate these qualities. [See Note 1]

Revolutionary experience and the skill of organization can be learned. It will be all right so long as there is the desire to cultivate these qualities. It will be all right if one can recognize one's own defects, because in revolutionary work the recognition of defects is equal to the rectification of the larger part of them! [See Note 2]

[Note 1] "An Exchange of Views with the Supporters of Economism," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol V, 824.

[Note 2] "What Is To Be Done?" Ibid, page 345.

That is to say, so long as the proletariat and proletarian revolutionaries subjectively have the desire to transform themselves and to bring about their edification as well as make an effort to transform themselves in the development of revolutionary practice, they can recognize and rectify

their own defects. What is most important, as stated in Comrade Liu's book, "We should regard ourselves as in need of and capable of being transformed. We should not regard ourselves as immutable, perfect, mysterious, in no need of transformation, and incapable of transformation." A revolutionary must first affirm that he is in need and capable of transformation before he can make an effort to transform himself in practice.

V

Judging from the history of the formation and development of the proletariat, self-education and self-transformation are consistently needed. At first the proletariat had to undergo incessant education and transformation in struggle before it could be changed from a self-existing into a self-acting class. Then it had to undergo incessant education and transformation, increase its power of class struggle, unify the broad masses of the people, and overthrow the ruling class and exploiting class, before it could be changed from the most oppressed class into the ruling class. After the proletariat becomes the ruling class, not only is it still in need of self-education and self-transformation, but this education and transformation are even more important.

This is because when the old social system existed, the proletariat could not help being influenced by its

ideological consciousness, and even after the extinction of the old social system the influence of its ideological consciousness could not be expected to die with it immediately, and the proletariat could still not be free from this influence. Said Lenin:

There was no Great Wall between the old societies of the working class and the capitalist class. When revolution broke out, it was not like the condition that prevails when a man dies, the only thing to do being to take out the dead body. When the old society died, its corpse could not be placed in a coffin or buried. It remained in our midst, to rot, smell, and do harm to us. [See Note]

[Note] "Joint Conference of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Industrial, Agricultural, and Red Army Soviets, and Labor Unions," Ibid, Vol XXVII, page 407.

After the October Revolution the Russian proletariat which had obtained political power sent a large number of advanced workers to rural areas. To them Lenin gave this admonition:

After becoming leaders of the poor, workers have not become saints. They lead the people forward, but they have also caught some of the corruption of the petty capitalist class. The fewer of the most organized, conscious, disciplined, and resolute of the workers' ranks are left, the more easily they can be corrupted and the more easily the spontaneous forces representing the old petty capitalist class will defeat the proletarian Communist consciousness representing the future. [See Note]

[Note] "On Famine," Ibid, page 372.

The proletariat cannot become a group of "saints" who are flawless and who cannot commit mistakes simply because it has led the revolution to its victory and obtain-

ed political power. It still can be influenced by the ideological consciousness of the extinct old society and may even be in danger of being corrupted by it. Historically speaking, revolutionaries of all ages have had this danger after, and not before, their victory in the many cases. Examples are innumerable both in history of the world and in that of China. Comrade Liu says in his book: "It is especially to be noted that when a revolution succeeds and when the masses incessantly increase their confidence in, and support of, themselves, they should all the more intensify their vigilance and heighten the edification of their proletarian consciousness, so that they can consistently maintain their pure proletarian revolutionary quality and do not fall into the trap of revolutionaries of all ages at the moment of their success." Revolutionaries of all ages are frequently corrupted and even become extinct when they are successful, the principal reason being their pride and conceit after their victory. Said Lenin:

The reason why some revolutionary parties have become extinct is because they become proud and conceited, cannot see where their strength lies, and are afraid of admitting their weaknesses. On the other hand, we shall not become extinct, because we are not afraid of admitting our weaknesses and we can learn to overcome our weaknesses. [See Note]

[Note] "The 11th National Congress of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks)," Ibid, Vol XXXIII, page 275.

Not to fall into the trap of successful revolutionaries of all ages, the proletariat must continue to transform itself after the acquisition of political power and carry on a struggle between Marxism and its own non-Marxist thinking. Lenin said:

The worker is constructing a new society, but he has not yet been changed into the new man to clean away the foul mud of the old world, and he is still standing in that mud...

...We should carry on a struggle against all the weaknesses and defects which are still with the worker and which are constantly pulling the leg of the proletariat. [See Note]

[Note] "Report to the 2nd National Congress of the All-Russia Labor Union," Ibid, Vol XXVIII, page 403.

Stalin also said:

One of the important tasks of the Party in the period of proletarian dictatorship is to expand the work of transforming the old and educating the new generation in the spirit of the proletarian dictatorship and Socialism. The old habits, good and bad, traditions, and prejudices left by the old society are the most dangerous enemies of Socialism. They are controlling millions of the working masses. Sometimes they cast their shadow over the various strata of the proletariat, and at other times they cause the greatest danger to the existence of the proletarian dictatorship. Therefore we must carry on a struggle against these traditions and habits, overcome them in all aspects of our work, and educate the new generation in the spirit of proletarian Socialism -- this is the immediate task of our Party, and without carrying out this task we cannot secure the victory of Socialism. [See Note]

[Note] "Summary of the 13th National Congress of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks)," Ssu-ta-lin Ch'uan-chi (Complete Works of Stalin), Vol VI, page 217.

Comrade Liu's book summarily and systematically presents the above points in the Marxist theory relating to

the self-transformation of the proletariat in its revolutionary struggle and summarizes in this spirit of Marxism the Chinese Communists' experiences of self-education and self-transformation. The book has played an important role in the history of the construction of the Chinese Communist Party by virtue of its effect on the education of the broad masses of Party members to strengthen and edify themselves. Hereafter our broad masses of Party members will continue to be enlightened by this persuasive Marxist work in their self-transformation and, through their exemplary actions, help the proletariat and the broad masses of the people to carry out their self-education and self-transformation.

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A COMMUNIQUE OF THE 10TH PLENARY SESSION OF THE 8TH
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

[Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 19, 1962, page 1-5.]

The 3rd Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its 10th plenary session in Peking, September 24-27, 1962.

The 10th plenary session was presided over by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Eighty-two members and 88 alternate members of the Central Committee attended. Thirty-three other comrades from the departments concerned of the Central Committee and from the provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees were also present.

The 10th plenary session discussed and took decisions on the question of further consolidating the collective economy of the people's communes and developing agricultural production and on the question of commercial work. It made a decision on the planned interchange of important leading cadres of Party and government organizations at various levels. It decided to strengthen the work of the Party control commissions at all levels and elected additional members to the Central Control Commission. It elected Comrades Lu Ting-yi, K'ang Sheng and Lo Jui-ch'ing as additional members of the secretariat of the Central Committee, and at the same time decided to dismiss comrades Huang K'e-ch'eng and T'an Cheng from their posts as members of the secretariat.

The 10th plenary session discussed the international and domestic situation.

The session points out that the international situation is developing in a direction even more favorable to the people of all countries. The struggle of the people of the world against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and against colonialism, old and new, is surging forward. The Cuban people, after winning victory in their revolution, have embarked on the road of socialism and have continually defeated the U.S. imperialists' aggressive schemes. The Algerian people have attained independence through protracted armed struggle. In Laos, armistice has been realized and a provisional coalition government has been formed. The people in Southern Vietnam have won one victory after another in their patriotic armed struggle. The Indonesian people have waged a successful struggle for the recovery of

West Irian. The Japanese people have conducted continued heroic struggles against U.S. imperialist aggression and oppression. All these are important landmarks in the vigorous development of the national and democratic movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples of the world for national independence, democracy and socialism are playing an ever greater role in the defense of world peace. The growing strength of the countries in the socialist camp and their unity based on Marxism-Leninism and Internationalism constitute the decisive factor in defending world peace and give an extremely important encouragement and support to the liberation struggle of the people of various countries.

The U.S. imperialists are redoubling their efforts to push through their plans of aggression and war, which are aimed at attaining world hegemony, the reactionaries of various countries are serving imperialism in a less disguised way, and the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique have become more despicable in betraying the cause of communism and meeting the needs of imperialism. All this shows that the class struggle is raging in the international sphere.

The imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the modern revisionists have engaged in all kinds of criminal activities to oppose communism, oppose the people, oppose the mass struggle of all oppressed nations and oppose the People's Republic of China and all other independent countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere, which refuse to be slaves, but the result is contrary to their expectations. Their criminal activities have only served to further reveal their ugly features and land them in greater isolation. Although the struggle against the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the modern revisionists is protracted, tortuous and complicated, the revolutionary cause of the people of all countries continues to develop, the international communist movement is growing daily in strength, and our friends have become more numerous.

The 10th plenary session holds that the development of the international situation has proved more convincingly that the general line of our country's foreign policy is entirely correct. This general line is: to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism; to strive for peaceful co-existence on the basis of the five principles with countries having differing social systems and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; to support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations against imperialism and colonialism. We should continue to carry out this general line in international affairs in the future.

We should continue to hold high the banner of opposing imperialism and defending world peace and unite all the peace-loving countries and people of the world to form the broadest possible united front

against U.S. and other imperialists and their running-dogs in various countries.

We should continue to hold high the banner of revolution and give active support to the liberation struggle of the peoples of various countries, especially the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for winning and safeguarding their national independence.

We should continue to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism and strive to safeguard and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

We should continue to hold high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, uphold the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement and resolutely and thoroughly oppose modern revisionism - the main danger in the international communist movement. This is our main task at present and for a long time to come. At the same time we should resolutely and thoroughly oppose dogmatism, oppose sectarianism and oppose great-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism. This is also a long-term task. The purpose of all this is to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

The 10th plenary session notes with satisfaction that since the 9th plenary session held in 1961, and particularly since the beginning of this year, the work done by the whole Party in implementing the policy of re-adjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards in the national economy and in strengthening the agricultural front has yielded remarkable results. Despite the serious natural disasters for several consecutive years and the shortcomings and mistakes in the work, the condition of the national economy last year was slightly better than the year before, and this year it is again slightly better than that of last year.

In agriculture, the actual harvest of summer crops this year has shown a slight gain over that of last year, and the yield of autumn crops is also expected to register an increase. This is the result of carrying through the Party's series of policies concerning the rural people's communes and thus giving play to the advantages of the collective economy of the people's communes.

In industry, positive results have been achieved through the adoption of effective measures of re-adjustment. The output of means of production in support of agriculture, light industrial products using industrial products as raw materials, many handicrafts and some badly-needed heavy industrial products has registered a considerable increase during the January-August period as compared with the corresponding period of last year. Many enterprises have improved their management, their products are of a higher quality and cover a greater range, their production costs have been cut down and their labor productivity has been raised.

In the field of commerce there are also new improvements and supply of commodities is slightly better than before.

All this shows that, both in town and countryside, our economic conditions are getting better and better with each passing day.

It should be pointed out that some of our work is not well done. For instance, because of the incompetence of the leading cadres, some production teams, some factories and some business establishments have produced less or become unwelcome to the masses. We should endeavor to change this state of affairs and improve the work of those units without delay.

The people of our country have always united closely around the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Even when confronted with serious difficulties at home and from abroad, the broadest masses and cadres of our country have always firmly believed in the correctness of the general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's commune -- the three red banners. Giving full play to the glorious tradition of working hard and building the country with diligence and thrift, and to the militant spirit of relying on our own efforts and working with vigor for the country's prosperity, they have actively grappled with the difficulties and scored brilliant achievements under the leadership of the Party and the People's Government.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army and the public security forces are strong and reliable armed forces of the people. Our country has also a heroic militia force of vast numbers. They have performed well their glorious task of defending the motherland, the people's labor and the socialist system. At all times they are vigilantly guarding the frontiers of our great motherland and protecting public order and stand ready to smash the aggressive and sabotage activities of any enemy.

Tested in all these struggles, our country is worthy of being called a great country, our people a great people, our armed forces great armed forces, and our Party a great Party.

The imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the modern revisionists gloated over the temporary difficulties encountered by the Chinese people, and they wantonly vilified China's general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's commune, striking up an anti-Chinese chorus which was sensational for a time. U.S. imperialism instigated the Chiang Kai-shek gang entrenched in Taiwan to plot vainly an invasion of the coastal areas of the mainland. At home, those landlords, rich peasants and bourgeois rightists who have not reformed themselves and the remnant counter-revolutionaries also gloated over our difficulties and tried to take advantage of the situation. But the imperialists and their running-dogs in China and abroad completely miscalculated. All their criminal activities have not only further exposed their hideous features but have heightened the socialist and patriotic fervor of our people in working vigorously for the prosperity of our country. Our people have resolutely smashed and will continue to smash every one of their scheming activities, be

it intrusion, provocation or aggression, or subversion within our state or our Party.

The 10th plenary session of the 8th Central Committee points out that throughout the historical period of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, throughout the historical period of transition from capitalism to communism (which will last scores of years or even longer), there is class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The reactionary ruling classes which have been overthrown are not reconciled to their doom. They always attempt to stage a comeback. Meanwhile, there still exist in society bourgeois influence, the force of habit of old society and the spontaneous tendency toward capitalism among part of the small producers. Therefore, among the people, a small number of persons, making up only a tiny fraction of the total population, who have not yet undergone socialist remolding, always attempt to depart from the socialist road and turn to the capitalist road whenever there is an opportunity. Class struggle is inevitable under these circumstances. This is a law of history which has long been elucidated by Marxism-Leninism. We must never forget it. This class struggle is complicated, tortuous, with ups and downs and sometimes it is very sharp. This class struggle inevitably finds expression within the Party. Pressure from foreign imperialism and the existence of bourgeois influence at home constitute the social source of revisionist ideas in the Party. While waging a struggle against the foreign and domestic class enemies, we must remain vigilant and resolutely oppose in good time various opportunist ideological tendencies in the Party. The great historic significance of the 8th plenary session of the 8th Central Committee held in Lushan in August 1959 lies in the fact that it victoriously smashed attacks by right opportunism, i.e., revisionism, and safeguarded the Party line and the unity of the Party. Both at present and in the future, our Party must sharpen its vigilance and correctly wage a struggle on two fronts, against revisionism and against dogmatism. Only thus can the purity of Marxism-Leninism be always preserved, the unity of the Party constantly strengthened and the fighting power of the Party continuously increased.

The 10th plenary session holds that the urgent task facing the people of our country at present is to carry through the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry the leading factor, as put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, attach first importance to the development of agriculture, correctly handle the relationship between industry and agriculture and resolutely readjust the work of the industrial departments according to the policy of making agriculture the foundation of the national economy.

In the field of agriculture, it is necessary to continue to carry out the Central Committee's various policies concerning the people's communes, consolidate still further the collective economy, bring the peasants' enthusiasm for collective production into still

greater play, give priority to the development of grain production and at the same time strive to develop cotton, oil-bearing and other industrial crops as well as livestock breeding, aquatic production, forestry and side-occupations. Meanwhile, it is necessary to mobilize and concentrate the strength of the whole Party and the whole nation in an active way to give agriculture and the collective economy of the people's communes every possible material, technical and financial aid as well as aid in the fields of leadership and personnel, and to bring about the technical transformation of agriculture, stage by stage and in a manner suited to local conditions.

In the field of industry, the first thing to do is, in accordance with the needs of the technical transformation of agriculture and the present availability of materials and manpower, to further carry out rational readjustment, strengthen the productive capacity of the weaker departments, energetically improve management, increase the variety and raise the quality of products.

In the field of commerce, it is necessary, in accordance with the principle of "insuring supplies by increasing production" and the policy of commerce serving agricultural and industrial production and the livelihood of the people and through the channels of state-run commerce, cooperative commerce and village fair trade, to make great efforts to arrange for the interflow of farm produce and manufactured goods between the rural and urban areas, so as to supply the rural areas with more means of production, supply industry with more materials, and supply the urban and rural people with more daily necessities.

In the fields of science, culture and education, it is necessary to strengthen scientific and technological research, and particularly to pay attention to the scientific and technological research in agriculture, vigorously train personnel in these fields, and at the same time strengthen the work of uniting with and educating the intellectuals so that they may fully play their role as they should.

Although we have produced more goods both in last year and this year and the living conditions of the people have improved, the goods we produce are still insufficient to meet the needs of the urban and rural people. The whole Party and the whole nation must strive to expand production, insure the supply of goods and so gradually improve the livelihood of the people. At the same time, the urban and rural inhabitants of the whole country must give attention to diligence and thrift in construction work and housekeeping, practice economy and lay up some savings so that we may gradually be better off and be prepared against the needs caused by natural disasters and other unforeseen events.

The 10th plenary session is firmly convinced that, though certain difficulties still exist, it is entirely possible to overcome them. We have already made great achievements. Our future is bright. Provided the whole Party and the whole nation, united as one, strengthen democratic centralism, carry through the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry

as the leading factor, and further conscientiously carry out the work of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards in the national economy; we will certainly be able, after making efforts for a period of time, to usher in a new period of great upsurge in our country's socialist construction.

The 10th plenary session calls on the workers, peasants, intellectuals, democratic parties and patriots of all the nationalities throughout the country to unite even more closely, hold still higher the glorious banners of the general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's commune go all out in their efforts to increase production and practice economy and strive for a bumper harvest next year, for the new growth of the national economy and for new victories in the socialist cause of our country.

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