

Dason  
15701  
1931  
+

JPRS: 33,338

TT: 65-33913

15 December 1965

TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH' I (RED FLAG)

No. 12, 1965

- Communist China -

No. 16

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
CLEARINGHOUSE FOR FEDERAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION  
JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE  
Building Tempo E  
Adams Drive, 4th and 6th Streets, S.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20443

Price: \$3.00

## FOREWORD

This publication was prepared under contract for the Joint Publications Research Service as a translation or foreign-language research service to the various federal government departments.

The contents of this material in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U. S. Government or of the parties to any distribution arrangement.

## PROCUREMENT OF JPRS REPORTS

All JPRS reports may be ordered from the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information. Reports published prior to 1 February 1963 can be provided, for the most part, only in photocopy (xerox). Those published after 1 February 1963 will be provided in printed form.

Details on special subscription arrangements for any JPRS report will be provided upon request.

All current JPRS reports are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U. S. Government Publications which is available on subscription at \$4.50 per year (\$6.00 foreign) from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Both prices include an annual index.

All current JPRS scientific and technical reports are cataloged and subject-indexed in Technical Translations. This publication is issued semimonthly by the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information and is available on subscription (\$12.00 per year domestic, \$16.00 foreign) from the Superintendent of Documents. Semi-annual indexes to Technical Translations are available at additional cost.

TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)

No. 12, 1965

- Communist China -

No. 16

This serial publication contains translations of all the articles in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 12, 1965. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Refutation of the New Leaders of the CPSU on "United Action" .....	1
Dedicating Everything to the Communist Cause .....	25
Peasants Welcome Revolutionary Small Plays .....	32
Newsletter from Tach'ing .....	35
A Living Study and Use of the Thought of Mao Tse-Tung .....	53
The Worker-Farmer-Soldier Spare Time Creative Ranks are Growing .....	70
The Position and Effect of the Law of Sufficient Reason in Formal Logic .....	72



REFUTATION OF THE NEW LEADERS OF THE  
CPSU ON "UNITED ACTION"

[Following is a translation of an article by the Editorial Departments of Jen-min Jih-pao and Hung-ch'i in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 12, 11 November 1965, pages 1-17.]

The Unity of the International Proletariat Must  
Be Based on Principle

The history of the international communist movement is one of struggle by Marxism against opportunism and revisionism, a history of struggle by Marxists to safeguard the international unity of the proletariat and to oppose attempts by opportunists and revisionists to divide it.

Upholding the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of China has always held aloft the great banner of international proletarian unity. We maintain that in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism and in the course of the world revolution, the international proletariat can defeat the enemy only through uniting its own forces and uniting with all other forces that can be united.

The founders of communist theory, Marx and Engels, advanced the fighting slogan, "Workers of all countries, unite!" This slogan has educated and inspired workers all over the world and stimulated united struggle by the working class for its emancipation. The international unity of the proletariat advocated by Marx and Engels is one of struggle to fulfil its great historical mission on a worldwide scale.

Succeeding to the cause of Marx and Engels, Lenin carried Marxism forward to a new stage. Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Lenin steadfastly persevered in international proletarian unity on the basis of Marxism. In the historical conditions of rising struggle by the oppressed nations against imperialism, he put

forward the fighting slogan, "Workers and oppressed nations of the world, unite!" This slogan stimulated united struggle by the working-class movement of the countries in the West and the national-liberation movement of the oppressed nations in the East. It represented a still broader unity of the international revolutionary forces.

In the light of the new changes in international class relations and the balance of forces after World War II, Comrade Mao Tse-tung advanced the slogan of establishing an international united front against U.S. imperialism. This united front has the unity of the international proletariat as its core and the unity between the international proletariat and the oppressed nations as its foundation. It means uniting closely with the masses of the people, who constitute over 90 per cent of the world's population, uniting with all the political forces subject to U.S. aggression, control, interference or bullying, and making use of every possible contradiction, all for the purpose of isolating U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the people of the whole world, to the maximum extent and dealing it the hardest possible blows. This is the way to mobilize all the positive factors conducive to world revolution for the achievement of victory in the people's revolutionary struggle in every country. It is a strategic principle of vital importance formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the question of world revolution in the new historical conditions.

Under Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership, the Communist Party of China has always upheld international proletarian unity, the unity of the workers and the oppressed nations of the world, and the unity of all the forces opposing U.S. imperialism. We have carried out this line unswervingly and with great success.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the international unity of the proletariat is revolutionary unity, unity based on principle. Its achievement demands resolute and unequivocal struggle against all brands of opportunists and splitters.

Marx taught us that in the struggle to achieve international proletarian unity, there should be "no haggling about principles." When speaking on the need for principled struggle against the opportunists to achieve genuine unity, Engels said, "Unity is quite a good thing so long as it is possible, but there are things which stand above unity," and "the development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles."<sup>1</sup> He also said that "people of limited intelligence. . . want to stir everything into one nondescript brew, which, the moment it is left to settle, throws up the differences again but in much sharper contrast because they will then be all in one pot."<sup>2</sup> Marx and Engels declared explicitly that "it is . . . impossible for us to co-operate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement."<sup>3</sup>

Lenin strongly condemned the revisionists of the Second Inter-

national for betraying Marxism and the common cause of opposition to imperialism, for siding with the bourgeoisie of their own countries and degenerating into flunkies of monopoly capital, into social-chauvinists and social-imperialists.

He pointed out that, far from undermining the unity of the proletarian party, the struggle against opportunism and revisionism was indispensable for its achievement. He said,

Without struggle there cannot be any sorting out, and without sorting out there can be no successful advance, and also no solid unity. And those who are now beginning to struggle are by no means destroying unity. There is already no unity, it has already been destroyed, destroyed all along the line . . . and open and direct struggle is one of the essential conditions for restoring unity.<sup>4</sup>

It was precisely from the principled stand of Marxism-Leninism that the Communist Party of China waged a long struggle against the revisionist leadership of the CPSU headed by Khrushchov in order to uphold the unity of the international communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and to consolidate and broaden the united front against U.S. imperialism.

Why was it that we published the two articles on the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1956? Why was it that we insisted on a series of revolutionary principles and delivered a memorandum on the question of peaceful transition to the Central Committee of the CPSU when the 1957 Declaration was being drawn up? Why did we publish "Long Live Leninism!" and the two other articles in 1960? Why did we systematically criticize Khrushchov's revisionist, divisive and great-power chauvinist views in our reply of September 1960 to the letter of information from the Central Committee of the CPSU? Why was it that we insisted on reaffirming a number of revolutionary principles and distributed our memorandum on the question of peaceful transition among all the fraternal Parties when the 1960 Statement was being drawn up? Why did we publish "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," giving a comprehensive explanation of our views on a series of fundamental problems of the contemporary world revolution? Why did we publish the nine comments on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU, publicly repudiating Khrushchov revisionism? Why did we publish a series of documents and articles to criticize the Soviet-U.S.-British treaty, exposing the traitorous action of the Khrushchov clique in allying itself with U.S. imperialism against the people of the world? Why did we warn the Khrushchov clique in the numerous talks and exchanges of letters between the Chinese and the Soviet Parties that it must rein in on the edge of the precipice? The purpose of all this was to defend Marxism-Leninism, the unity of the international communist movement based on

Marxism-Leninism and the unity of all the forces opposing U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

It was precisely the series of resolute struggles waged by the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties that hastened the bankruptcy of Khrushchov revisionism and drove its founder into an impasse and finally into the grave he had dug for himself.

One year has elapsed since the fall of Khrushchov and the rise of the new leaders of the CPSU. How do the new leaders compare with Khrushchov? Have they changed Khrushchov's revisionist and divisive line? All the evidence shows that they are still pursuing his line but with double-faced tactics more cunning and hypocritical than those of Khrushchov.

In numerous speeches, documents and articles the new leaders of the CPSU have been vociferously advocating "united action" on the part of the Communist Parties and the socialist countries. They are incessantly spouting such fine words as "unity," "common struggle against the enemy," "unity against imperialism" and "joint support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people." But this is all false. Their deeds run counter to their words. At the plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPSU in September of this year, Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, openly denounced the Communist Party of China while prating about "unity against imperialism." This has laid bare the ugly features of the new leaders of the CPSU as protagonists of sham unity and real hostility towards China.

Just as the U.S. imperialists, the most aggressive of all the imperialists, try to disguise themselves as angels of peace, so the biggest revisionists and splitters seek to present themselves as ardent lovers of unity. The call of the new leaders of the CPSU for "united action" is nothing but a fraud.

Let us now take the lies of the new leaders of the CPSU about "united action" and refute them one by one. Let us expose their fraudulence by citing their misdeeds both internationally and at home in the course of the past year.

#### The Khrushchov Revisionists Have Undermined The Common Basis of Unity

One of the arguments of the new leaders of the CPSU for "united action" is that all the Communist Parties have "a common ideology" and "a common programme."

Indeed, the Communist Parties should have a common ideology in Marxism-Leninism and a common programme in the revolutionary principles jointly drawn up in the Declaration of 1957 and Statement of 1960. But



the Khrushchov revisionists have completely betrayed this common ideology and common programme and thoroughly undermined the common basis for unity among the Communist Parties.

The new leaders of the CPSU have faithfully taken over the mantle of Khrushchov. They have not changed into Marxist-Leninists or even into semi-Marxist-Leninists; they remain out-and-out Khrushchov revisionists, pursuing Khrushchov revisionism but without Khrushchov. In November 1964 they told the members of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation to their faces that there was not a shade of difference between themselves and Khrushchov on the question of the international communist movement or of relations with China. Time and again they have categorically stated that the general line adopted by the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU "was, is and will be the only, immutable line in the entire home and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state."<sup>5</sup>

Like Khrushchov, the new leaders of the CPSU try to negate and oppose all anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles by preaching that "today peaceful coexistence . . . is the most important condition for the social renovation of the world,"<sup>6</sup> that "peaceful competition" between the two systems is the sole means for the "victory of communism over capitalism on an international scale"<sup>7</sup> and that the "chances" of peaceful transition "grow many times over."<sup>8</sup>

Like Khrushchov, the new leaders of the CPSU insist on abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party of the proletariat and on setting up the "state of the whole people" and the "party of the entire people." Moreover, they say that "like the dictatorship of the proletariat, the state of the whole people is a stage conforming to law and common to all countries in the development of the socialist state"<sup>9</sup> and that "the transformation of our Party into a party of the entire people" is "of great significance far beyond the borders of our country."<sup>10</sup>

The new leaders of the CPSU have further developed Khrushchov revisionism by openly spreading the fallacy that socialism can be achieved without the leadership of the proletariat. They say that in the capitalist world "the transition to socialist transformation in one country or another can also take place without the direct leadership of the working class."<sup>11</sup> Shamelessly emasculating Lenin's theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, they allege that "Lenin did not connect the transition to the non-capitalist road with the obligatory establishment of political power under the leadership of the proletarian Party, i.e., in fact with the dictatorship of the proletariat."<sup>12</sup> According to this allegation of theirs, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are totally unnecessary and the Communist Party can very well be dispensed with. In propagating this ultra-reactionary theory, which is a thorough betrayal of Marxism-Leninism,

the new leaders of the CPSU are not only giving an ideological weapon to the reactionaries, who are hostile to communism and the people, but are trying to confuse those nations and peoples who are in the stage of national-democratic revolution with regard to the aim of their present struggle and to induce them to abandon their task of combating imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The essence of the Khrushchov revisionist theory and line, which the new leaders of the CPSU are persisting in and developing further, is to protect imperialist rule in the capitalist world and restore capitalism in the socialist world.

Between the Marxist-Leninists and the Khrushchov revisionists there is a difference of fundamental line, a major difference between what is right and what is wrong. In the circumstances, how can there be "a common ideology" and "a common programme" between the Marxist-Leninists and the Khrushchov revisionists? How can there be a common basis for unity? In the circumstances, the relation between the Khrushchov revisionists and ourselves is certainly not one in which "what binds us together is much stronger than what divides us," as alledged by the new leaders of the CPSU; on all the fundamental issues of the present epoch the relation is one of sharp opposition; there are things that divide us and nothing that unites us, things that are antagonistic and nothing that is common.

Since there is such a difference of fundamental line, the achievement of unity requires either that we discard Marxism-Leninism and follow their revisionism, or that they renounce revisionism and return to the path of Marxism-Leninism. These are the only alternatives. It is impermissible and indeed utterly wrong if we take an equivocal or vague position on such a sharp question.

Are we expected to follow the new leaders of the CPSU in order to achieve unity under their revisionist programme? Wouldn't that mean that we must join them in betraying Marxism-Leninism, in putting down the people's revolutions in various countries and in acting as accomplices of the imperialists? It goes without saying that we will never do so.

Are we expected to look on and remain completely silent without criticizing, exposing and opposing the new leaders of the CPSU, while they are betraying all the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, striving for Soviet-U.S. collaboration to dominate the world and opposing the people's revolutions in various countries? Wouldn't that mean that we must also abandon Marxism-Leninism, act as their ally in opposing the people's revolutions and become the accomplice of imperialism? It goes without saying that we will never do that either.

If the new leaders of the CPSU really want unity with the Marxist-

Leninist, they must change their revisionist line and honestly admit their mistakes. They must publicly and solemnly admit before the Communists and the people of the world that their Khrushchov revisionism, great-power chauvinism and splittism are wrong, publicly admit that the revisionist line and programme decided upon at the 20th and the 22nd Congresses of the CPSU are wrong, and publicly guarantee not to repeat the errors of Khrushchov revisionism. Is it possible that they will do all this?

The antagonism between Marxism-Leninism and Khrushchov revisionism is a class antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; it is the antagonism between the socialist and the capitalist roads and between the line of opposing imperialism and that of surrendering to it. It is an irreconcilable antagonism.

As Lenin said, "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the unity of Marxists, not unity between Marxists, and opponents and distorters of Marxism."<sup>13</sup>

#### United Action Is Impossible With Those Who Transpose Enemies and Friends

The new leaders of the CPSU argue that even if there are differences of theory and line, these can be put aside and that "united action" should be taken and "unity against the enemy" achieved in practical struggle against imperialism.

The sharpest difference of theory and line between Marxism-Leninism and Khrushchov revisionism concerns precisely the question of handling our relations with enemies and friends, in other words, the question of whether to oppose or unite with imperialism, and above all the question of whether to oppose or unite with U.S. imperialism. This difference is decisive for all the most important practical actions in the international class struggle. How can it possibly be put aside in favour of an unprincipled unity that does not distinguish between enemies and friends?

The reactionary nature of Khrushchov revisionism is expressed in concentrated form in the line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world. The Khrushchov clique completely transposed enemies and friends; it regarded U.S. imperialism, the arch enemy of the people of the world, as its closest friend, and the Marxist-Leninists of the world, including those of the Soviet Union, as its principal enemy.

It was precisely on this question that Khrushchov revealed himself as a renegade. It was on this question that the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world waged the sharpest struggle against the Khrushchov

revisionists. And it was on this question that the Khrushchov revisionists were spurned by the revolutionary people of the world.

How have the new leaders of the CPSU acted on this question? Have they changed the line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination? Have they stopped transposing enemies and friends? Have they changed from being a force allied with U.S imperialism to one opposing it?

The facts show they have not.

Let us consider the facts:

ONE. Immediately after taking office, the new leaders of the CPSU extolled Johnson as "sensible" and "moderate." They have continued to proclaim that the Soviet Union and the United States are two superpowers on which the fate of the world depends, that "there are sufficiently broad areas for co-operation" between them, and that "there are still many unutilized potentialities."<sup>14</sup> Even after the rabid expansion by U.S. imperialism of its war of aggression in Viet Nam, they have kept on stressing their desire for the "development and improvement of relations with the United States of America." At times they find it necessary to talk about a tendency towards a "freeze" in Soviet-U.S. relations, but behind the scenes they are stepping up their secret diplomacy and their deals with the United States.

TWO. The signing of the partial nuclear test ban treaty by the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain was an important landmark in Khrushchov's alliance with the United States against China. Not only have the new leaders of the CPSU accepted this legacy, but with this treaty as a basis they are actively plotting new deals with the United States for the "prevention of nuclear proliferation" and similar so-called "disarmament" measures in an effort to maintain the monopoly of the two nuclear overloads, the Soviet Union and the United States, against China and all other independent countries.

THREE. U.S. imperialism has been using the United Nations as a tool for opposing the revolutions of the people of the world. Catering to U.S. imperialism, Khrushchov used the United Nations as a stock exchange for the domination of the world by two great powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. The new leaders of the CPSU have continued this reactionary policy. They have again brought up Khrushchov's proposal for a standing U.N. armed force. They voted in the United Nations for a "ceasefire" and for the realization of "national reconciliation" in the Congo (L), and they also voted for the "ceasefire" in the Dominican Republic. Wherever the people rise up in armed struggle against U.S. imperialism or win victories in such struggle, and wherever U.S. imperialism suffers defeats and finds itself in a predicament, the new leaders of the CPSU hurriedly come forward to help it out. Together

with the U.S. imperialists, they are using the United Nations to attack, weaken and divide the forces opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and to save, strengthen and extend U.S. imperialist positions. They serve as a firebrigade for U.S. imperialism trying to stamp out the flames of revolution.

On April 7 this year, together with his proposal for "unconditional discussions" on the question of Viet Nam, Johnson publicized the scheme for "the international development of Southeast Asia" in order to undermine the struggle against U.S. imperialism waged by the people of Viet Nam and the other Southeast Asian countries and to step up economic infiltration, and he expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would join in. The United States regards the establishment of the "Asian Development Bank" as a means of putting this scheme into practice. In response to Johnson's call, the new leaders of the CPSU went so far as to send a delegation to Bangkok in October to sit together with delegations from the United States, Japan, and such puppet cliques as the Chiang Kai-shek gang, south Korea and "Malaysia" and take an active part in preparing for the establishment of the "Asian Development Bank." Such is the ardour of the new leaders of the CPSU for united action with U.S. imperialism.

FOUR. The new leaders of the CPSU have taken over and expanded the enterprises of the firm of Kennedy, Nehru and Khrushchov which Khrushchov worked hard to establish. They have carried further their alliance against China with the Indian reactionaries who are controlled by the U.S. imperialists. During Shastri's visit to the Soviet Union, they granted India aid to the tune of U.S. \$900 million in one go, which is more than all the loans Khrushchov extended to India in nine years. They have speeded up their plans for military aid to India and are working hand in glove with the United States to help India's arms expansion, so that the Indian reactionaries are able to use Soviet-made weapons against China and other neighbouring countries.

Recently, during India's armed aggression against Pakistan and also in connection with the Sino-Indian boundary question, the new leaders of the CPSU revealed in all its ugliness their support of the aggressor and their alliance with the United States and India against China. The Soviet Union and the United States joined in an anti-China chorus both inside and outside the United Nations. In September 1965, in statements on the armed conflict between India and Pakistan, TASS attacked China by insinuation, and Pravda even openly sided with India against China on the Sino-Indian boundary question. People will recall that it was precisely with a TASS statement on the Sino-Indian boundary question that Khrushchov started his public attacks on China in September 1959. But his attacks pale into insignificance in comparison with those of the present leaders of the CPSU. They have discarded even the small fig-leaf Khrushchov used in order to feign neutrality. Small wonder that the U.S. imperialists are gleefully hailing a "new era" in U.S.-Soviet cooperation.

The new leaders of the CPSU are able to deceive people because they sometimes make a few verbal attacks on U.S. imperialism. Why do they have to do this? The answer is that this meets the need of the U.S. imperialists as well as the revisionists themselves. The Khrushchov revisionists have to give the appearance of opposing the United States in order to render effective help to U.S. imperialism, hoodwink the masses and sabotage revolution. Otherwise, they could not play this deceptive role, and that would not be to the advantage of U.S. imperialism. Minor attacks in words but major help in deeds -- such is the way the new leaders of the CPSU serve U.S. imperialism.

Some people ask, why is it that the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people cannot take united action with the new leaders of the CPSU, yet can united with personages from the upper strata in the nationalist countries, and strive for united action with them in the anti-imperialist struggle, and can even exploit the contradictions among the imperialist countries in the struggle against the United States?

The reason is that in the contemporary world opposition to or alliance with U.S. imperialism constitutes the hallmark for deciding whether or not a political force can be included in the united front against the United States.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the exception of the lackeys of imperialism, personages from the upper strata in many nationalist countries desire in varying degrees to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States. We should cooperate with them in the anti-imperialist struggle.

In the imperialist countries which are in sharp contradiction with the United States, some monopoly capitalists follow the U.S. imperialists, but there are also others who desire in varying degrees to oppose the United States. In the struggle against the United States, the people of the world can take united action with the latter on some questions and to a certain degree.

The crux of the matter is that, so far from opposing U.S. imperialism, the new leaders of the CPSU are allying themselves and collaborating with it to dominate the world. They have thus set themselves in opposition to the united front against U.S. imperialism. If they really opposed U.S. imperialism and did so by actual deeds, we would readily take united action with them. But their so-called opposition to U.S. imperialism is only verbal and not genuine. We must tell them the truth: So long as their line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration against world revolution remains unchanged, and so long as they do not abandon their alliance with U.S. imperialism and reaction, we absolutely refuse to take any "united action" with them. We absolutely refuse to serve as a pawn in their secret diplomacy with U.S. imperialism or help them cover up their assistance to U.S. imperialism in suppressing the peoples' revolution in various countries.

## The New Leaders of the CPSU Are Taking United Action With the United States on the Question of Viet Nam

The new leaders of the CPSU never weary of saying that, however serious the differences between them, Communists must take "united action" on the question of Viet Nam at this urgent juncture in the Vietnamese people's struggle against the United States.

Since the new leaders of the CPSU have destroyed the basis of international proletarian unity, and since they transpose enemies and friends and persist in the line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination, is it still possible for the Marxist-Leninist parties to take united action with them on the question of Viet Nam?

At a time when the U.S. imperialists are committing rabid aggression against Viet Nam, all Communist Parties and socialist countries should as a matter of course take a unanimous stand and firmly support the Vietnamese people's just struggle to smash this aggression. The point is that the stand taken by the revisionist leadership of the CPSU on the question of Viet Nam is inseparable from their revisionist programme and line, and is contrary to the principled stand required of a Marxist-Leninist party.

When Khrushchov was in power, the revisionist leadership of the CPSU openly sided with U.S. imperialism and opposed and undermined the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression. They alleged that "any small 'local war' might spark off the conflagration of a world war."<sup>15</sup> Using this absurd argument to frighten and intimidate all peoples engaged in revolutionary armed struggle, they openly refused to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their anti-U.S. struggle. When the struggles of the Vietnamese and the Laotian peoples against U.S. imperialism grew acute, their policy on the question of Indo-China was one of "disengagement." In July 1965, they indicated the desire of the Soviet Government to resign from its post as one of the two co-chairmen of the Geneva conference. Soon afterwards, when the U.S. imperialists engineered the Bac Bo Gulf incident, Khrushchov went so far as to concoct the slander that the incident was provoked by China.

The situation in Viet Nam developed directly contrary to the wishes of the Khrushchov revisionists. The Vietnamese people won victory after victory in their revolutionary anti-U.S. struggle, while the U.S. aggressors grew hard pressed. The new leaders of the CPSU came to realize that it was no longer advisable to copy Khrushchov's policy of "disengagement" in its totality. So they switched to the policy of involvement, that is, of getting their hand in.

The policy of involvement and the policy of disengagement are essentially the same. Both are products of Khrushchov revisionism and both are designed to meet the needs of U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. imperialists urgently need to extinguish the roaring flames of the Vietnamese people's revolution. And so do the Khrushchov revisionists because they want to carry out their line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination. When Khrushchov was following the policy of "disengagement," he was acting in close co-ordination with John F. Kennedy. And now that the new leaders of the CPSU are following the policy of involvement, they are similarly acting in tacit agreement and close collaboration with Lyndon B. Johnson.

Please consider the following facts:

In January 1965 the U.S. imperialists asked the Soviet Government to use its influence to have the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam accept two conditions: (1) stop supporting south Viet Nam, and first of all stop supplying it with guns; and (2) stop the attacks on cities in south Viet Nam. Faithfully obeying the orders of the U.S. imperialists, the new leaders of the CPSU officially transmitted to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam these preposterous demands, which were aimed at forcing the Vietnamese people into unconditional surrender.

The new leaders of the CPSU have been busy running errands for the U.S. aggressors, who are anxious to find a way out of their predicament in Viet Nam. When Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, passed through Peking on his visit to Viet Nam in February 1965 and exchanged views with Chinese leaders, he stressed the need to help the United States "find a way out of Viet Nam." This was firmly rebutted by the Chinese leaders. We expressed the hope that the new leaders of the CPSU would support the struggle of the Vietnamese people and not make a deal with the United States on the question of Viet Nam. Kosygin expressed agreement with our views and stated that they would "not bargain with others on this issue." However, the new leaders of the CPSU soon went back on their promise.

Johnson wanted to play his fraudulent game of "unconditional discussions." So the new leaders of the CPSU put forward the idea of "unconditional negotiations." On February 16 this year, the day after Kosygin's return to Moscow, the Soviet Government officially put before Viet Nam and China a proposal to convene a new international conference on Indo-China without prior conditions, which in fact was advocacy of "unconditional negotiations" on the Viet Nam question. On February 23, disregarding the stand which the Vietnamese Government had taken against this proposal and without waiting for a reply from China, the new leaders of the CPSU discussed the question of calling the above-mentioned international conference with the President of France through the Soviet Ambassador to France.

Johnson's fraud of "unconditional discussions" met with a stern rebuff from the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The new leaders of the CPSU then began publicly to insinuate that negotiations could be held if only the United States stopped its bombing of



north Viet Nam. They engaged in vigorous activities in the international field with a view to putting this project into effect. In communications to certain fraternal Parties, they said explicitly that they favoured negotiations with the United States on condition it stopped bombing north Viet Nam. They also said that ways and means should be sought to settle the Viet Nam question through negotiations. And sure enough, not long afterwards Johnson came out with the manoeuvre of "the temporary suspension of bombing."

After these plots of "unconditional negotiations" and of "stopping the bombing and holding negotiations" were foiled, the new leaders of the CPSU began to collaborate with the Indian reactionaries and the Tito clique - both lackeys of U.S. imperialism -- as brokers on the question of Viet Nam. In their prescription for this question there was only mention of the cessation of U.S. bombing of north Viet Nam, only abstract talk about the implementation of the Geneva agreements but no mention of the fact that the crucial point in the implementation of these agreements is the complete withdrawal of the U.S. aggressor troops from Viet Nam. In addition, the new leaders of the CPSU have been engaged in secret diplomatic activities. In a nutshell, their purpose is to help the United States to bring about "peace talks" by deception, "peace talks" which could go on indefinitely and also allow the United States to hang on in south Viet Nam indefinitely.

To curry favour with U.S. imperialism, the new leaders of the CPSU went to the length of brutally suppressing demonstrations in the Soviet Union opposing U.S. imperialism and supporting Viet Nam which were held by students from Viet Nam, China and other Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that last April the new leaders of the CPSU let Khrushchov emerge from limbo to talk with Western correspondents. In that interview, he advocated "peaceful coexistence" and attacked the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, alleging that "trouble starts with small things like Viet Nam and ends with disaster."<sup>16</sup> This was not accidental. It shows that, like Khrushchov, the new leaders of the CPSU are afraid that the so-called "minor trouble," that is, the question of Viet Nam, may spoil their fond dreams of Soviet-U.S. collaboration.

The new leaders of the CPSU are doing exactly what Khrushchov did before them, namely, pulling the Viet Nam question into the orbit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration. Since they are co-operating so closely with the U.S. imperialists in united action, it is of course impossible for Marxist-Leninists to join in and take "united action" with them.

At bottom, the new leaders of the CPSU are clamouring for "united action" on the Viet Nam question because this slogan is highly deceptive and is apt to create the illusion that it is still possible to have "unity

against U.S. imperialism" with the new leaders of the CPSU who are intent on Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination. They do so in order to worm their way into the anti-U.S. front and carry out their policy of involvement in the service of U.S. imperialism.

Look at the trick of "aid" to Viet Nam the new leaders of the CPSU are playing and you will understand the real nature of their policy of involvement more clearly.

We have invariably held that it is the bounden proletarian-internationalist duty of all countries in the socialist camp to aid the fraternal Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people who are standing in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism have every right and reason to demand and receive aid from every socialist country. China is helping the Vietnamese people to the best of her ability. We have stated on many occasions that if the Soviet Union genuinely wants to help the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression, the greater and more practical the aid the better. But what have the new leaders of the CPSU done? Whether in quantity or quality, their aid to Viet Nam is far from commensurate with the strength of the Soviet Union. They have ulterior motives in giving a certain amount of aid -- they are trying to hoodwink the people at home and abroad, to keep the situation in Viet Nam under their control, to gain a say on the Viet Nam question and to strike a bargain with U.S. imperialism on it.

The U.S. imperialists appreciate the trick being played by the new leaders of the CPSU. They know full well that it is to their advantage for the new leaders of the CPSU to get involved in the Viet Nam question. Far from objecting to "aid" to Viet Nam from the new leaders of the CPSU, they welcome it. The U.S. authorities have made it clear that Soviet involvement in the Viet Nam question is preferable to Soviet noninvolvement. It has been pointed out in a U.S. magazine that "eventually, an arrangement might be contrived involving the stationing of Soviet troops in north Viet Nam . . . while American troops remain in south Viet Nam," and that "one of the paradoxical advantages of more direct Soviet military involvement would be the establishment of a direct American-Soviet bargaining relationship in this area."<sup>17</sup> In fact, the new leaders of the CPSU have disclosed the details of their so-called "aid" to Viet Nam to the Americans through various channels. On this matter, too, they are taking united action with the U.S. imperialists.

Furthermore, the new leaders of the CPSU have been using their "aid" to Viet Nam as a pretext for wantonly vilifying China, and have been assiduously spreading the lie that "China obstructed the transit of Soviet military equipment for Viet Nam." The truth is that we have always honoured our agreements and done our utmost speedily to transport to Viet Nam all military matériel in transit which was furnished by the Soviet Union with the concurrence of the Vietnamese comrades. By these fabrications and slanders, the new leaders of the CPSU have

supplied further proof that they stop at nothing in order to ally themselves with the United States against China.

Marxist-Leninists must penetrate the appearance of things to get at their essence. Having carefully observed the actions of the new leaders of the CPSU on the question of Viet Nam over the past year, we can only reach the following conclusion: In calling so vehemently for "united action" on the Viet Nam question and trying by every means to bring about a summit conference of the Soviet Union, Viet Nam and China and an international meeting of the socialist countries and the fraternal Parties, the new leaders of the CPSU have no other purpose in mind than to deceive the world, to tie the fraternal countries to the chariot of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination, to use the question of Viet Nam as an important counter in their bargaining with the United States, and to isolate and attack the Chinese Communist Party and all the other fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism.

Things could not be clearer. If we were to take united action on the question of Viet Nam with the new leaders of the CPSU who are pursuing the Khrushchov revisionist line, wouldn't we be helping them to deceive the people of the world? Wouldn't we be helping them to bring the question of Viet Nam within the orbit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration? Wouldn't we be joining them in betraying the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people? Wouldn't we be joining them in attacking the Chinese Communist Party and all the other Marxist-Leninist parties? Wouldn't we be joining them in serving as accomplices of U.S. imperialism? Of course, we shall do nothing of the sort.

#### "United Action," So Called, Is a Means of Promoting Splittism

The clamour raised by the new leaders of the CPSU for "united action" is an attempt both to conceal and to carry on their great-power chauvinism and splittism under the cover of hypocritical words. They claim to have "made a number of major moves" to promote unity and improve the relations between fraternal Parties and Soviet-Chinese relations. Let us look at the steps they have actually taken.

The March Moscow meeting which will remain forever infamous was convened by the new leaders of the CPSU under the slogan of "united action." Khrushchov revisionism and splittism had in effect divided the international communist movement, and the March meeting, which the new leaders of the CPSU called regardless of all consequences, was an extremely grave step to bring about an open split. Since that meeting, they have taken a number of other steps in continuation of this divisive line.

The new leaders of the CPSU have conducted a feverish campaign against the Chinese Communist Party throughout their Party and among the

entire Soviet people. They have organized meetings in offices, schools, wantonly attacking and vilifying China. Some of these speeches were made in the presence of Chinese comrades. They have been busy sending emissaries to many countries for the sole purpose of engaging in anti-Chinese activity and of spreading all sorts of anti-Chinese slanders. In international organizations and international activities they stop at nothing in pushing their anti-Chinese schemes.

The new leaders of the CPSU are continuing Khrushchov's anti-Albanian policy. Although in Japan they have met with serious setbacks in their criminal effort to support Yoshio Shiga and other renegades from the Japanese Communist Party in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries, they remain unreconciled and are continuing their counter-revolutionary sabotage and subversion against the Japanese Communist Party. They are also continuing their attacks on the Indonesian Communist Party, the Communist Party of New Zealand and other fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism, and are carrying on various kinds of sabotage and subversion against them.

While continuing the practice of subjecting other Communist Parties and socialist countries to pressure, sabotage and subversion, the new leaders of the CPSU are also employing the more insidious stratagems of trying to woo them, buy them over, deceive them and sow dissension among them. They take the Chinese Communist Party, which firmly opposes Khrushchov revisionism, as the main target of their concentrated attacks, and they are trying to isolate it.

In the international mass organizations, the new leaders of the CPSU, using the slogan of "united action," continue to push their capitulationist line of not opposing the United States and not supporting revolution and their work of splitting anti-imperialist unity. They repeat Khrushchov's despicable stock tricks at the meetings of these international organizations, rely on behind-the-scene manipulation as well as open trouble-making and even resort to such ludicrous tactics as banging tables and stamping their feet.

In the name of "united action" the revisionist leadership of the CPSU is vainly trying to recover its position as the "father party," so that it may continue to wield the baton and compel the other Communist Parties and socialist countries to do this today and that tomorrow. Actually, however, its former power and prestige are gone beyond recall. Today, the new leaders of the CPSU and their followers are drawn together by self-interest, each seeking his own ends. The baton of the new leaders is less and less effective.

Facts have shown that if the Communists of a particular country accept the hodge-podge of revisionism, great-power chauvinism and splitism of the leaders of the CPSU, the country's revolutionary cause is impaired and undermined, its Communist Party becomes corrupted, goes

downhill and degenerates, and both the country and Party find themselves beset with difficulties and at the mercy of others. On the other hand, those who firmly resist and oppose this hodge-podge find themselves in a quite different and much better position. This is as true today as it was before.

One of the purposes of the new leaders of the CPSU in advocating "united action" is to stop the open polemics. They want to gag the Marxist-Leninists and prevent the latter from exposing and criticizing them, so as to be free to carry out Khrushchov revisionism.

How can such a thing be possible? The present great debate has most vividly and clearly revealed what is decadent and dying and what represents the direction of future development and victory in the international communist movement. Khrushchov revisionism has been refuted down to the last point, and this poisonous weed has been converted into good fertilizer on the fields of world revolution. Truth becomes clearer through debate; the more the polemics, the higher the level of revolutionary consciousness and the greater the degree of revolutionary vigour. We shall certainly carry the debate to the finish and draw a clear line between what is right and what is wrong on the major problems. Failure to do so would be extremely harmful to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world and to the cause of opposing imperialism and defending world peace.

Another purpose of the new leaders of the CPSU in advocating "united action" is to stop what they call "factional activities" by the Marxist-Leninist parties. They want to strangle the Marxist-Leninist forces which are fighting to rebuild revolutionary proletarian parties or establish new ones, and to prevent the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties from supporting these newborn revolutionary forces.

In many countries, the Marxist-Leninists have broken with the revisionist cliques and either rebuilt Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations or founded new ones. This is the inevitable outcome of the practice of revisionism, great-power chauvinism and splittism by the leaders of the CPSU; it is the inevitable outcome of the struggle between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists in those countries and of the regrouping of the revolutionary forces under conditions of deepening class struggle both internationally and domestically.

Bowing to the baton of Khrushchov revisionism the leading groups in the Communist Parties of those countries have forbidden their members to do what the imperialists and reactionaries fear most, and only allowed them to do what is to the liking of the imperialists and reactionaries or is at least tolerable to them. Whoever acts differently is attacked, disciplined or expelled. Such being the case, the staunch Marxist-Leninists in those Parties are left with no alternative but to break with the revisionist leading groups, and the founding and growth of genuine revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations become inevitable.

Revolution, the fight against imperialism and the fight against revisionism all have right on their side. Beyond all doubt, it is perfectly right to discard these decaying old revisionist groups and build new revolutionary parties.

We resolutely support all the forces in the world that persevere in Marxism-Leninism and revolution. It is our lofty proletarian-internationalist duty to strengthen our united action with all the Marxist-Leninist forces in the world.

### "United Action," So Called, Is a Slogan to Deceive The Soviet People

The new leaders of the CPSU claim that the socialist countries have "a socio-economic system of the same type" and share the "common goal of building socialism and communism." This is one more reason they cite in their clamour for "united action."

This is throwing dust in people's eyes. Following in Khrushchov's footsteps, the new leaders of the CPSU are bringing about the further degeneration of the Soviet Union towards capitalism in the name of realizing "communism." Like Khrushchov, they use the slogan of "the state of the whole people" to abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, thus making the Soviet state degenerate into an instrument for the rule of the privileged bourgeois stratum over the Soviet people. Like Khrushchov, they use the slogan of "the party of the entire people" to alter the proletarian character of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and turn it into a party serving the interests of the privileged bourgeois stratum.

In their appraisal of Stalin, the new leaders of the CPSU pretend to be somewhat different from Khrushchov. But this is only an attempt to allay the resentment of the broad masses of the people and Party members in the Soviet Union. Far from criticizing Khrushchov's mistake in completely negating Stalin, they have followed him in describing the period of Stalin's leadership as "the period of the personality cult." They have sponsored the publication of numerous articles and literary and other works which keep on besmirching all aspects of the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system.

Taking advantage of the state power they wield, the new leaders of the CPSU have centred their efforts on undermining the economic base of socialism, socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership, and on setting up and developing a new system of exploitation and fostering and supporting the new bourgeoisie, thus accelerating the restoration of capitalism.

The report on the problems of industry by Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, at the recent plenary session of

the Central Committee of the CPSU and the resolution which it adopted marked a big step along the road of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet economy.

Through a Party resolution and government decrees, the new leaders of the CPSU have confirmed the experiments initiated in the Khrushchov period as a result of which socialist enterprises owned by the whole people degenerate into enterprises of a capitalist nature, and they have spread these experiments throughout the country. The key feature of the "new system" of industrial management they have instituted is to enforce the capitalist principle of profit and to make profit-seeking the basic motive force of production in the enterprises through the "enhancement of economic incentives." In the name of widening the enterprises' right to self-management, they have scrapped a series of important quotas formerly set by the state for the enterprises in accordance with the plan, substituting capitalist free competition for socialist planned economy. They have vested in the managers the power to hire and fire workers, fix the level of wages and bonuses and freely dispose of large funds, thus turning them into virtual masters of the enterprises, who are able to bully and oppress the workers and usurp the fruits of their labour at will. In reality, this means restoring capitalism, replacing socialist ownership by the whole people with ownership by the privileged bourgeois stratum, and converting the socialist enterprises in the Soviet Union step by step into capitalist enterprises of a special type. This is by no means a "new creation"; it has been copied and developed from the old "experience" of the Tito clique in restoring capitalism in Yugoslavia.

It is elementary Marxism-Leninism that the system of management comes within the sphere of the relations of production and is an expression of the system of ownership. Under the guise of reforming the system of management, the new leaders of the CPSU have undermined the very foundation of the system of ownership by the whole people. This is exactly what the Tito clique of Yugoslavia did. Having a guilty conscience, the new leaders of the CPSU cry out that those who talk about the "bourgeois transformation" of the Soviet economy are "bourgeois ideologists" and "our enemies."<sup>18</sup> This is what the Tito clique said too. Such protestations are like the sign, "There is no silver buried here," put up by the man in the legend over the place where he hid his money.

In the countryside, too, the new leaders of the CPSU are accelerating the growth of capitalism, developing the private economy, enlarging the private plots, increasing the number of privately raised cattle, expanding the free market and encouraging free trading. They are using a variety of economic and administrative measures to encourage and foster the growth of a new kulak economy, sabotaging and disintegrating all aspects of the socialist collective economy.

Khrushchov wrought alarming havoc in Soviet agriculture. After

taking office, the new leaders of the CPSU boasted that they had worked out "a scientifically based programme for an immediate and sharp rise in agricultural production."<sup>19</sup> But a year later, Soviet agriculture still remains in a mess, creating untold difficulties in the lives of the Soviet people. The new leaders of the CPSU are now lying the entire blame on the fallen Khrushchov. In fact, these serious troubles are precisely the outcome of their own intensified application of Khrushchov revisionism.

Facts show that the replacement of Khrushchov by these new leaders has been merely a change of personalities in the revisionist dynasty -- just as all reactionary ruling classes have to change horses in order to maintain their rule. Although Khrushchov himself has fallen, the leading group of the CPSU is still the same old Khrushchov crowd; organizationally, it remains basically unchanged, and whether ideologically, politically, theoretically or in the realm of policy, theirs is still the same old Khrushchov revisionist stuff.

As Lenin pointed out, "opportunism is no chance occurrence, sin, slip, or treachery on the part of individuals, but a social product of an entire period of history."<sup>20</sup> It is inevitable that Khrushchov revisionism will exist as long as the social basis and the class roots which gave birth to it remain and as long as the privileged bourgeois stratum exists.

Because they are the political representatives of the privileged bourgeois stratum in the Soviet Union, just as Khrushchov was, the new leaders of the CPSU pursue domestic and foreign policies which are not proletarian but bourgeois, not socialist but capitalist. Like Khrushchov, they are in a position of antagonism to the Soviet people, who constitute more than 90 per cent of the Soviet population, and they are encountering ever stronger dissatisfaction and opposition on the part of the Soviet people.

When the new leaders of the CPSU loudly assert that the socialist countries have a "socio-economic system of the same type." they do so with the aim of covering up their restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, of preventing us from unmasking them, and of setting the Soviet people against China.

In our view, when a revisionist clique emerges and a capitalist come-back occurs in a socialist country, all the Marxist-Leninists in the world are duty-bound to expose and struggle against these things; this is the only correct and principled stand. The only way to serve the fundamental interests of the great Soviet people and to give them genuine support is resolutely to expose the fact that the revisionist leadership of the CPSU is restoring capitalism in the USSR.

If we should cease exposing and combating the domestic and exter-



nal revisionist policies of the new leaders of the CPSU, if we should abandon our principled stand and take so-called "united action" with them, that would suit them very well. It would help them to hoodwink the Soviet people. It would hinder rather than support the Soviet people's struggle to defend the fruits of their socialist revolution; it would hinder rather than support the Soviet people's struggle against Khrushchov revisionism without Khrushchov.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has often said to comrades from fraternal Parties that if China's leadership is usurped by revisionists in the future, the Marxist-Leninists of all countries should likewise resolutely expose and fight them, and help the working class and the masses of China to combat such revisionism. Taking the same stand, we consider it our bounden proletarian-internationalist duty firmly to expose the revisionist leadership of the CPSU, to draw a clear line between ourselves and them, and to persist in the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism.

#### Persevere in the Struggle Against Khrushchov Revisionism

A fierce struggle is going on between the revolutionary people of the world on the one hand and the imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys on the other. The characteristic of the present world situation is that with the daily deepening of the international class struggle, a process of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization is taking place. The revolutionary movement of the people of the world is surging vigorously forward. Imperialism and all other decadent reactionary forces are putting up a wild death-bed fight. Drastic divisions and realignments of political forces are taking place on a world scale.

The revolutionary forces of the people of the world have surpassed the reactionary forces of imperialism. The advance of the revolutionary movement of the people of the world is the main current in the present situation. The people's revolutionary struggles in all countries will certainly triumph, while imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism will step by step descend to their doom. This is the inevitable trend of world history which no decadent reactionary force can change. But imperialism and reaction will not fall unless you strike them down, and modern revisionism, too, will not collapse unless you fight it. Before being overthrown and eliminated, they will invariably collaborate and, using differing tactics, do all they can to hurl desperate attacks on the revolutionary forces. Thus, along with the growth and deepening of the revolutionary movement, there is an adverse counter-revolutionary current. The course of international development is unavoidably filled with contradictions and conflicts; there are bound to be zigzags and reversals. In all countries the people's revolutionary struggles necessarily advance in the form of waves.

As the struggle against the United States reaches a crucial phase, U.S. imperialism needs the services of Khrushchov revisionism all the more acutely. Hence it is inevitable that the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism must sharpen.

In the course of combating Khrushchov revisionism, there is bound to be a certain unevenness in the degree of people's understanding of the struggle. This kind of phenomenon becomes particularly conspicuous when the struggle becomes sharp. That is both natural and inevitable. Lenin said that when astonishingly abrupt changes took place, people "who were suddenly confronted with extremely important problems could not long remain on this level. They could not continue without a respite, without a return to elementary questions, without a new training which would help them 'digest' lessons of unparalleled richness and make it possible for incomparably wider masses again to march forward, but now far more firmly, more consciously, more confidently and more steadfastly."<sup>21</sup> Just such a situation exists at present.

As the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism becomes sharper and deeper, a new process of division will inevitably occur in the revolutionary ranks, and some people will inevitably drop out. But at the same time hundreds of millions of revolutionary people will stream in.

Faced with a complex situation of this kind, Marxist-Leninists must never abandon or slur over principles, but must take a clear stand, uphold revolutionary principles and persevere in the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism. Only in this way can the unity of the revolutionary forces be strengthened and expanded.

At present, the task facing all the Marxist-Leninist parties is to draw a clear line of demarcation both politically and organizationally between themselves and the revisionists, who are serving U.S. imperialism, and to liquidate Khrushchov revisionism in order to welcome the high tide of revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

In the final analysis, in all parts of the world including the Soviet Union, the masses of the people, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, and the overwhelming majority of Communists and cadres want revolution and are upholding or will uphold Marxism-Leninism. They are steadily awakening and joining the ranks of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism. It is certain that over 90 per cent of the world's population will become more closely united in the fight against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism.

All the Communist Parties and all the socialist countries will eventually unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian inter-

nationalism and take united action in the struggle against imperialism. As Lenin told the old-line revisionists, the proletariat will sooner or later unite and eventually win on a world scale, "only it is moving and will move, is proceeding and will proceed, against you, it will be a victory over you."<sup>22</sup>

Unless the new leaders of the CPSU stop practising Khrushchovism without Khrushchov, admit and correct their mistakes and genuinely return to the revolutionary path of Marxism-Leninism, it is absolutely out of the question to expect the Marxist-Leninists to abandon the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism.

With power and to spare, we must not cease the pursuit

Or halt in mid-course for the sake of idle laurels.

This couplet summarizes an extremely important historical lesson. The Marxist-Leninists and all the other revolutionary people of the world must continue their victorious pursuit and carry the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism through to the end!

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>"Engels to A. Bebel, October 28, 1882," Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p. 427.

<sup>2</sup>"Engels to A. Bebel, June 20, 1873," Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup>"Marx and Engels to A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, W. Bracke and Others ('Circular Letter'), September 17-18, 1879," Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, p. 395.

<sup>4</sup>V. I. Lenin, "To A. A. Yakubova," Collected Works, Russ. ed., S.P.P.L., Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXXIV, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup>L. I. Brezhnev, Speech at the Reception of the Soviet Cosmonauts, October 19, 1964.

<sup>6</sup>N. V. Podgorny, "Great October," Cuba Socialista, November 1964.

<sup>7</sup>The International Revolutionary Movement of the Working Class, edited by B. N. Ponomarev (editor-in-chief) and others, Russ. ed., S.P.P.L., Moscow, 1964, p. 214.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 269.

<sup>9</sup>A. Andreyev, "The Development of the Marxist-Leninist Doctrine Concerning the Socialist State in the Programme of the CPSU," Kommunist Sovetskoi Latvii, No. 12, 1964.

<sup>10</sup>Y. Frantzev, "The Role of the Masses of the People in the Historical Process," Kommunist, No. 18, 1964.

<sup>11</sup>The International Revolutionary Movement of the Working Class, edited by B. N. Ponomarev (editor-in-chief) and others, Russ. ed., S.P.P.L., Moscow, 1964, p. 325.

<sup>12</sup>K. Brutentz, "The Contemporary Stage of the National Liberation Movement," Kommunist, No. 17, 1964.

<sup>13</sup>V. I. Lenin, "Unity," Collected Works, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XX, p. 232.

<sup>14</sup>A. A. Gromyko, Speech at the Plenary Session of the 19th General Assembly of the United Nations, December 7, 1964.

<sup>15</sup>N. S. Khrushchov, Talk at a Press Conference in Vienna, July 8, 1960.

<sup>16</sup>"Mr. K. Speaks," Daily Express, April 6, 1965.

<sup>17</sup>Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Peace, Morality and Vietnam," The New Leader, April 12, 1965.

<sup>18</sup>A. N. Kosygin, "On Improving Industrial Management, Perfecting Planning, and Enhancing Economic Incentives in Industrial Production," Moscow News, Supplement, October 2, 1965.

<sup>19</sup>"In Lenin's Way, with Scientific Accuracy," editorial in Sovetskaya Russia, March 28, 1965

<sup>20</sup>V. I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," Collected Works, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXI, p. 247.

<sup>21</sup>V. I. Lenin, "Certain Features of the Historical Development of Marxism," Collected Works, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H. Moscow, 1963, Vol. XVII, p. 42.

<sup>22</sup>V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," Collected Works, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXIII, p. 111.

CSO: 3530-D

## DEDICATING EVERYTHING TO THE COMMUNIST CAUSE

- Reading Comrade Wang Chieh's Dairy -

[Following is a translation of an article by Kuan Feng (7070 6912), in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 12, 11 November 1965, pages 29-33.]

Comrade Wang Chieh showed his great revolutionary act of heroism both in his everyday work and at the crucial moment of life and death. By his action he set us an example of a communist who received ideological training during the period of the proletarian dictatorship. His heart-stirring act of heroism will forever inspire and educate every comrade in our revolutionary ranks to forge ahead on the communist road.

Where did his revolutionary act of heroism come from? Comrade Wang Chieh's deeds and diary give an impressive answer to this question: His revolutionary act of heroism was a manifestation of his proletarian outlook on the world and was the result of studying the thought of Mao Tse-tung with utmost enthusiasm and seriousness.

In the era of the revolution of the international proletariat, only those who have established the proletarian outlook on the world can show revolutionary act of heroism in their actions. If one wants to establish the proletarian outlook on the world, the only course open to him in this age of stormy world revolution is to study the thought of Mao Tse-tung -- Marxism-Leninism enriched and developed by the revolutionary experience of the contemporary time. Only by arming one's mind with the thought of Mao Tse-tung can one resist the "sugar-coated bullets" of the class enemy, smash class enemy's scheme of "peaceful evolution" and stand firm in any heavy storms and billows.

The hallmark for determining whether or not one has established the proletarian outlook on the world is not how much book knowledge of philosophy he has acquired but what his actual action is -- by the world outlook of which class he guides his action and according to the view

and demand of which class he approaches the problem of why and how one lives. We say Comrade Wang Chieh had established the proletarian outlook on the world because he used the proletarian world outlook to analyze problems and guide his actions at all times and in all places, because he lived and fought for the communist cause and really understood and put into effect the motto -- "revolution is my ideal and struggle is real happiness" -- and because he dedicated everything to the communist cause and gave away his life when need arose.

Comrade Wang Chieh really did what the Party asked him to do. He contentedly and enthusiastically did the ordinary work, linking it closely to his lofty revolutionary ideals. Comrade Wang Chieh said, "I will be an 'all-purpose cog'. I will be where the Party wants me to be, will never get rusty and will always glitter." These words not only embody his devotion to revolution but also correctly explain the dialectical relationship between strict discipline and active display of subjective activity. Comrade Wang Chieh's deeds corresponded to his words, and he meant what he said. He was worthy of being called an all-purpose glittering 'cog' in the big collective of the revolutionary forces.

In the interests of revolution Comrade Wang Chieh dared to carry heavy burden without fear of difficulties. He said, "A true revolutionary must be prepared to face and overcome numerous difficulties in the process of struggle.... can stand the tests of various struggles and must stand firm and steadily forge ahead even when a 12-grade typhoon blows." Comrade Wang Chieh's actions proved him to be a "true revolutionary" of this type.

Comrade Wang Chieh really served the people with all his heart. When he took part in the flood-fighting and famine relief operations, he had only one thing in his mind: "The life and property of the people are important and personal safety and danger are not worthy of consideration." When he served his comrades-in-arms in his everyday life, the only thought in his mind was: "A little fatigue means nothing to me. If comrades can get a little more rest and are relieved of some burden I will be happy." Here there was not the least shadow of individualism. Such a view of happiness is the most noble and true communist view of happiness.

Comrade Wang Chieh consciously persevered in and developed the style of plain and frugal living, linking it to the socialist construction of the fatherland and to the emancipation of the oppressed peoples of the world. Comrade Wang Chieh had a deep knowledge of what a hard-working and frugal style meant. He said, "Good food and fine clothing for one man does not mean happiness. Only a good life for all the poverty-stricken people of the world means real happiness." "A revolutionary fighter must view not only the whole country but also the whole world from his company and bear in mind that two thirds of the laboring masses in the world have not been emancipated and are still

leading a hard life. Though material life is better now, one must not forget the years in which people lived on tree barks, ate grass roots and put on gunny bags. In the days of happy life we must still lead a frugal life." If one forgets this and seeks personal comfort of life one will "lose his revolutionary drive and forget his origin." Because of his profound and noble thought, Comrade Wang Chieh felt sweet in his heart though he bore hardship in his body. This profound and noble thought is a spiritual tank which can resist any "sugar-coated bullets."

Comrade Wang Chieh not only practised rigid economy in the interests of emancipation of all the oppressed peoples in the world but he was also ever ready to give away his life in opposing the imperialist war of aggression. He pledged to the Party, the fatherland and the world that when necessary "I will resolutely respond to the call of the fatherland, proceed to Vietnam, deal crushing blows to the U.S. imperialist army of aggression and aid the Vietnamese people..... In the interests of the calamity-stricken people I will die willingly and will not change my heart even if I have to climb a mountain of knives and plunge into the sea of fire." What a magnificent spirit! This spiritual strength of the People's Liberation Army cannot be destroyed by any new weapon.

Comrade Wang Chieh was faced with the split-second choice of life and death at a time when he helped drill the militia. At the critical moment when a package of explosives was accidentally set off, Comrade Wang Chieh did not hesitate to go to his death to save 12 militiamen and cadres of the people's armed force on the spot. This noble act of heroism was a concentrated expression of Comrade Wang Chieh's communist quality and a concentrated expression of the fact that Comrade Wang Chieh did arm his mind with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. As he was ever ready to give away his life in the interests of the communist cause he made a great and glorious choice at the critical moment of life and death. As Comrade Wang Chieh said, "If no attention is paid to drill in peace time an army will be no good for combat in war time." It is inconceivable that one who totters in a small whirlwind will be able to stand firm in the face of a 12-grade typhoon! It is inconceivable that one who is not prepared to perspire freely in the ordinary time can shed blood in the interests of the people at the critical moment of life and death.

The most fundamental thing in Comrade Wang Chieh's mind was to dedicate everything to the communist cause. Guided by this thought he did dedicate everything including all his energy and even his life to the communist cause. He devoted himself to revolution, lived for the communist cause and died for the communist cause. This fully proved that Comrade Wang Chieh had established the proletarian outlook on the world.

How is it that Comrade Wang Chieh, a youth in his twenties coming from the family of a middle peasant, could establish the proletarian

outlook on the world so soon? It was the result of his being nurtured by the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the result of constantly transforming himself with the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

After he enlisted in the army Comrade Wang Chieh consciously studied the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This consciousness for study found expression in his earnest study of Chairman Mao's writings. More important still, he studied in the interests of revolution and for the purpose of transforming himself. He realized that if one wanted to be a revolutionary fighter one "must constantly remold his thought, overcome nonproletarian ideas" and do away with all the undesirable influence of his family on himself; one must "wash his face everyday and sweep the dust in his mind as instructed by Chairman Mao." He used to take the thought of Mao Tse-tung as a mirror with which to "examine himself." He sincerely acted according to Chairman Mao's instructions and made up his mind to and actually did "act as instructed by Chairman Mao."

Using the thought of Mao Tse-tung to "examine oneself" and "acting as instructed by Chairman Mao" -- such is a really honest way of study. One who does not want to "examine himself," does not want to practise what he has learned and does not follow what he has learned from books and if one pays lip service to revolutionary principles and places "himself" in the primary position when doing a thing, then the attitude he assumes must be a very dishonest one. One who is not prepared to use the revolutionary theory to "examine himself" and not prepared to practise what he has learned can never be expected to integrate practice with theory in practical work. The reason is that one cannot imbibe Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung if he does not link up with his thought, does not remold his thought and does not want to practise what he has learned. If so, it is certainly not possible for him to use Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung to transform the realities of the objective world or to interpret the problems in practical work.

It will be seen from Comrade Wang Chieh's diary that the process in which he studied Chairman Mao's writings was the very process in which he constantly remolded his thought. He strove for "deep comprehension and good application" and "application of every bit of knowledge acquired," "laying emphasis on 'application'." And in applying what he had learned he primarily searched his own mind and examined his shortcomings and corrected his shortcomings. It was precisely because he placed the remolding of his thought in the "primary position" in the course of study that he was able to master the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to raise both his thought and his method of thinking through study, and to use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to guide his actions at all times and in all places.

Only when one ideologically trains oneself to be a communist fighter can he really master the methodology of dialectical materialism.



Only when one is completely free from individualist idea over a certain thing can he make a dialectical-materialistic analysis of it. The methodology of dialectical materialism has no affinity with individualism "because persons imbued with individualist ideas often consciously obliterate, hide and distort truth in their personal interests." (How to Be a Good Communist by Liu Shao-ch'i, People's Publishing House, 2nd 1962 edition, p. 53)

One's thought always divides into two. Knowing this truth Comrade Wang Chieh analyzed his thought according to this truth. Objectively, it is one thing to know the division of one's thought into two and another to recognize at all times the concrete division of one's thought into two. Not knowing the division of one's thought into two, one will find himself in the dark and will be unable consciously to promote correct thought and overcome wrong thought. Recognizing the concrete division of one's thought into two one will correctly understand his mental state and orientation of progress and will be able to keep his head sober and continue to make progress. It is not easy to recognize at all times the division of one's thought into two; yet it is the most important thing in one's ideological training. Comrade Wang Chieh regularly checked on his thought. It was an expression of the high degree of his consciousness and an expression of his real knowledge of the division of one into two and was the reason for his constant progress.

Comrade Wang Chieh comprehended the spirit and essence of what Chairman Mao said: "Modesty makes one go forward and conceit makes one fall behind." When he had achieved success and made progress in his work he made a more strict examination of his thought and guarded against the rudiment of conceit. In his diary he wrote a passage of great importance to the ideological training of revolutionaries:

"One will make progress only when he compares his shortcomings with the merits of others.

"If one over-estimates himself and always thinks he is better than others, he will never make progress."

Here are two "kinds of comparison:" The former is to compare his shortcomings with the merits of others and the latter is to compare his merits with the shortcomings of others. In the case of the former comparison, it is a manifestation of genuine modesty which makes one progress. In the case of the latter comparison, it is a manifestation of conceit which makes one fall behind. The former is a manifestation of the proletarian outlook on the world and the latter a manifestation of bourgeois individualism.

Practice and training were the foundation on which Comrade Wang Chieh grew up. It was precisely because of the guidance by the thought of Mao Tse-tung that he was brave to carry out practice and fight and

was able consciously to transform his subjective world in the struggle for transforming the objective world and to draw on the fountain of wisdom in practice at all times.

The heroic acts of revolutionary predecessors and the deeds of the model personages of his generation produced the great effects on the growth of Comrade Wang Chieh. Comrade Wang Chieh always took their deeds as a mirror with which "he examined himself," and as examples in his studies and actions. But, again, it was precisely because of the guidance by the thought of Mao Tse-tung that he was able to understand correctly and feel deeply these perceptual facts.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, "Things perceived cannot be readily understood by us and only things understood can be profoundly perceived." ("On Practice," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 1, People's Publishing House, 1952 2nd edition, p. 275).

From Comrade Wang Chieh's diary we may find concrete manifestations of this truth: Guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung, he soon correctly understood the revolutionary acts of heroism; because he was able to understand them, he was able to feel them deeply, thereby profoundly arousing his great enthusiasm for learning the revolutionary acts of heroism.

In short, once the thought of Mao-Tse-tung assumed command he could absorb the nutrient of revolutionary thought at all times and in all places.

It was in the course of studying and applying the thought of Mao Tse-tung in a living manner that Comrade Wang Chieh grew up.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung was the milk with which Comrade Wang Chieh was nurtured.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung was an ideological source of Comrade Wang Chieh's revolutionary acts of heroism. "I will do what Chairman Mao told me to do." This is the motto of us revolutionaries and the truth of the time. In our time one can become a staunch, consistent revolutionary only when he arms himself with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and transforms himself with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. As long as one sincerely acts this way everyone who wants to be a revolutionary can become a great communist fighter whatever his family origin.

In our country, the workers, peasants and soldiers are studying the thought of Mao Tse-tung with great enthusiasm. The upsurge in the study of Chairman Mao's writings in a living manner among workers, peasants and soldiers is an important event in the politico-ideological life of our country. It is a strong motive power behind the socialist revolution and socialist construction as well as a great school for training a generation of new communists.

Communist fighters like Lei Feng and Wang Chieh are emerging in large numbers from the army and the ranks of workers and peasants. This is the hope of our fatherland. It is a fundamental guarantee for preventing revisionism and carrying the revolution through to the end.

Comrade Wang Chieh said:

"The successors will certainly be able to persist in the revolution until victory!

"Revolutionary predecessors, you may rest assured that we will complete the journey along your road."

This is also the voice of our younger generation brought up by the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Imperialists and reactionaries vainly attempt to defeat us by means of the reactionary armed force and to bring about a "peaceful evolution" in our country.

Very well, let this group of gentlemen try and see.

The historical destiny is:

Communism will triumph all over the world!

What awaits this handful of mantes trying to stop the wheel of history are their graves!

CSO: 3530-D



## PEASANTS WELCOME REVOLUTIONARY SMALL PLAYS

[Following is a translation of an article by Wen Wen-hsuan (2429 2429 1357), in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 12, 11 November 1965, pages 35-36.]

Recently, in many localities throughout China, there have emerged a group of small revolutionary plays which have been dearly loved by the peasants. The peasants say that the revolutionary drama is "drama which cultivates ambition and promotes zeal," and "drama which opens up the eyes and raises people's consciousness."

The revolutionary small play is particularly suited for performance up mountains and down the countryside. In the writing, preparation and presentation of a small play, speed is achieved, and the struggle and livelihood of the masses of peasants can be reflected in good time for their socialist education. The props, sceneries, and musical instruments needed for the small play are portable, and the stage can be flexible and simple. The small play does not need a large cast, and a big or medium size dramatic troupe can "split up the entity into small units" to organize several sub-companies for simultaneous performances in many villages. The presentation of small plays can also greatly reduce production costs so that the peasants can enjoy plays at less expense. In addition, the small play also facilitates the teaching of rural amateur dramatic groups in staging performances, and also the training of amateur actors.

Precisely, because the revolutionary small play possesses these various excellent points, it has been praised as the "light cavalry" in the world of drama. We should actively advocate, vigorously support, and solemnly deal with this effective weapon which serves the workers, peasants and soldiers, so that the drama may the better develop its role of serving the masses at the basic level.

Can a small play possess penetrating ideological content? Of course it can. Whether or not a work with penetrating ideological content can be produced does not depend on its formal size, but rather on

its ability to grasp the pulse of the day, to expose class contradiction and struggle, and to express the revolutionary demands of the masses of the people. Compared with the large plays, the small play does have a smaller volume of content, but it can grasp the most prominent things from a facet of struggle and living, to turn a major contradiction into a model, and at the same time reflect the things with a universal significance, so that it can in the same way possess a penetrating ideological content. To judge the ideological depth of a work merely from its size is a mistaken viewpoint.

"The small play is crude, and lacks the capacity to move people." "It is only propaganda material for coordination with a given task, and it is not a production of art." These views are not correct. Any kind of art is propaganda material, and this is general knowledge. The small play can become propaganda material which achieves timely coordination with a revolutionary task, and at the same time it also can become propaganda material which is rich in literary and artistic character. It can mold artistic portraits with blood and flesh, it can have a story and scenes which entrance the people, and dramatic language which is moving and lively. The small play demand even greater artistic steeling. So long as people grasp the struggle and the life of the masses, and handle them earnestly, taking great care in the creative process, then they can completely produce revolutionary small plays with a high degree artistic character. Naturally they are some small plays which may have been produced in a crude manner and lack the power to move the audience, but this is not because they are small. If the struggle and the life of the masses are not grasped, and if persevering efforts are not exerted in its production, then even a large play can be crude and lacking in the power to move the audience.

"The small play cannot be staged on a select stage." This depends on the meaning of the "select stage" referred to. The feudal class has its own "select stage," and that refers to a palace, and a court. The bourgeoisie also has its own "select stage," and that is the "artistic tribune," the "salon" of the bourgeois lords. Where is the "select stage" for our socialist literature and art? It is in the midst of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Wherever there are masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, the place is the "select stage" of our revolutionary literature and art. If our plays are welcomed and approved by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, that would be the highest award, the best evaluation. Revolutionary dramatists should be honored and elated when the revolutionary small plays are loved by the masses.

Of course, we definitely do not say that the peasants only like to see small plays and do not like to see large plays. Large plays which are good should also be delivered to the rural areas vigorously with the use of simpler methods. But the small play is after all more convenient for presentation in the rural areas. For the timely and extensive satisfaction of the cultural needs of the peasants, the delivery of small

plays to the rural areas meets an urgent need. The peasants who are now engaged in the building of the socialist new countryside and who constitute more than 80 percent of China's population, urgently need socialist new culture. The rapid delivery of revolutionary plays to the rural areas to satisfy the needs of the broad masses for revolutionary literature and art is an extremely important and extremely urgent task. To do a good job of this task, we have to understand the rural areas, to be familiar with the peasants, to appreciate the feelings of the masses of peasants in their thirst after socialist culture, and to possess the revolutionary attitude and class feeling for serving the 500 million peasants. This is a problem of standpoint.

The performance of small plays can give dramatic workers greater opportunities to penetrate the workers, peasants and soldiers further, and to study from the masses, and this facilitates the remolding of their own ideology and feelings, and their integrity with the working people. This is also beneficial to the provision of more opportunities for artistic practice to raise their artistic levels in creation and performance. Accordingly, the performance of small plays in the extensive rural areas is not only beneficial to the popularization of drama, but also beneficial to its elevation.

We dramatic workers should study and absorb the experiences in various localities in the performance of the small plays in the rural areas. We should study their ideological determination to face the rural areas and serve the peasants, and the artistic attitude of going through endless steeling and seeking improvement continuously. To enable the revolutionary small plays rapidly gain ground, we must rapidly popularize a group of excellent small plays, and send more and better revolutionary small plays to the countryside.

CS0: 3530-D





## NEWSLETTER FROM TACH'ING

[Following is a translation of an article by Sun Wei-shih (1327 4850 0013), in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 12, 11 November 1965.]

Dear comrades, aren't we constantly talking about Tach'ing? It is the home of heroes. Probably you have heard a lot of stories about the heroes of Tach'ing. You have of course heard the stories of Wang T'ieh-jen, an old hero of national renown, and his comrades-in-arms -- Ma Te-jen, Tuan Hsing-chih, Hsüeh Kuo-pang and Chu Hung-ch'ang. And there are also the legends of Chang Hung-ch'ih, a pace-setter in the study of Chairman Mao's writings, and many other heroes. Now I want to tell you stories about the part played by the workers' dependents of Tach'ing in the revolution.

In 1961, the workers' dependents streamed into Tach'ing to take part in battle. It was the time when our fatherland was fighting against the three years of natural calamities. It was the time when the anti-China campaigns which were launched again and again by the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the modern revisionists were at their height.

On the vast and desolate plain, food, clothing, housing and transportation were difficult to obtain. The building of big cities there would cost the State a lot of money and take a very long time. Much labor power would also be needed to manage and serve these cities. Family dependents were troublesome. Should they be sent away? But it took workers to run factories and where there were workers, there would be family dependents.

Could the old pattern of running enterprises be shattered on this vast, desolate plain? Could a new way be found according to the thought of Mao Tse-tung?

On the basis of the call for "relying on our own effort to bring about a life of abundance" which was made by Chairman Mao during the war of resistance against Japan, the workers' committee for the battle of

Tach'ing urged the workers and their dependents to go into agriculture in a big way. After the matter was extensively discussed by the masses and the class education campaign was launched to recall the bitter life of the past and think of the happy life of the present, the leaders and workers of Tach'ing reclaimed wasteland and built houses together. The song of Nanniwan was sung on this vast, desolate plain.

In the spring of 1962, five members of the land reclamation team among the dependents of the petroleum workers also actively responded to the call of the Party and set out for uninhabited land. One of them was Hsüeh Kuei-fang who was nearly 50 years old.

Hsüeh Kuei-fang is the elder sister of Hsüeh Kuo-pang, a well-known pace-setter of the Tach'ing Oil Field. She was rather reticent at ordinary periods of time, but she was very energetic in work and even the young people could not match pace with her. Whenever she was commended, she always said: "This is nothing. I am used to leading a miserable life and am accustomed to labor since I was young."

When somebody was sick, she would go out in the middle of the night to find a doctor, and prepare medicine and congee for the patient. When somebody gave birth to a baby, she would do laundry work for the lying-in woman and wash diapers for the infant. She also delivered rice, repaired the stove and bought things for her...She did all these things with enthusiasm and great care.

At ordinary periods of time, after a day of labor in the field, she paid visits to various families to find out the ideological conditions of the team members. When people aired grievances to her, she listened quietly and attentively and after that, helped them solve their problems one by one. She was very intimate although she did not talk much. Because she was so intimate to all people, they called her Mother Hsüeh.

When Mother Hsüeh and four other people set out, they brought with them five iron picks and some simple tools. They erected a tent on the desolate plain swept by wind and snow, reclaimed wasteland, and waged a struggle against heaven and earth to seize grain from the desolate plain.

The deeds of these five members of the land reclamation team quickly spread among the workers' dependents. Very soon, the land reclamation team was joined by 23 workers' dependents. Not long after this, however, some people wavered because of the hard life, and they left on the ground that they had things to attend to at home or that they were sick. Finally, there were only ten family dependents left.

At that juncture, reticent Mother Hsüeh spoke: "When the battle began, the oil workers slept on the ground under the sky. Had they

not weathered even greater difficulties? Our leaders are still living in cattle sheds, and these difficulties of ours are nothing. The greater the difficulties, the more necessary is the revolution."

Hsüeh Kuei-fang's remark hit home. They said: "Right, we dependents of oil workers must learn from the oil workers. We must do whatever we are told by the leaders. We must fight against difficulties and see who will triumph."

Hsüeh Kuei-fang led the family dependents to reclaim land pick by pick in the sandstorm. In three days, they dug up five mow of land. Seeing that the workers and leading comrades sent men to pull the plows, they also learned to pull the plow themselves. Every rope was tightly drawn, and when they pulled the plow to the end of the field, some were so tired that they knelt on the ground and could not stand up. At that time, Hsüeh Kuei-fang whose clothes were soaked with sweat still merrily pulled at the longest rope. Seeing this, the sisters sitting on the ground rose, and rushed forward to seize the rope from Mother Hsüeh's hands.

One stormy night, the tent was blown by the strong wind to one side, and rainwater poured into the tents from all sides.

Mother Hsüeh put her own raincoat on Little Li who was of weak physical constitution. Little Li firmly refused to take it and said: "You are much older. Why give me the raincoat?"

Hsüeh Kuei-fang said: "Put it on quickly. I am much stronger than you are."

The oil lamp went out, the matches were soaked, and there was pitch darkness before them. Little Li took hold of Mother Hsüeh's hands and said: "My heart is full of energy whenever I recall what you have said: The greater are the difficulties, the more necessary is the revolution." Hsüeh Kuei-fang said: "The saying is not mine; it is Chairman Mao's."

The winds howled outside the tent, and the icy rainwater soaked through their clothes. In the darkness, they seemed to be able to see the glances of concern of each other, and their hearts were full of light...

The deeds of the land reclamation team of the workers' dependents who put up a hard fight on the basis of self-reliance spread throughout the oilfield. People were greatly inspired by the news.

This production team was one of the many production teams in the theater of war. After the hard struggle, they reaped a bumper harvest in agriculture. The family dependents gradually made their strength felt in labor production.

The leading comrades of the Central Government came to Tach'ing to inspect the work. They saw the thriving scene and put forward the directive of "integrating industry with agriculture and cities with the countryside to facilitate production and livelihood." In accordance with this directive, the workers' committee of Tach'ing launched a movement for studying the guideline of construction in the mining area among the broad masses of the workers and their dependents.

How should the mining area of the Tach'ing Oilfield be built? Should centralized cities or dispersed workers' villages be constructed? After the matter was discussed again and again, the workers and their dependents were unanimously of the opinion that they could not build centralized cities and tall buildings according to old and foreign rules. They knew that they must work strenuously to bring about prosperity on the basis of self-reliance, that they must call for high standards in production, but that they must forever uphold the glorious tradition of hard struggle in livelihood. In the course of discussion, the workers and their dependents warmly recommended that the local people's method of building beaten earth walls be learned to build "kan-ta'lei" and that dispersed workers' villages be built according to the distribution of oilfields. This was in agreement with the spirit of the general line and was also convenient to work and livelihood. Hsüeh Kuei-fang also gave her positive response on this problem.

In the spring of 1964, red flags were planted everywhere in the Tach'ing Oilfield. Teams of women enthusiastically delivered manure for application on the fields. Their songs startled the larks on the desolate plain. Why were so many people mobilized? What enormous changes were in store for the desolate plain?

On rows of wooden frames, the women learned to build beaten earth walls. Under the wooden frames, earth was delivered and mixed by the women. The young women carpenters sawed up timber under the guidance of master workmen, and the women glass workers learned to put up windows...They were busily building their own workers' villages.

The family dependents were organized to participate in collective productive labor and in the construction of workers' villages. The cadres were steeled and heirs were also fostered.

With the development of the situation, many family dependents' production teams were enlarged. They were reinforced by many young family dependents most of whom were educated youth with secondary or primary school education. Kuo Ts'ai-ying, a member of the Hsüeh Kuei-fang Production Team, was one of them.

Kuo Ts'ai-ying is a senior middle school graduate and her husband is an oil miner, as well as a five-good red-flag hand. She came to Tach'ing to look for work and did not expect that her husband would send her to take up farm labor.

When she first came to the workers' village, she felt very depressed. The oil miner presented his wife with a copy of Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung which was awarded him by the organization. As Kuo Ts'ai-ying took the book, she wiped her tears and said: "I didn't come to Tach'ing to do farm work."

"Then what do you want to do?" the oil miner laughed and asked.

"Does it take a senior middle school graduate to do such work?"

"Are there not many intellectuals who are senior middle school graduates going to the countryside to take up labor?"

"If I have to go to the countryside to take up labor, I wouldn't have come here."

"But why? Is it labor just the same?"

"They are educated youth going to the countryside, but I am with the family dependents," said little Kuo with tears running down her face.

"Ah, you yourself are a family dependent. Why do you look down upon family dependents?" asked the oil miner tenderly.

"I want to be a worker, not a family dependent. I don't want to be a family dependent!" said Kuo Ts'ai-ying in a chafe.

"Don't look down upon family dependents. Those of the Tach'ing Oil Field are good. You have much to learn from them," said the oil miner solemnly.

After Kuo Ts'ai-ying spent two days in the field, she was on her back. When Mother Hsüeh came to pay her a visit, she was lying in the bed vexing herself. When Mother Hsüeh hailed her, she just ignored her and turned her back on her. Mother Hsüeh looked at her, thought for a while, and asked in a whisper: "Does your body still hurt?"

Her eyes reddened and she was on the brink of shedding tears. She said: "I have pains all over and cannot even lift my legs."

Mother Hsüeh chuckled and said: "Everybody is like that when he first works. After a while you will be all right."

Mother Hsüeh sat on the edge of the earthen bed. She gently rubbed Kuo's leg as she chatted with her. She told her how people were required to pull the plows themselves when land was first reclaimed. She talked about the future prospects of the workers' village and the schools, mess halls, nurseries and bookstores about to be set up. She

told her that the place would be a modern mining area as well as a modern rural area. She told her that as the workers worked, their dependents must do farm work. She talked about everybody playing a part in labor and in the revolution...Hsüeh Kuei-fang heard all these things from the leaders, and she retold them in an intimate way as though she was a mother telling stories to her daughter.

As Kuo Ts'ai-ying listened, her heart was filled with warmth. She had been an orphan when she was young. Now it seemed that her mother was sitting on the earthen bed by her side. Yes, Mother Hsüeh was a revolutionary mother guiding her to follow a new life. Later, when she heard Mother Hsüeh told her past history at a meeting to recall past miseries, Kuo developed an even deeper feeling for Hsüeh Kuei-fang.

Hsüeh Kuei-fang came from a poor family. Her father was a hired farmhand. Though he worked very hard for the landlord, he was poorly fed and clothed. Hsüeh Kuei-fang had to go bare-footed when she was young. In the winter months when she tended cattle for the landlord, she was obliged to warm her feet in cowdung. On one occasion she was so hungry that she stole some dog food and was beaten by the landlord until she passed out. Her mother could only embrace her and weep but dared not utter a word.

Hsüeh Kuei-fang was married to a poor family. Her husband called Lien Hsing worked as a drilling hand at the Yümen Oil Mine. At that time the workers of the Yümen Oil Mine led a life no better than the cattle. On one occasion, master workman Lien Hsing was wounded at work. Instead of giving him medical treatment, the capitalist fired him.

As Hsüeh Kuei-fang told how the workers carried blood-stained Lien Hsing home, the miserable life of the past floated once again before her eyes. At that time, she had just given birth to a boy and had to go out into the snow storm with her week-old baby. She went to the factory to beg mercy from the capitalist, and asked him not to fire her husband. She told the capitalist that if the baby's father were fired, the whole family would have no means to make a living. The capitalist just ignored her plea and drove her out.

When Hsüeh Kuei-fang told how she was pushed and fell on the snow with her baby, tears ran down her face. Her young daughter sitting by her side cried and pleaded: "Dear mother, please talk no more. I'll never forget the past misery. I'll forever follow the Communist Party to carry out the revolution."

People wept all over the meeting place. The fire of hate was kindered in Kuo Ts'ai-ying's heart, and hot tears ran down her face.

At that time, Hsüeh Kuei-fang addressed the audience: "When we

worked for the landlords and the capitalists in the past, our lives were really not as valuable as those of the cattle. Now that we are the masters of our own destinies and we are working for the revolution, is it fair if we do not work conscientiously?"

After the meeting for recalling past miseries was held that evening, many people could not sleep well. Kuo Ts'ai-ying rolled in her bed and could not go to sleep as though she had witnessed the miseries which her parents had gone through.

It was late at night; Kuo Ts'ai-ying gently got up from her bed, lit the oil lamp, and looked through the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung which her husband gave her. She read the article "Serve the People" and tried to recall her past.

Her home village was in North Shensi. When she was an infant, her parents died under the ruthless exploitation and oppression of the landlords. She seemed to see Chang Szu-te making charcoal in the smoke-blackened cave in North Shensi. The fire made Chang Szu-te's face glow and put light in his pair of young eyes. Chang Szu-te went through many hard battles with Chairman Mao, and how bravely he had fought during the battle-ridden Long March. When he came to North Shensi, in order to meet the need of the people, he went deep into the mountain to make charcoal at Anse, and died a youthful death...What does man live for? How must he live before his life is of significance?

As Kuo Ts'ai-ying was absorbed in deep thought, a hand gently rested on her shoulder. It was the hand of Mother Hsüeh who got up every night to make sure that the young comrades were well covered. Kuo Ts'ai-ying turned around and looked at Hsüeh Kuei-fang. From the tall body and gentle smile of Mother Hsüeh, she seemed to notice a latent force. It was the class hatred which could never be forgotten, the warm love for the Party and Chairman Mao, a real understanding of the significance of our labor, the comprehension of the relationship of our labor with socialist construction and the world revolution. Why was it that Mother Hsüeh never felt tired? Why had she so fervent a love for labor? Why was she so concerned with the collective? This was the answer to the question for what does man live. A new world gradually unfolded in Kuo Ts'ai-ying's mind.

It took of course some hard struggle for Kuo Ts'ai-ying to acquaint herself gradually with work in the field. When she first weeded the field, she never could make the hoe work as she wanted to. When she was half way through her plot, other people had gone to the end of their plots. While she was in a chafe, the veteran team members had worked from the opposite end toward her plot. Mother Hsüeh also came over to teach her how to make use of the hoe without effort. As they worked together toward the end of the field, Mother Hsüeh looked at her hands, pricked the blisters and bandaged them.

Kuo Ts'ai-ying formerly thought that she was wronged because she was required to toil with these people. Now she knew that there were many things which she must learn from these family dependents.

Now every time Kuo Ts'ai-ying took a rest in the field, she read newspapers to other people. At study time in the evening, she selected some of Chairman Mao's sayings and read them to the audience. She felt that these family dependents had a more profound understanding of Chairman Mao's writings than she because they had learned them long ago. Before they came to the workers' village, it was very common for husbands to help their wives in study and children to read books to their mothers. They also had the experience of hard life and were able to link studies with the problems they had in mind. Moreover, they thought of ways to make use of everything they had studied. They studied things so that they could make use of them. Therefore, things were studied flexibly for flexible application.

Kuo Ts'ai-ying's husband went to the fields to work with the family dependents every time he came to the workers' village. He was a cowherd when he was young. Later he worked as a hired farmhand and was not a layman in farming. When he hoed the fields the second time, he knowingly or unintentionally challenged the family dependents to emulate him. The latter were also no weaklings and the scene was really invigorating. In the endless stretch of fields, they were all of a sweat under the hot sun. They wielded their hoes, and as they passed, the land was weeded. On the shiny black soil, the young seedlings grew luxuriantly. The hearts of the people were filled with joy.

The oil miner turned to look at his wife. Her face was sun-tanned. The hoe in her hands -- which was unwieldy before -- was now quite tame. Pursing her lips, she worked with confidence.

A cool breeze sprang up, and a heavy shower spat on the over-changing desolate plain. The team leader sounded the whistle to tell people to take a rest, but they worked on as usual. The rain beat on their bodies and faces, but nobody cared. The shower was soon over and there was a rainbow in the sky.

When it was time to leave, people walked out of the fields. At that time, the oil miner carried a load of boiled water and came forward in big strides. He put down his load and shouted: "All those who want to have a drink come please!"

Kuo Ts'ai-ying and the other women laughed and went up to meet him. The oil miner stood aside and looked on as Kuo Ts'ai-ying and others chatted and laughed together. He heard some women shout:

"Kuo Ts'ai-ying, sing us a song!"

She sang a song with her ringing voice. The song was loud and



clear and bore a strong local taste. The oil miner watched Kuo Ts'ai-ying, the happy crowd and the smiling Hsüeh Kuei-fang, and he too felt the irresistible impulse of wanting to laugh.

Kuo Ts'ai-ying joined the labor university there and became an activist in the study of Chairman Mao's writings. She was rated a five-good family dependent, and was later elected leader of the production team.

These women from all corners of the countries united closely together. In this team, people could count on the help of others. They rushed to places where there were difficulties. They used their own money to help those comrades in difficulties, covered up public grain with their own raincoats and taupalins, and went out in the middle of the night to move away chemical fertilizer when it rained... All this had become conscious action.

They constantly went to worksites in a planned manner to wash, sew and mend clothes and beddings for the workers. They helped the workers dig mud pools and polish machine parts. They also kept the highways in good maintenance, and the several hundred li of highways were under the care of them and the family dependents of other production teams. They went into agriculture as well as industry. They tackled such work with a happy frame of mind. They did not feel tired no matter how hard the work, nor did they complain of the cold in the most freezing weather.

When the family dependents flexibly studied the thought of Mao Tse-tung for flexible application, understood the object of life and knew for what they lived, they were able to manifest their strength to an extent beyond the imagination of people.

As the family dependents went to the workers' villages to participate in construction, the overwhelming majority of the workers supported the participation of their own wives in collective productive labor and encouraged them to take part in building workers' villages. However, the age-old force of habit to disparage the women could not be wiped away at one stroke. Such a force of habit still made trouble with some workers. The contradiction between carpenter Wang Li-hai and his wife Hsin Yü-lan reflected such a case.

Hsin Yü-lan is 25 years old this year and has a child. With the continued encouragement of Mother Hsüeh, she enthusiastically sent in her name for participation in the building of workers' villages. But carpenter Wang Li-hai did not agree and the matter was not final.

Two days before they were scheduled to leave for the workers' village, Mother Hsüeh discovered that Hsin Yü-lan had red eyes when she went to work in the fields as though she had cried. When asked why, she just shook her head and did not say anything. Mother Hsüeh knew

that her husband must have tried again to pull her back. After a while, Mother Hsüeh went to chat with Hsin Yü-lan. They chatted until the latter laughed. She told Mother Hsüeh seriously: "Don't worry, nobody can pull me back from going with the revolution, and you can rest assured that I'll follow you." Thereupon, Mother Hsüeh corrected her by saying: "You are not following me, but we all follow Chairman Mao."

On the day of departure for the workers' village, Mother Hsüeh was not sure of herself, and she went to Hsin Yü-lan's home early in the morning. Before she stepped inside, she heard Hsin Yü-lan's husband say angrily: "I do not want you to go. Who is to take care of the child if you are going?"

"Is not the workers' village going to set up a temporary nursery?"

"Can the temporary nursery take good care of our child?"

But Mother Hsüeh also brings her child there."

"That is her business. I have only one son. You cannot go. It is better for you to stay home to take care of him."

"My point of emphasis is on the revolution."

"What?"

"The revolution!"

"The revolution indeed! You care only to go out for the revolution. By staying at home to keep house so that I can build socialism with my heart at ease, is this not for the revolution?"

"But do you know that more people participating in construction means greater strength?"

"Then you are going. Are you going to wash your hands with our home?"

"Not at all. I'll come back on Sunday to help you. Besides, with me also participating in collective labor, we can have a little more income for our family."

"Forget it. The little money you will earn can hardly buy medicine for the child. As a 5th grade worker, I can make enough for your support."

"I don't want your support. We women must be organized to participate in collective productive labor. Mother Hsüeh says..."

"Mother Hsüeh, Mother Hsüeh! As I see it..."

"Old though she is, she still responds to the call of the Party. As I am so young, why should I stay at home? I want to learn from her, and that is final."

"I forbid."

"But I want to go."

Both of them raised their voices and the child wailed. Hsüeh Kuei-fang called for Hsin Yü-lan from outside the door, but there was no answer. She pushed open the door and went inside. The house was in a disorderly state, and the child squatted on the earthen bed and wailed. Wang Li-hai sat on a stool with his back on her. Although he knew that Hsüeh Kuei-fang had come in, he did not turn round, but just took out a cigarette and smoked it.

"Yü-lan, are you ready?" Hsüeh Kuei-fang broke the silence and asked amicably.

Hsin Yü-lan did not answer, but broke down and wept.

"If you have difficulties, you better stay home a few more days and come with the next group," said Mother Hsüeh.

Hsin Yü-lan wept no more. She raised her head, wiped her tears, set her uncombed hair with her hands and said firmly: "I have no difficulties, and I'll go with you to the workers' village."

"If you must go, leave me the child," shouted Wang Li-hai.

Hsin Yü-lan did not answer him, but just picked up the child and left.

"Leave the child with me! If the child were sick, could you be responsible?"

Hsin Yü-lan walked out of the house without turning her head.

"Once you are gone, you can never come back to this home! said Wang Li-hai as he closed the door with a bang. Hsüeh Kuei-hai was startled. She stood by the side of the door for a while and said: Master workman Wang, don't be angry. Let us talk it over slowly."

"It is not your business to find out whether I am angry or not. Without the trouble-maker, my home would not be like this." As master workman Wang said this, he threw something on the table.

Hsüeh Kuei-fang thought for a while and said unemotionally:  
"Master workman Wang, what are you workers coming to Tach'ing for?"

"That is none of your business...But if you must ask, I also can tell you this: We come to carry out the revolution and build socialism. Understand?"

"I understand. But why is it that only you workers can play your part in the revolution and not us family dependents?" Although Hsüeh Kuei-fang tried to make her remark sound mild, it was very forceful. Wang Li-hai said nothing but just stood there with his head bent puffing vigorously at his cigarette.

Hsüeh Kuei-fang again thought for a while and said with concern:  
"By building the workers' villages, the Party is showing its concern for us. Moreover, your child is also ours, and we all will take good care of him. So you can set your mind at ease. Master workman Wang, your past was like that of my Lien Hsing. You two were balsam pears on the same vine. Was not the scar on your arm a mark left by the capitalist? You cannot forget your past misery!"

Wang Li-hai was dumbfounded. Thanks to Hsüeh Kuei-fang's reasonable persuasion, he finally gave his approval.

When Hsin Yü-lan came to the workers' village, she was elected a nurse of the production team. Everyday before daybreak, she went to the mud house -- which was used as the temporary nursery -- to light the stove, sweep the floor, and dry the blankets...When the bell sounded and the mothers brought their children to the nursery, the place had been warmly heated and cleanly swept. Although this dilapidated mud house was used on a temporary basis, and a new house must be erected for the nursery in the future, yet she still did all she could to make it look tidy. The windows were well papered and decorated with some red papercuts. The leaks on the walls were repaired with mud. Every day, she washed the used diapers and handed them back to the mothers coming for their children. The mothers were very grateful and said: "Little Hsin, you are able to take better care of our children than we can, and we have confidence in you."

On one occasion, Mother Hsüeh accompanied the leading comrade of the oilfield to the base to inspect work and brought him to this temporary nursery. It was very warm inside, and Hsin Yü-lan was sitting amidst a group of merry children. She carried a child in her arms and there was another child sitting on her lap. On her back was another child clinging to her neck. At the corner of the house, a young boy was crying.

"Is your own child here?" asked the leading comrade eyeing the child in her arms.

"Yes," said Hsin Yü-lan as she played with the child in her arms. "The one at the corner is mine."

The leading comrade looked over this simple and plain woman carefully, went over to the corner of the house to pick up the crying child and asked her: "Why don't you take care of him?"

"It does no harm for him to cry. But other children cannot cry, for their mothers are working in the fields. The care of a child means the liberation of a mother."

The leading comrade held Hsin Yü-lan's hand said: "You think well, but you also cannot mistreat your own child. He is your own child as well as the child of the country."

"He has not been mistreated, chief. Is he not right under my nose?" Hsin Yü-lan laughed as she saw the leading comrade to the door.

When the leading comrade left the nursery, Mother Hsüeh turned around and whispered to Hsin Yü-lan: "What the chief has said is right. You must take good care of your child also, otherwise the father of the child cannot be liberated."

Hsin Yü-lan laughed again: "Don't tease me. Has old Wang not been liberated ideologically?"

To tell the truth, the contradiction between Hsin Yü-lan and Wang Li-hai had really been solved.

Hsin Yü-lan did a real good job and was constantly cited. She was rated a five-good family dependent in the theater of war. The family dependents' production team sent the good news to the workers' unit, and when Wang Li-hai heard that his wife had been cited at a meeting, he blushed from ear to ear.

On one occasion, at a workers' meeting, Hsin Yü-lan challenged Wang Li-hai to emulate her in thought, in work and in work zeal as well to make a five-good fighter of himself. Amidst the applauses and cheers of the audience, Wang Li-hai also went up the platform to accept her challenge. He used his own action to show that he had not failed the expectation of his leaders and comrades for at the end of the year he was also rated a five-good red-banner hand.

At the Tach'ing Oilfield, there are many stories about husbands helping wives and wives helping husbands to make red couples. The revolutionization of the workers of Tach'ing has led to the revolutionization of the family dependents, and the revolutionization of the family dependents has in turn also brought about and deepened the revolutionization of the workers.

Dear comrades, you may have passed these women fighting in commonplace work -- people with the spirit of self-sacrifice who look upon labor as the revolution -- without noticing them. But do you know that there are many heart-stirring stories among them? The poets should sing praise of them, the musicians should compose songs for them, and the writers should take great pains to write novels about them. This is because, like the workers of Tach'ing, there are also many heroines among the family dependents of Tach'ing who have brought the spirit of our era into play.

There are more than one Hsüeh Kuei-fang among the family dependents of Tach'ing. Many production teams have also their own Hsüeh Kuei-fangs who are good in class origin, have a bitter past and deep scores to settle, and are capable of fostering the younger generation with class education. Over the past few years, many Hsüeh Kuei-fangs and their successors have grown up or are in the course of growing up. The spiritual features of the family dependents of Tach'ing have changed profoundly. They are building not only a modern mining area but also a great socialist society.

In the spring of 1965, a train was rolling toward Peking. Aboard the train were seven representatives of the family dependents of Tach'ing headed by Kuo Kuei-fang. They were entrusted by the leaders of Tach'ing to go to Peking to make reports. There was also a small group of victory reporters who planned to use literature and art to acquaint Peking with the part played by the family dependents of Tach'ing in the revolution.

Aboard the train, the family dependents were rather tense. The team leader soothed them by saying: "Don't be tense, for you are only required to tell your own stories and show yourselves."

The day which could never be forgotten came, and Hsüeh Kuei-fang led her sisters to the platform of the People's Assembly Hall in Peking. She raised her eyes and saw that all seats were occupied. There were so many rows of seats that she seemed to find herself in a sea of human beings without bounds. High up on the dome roof, the numerous lights gave the appearance of a star-studded sky.

At that time, the people sat quietly to listen to the amicable but loud voice of the leader of the National Women's Federation: "...The workers' dependents of Tach'ing march forward along the road of revolutionization. They have set the example to the workers' dependents throughout our country..."

Hsüeh Kuei-fang sat quietly on the platform. She stared blankly before her without moving. Her face looked sober and calm. At this gathering of ten thousand people, she recalled to her mind her past life which was no better than that of the cattle. She recalled to her mind

how she was ruthlessly whipped by the landlord and coldly driven out by the capitalist...But for the Party and Chairman Mao, there would be no Hsüeh Kuei-fang. Her bones would have turned into ash long ago...

Then she suddenly heard the chairman of the assembly announce: "Now, Hsüeh Kuei-fang, commander of the production team of the family dependents of the well drilling hands will speak to us."

Hsüeh Kuei-fang sensed a constriction in her heart as though it stopped beating.

The whole place was rolling with thunderous applauses. She stood up and wanted to move a few steps forward. But her feet seemed to have been nailed to the platform, and no matter how hard she tried, she could not move a single step.

During the short interval, she thought of the education and cultivation of the Party. She thought of Chairman Mao, and she could not help from whispering within her: "Oh, Chairman Mao! With you, I have nothing to fear."

At that time, she experienced a sense of relaxation, and she walked with vigorous steps toward the grand rostrum built by the people of the fatherland. On this rostrum, she told the audience her past life and the construction of mining areas at the Tach'ing Oilfield. Finally, with a voice from deep in her heart, she said: "Young people must heed what the Party and Chairman Mao say regardlessly of what they are doing. Every kind of work is done for building socialism, for the revolution, for the people, and for all of us!"

After the family dependents of Tach'ing went to Peking, the scene was even more ebullient at the oilfield. The workers who had been transferred from the industrial front to help building workers' villages put on big red flowers and were sent back to the industrial front by the family dependents with beaten gongs and drums.

Farming was left entirely to the family dependents. The workers praised them by saying: "The family dependents now form the props of half the sky!"

The family dependents not only went into agriculture. They also participated in industrial labor at the oil paper factory, the red brick kiln, the prefabricated works, the motorcar repairs works, the general machinery plant, and the scientific instrument factory.

Now, the service personnel of the mess halls, the nurseries, the sewing units, the hairdressing saloons, the bathhouses, the workshops, the post offices, the saving banks, the bookstores, the general stores, the grain stations...are basically made up of family dependents.

There are some family dependents among the teachers in the work-study schools. Those who ride on horses to keep watch over cattle herds and sheep flocks and those who drive horsedrawn carts are also family dependents.

There have also emerged women plowhands, and more than ten family dependents are often seen waving their whips as they drive oxen to plow up the fields. The rural people stared at them in amazement and they praised them by raising their thumbs.

The women are able to do everything. The family dependents build "kan-ta-lei" and put the main beams into position themselves. They also keep their houses in good repairs.

At the agricultural research stations, the family dependents carry out research in agricultural science.

The women drive combined harvesters in the fields to bring in the bumper harvest. In the tractor and combined harvester training classes, several hundred family dependents are making intense effort in study. In order to build oilfields in a better way, the family dependents are marching in the direction of mechanization.

The family dependents working in industry, agriculture or service trades are also given work points on the basis of work. They share distribution according to work and receive no wages from the State. The cadres among the family dependents are no exception. The products produced by the family dependents are owned by the whole people and centrally distributed by the State. They have not only solved the ration grain for a part of the family dependents but also rendered aid and support to the workers, thus greatly reducing the burden of the State. They say: "Now, we think of the collective, work for the revolution, love labor, want to practice industry and thrift, and seek to overtake Tachai."

The workers' villages are also managed by the family dependents themselves. The family dependents have revolutionized their way of thinking. They know the characteristics of women and are careful and thorough in work. Therefore, they are especially outstanding in the management of their own affairs.

The family dependents of Tach'ing have become an army of revolutionized, militant working women skilled in labor. They say: "Without the sun the moon cannot shine, and without studying Chairman Mao's writings, the family dependents will go astray in the revolution." The family dependents have learned from practice that the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the source of all strength and the root of success for all kinds of work.



Look, there have now been built on the vast and desolate plain a number of workers' villages according to the distribution of the oil wells. How beautiful are these neat rows of "kan-ta'lei" with yellow walls and blue doors and windows under the sun. It will be of interest if you can go to their homes to take a look.

Every home is neatly arranged. On the walls are hung the portrait of Chairman Mao and the citations for five-good red-banner bearers and five-good family dependents. The young children are sent to nurseries while the older ones go to attend primary schools or work-study secondary schools. Everybody lives within the organization and the institution. Everybody works and studies.

Every morning when the bell rings in the workers' village, the primary school students come out of their houses with their book-bags and manure baskets. The kindergarten children also know that it is time for them to go to the nurseries when the bell rings. After sending their children to the nurseries, the hoe-carrying mothers leave group by group for the fields.

Suppose you ask the children: "Where are your parents?"

They would reply in this way: "They have gone to work."

There is dignity and pride in the word "labor." Its significance is sensed by the children even before they are able to understand things. The primary school children help to collect manure, catch insects and pick beans. Sometimes they also help their mothers to repair the highway. It goes without saying that the students of the work-study schools also work. Sometimes they carry a hoe to the fields, and sometimes they hold high a red banner and walk to the factories. You will hear them singing:

"The crude oil comes from underground, but the land grows grain and vegetables,

"Work-study schools have been set up.

"We are good successors to the oil workers;

"For the sake of revolution, we must attend school.

"Work and study are skillfully arranged;

"Useful people are trained by work-study schools.

"Chairman Mao's teachings must be memorized,

"And forever we must be revolutionaries..."

This song arouses your firm conviction in the future. The difference between mental labor and physical labor is gradually eliminated from the mind of the children when they are still young. Their fathers are modern workers and their mothers are modern peasants. Both of them are socialist builders with consciousness. They are brought up in a place which is a modern city as well as a modern countryside.

When the children come closer, you can see clearly on every one of their sun-tanned and lovely faces a pair of eyes glistening with wisdom and youth. As the song of the children grows louder and louder and strikes a note of harmony with the song sung by their mothers farther away, can you hear it without excitement.

Our next generation will forever be laborers and revolutionaries! The imperialists and modern revisionists want to bring about our downfall. Because they can do nothing with this generation of ours, they place their vain hope on the peaceful evolution of our later generations. Their fond dream can never be realized.

Look! The family dependents of Tach'ing and the children of the oil workers are marching along the path of revolutionization. The rising sun is shining on them, and they are nursed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They are singing the song of triumph at the top of their voice and marching forward in big strides. (Written in October, 1965, at Tach'ing)

CSO: 3530-D

A LIVING STUDY AND USE OF THE THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG

-- Excerpts from Comrade Wang Chieh's Diary --

Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Chinese-language periodical Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 12, 11 November 1965, pages 18-28.

Editor's note: Under the heading "A Heart Totally for the Revolution", the Chieh-fang Chun-pao (Liberation Army Daily) on 30 October and 10 November 1965 published excerpts from the diary of martyr comrade Wang Chieh (3769 2638), a company squad leader in a certain engineers' unit in the Tsinan PLA armoured forces.

Comrade Wang Chieh was from Chin-hsiang hsien in Shantung. He was born in 1942, entered the military service in August 1961, and joined the Communist Youth League in February 1962. After entering the military service, he was chosen a five-good soldier for three years straight and twice he gloriously received the third-class award. This year in July comrade Wang Chieh went to the Chang-lou People's Commune in P'i hsien in Kiangsu Province to aid in militia training. In the emergency created by the unexpected exploding of an explosive, he disregarded his own safety and bravely sacrificed himself in order to protect the militia and people's armed forces at the locality. After comrade Wang Chieh had gloriously sacrificed himself, the party committee of his unit, in accordance with his previous desires, investigated his history and actions and posthumously made him a formal member of the Chinese Communist Party.

In publishing excerpts from his diary, the Chieh-fang Chun-pao added an editorial note:

"His diary is a record of making a living study and use of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, of raising proletarian consciousness. It is a sincere, vigorous record of whole-hearted service to the people; it is very good living study material."

"Heroic behavior is definitely not accidental. It stems from the thought of Mao Tse-tung. From this diary we can see that because comrade

Wang Chieh diligently studied the works of Chairman Mao, constantly absorbed revolutionary nourishment, continually reformed his own thinking, and raised his proletarian consciousness, he was able to contribute his own life unhesitatingly when the need arose."

In judging a person, it is not only important to see what he says, but it is even more important to see what he does. Lenin held that this was a truth of Marxism. The area in which comrade Wang Chieh is particularly worthy of study lies in his strict and conscientious attitude of study towards the thought of Mao Tse-tung, in his combining study and use, in his unanimity of word and deed; it lies in the fact that at a time for choosing life or death in everyday life, he was able to use the thought of Mao Tse-tung as a compass for his actions.

March 13, 1963:

I was greatly enlightened by studying "The Situation After Victory in the Resist-Japan War and Our Policy."

"With regard to the backward things in the minds of the Chinese people, we must cast them out completely like sweeping out a room. There has never been any dust which got rid of itself without the need for sweeping." This is Chairman Mao's teaching. We must make a clean sweep of unpure things in our thinking. It is impossible for unpure things in our thinking to cast themselves out without our sweeping; that is like the principle that "if a bell is not struck it does not peal, and if a table is not moved it doesn't go anywhere."

We are proletarian revolutionary fighters, and we have the great task of protecting socialism and the socialist construction. If we want to complete this glorious task given to us by the country, we must constantly reform our thinking and elevate our consciousness.

To reform our thinking, we must make efforts in the three following areas:

(1) We must actively take part in political study; by means of this study, we will be able to understand party policies and lines, the relationship between the individual and the collective; we will be clear about the direction of advance, and we will know for whom we are soldiers and for whom we fight. If we want to study well, we must connect ourselves to reality, regularly use revolutionary principles to examine ourselves, and develop the good and resolutely oppose the bad.

(2) We must constantly pay attention to refining ourselves in actual struggle. We must refine ourselves in training, production, and every political campaign, and particularly we must go into difficult and miserable environments to refine ourselves. No matter in what job, or in what assignment, we must do things in accordance with the demands of the upper levels. We must regularly study the models of advanced persons, study their lofty thinking, their firm determination, and strict organizational discipline. We must study the heroic examples of Tung Ts'un-jui (5576 1317 3843), Huang Chi-kuang (7806 4949 0342), Ch'iu Shao-yun (8002 1421 0061), An Ye-min (1344 2814 3046), and Lei Feng (7191 6912); we must use their model deeds as a mirror for our own.

(3) We must regularly undertake criticism and self-criticism. This is a vigorous weapon for reforming our thinking; we must master the use of this weapon, modestly accept the criticism of others, strictly engage in self-criticism; in accordance with the instructions of Chairman Mao, we must wash our faces everyday and sweep the dust particles out of our thinking. Whether small defects or large, they must be conscientiously handled and resolutely overcome.

Reform of our thinking is a long-term and difficult task; it is definitely not something which is completed in a day and a night, but if we have the determination to engage in reform resolutely and unflinchingly, we will overcome all non-proletarian ideological things and become superior revolutionary fighters.

June 5, 1963:

This evening I took part in the battalion conference on experiences in studying the works of Chairman Mao. At the meeting every comrade discussed his own study insights. The common experience was: In studying we should not wish for too much too soon; we should study a little and do a little, study, act, and change. We must be set on doing this always. In studying we must combine our efforts with present tasks, with the problems of the individual. Our studying should not depart from the leadership or from the masses. The above experiences are valuable; we should thoroughly implement them in our study, connect theory with practice, make strict demands on ourselves, conscientiously reform ourselves, and become good soldiers of Chairman Mao, who read the books of Chairman Mao, listen to his words, and act in accordance with his instructions.

July 25, 1964:

Study of the works of Chairman Mao is like any other work; we must give full heed to practical results. How many articles we read and how much time we spend only reflect one side of the study situation; we cannot use this as the standard for judging study results. The study results will depend on whether or not we can grasp the spiritual essence of the works of Chairman Mao, can utilize it to reform our thinking, to direct our work, and to analyze and handle practical questions. Chairman Mao has said: "We must be able to thoroughly penetrate and utilize the theories of Marxism, and the goal in penetrating them is to utilize them." The more we can use the standpoint, viewpoint, and method of Chairman Mao to explain and resolve practical questions, the greater will be the results of our study, the more apparent the results of reforming our thinking and improving our work. Conversely, no matter how many thousands of pages we read, how many notes we take, if we do not relate this to our thinking or our work, if we do not utilize it, there will be no question of any study results. The overall course of study and all things in study should start out from the point of view of results; we must focus on mastering and utilizing it; we must put the stress on the word "use", truly achieve a unanimity of study and use, and undertake this

vigorously.

In studying the works of Chairman Mao, we will not study well without conscious thinking. The Chairman has taught us: "All work which requires mass participation, if there is no self-awareness and self-volition on the part of the masses, will sink into formalism and be defeated." It is only when we realize that the works of Chairman Mao are to revolutionaries like "sunshine, air, and food" that we will be able to study and use them well. It is only with self-awareness that we will have determination, resolution, be able to put forth effort, time, that we will be able to truly solve contradictions in work and study, that we will be able to achieve the goal of reforming our thinking and work.

We must resolutely focus on the works of Chairman Mao for a long time; these works constitute the undertaking of a lifetime. We must continue to study as we grow older; we must certainly increase constantly our determination and resolve for study, and firmly carry it through.

In studying the works of chairman Mao, we must also conscientiously and thoroughly implement the principles put forward by comrade Lin Biao (2651 1753) of "study with questions in mind, make a living study and use, combine study and use, first study what is urgently used, and set up a standard by which to judge." As long as we undertake revolution and work, we will constantly meet every sort of problem; when the old ones are solved, new ones will appear. Wherever there is work or struggle, there there will be questions to keep in mind when we study. It is definitely not the case that there will be no problems to keep in mind, although there may be ones not kept in mind completely. But we must put the stress on priorities, and study the problems which most urgently need to be solved. It is only when we "concentrate our forces to fight a battle of annihilation", only when we put our energy on the crucial point, study and resolve questions, and study and use, that we will be able to study penetratingly, master thoroughly, and utilize well and do our work in a down-to-earth manner.

July 8, 1964:

Chairman Mao has said: "Reading is to study, and so is utilization, which is the more important form of study." This passage means that those persons who have never entered school can still learn from war; from war they can learn about war. Work is frequently not doing after studying well; it is rather starting to do and then studying; work is study. In studying the works of Chairman Mao, I thought of my three years of life in the military service, and this caused me to understand Chairman Mao even more deeply. Work is study; as long as you proceed to do those things which you do not know, you will master them. "There are no difficult things in the world, only persons who are afraid to act." The three years in the military service have taught me things which I never learned in school: The elevation of thinking, of class consciousness, of military skills, the nurturing of a hard and simple work style -- all are derived from study. Study must go into practice, theory must be related to practice, and only in this way will the study be good.

August 22, 1963:

Study of the works of Chairman Mao has made me realize:

A train would not be able to travel an inch if it left the tracks, and a revolutionary fighter will go round in dizzy circles if he does not study the works of Chairman Mao.

"Flowers cannot bloom without sunshine; crops cannot grow without rain; revolutionary fighters will lose their way if they are not armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung."

March 19, 1964:

Study of the works of Chairman Mao has made me realize: The thought of Mao Tse-tung is like the sun which has just risen in the east; it throws out a tremendous brilliance, drives away the dark shadows, and illumines the hearts of the oppressed peoples. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is like a beacon standing on a shore; it constantly casts forth its red rays, pointing out the right direction for the sailors. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is like an excellent weapon, for when the people seize it, they can differentiate the enemy from ourselves and make their standpoints firm.

February 20, 1963:

That which Chairman Mao's good soldier -- Lei Feng -- accomplished was very commonplace. But these commonplace matters molded a precious revolutionary character; and in those ordinary matters appeared stirring deeds.

Previously I had always thought that there was no future in a commonplace work position, that one could not do anything noteworthy. Lei Feng's heroic deeds enlightened me and gave me strength. In the socialist construction of the fatherland, it is precisely these "commonplace" deeds which go to make up great matters; it is precisely these countless people who do "commonplace" things who constitute the vigorous army for the building of socialism. In a commonplace work position, as long as we whole-heartedly serve the people as Lei Feng did, as long as we are rust-proof screws forever, we will similarly be able to do great deeds. From now on I will certainly learn from Lei Feng, be a good ordinary soldier in my position of protecting the motherland, become a Lei Feng-like good soldier of Mao Tse-tung, become an eternally rust-proof screw.

February 23, 1963:

The revolutionary military forces constitute a great university for forging people. I want to be as a piece of coal which is thrown into the struggling life furnace, so that I will give off the brilliance and heat of the era.

July 3, 1963:

I hold:

It is only when a person compares his defects with the strong points of others that he will feel his own deficiencies, that he will be able to progress.

If a person values himself too highly, if he always believes that he is stronger than others, then he will never advance.

August 5, 1963:

Fame-seeking people look out for their own names.  
Glorious people look out for the cause of the fatherland.

August 8, 1963:

Chairman Mao has said: "Rooms should always be swept out; if they are not, dirt and dust will pile up. Faces should be washed regularly; if not, they will become dirty. The thinking of our comrades and the work of our party may also become dirty and thus should be swept and washed." We should act as Chairman Mao instructs: Every night before going to bed, we should think back on the day's work, what was done correctly, what was done badly, how we should act from then on. Every week and every month we should have an inspection. This sort of system should be firmly kept to, and only in this way will our work be beneficial and well done.

January 1, 1964:

The great year 1963 has passed. During the past year the work which I have done has not been as good as the honors which the leadership has given me. As for the achievements in my work, as for the advancement under the party's care, I feel like a young sprout growing up in fertile soil (the revolutionary ranks): First of all there are the party's sunshine and rain, secondly the hoeing and fertilizing of comrades -- and only in this way will there be rapid growth. One will not be able to survive for a moment if one departs from the party and the masses.

Although I have made great progress in the past year, if I look back over things, I realize that I still have many defects. For example, my individual cultivation is not enough yet; I have not acted towards my comrades as Lei Feng did -- like a warm breeze in spring. In my work I lack a painstaking and careful work style, I am lacking in the ability to undergo hardship, in the energy to diligently learn difficult skills. I still have not done enough in helping backward comrades, for I am riding alone without regard to others. The comrade on the high mountain in the film "Green Spring in the Flames of Battle" spoke well in asking what sort of hero is one who rides alone and dashes forward blindly? Such are not in accord with the demands of the party, and when I thought of this I became ashamed.

The new year 1964 has just begun, and I want to firmly remember Chairman Mao's teaching: "People advance through modesty; they fall



behind through arrogance." For the new year the party has given us even more arduous tasks, so how can I go about not disappointing the party? We must develop our achievements, overcome defects, and as though we were in a race we must run from the starting point stride by stride, protect the honors which the party and people have given us, raise our consciousness, become heroically determined, and bitterly battle throughout 1964.

In order to do good work for the party and people, during this coming year I shall strive to study the works of Chairman Mao, develop the nail-like spirit of comrade Lei Feng, get more done with my time, study problems, study with problems in mind, study deeply and penetratingly, and study and utilize together. The study of the past year has made me realize deeply that in the sincere service to the people, in acting as personnel on duty to the people, in completing the work tasks given to us by the party, there is no approach outside of reading the books of Chairman Mao, listening to what Chairman Mao says, acting in accordance with the instructions of Chairman Mao, and forever being good soldiers of Chairman Mao.

December 28, 1964:

I have re-read the two articles "Serve the People" and "In Commemoration of Norman Bethune". They seized upon my thinking all at once, more deeply and more fresh than ever before. They have a great attracting power, as a magnet does for iron. I was so moved by the lofty character of Chang Ssu-te (1728 1835 1795) and Bethune that warm tears flooded into my eyes. Why does a person live? For whom does he live? How does he live? These are the basic questions in life. In the past I had thought about them very little, and of course I had not solved them. This article by Chairman Mao discussed things very clearly and the direction was very lucid: "Our ranks are for the purpose of liberating the people; they work solely for the interests of the people." Chairman Mao has called on us to learn from the "spirit of complete selflessness" of Bethune, and he said: "By starting out from this point, we can become persons who greatly benefit others." "Regardless of one's ability, as long as one possesses this spirit, one is a lofty person, a pure person, a virtuous person, a person who has left low tastes behind him, a person who benefits others." Thinking about this, I felt that living only has meaning when one is like Chang Ssu-te or Bethune. The interests of the party, the revolution, and the people are all unanimous; as long as things are of benefit to the revolution, they should not be shirked. Revolutionary work is not divided into the high and the low; the important thing is whether or not one can whole-heartedly contribute all his strength. Therefore, I both studied and became determined to learn from their completely selfless spirit.

February 29, 1964:

A person's family background has a certain effect on one's development, but the primary thing is one's reform and striving. In life

people will fall under all sorts of influences from the environment, from ideology, and from life; there will be the good and the bad. There will be good and bad influences on one's development. For the good influences one must go to accept them and develop them; people must reform the bad influences, and this means that a person's development mainly depends on internal factors, not external factors. For a person to grow rapidly, he must rely on his own self-aware refining. A proletarian fighter is a good comrade only when he can stand firm in good surroundings, stand even more firmly in bad surroundings, and is able to undergo tribulation.

\* \* \*

September 6, 1963:

True revolutionaries should prepare to greet all kinds of troubles in the course of struggle, to cast aside these difficulties, not to fear the difficulties. They should be able to withstand the trials of every sort of storm, and even in a 12-level typhoon they should stand firmly and unflinchingly move ahead.

To undertake revolution means not to fear sacrifice; if we fear sacrifices we will not be able to hold firmly to the revolutionary path, and we lack the so-called revolutionary resoluteness. The victory of the Chinese revolution is the result of countless revolutionary fighters not fearing sacrifices, of their pulling together, of their courageous struggling; it was bought with the price of blood.

In joining the Chinese Communist Party -- this vanguard -- many comrades have strengthened their determination to give their all for the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people and for the great ideal of communism. They have had the determination to work for the interests of the revolution, to be the first to struggle bitterly and the last to enjoy, to not be afraid to sacrifice everything, even including their own lives. A forest of rifles and a hail of bullets, suffering imprisonment and execution, the shackles of the enemy, undergoing cold in the snowy mountains and hungry times on the plains -- nothing can shake the determination of the revolutionary. As long as a sacrifice is required, the revolutionary fears nothing and strives to obtain an even greater victory in exchange for the sacrifice. When Liu Hu-lan was tragically martyred, all he thought of was keeping the secrets of the revolution. When Hsiang Hsiu-li (0686 4423 7787) threw herself into the flames, all she thought of was saving the wealth of the state. When Huang Chi-kuang (7806 4949 0342) blocked off the enemy's gun, all he thought of was that the troops behind him could advance. "Losing one's head is not important, as long as one's beliefs are true. If Hsia Ming-han (1115 2494 5060) is killed, others will come after him."

The ones to follow can certainly carry the revolution through to the final victory.

August 19, 1963:

We have received the new assignment of going to XX place to

fight floods, but there have been no orders about when we depart, so we are waiting now. Everything is well prepared, but we are not departing. My thoughts have already flown to the disaster area. The lives and wealth of the people are waiting on us, so why don't we leave? Time is passing very slowly; a day seems like a year. When the orders come down we will speed to the disaster area.

To the leadership I expressed my determination and laid down my guarantee:

To be a soldier is for the people, for the party, and for the fatherland; no matter in what matter, I will hurry to wherever the party directs, and I will hold no blame in my heart even if I have to spend my whole youth in so doing.

December 9, 1963:

It's snowing. Between eight o'clock this morning and seven tonight, three to five millimeters fell. It started snowing before the road was repaired and this has caused us much difficulty. We must work in the snow if we are to finish this; it is just as the comrades sing: "We fear neither the cold north wind nor the swirling snowflakes. We arise early and sleep only when it's late, and everyone's spirits are high." The comrades' clothes are wet through and their hands are freezing and cracking, yet still they work on as before. The comrades understand what glory is; the more difficult the conditions, the better things are carried out; this is glory. We repair the bridges and roads for socialism. No matter to what distant area we go, no matter how hard or how tiring, we will be able to complete the tasks given to us by the party and the people.

January 11, 1964:

Last night the leadership announced that I would take on the duties of acting deputy squad leader, but my ability is insufficient! Feeling great pressure and also lacking leadership ability and experience, I was somewhat intimidated. Feeling difficulties, I thought of reading the works of Chairman Mao. Thereupon, I found the article "On the Chungking Negotiations," and in this Chairman Mao said: "What is work? Work is struggle. Those places are experiencing difficulties and problems and they require that we go to solve them. We proceed to work and to struggle in order to resolve difficulties. The more difficult the area the more we must go there. ..." Chairman Mao also said: "Arduous work is like a burden placed in front of us; the point is do we dare to pick it up." Having studied the works of Chairman Mao, I used them as a mirror on myself, for hadn't he spoken with regard to me? Look, Wang Chieh fella, are you afraid because you've met some difficulties? Are you pulling back inside yourself? Don't! You can't be afraid, for you have the party's leadership, the support of the masses. Discuss things with the masses, boldly take charge, hold to the truth firmly, use patient persuasion, set a personal example. As long as you obey the party and exert your greatest effort in this, I'm sure you'll do your work well.

April 5, 1964:

Today, in loading gunpowder, I wasn't careful and burned my hand with some pitch; it was extremely painful. But what was more painful was that I affected the work. If work wasn't convenient temporarily because my hand hurt, I might as well call others to help. But I was ill at ease about this, and I certainly couldn't have others take my place. I wanted to keep on with the work, but my comrades wouldn't let me; they wouldn't let me do anything, they wouldn't call on me to load gunpowder. But could I be idle? No, I couldn't, so I continued to work. It was difficult for my hand, so I would work slowly. My hand was hurting like the devil; I thought of the 25,000 li Long March, I thought of the counter-attack war on the Sino-Indian border. What difference did this little injury of mine make? I would continue, I would certainly go on.

September 3, 1964:

By means of studying the works of Chairman Mao, I came to understand that revolution was my ideal, that there was only true happiness in struggle.

November 30, 1963:

In his "In Commemoration of Bethune," Chairman Mao said: Bethune "was seeking the essence of technical knowledge." In the examination this time, although I came out on top, I still was not doing what Chairman Mao described above. I had simply memorized some of the theories without being able to actually put them to use. As for the ones I could use, I didn't really know their purpose. The engineers' specialty appear easy, for who couldn't dig pits and plant land mines? Even the peasantry without any education could do this; why was it necessary for a preliminary middle school graduate to do this? This was a little bit like "using an elephant gun to shoot a mosquito" -- great talent being put to small use. This sort of thinking existed before, but as for now? For some of these specialties one simply had to proceed with his studying to acquire deep knowledge. Now if it wasn't great talent being put to small use, it was small talent being put to a large use. My cultural level was too low, and I still felt that it wasn't sufficiently used! From now on, if I want to master this ability, I would have to seek the essence like Bethune.

April 2, 1965:

The training for 1965 has already started. The work for the new year is tremendous, and our difficulties are obviously many. The first task in the new year is to train as night tigers, for we were to have XX nighttime undertakings. Secondly, there was the dissemination of advanced knowledge. This was all the more difficult for me. How should a revolutionary fighter overcome difficulties and train well? I studied "Duke Yu Moves a Mountain" and I strengthened my confidence. I am a

husky fellow; do you mean to say that I'm not up to ol' Duke Yu? I would certainly test myself against Duke Yu, and in my work, in accordance with the teaching of Chairman Mao, I would cast away difficulties and strive for victory. At the same time, I also studied Vice Chairman Lin's (2651) instructions on stressing politics: In our work we must firmly hold to the four firsts, firmly study the works of Chairman Mao, use the thought of Chairman Mao to arm ourselves, and thus we will be able to cut through any difficulty like a sharp knife through butter. With the thought of Chairman Mao all the difficult things of the world become easy.

April 8, 1965:

Today work area was on the tank training grounds, and the ground is as hard as rock. One couldn't get very far digging; it was so jarring that it hurt one's hands. A mine takes 20-odd minutes. Well, that does it. If we met such hard ground in a battle, we would be better off working in the soil under pine trees. No, that won't do. Didn't Chairman Mao instruct: If the enemy sharpens his knives, we will also sharpen ours. Vice Chairman Lin also instructed us that it is only by training in peacetime that we will be able to annihilate the enemy in time of war. Warfare is complex, and training in peacetime is only under smooth conditions, or if this were the case, what would we be able to do when we met unfavorable things in time of war? Chairman Mao has taught us regularly: Give more consideration to the difficulties. Now is a good opportunity for trying. Train! Study diligently and train bitterly: the blisters on the hands don't matter, the sweat-soaked clothes make no difference. After one afternoon's training, my skills advanced quickly, and generally within the allotted time I could complete the task. Although I was tired, I had developed my ability to kill the enemy, and tiredness was happiness.

\* \* \*

August 20, 1963:

Study of "Serve the People" made me realize that the phrase "everyone should sweep away the snow in front of his stoop, but should not mind the frost on his neighbor's tiles" is completely false, but I still hadn't given it up. Ordinarily I thought like this: "I am a soldier for the sake of the people and I must do my work well for this very reason. As long as I do well the tasks which the leadership gives me, as long as I carry them out, all's well. The progress of others is none of my concern, and I had better pay less attention to meddling in the affairs of others." Because of this attitude, I ordinarily didn't help other comrades enough, and I couldn't regularly find comrades with whom to be very friendly.

Study of "Serve the People" made me realize that this attitude is completely wrong. Chairman Mao said: "All people in the revolutionary ranks should be mutually concerned with one another, mutually love one

another and aid one another." But as for me? The more I thought about it the more I knew I was wrong. From now on I will certainly do as Chairman Mao wishes; I will regularly seek out comrades with whom to be friendly and have heart-felt talks; I would help them and we would progress together.

May 21, 1964:

This year we were issued liberation shoes. The old comrades all got a pair of higher shoes, while the new comrades got a pair of low ones. The superiority of the former in working was considerable, and it was easy to avoid injuries when going out on to the work areas. Because of these advantages, the new comrades all wanted the high shoes. I wanted to exchange mine too, but should I? If I changed them, wouldn't it be safer in working? If I didn't, and a great effort was needed in some undertaking, wouldn't I risk injury all the more? Should I suffer or should I let others suffer? Hasn't Chairman Mao regularly taught us: "Our cadres must take care of every soldier; all the people in the revolutionary ranks should show mutual concern, mutual love, and give mutual aid." "Endure hardship before others; enjoy happiness after others." I would do whatever Chairman Mao said. Thereupon I gave up my higher shoes to Little Hu.

December 20, 1964:

New dear battle comrades were about to arrive. What should I send them? Thinking about this, I recalled the comrades of the Good Eighth Company on the Nanking Road. The presents they gave their new comrades were the works of Chairman Mao and sewing kits. It is only when there is progress in ideology that the heavy burdens of the revolution can be assumed. So I went downtown and bought 19 copies of single works by Chairman Mao: "Duke Yu Moves a Mountain", "Serve the People," "Carry the Revolution through to the End," etc. I sent these to our new comrades.

\* \* \*

March 5, 1964:

"We want all our cadres and all the people to think of China as being a strong socialist country, but it is still an economically backward country; this is a very big contradiction. If we want our country to become strong and rich, several decades are required, and during this period we will have to carry out the policy of building the country in a diligent and frugal manner, which includes severe economizing and opposing waste."

Every word and phrase of Chairman Mao's passage made a deep impression on my mind. This year, in engaging in national defense undertakings, we wasted machines and materials at the start. We wasted not an inconsiderable amount of oil and ammunition. The primary reason for

this is that we have been excessively "generous"; we didn't care about the things we used, and we lacked the viewpoint of economizing.

Study of Chairman Mao's works caused me to realize the importance of economizing: One single drop of oil, one screw, one inch of safety fuse, one tael of gunpowder -- all these were wealth of the state, of the people. China is a great socialist country, but also a poor economically backward country. And this requires diligence, frugality, and economizing. And this should be on a regular basis like washing one's face. This year the period of work was long, and in my work I would certainly economize on every single drop of oil, every inch of safety fuse, every tael of gunpowder; every little bit counts, and I would certainly exert all my strength to economize on every little bit for the state.

October 18, 1964:

In the article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" I read the chapter 'On Economizing', and I was greatly enlightened. In order to realize the ideals of 600 million people, our next revolutionary generation must inherit and develop the spirit of bitter struggling on the part of the former generation; they must accept this charge and become good red inheritors.

A revolutionary fighter must not only regard the whole country from his vantage point in the military forces, but must also see the whole world, the two-thirds of the sorely-pressed masses who are not liberated, who are leading a miserable life. Now when our material life is good, we must not forget that in the past we ate the bark of trees, the roots of tobacco plants; during the good days we must keep the bad days in mind.

As for myself, whether or not I could accept the hard and simple style, whether or not I could inherit the spirit of difficult struggling of the former generation and transmit it on, is a question of whether or not I can maintain my proletarian hue. An individual's life seems to be in bits and pieces, but the thinking that is reflected is either proletarian or bourgeois.

By means of study, my understanding increased and I slowly developed the habit of frugality. I spent only about one-half of my allowance per month. I also paid attention to economizing in my work. This year I took on the work of being an explosives worker. I worked all day long with safety fuse, and when I cut it up, I always had several tens of centimeters left over; it would have been a pity to throw it away. I started to collect it, and after a while I started to wrap it up in rubberized cloth. In this fashion I managed to save more than thirty meters of safety fuse for the state. But I still had not done enough. There were a few places which I had not paid attention to. I must certainly remember firmly the teaching of Chairman Mao, and in politics I must use a high standard to make demands upon myself, while in life I must use a low standard for myself. We must consciously spend our rich days as though they were our poor days. We must inherit and pass on the work style of hard struggling.

February 10, 1963:

At one o'clock in the morning I came off duty and lay on my bed a long time without being able to sleep. I tossed and turned, and picked up the fourth volume of The Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung. I leafed through until I came to the article "Carry the Revolution through to the End," and I read it through in a hurry. After reading it, I realized that: "The enemy will never be destroyed automatically by himself. Whether it is the reactionaries of China or the aggressive force of U.S. imperialism in China, neither will automatically withdraw from the stage of history." Although the entire country has been liberated, and although the 600 million hard working people are presently constructing their own beautiful gardens, it must be seen that the international situation is still very tense, and that the U.S. boss Kennedy is still preparing to fight "all-out" war; the Indian reactionaries are still making provocations, and continually violating China's integrity on the land and in the air. On the southeast seacoast, U.S.-chiang special agents are constantly landing on the mainland to undertake sabotage activities. U.S. naval aircraft are constantly carrying out reconnaissance activities over the southeast seacoast, the Shantung peninsula, and the interior. Recently in Hong Kong U.S.-chiang special agents mailed an explosive which killed my countrymen. All this goes to show that the enemy has not gone to sleep, that he is still sharpening his knife in hopes of making a come-back.

At present, the imperialists, the reactionaries of the various countries, and the modern revisionists are engaged in a great anti-China chorus. I am a revolutionary fighter with a weapon in my hands, and I must not become lax. I must certainly increase my vigilance a hundred-fold; I must develop an attitude of long-term service to the military, strive to make good preparations for battle, constantly prepare to smash all new plots by the enemy.

August 15, 1963:

"To cause trouble, to be defeated, to cause more trouble, to be defeated again, right up until final destruction -- this is the logic of imperialism and all the reactionaries of the world with regard to the cause of the people. They will definitely never go against this logic. This is a Marxist-Leninist law. We say 'imperialism is vicious,' which is to say it will never change its basic nature, that the imperialists are not willing to put down their butchering knives; they can definitely not turn into Buddhas, and this will go on until their final destruction."

This logic is the absolute truth, for the nature of imperialism will never change. I hope that those people who insist that the imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries have started out from a good conscience will take a look and see that this is impossible. There has now appeared in the world the type of person who wants to negotiate and cooperate with imperialism, who betrays Marxism-Leninism and the revolution. Imperialists and modern revisionists, no matter what front you put up, you will not be able to deceive the peoples of the world; you will only



end up by all the more revealing your evil faces to the peoples of the world. When they do recognize your evil faces, they will raise their vigilance and take care of the plots and subversion by the enemy.

April 20, 1963:

Modern revisionism distorts and alters Marxism-Leninism, claiming that revolution is no longer needed, that we should not oppose imperialism, that Eisenhower loves peace, that "similar to us he is also concerned with peace". They put forward the viewpoint of no wars, no weapons, and no armed forces. But we oppose them on this point which constitutes a basic divergence between us and them.

Starting from the point of view of the development of every country, it is illusion to think that a country can head towards socialism without undergoing struggle, revolution, and opposition to imperialism. Looking at China's accomplishments in construction, we went through the civil wars, the Anti-Japan War, the war of liberation; we defeated Japan and other reactionaries, chased Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan, established the Chinese People's Republic, and our own regime. Only then were the people able to take up the path to happiness.

The modern revisionists vociferously attack the Chinese Communist Party. We must struggle firmly with them, clearly recognize the situation, make our standpoints strong, and hold fast to the truth. Truth will surely conquer. Although the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism may be long, twisting, and complex, Marxism-Leninism will win.

May 22, 1964:

Study of "An Analysis of the Various Classes in Chinese Society" caused me to raise my revolutionary vigilance, to differentiate clearly between the enemy and us. In this article Chairman Mao said in a very revealing manner: "Who is our enemy? Who are our friends? This is the first question of the revolution." In the past the landlords and compradors suppressed and exploited the people, making their fame and fortune while riding on the heads of the people. This was because the "seal" was not clutched in the hands of the laboring peoples, because there was not a unity with true friends, and no attacking the enemy. Now that we have grasped the "seal", the people have become their own masters; they no longer suffer exploitation and suppression, and they are leading a beautiful, happy life. But the enemy minority is constantly making trouble, vainly hoping for a comeback. But the conscious people will not slacken off on the struggle. There are also some comrades whose vigilance is low ideologically; although they have weapons in their hands, they have already laid down the weapons in their minds. They do not distinguish between the enemy and us, and their class standpoint is not firm. We say: Weapons in the hands which have become rusty can very easily become polished again, but ideological weapons which have rusted are not easily polished. We must not have any illusions about

the enemy. We must not think that the "loach cannot turn up large waves". The enemy will cause trouble -- be defeated -- cause more trouble -- be defeated again, right up until his final destruction. If we do not differentiate between the enemy and use, if our class consciousness is not high, we will then fall into the enemy's trap, suffer great losses and damage the state.

August 4, 1964:

Recently U.S. imperialism has been stirring up the flames of war everywhere, carrying out its plot of phoney peace and true preparations for war. It is committing open aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, using warships and aircraft to bomb the peaceful villages and hard-working Vietnamese people. With regard to this military provocation, our government has issued a statement: The flames of war were started by imperialism, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has the right to oppose aggression. We revolutionary fighters have the right to support the Vietnamese people in this matter. We will definitely study diligently and train well in military skills, develop outstanding abilities. When the fatherland calls, we will respond firmly; we will go to Vietnam to give fierce battle to U.S. imperialism's aggressive forces and to support the Vietnamese people. Dear fatherland, dear party: my hot blood is boiling! Support of the Vietnamese people is our unquestionable responsibility. I am ready and willing even if I die in helping the hard-pressed people; I will never change even if I encounter a mountain of swords or a sea of fire.

Imperialism, no matter how you play with the flames of war, you will sooner or later be destroyed. Chairman Mao has said: "If the U.S. monopoly capitalist clique persists in pushing its policies of aggression and war, there will come a day when all the peoples of the world will destroy it." Imperialism will surely be defeated, and socialism will surely triumph. The U.S. will surely lose, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam will surely win.

September 14, 1964:

Study of "Serve the People" caused me to understand Chairman Mao's statement that "our communist party and the Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army led by the communist party are revolutionary forces." These ranks of ours are working completely for the purpose of liberating the people and for the interests of the people." I now understood the true significance of this. Chairman Mao's "completely" and "thoroughly" mean whole-hearted service to, and work for, the people. In the world today two-thirds of the peoples are still not liberated and are suffering hardship and misery. A revolutionary fighter must possess an heroic determination, his heart concerned with the fatherland, his eyes fixed on the world. He must not think only of his individual interests, and ignore the task of liberating the suffering peoples. A revolutionary fighter is completely for the cause of liberating the people; he works

thoroughly for the interests of the people. This "completely" and "thoroughly" means that there is no time limit on obligations, that the revolution requires a lifetime of work. We can never finish time payments to the revolution. I wish to put in a lifetime of service to the revolution; I will never lay my weapon down.

July 24, 1964:

After hearing the report transmitted on the "nine greats" document of the Young Communist League, I could not still my wildly pounding heart. Our party and Chairman Mao are completely concerned with our younger generation; they place extremely great hopes on us, and I will definitely be a good revolutionary inheritor and take up the burden of the revolution.

Chairman Mao has said: "You young people are full of energy and vigor, and you are in a flourishing period, like the sun at eight or nine o'clock in the morning. Our hopes ride on you." The revolutionary former generation has placed its hopes on our younger generation, which is to say that the burden of protecting the fatherland and constructing the fatherland is to be assumed by us. This also means that we are to become the revolutionary inheritors. In order to achieve this, we must become Chairman Mao's good soldiers. The basic guarantee for revolutionization is repeated study of the works of Chairman Mao and conscious reform of our thinking. Similar to Liao Ch'u-chiang (1675 0143 3048), Feng Fu-sheng (0023 4395 3932), and Huang Tsu-shih (7806 4371 4355), we must read, study, and use the works of Chairman Mao everyday. We must use the thought of Mao Tse-tung as a compass for all our actions, and in this fashion we will be able to withstand any storm and take on the mantle of inheritors of the revolution.

November 7, 1964:

On the 6th we went by train to XX place, and while waiting for the train at the station, we observed the next generation which was growing up sturdily under the guidance of the party. Under the influence of the thought of Lei Feng, the communist virtues of the children were also being raised day by day. The youngsters wearing red scarves came of themselves to the station to serve; they cleaned the floors and helped the young and old. Thus did the children of New China show their consciousness, thus did they love labor! This shows that the next revolutionary generation, under the ideological guidance of the former generation, is growing up in a healthy manner, that it will be able to take up the burdens of the older generation. But imperialism claims: If the first or second generation in China doesn't manifest revisionism, then the third or fourth will. What twaddle! Just you take a look at the next generation in New China: They can take up the burdens, they can construct and protect the fatherland.

6722

CS: 3530-D



THE WORKER-FARMER-SOLDIER SPARE TIME  
CREATIVE RANKS ARE GROWING

[Following is a translation of an article by Hsun Ch'ang (5424 1603) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 12, 11 November 1965, pages 34-35]

It is an epoch making event for the worker-farmer-soldier masses to pick up the pen, pursue literary and artistic creation, and reflect their own life and struggles. Though the laboring people also expressed themselves with literary and artistic means in the old era, as they did not have any education, they created the "oral literature." In our socialist society, after having also effected a reversal in culture, it is possible for them to create extensively their own literature with their own hands.

In recent years, many workers, farmers, Liberation Army warriors, and basic level cadres have picked up the pen and created many superior and relatively superior works. Their work vividly reflects the profound contents of the class struggle, production struggle, and scientific experimentation, the three great revolutionary movements, portrays the images of the new heroic figures maturing under the nurture of the Mao Tse-tung ideology, and expresses the communist style and noble heroic bearing of the laboring people.

The socialist revolution and construction causes must depend on the heroic struggles of millions before they can be successful. Similarly, the socialist literary and artistic creation must have the active participation of the vast worker-farmer-soldier masses before it can flourish and develop. One cannot rely on just a few specialists. In the three great revolutionary movements, the vast worker-farmer-soldier masses are reforming the objective world, producing a profound change in the social life, and simultaneously changing their own subjective world, producing a profound change in their own spiritual appearance. Personally participating in the struggles, they

have the greatest understanding and the deepest experience of the profound social changes, colorful real life, and brand new spiritual world. When they take up the pen, they can express them most intensively, truthfully, and rapidly.

To adapt to the new era and the new tasks, the specialized literary and artistic workers must strive to associate with the masses. Meanwhile, spare time literary and artistic creative ranks, coming from the masses, capable of both laboring and writing, must be cultivated. This is a basic issue in building up the proletarian literature and art. Specialized literary and artistic workers will remain indispensable for a long period to come. However, with the development of social production and the improvement of the cultural level of the laboring people, the spare time literary and artistic ranks in the masses will expand. This is an inevitable trend. Specialized writers must eagerly help the spare time writers, cooperating with them closely and mutually learning from each other.

The spare time creative ranks have appeared and are forming. They grow under the nurture of the Mao Tse-tung ideology. They can handle the pen as well as wield the hoe; they can create as well as operate machines. Picking up the gun, they are warriors defending the national territory; picking up the pen, they are red shock troops on the literary and artistic front. These spare time writers never leave their labor or combat posts, always remaining an ordinary member of the people. Thus, they can reflect powerfully the feelings, aspirations, and desires of the masses. This type of people will be able to resist the old, the decadent, and the unsound, reflect sharply the fresh, the strong, and the vigorous, and express the powerful and noble revolutionary spirit. The party and the people ask them to preserve forever the essence of the revolutionary, always guard against the corrosion of the bourgeois ideas, and always labor and write for the revolution. They must learn, create, and accumulate new artistic means and artistic experiences in the creative practice to reflect the great socialist era. After undergoing ceaseless study and steeling, they will make outstanding contributions to literary and artistic creation.

6080

CSO: 3530-D

THE POSITION AND EFFECT OF THE LAW OF  
SUFFICIENT REASON IN FORMAL LOGIC

[Following is a translation of an article by Shao Yu-hsun (6730 0645 8133) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 12, 11 November 1965, pages 37-40]

In recent years, our academic world has been extensively and continuously discussing the objective and effect of formal logic. In the discussion, many comrades dissent from the point that formal logic is "to study the formal structure and law of cogitation." One of their main bases is that the law of sufficient reason in formal logic calls for accuracy in the contents of the premiss in deduction. What they actually mean is that formal logic is a study of the concrete contents of cogitation as well as its form. They declare: "One of the requirements of the law of sufficient reason is that the reason must be true... To master this law, we must consider the contents of cogitation."

I would like to express my personal opinion on the meaning and effect of the law of sufficient reason in order to study the matter together with my comrades.

In the fundamental contents of the science of logic expounded by Aristotle (384-322 BC), the founder of the science of formal logic, some two thousand years ago, the law of sufficient reason was not proposed as a part of the study of logic. Afterwards, there was some development in the contents of formal logic, such as the theories of hypothetical deduction and of disjunctive deduction emphasized by the Stoic School, but the law of sufficient reason was not advanced. The first person to propose and expound it was Leibnitz (1646-1716), a German. So, it was a matter of modern origin.

From the 17th to the 18th century, capitalism was on the rise in Europe. The development of the production force motivated the progress of natural science. Due to the need of the machine industry, water conservation, arms manufacturing, and navigation, astronomy and dynamics developed rapidly. More and more people used the experimental and mathematical methods in the study of natural science. The use of the mathematical method promoted dynamics. During this period, Leibnitz and Newton invented calculus, and used it in, and greatly developed, dynamics. The evident achievement made from the use of the mathematical method attracted the people's attention, and they began to employ it in the sphere of cogitation.

Under this condition, Leibnitz proposed and established a system of logic using the language of symbols. In philosophy, "monadism" was proposed and expounded.

According to Leibnitz, all "creations" in the world are composed of "monads;" a monad is the basic component unit of all creations in the world. Each and every monad is different, there being no two monads exactly identical. The monad is changeable; its present status is a historical continuation. Meanwhile, it is the germ of the future. Its change is determined by internal factors, while its many connections with other matters also produce an effect.

Yet, starting from idealism, Leibnitz believed that monad was consciousness, and that such consciousness could be termed the soul.

Lenin made a comprehensive and profound analysis of Leibnitz's monadism. He pointed out that Leibnitz approached the idea of the unseverability of material and motion through theology. Monadism contained "a special kind of dialectics, an extremely profound dialectics at that, in spite of its idealism and monasticism." ("Notes on Philosophy," Complete Works of Lenin, volume 38, page 431, People's Publishing House).

Due to the limitations of the era and the bourgeois world philosophy, Leibnitz's thinking stopped at a certain level. Similar to many philosophers of the time, Leibnitz dreamed of an absolutely perfect philosophical system to embrace all phenomena, and he could not but end up in metaphysics and theology.

Starting from monadism, Leibnitz felt that the connections between monads were "harmonious," "adapted," and linked. Then, what is the basis of the connections between monads? Leibnitz believed that the basis was sufficient reason. He said that, between two different monads, "each contains the reason for it to be adaptable to another; therefore, what is considered as active from one aspect may be considered as passive from another. To say that it is active is because we know clearly that one element in a given monad can explain the matters occurring in another; to say that it is passive is because the cause for the matters occurring in a monad rests in the elements of another of which we have a clear knowledge." (The Philosophy of Western European Countries of 16th - 18th Centuries,



compiled and translated by the Foreign Philosophical History Teaching and Study Room, Department of Philosophy, Pei-ching University, page 301, San-lien Bookstore, 1958). In other words, the connections between monads were the effect produced by the law of sufficient reason. On the strength of such connections, a series of monadic diagrams were formed, and the so-called monadic system established. All matters in the universe were included in this system.

How was the monad formed? What was the very final monad?

Leibnitz openly declared: "Only God is the unity of the origin or the simple substance of the beginning, and all monads created or born are His products; one may say that they are produced by an instantaneous and continuous divine flash." (Ibid., page 300). He then said: Not only the very first and the very last monads were the creations of God, but even the series of intermediates were also His creations. At the very end of the series of monads was the sufficient reason of all matters -- God.

Needless to say, it is extremely ridiculous to consider God as the sufficient reason.

When discussing monadism, Leibnitz interwove philosophy and logic. Here, from just the angle of logic alone, we can see that he considered the law of sufficient reason as a principle of deduction and believed that it should be observed when we engaged in deduction. He said that deduction was built on the foundation of two great principles, i. e., the law of contradiction and that of sufficient reason. He then declared that the effect of the law of contradiction was "to determine the falsity of what contains conflicts and the truth of what opposes or contradicts it." (Ibid., page 297). In other words, the self-contradiction of cogitation was rejected. The effect of the law of sufficient reason was: "If anything is genuine or real, if any statement is true, it must have a sufficient reason for being a certain way and not any other way, though we often do not know such reasons." (Ibid., page 297).

Leibnitz's discussion of the law of sufficient reason may be summarized into the following three points.

1. Sufficient reason is a link between matters or in cogitation.

2. The law of sufficient reason does not have any definite requirement as to the accuracy or error in the contents of a premiss in deduction.

3. In deduction, there must be a premiss or a reason, but, as to the accuracy of the reason, it is impossible to be determined by the law of sufficient reason.

Therefore, from his statements on the law of sufficient reason, it is hard to reach the conclusion that the law of sufficient reason calls for accuracy in the contents of a premiss in deduction, as maintained by many comrades.

Hegel tended to reject formal logic. He felt that formal logic should be "reformed," in order to make it into a substantial and living "logic" -- dialectics. However, his view of the law of sufficient reason hit the point. He pointed out that the law of sufficient reason, "whether from theory or from practice, cannot render a definite satisfaction. That it is so is because the so-called basis here (sufficient reason -- the writer) is without true and definite contents." (Small Logic, page 270, San-lien Bookstore, 1957 edition). According to Hegel, the so-called sufficient reason was nothing more than "any reason; so long as it and the direct and existing relations connected with it are considered as a relationship per se, or as affirmative, it can be called a basis." (*Ibid.*, page 273). He gave the following illustration: A thief could also find a sufficient reason to justify his thieving conduct.

Hegel discussed the law of sufficient reason from the negative sense. But, from Leibnitz's explanations of the law of sufficient reason, we can see that its effect in deduction is to link the premiss with the premiss, and the premiss with the conclusion. The conclusion is deduced from a logical premiss. The contents of the premiss, whether accurate or erroneous, can serve as the sufficient reason for the conclusion. Therefore, the law of sufficient reason in deduction does not necessarily call for accuracy in the contents of the premiss.

In the history of logic, besides Hegel, there were also others who felt that the effect of the law of sufficient reason was in the association in cogitation. In the Outline of Logic by Totoki Hisashi, a Japanese, translated and published in our country in 1903, when explaining the law of sufficient reason, the author wrote: "All cogitation, whether affirmative or negative, must contain a full reason, and it is called sufficient theory." (Outline of Logic, page 5, San-lien Bookstore, 1960 edition). In New Logic, written by Chang Tzu-ho in 1914, the author also believed that the principle of the law of sufficient reason was, "in fact, a principle of the combination of cogitation and association." (New Logic, page 10, Shang-wu Printing Press, 1914 edition).

Therefore, to feel that the law of sufficient reason calls for accuracy in the contents of the premiss of a deduction and can "control" such accuracy, that, though a consistent conclusion is deduced, if the contents of the conclusion are inaccurate, the deduction is incompatible with the law of sufficient reason, and thus incompatible with formal logic, or that the law of sufficient reason cannot serve the bourgeoisie, will, in fact, confuse the essential distinction between formal logic and the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and between formal logic and other fields of scientific knowledge.

The science of formal logic is mainly the study of cogitation from the aspect of its formal structure and law. In studying the formal structure of cogitation, to a great extent, it casts aside

the contents of concrete cogitation and abstracts its general forms, resulting in the many types and laws of the form of cogitation. Formal logic itself basically does not cover the concrete contents of the various premises of deduction or study the standards whereby the accuracy of the contents is determined, because these belong to the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, studied in other fields of the sciences, and determined, at the very bottom, through practice.

The improper exaggeration of the effect of the law of sufficient reason actually rejects its true significance and effect, and is unfavorable to its study. Such view does not conform to the Marxist-Leninist philosophical view; on the contrary, it forsakes it. It, in fact, replaces the Marxist-Leninist philosophy with the law of sufficient reason.

If one only specifies that the law of sufficient reason requires accuracy in the contents of the premiss in deduction, without defining how such contents can be accurate and what is considered as accurate, then, what is the practical meaning of specifying such a requirement?

In the history of logic, there are not only divergent views on the effect of the law of sufficient reason, but also different opinions on whether the law of sufficient reason is studied in formal logic. It is included in some formal logic textbooks but excluded from others. This condition may be found in foreign countries and in China.

We feel that the law of sufficient reason may form a part of formal logic. Its position and effect in formal logic are roughly similar to others laws therein. It has its differences from the law of identity, etc., but such differences cannot be considered as essential. We can see that the law of identity, the law of contradiction, and the law of excluded middle discuss the principle of the certainty of cogitation, while the law of sufficient reason deals with the consistency and reasoning required in the process of cogitation. In other words, the law of sufficient reason requires a basis for a conclusion, logical connections between premises and between the premiss and the conclusion, and the premiss to be the reason for the conclusion. Such effect is apparently indispensable in correct cogitation. It is also manifested in logical proof. In logical proof, the theme is inevitably and logically deduced from the evidence, and the requirement of evidence may also be interpreted as the requirement of the law of sufficient reason. That the law of sufficient reason has its significance and forms a part of the contents of the study of formal logic is because of it.

We can see that, in a concrete deduction, the form and the contents of the deduction are closely linked.

For example:

Since the production means private ownership system must vanish, and capitalism is the production means private ownership system, capitalism will vanish.

This deductive form is naturally compatible with the law of sufficient reason, and we find the contents also accurate.

Let us give another example of deduction:

Since the production means private ownership system is constant, and capitalism is the production means private ownership system, capitalism is constant.

To the bourgeoisie, this deduction is compatible with the law of sufficient reason and the contents indisputable.

To us, the deductive form is correct, and compatible with the law of sufficient reason, because the conclusion is logically deduced from the reason (or premiss). Nevertheless, the contents of the deduction are apparently fallacious.

Why is it that, in a deduction, while the contents are erroneous, the form can be correct? Because the form and contents of cogitation are united and contradictory. In a deduction with correct contents, the form of cogitation is correct. But erroneous contents, under certain conditions, may also possess a correct form of cogitation. The rejection of this point is metaphysics.

In real life, we can see that not only the proletariat justifies its ideology with the law of sufficient reason, but the bourgeoisie does likewise. The reason is because the law of sufficient reason requires only consistency and reason in the process of cogitation, but not accuracy in the concrete contents. In other words, the law of sufficient reason itself does not possess any class quality; it can serve the bourgeoisie as well as the proletariat.

- END -

6080

CSO: 3530-D

121  
122  
123  
124  
125  
126  
127  
128  
129  
130  
131  
132  
133  
134  
135  
136  
137  
138  
139  
140  
141  
142  
143  
144  
145  
146  
147  
148  
149  
150  
151  
152  
153  
154  
155  
156  
157  
158  
159  
160  
161  
162  
163  
164  
165  
166  
167  
168  
169  
170  
171  
172  
173  
174  
175  
176  
177  
178  
179  
180  
181  
182  
183  
184  
185  
186  
187  
188  
189  
190  
191  
192  
193  
194  
195  
196  
197  
198  
199  
200

LIBRARY