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TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)

No. 2, 1966

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This serial publication contains translations of all the articles from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i, No 2, 11 February 1966. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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CONFESSIONS CONCERNING LINE OF SOVIET-US
COLLABORATION PURSUED BY NEW LEADERS OF CPSU

[Following is a translation of an article by its commentator in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 11 February 1966, pages 1-9.]

Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world is the soul of the Khrushchev revisionist line. Since coming to power, the new leaders of the CPSU have tried hard to appear different from Khrushchev and to don an anti-U.S. mask in their attempt to cover up the essential fact that they are continuing this line. But an increasing number of facts show that they have acted even more thoroughly and gone even farther than Khrushchev in the matter of Soviet-U.S. collaboration.

The new leaders of the CPSU are greatly annoyed at the exposure of their true features by the Marxist-Leninists. They have poured out torrents of abuse and attacked our articles exposing them as full of "utterly groundless, slanderous, provocative fabrications" (note 1)

Abuse and sophistry cannot alter the facts. The new leaders of the CPSU are daily exposing themselves by their numerous words and deeds and by the articles in their own press. An outstanding instance is the publication of a batch of books advocating Soviet-U.S. collaboration by the new leaders of the CPSU in 1965. Typical among these are "The Motive Forces of U.S. Foreign Policy" and "The USSR and the USA--Their Political and Economic Relations."

What are the main theses of the two books?

"The Motive Forces of U.S. Foreign Policy" was edited and published by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1965. Although the book cannot well remain silent about certain facts of U.S. aggression abroad and has to say something denouncing U.S. aggressive activities, it tries hard to prove that these evil deeds are the doings of the reactionaries in the U.S. monopoly capitalist class, while the chieftains of U.S. imperialism,

who likewise represent monopoly capital, are not included among these reactionaries; in other words, the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism can change. Denunciation of U.S. imperialism is but a screen; the substance of the book consists of covering up its aggressive nature.

The book divides the U.S. ruling circles into two groups, "the sober and sensible" and "the bellicose and aggressive." It says: "The struggle between the two tendencies in foreign and military policy--the adventurist and aggressive on the one hand and the sober and sensible on the other--is more and more intensely enveloping the ranks of the real rulers of the United States--the country's biggest monopolies." It also speaks of "the struggle that has intensified to the extreme between the two tendencies in foreign policy, the two groups in American social life --that is, on the one hand, the ultrareactionary and wildly aggressive and, on the other, the moderate and sober who are inclined toward a reasonable assessment of the balance of power that has now taken shape, and toward peaceful coexistence."

Who are "the moderate and sober who are inclined toward peaceful coexistence?" According to this book, they are the chieftains of U.S. imperialism, the successive U.S. presidents since the war. It speaks of Eisenhower as representing "more moderate circles, which were not inclined to put into practice their adventurist doctrines and go to the risk of a big war"; of Kennedy as "the president popular among the people," who had "breadth of vision and a sober approach to the burning problems of international life" and "understood the possibility and necessity of peaceful coexistence"; and of Johnson as "a cautious and moderate political figure" who is "not given to political risks" and as enjoying "an absolute mandate from the people to carry out a policy directed toward consolidating peace and liquidating 'the cold war,' and toward Soviet-U.S. rapprochement."

How is it that these arch war criminals have suddenly turned into partisans of peace? How is it that these common enemies of the people have suddenly become presidents popular among the people? In so lavishly embellishing the leaders of U.S. imperialism, the book has no other aim than that of peddling the wares of "peaceful coexistence" and "peaceful competition" between the Soviet Union and the United States. It says, "The ruling classes of the United States are beginning to realize in one measure or another that peaceful economic competition is the decisive field of struggle between world class forces at the present time." In "the nuclear age," "only a madman or a suicidal person can resort to war as an instrument of policy" and "the U.S. Government has in many cases shown a desire for compromise."

The book asserts that provided there is "peaceful coexistence" between the Soviet Union and the United States, "the competition between the two socio-economic systems and the ideological struggle between the two main antagonists on the international arena will proceed within the

confines of broad economic, diplomatic, scientific and cultural competition and cooperation, without sanguinary collisions and wars."

The book proclaims that "Soviet-American relations, the relations between the two greatest powers of the world, constitute the axis of world politics, the main foundation of international peace." Using the words of U.S. Secretary of State Rusk, it preaches that "the two great powers -- the USSR and the USA -- bear special responsibility for the destiny of the world and of mankind." It says that the Soviet Union "strives for peace and cooperation with the United States, realizing that Soviet-American relations are the primary thing in contemporary world politics and in the question of war or peace."

Then will aggression against Vietnam by U.S. imperialism and its bombing of the socialist Democratic Republic of Vietnam and massacre of the Vietnamese people interfere with Soviet-U.S. relations? No, according to this book, they will not. Even in these circumstances, there is no conflict whatsoever between the Soviet Union and the United States. The book stresses that an "extremely important feature of Soviet-American relations" is the so-called "community of national interests of the two countries." It says, "Except for the black spot -- the U.S. participation in the military intervention against Soviet Russia from 1918 to 1920 -- Russian-American and Soviet-American relations have not been clouded by any military conflicts or wars." "At the present time, too, no territorial or economic disputes or conflicts exist between the two countries, and their national interests do not clash either on a world scale or on any regional scale."

"The USSR and the USA -- Their Political and Economic Relations" was published in 1965 on the authorization of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. It deals with the history of Soviet-U.S. relations from the October revolution to the time of World War II. It cannot very well omit the historical facts of U.S. aggression against and hostility toward the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, its underlying objective is Soviet-U.S. collaboration, and it stresses "the immutability of the Soviet policy directed toward all-round cooperation with the United States."

In its efforts to defend the policy of "all-round cooperation" between the Soviet Union and the United States as pursued by the new leaders of the CPSU, the book does not scruple to distort history. It asserts that "from its very first days, the Soviet state has immutably and consistently steered a course toward all-round cooperation with the United States" and that "the history of Soviet-American relations between 1917 and 1941 convincingly proves that peaceful coexistence and friendly cooperation between the USSR and the USA accord both with the interests of the Soviet and American peoples and with those of the people of other countries."

It adds, "Soviet-American cooperation during the years of World War II

created favorable conditions for the final termination of the unrealistic and short-sighted prewar policy of the ruling circles of the USA toward the USSR and for the development of fruitful Soviet-American relations in the postwar period."

In its efforts to justify the policy of Soviet-U.S. collaboration, the book spares no effort to create the impression that the present ruling clique of the United States is peace-loving. It says that at present "the more far-sighted and sober-minded representatives of influential circles in the United States are speaking out in favor of pursuing a more realistic foreign policy," and that "they clearly understand that in the contemporary international situation the only acceptable basis of cooperation between the USA and the USSR is peaceful coexistence and competition in the economic, scientific and technological, cultural, and other fields."

The book emphasizes that "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government have always attached primary significance to the normalization of the relations between the USSR and the USA and still do so." It cites one argument contained in the resolution on Khrushchev's report at the 21st Congress of the CPSU: "The normalization of the international situation could be helped to a decisive degree by an improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, as the two great powers which shoulder special responsibility for the fate of general peace."

It is thus clear to all that the tune of these two books is the same as that of Khrushchev's statements. Khrushchev said that "the international situation as a whole depends to a large extent on the relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union" (note 2), that "history has imposed on our two peoples a great responsibility for the destiny of the world" (Note 3), that as regards the Soviet Union and the United States "our interests do not clash directly anywhere, either territorially or economically," and that "we can coexist very well," (note 4) The disciples and followers of Khrushchev are merely parroting their master.

Obviously enough, these two books were written in full conformity with the revisionist line of the 20th, 21st, and 22nd congresses and the program of the CPSU. The statements in them are the very ones the new leaders of the CPSU would make themselves. Their publication is another proof that these new leaders are carrying on Khrushchevism without Khrushchev, that their conception of Soviet-U.S. collaboration is not fortuitous but consistent, and that their pursuit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration is no mere matter of a few isolated words or deeds but is their basic line; the two books are these new leaders' confessions of their line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration.

At first glance, the two books seem to devote a lot of space to describing U.S. imperialist aggression and to denouncing the U.S. reactionaries. But a careful perusal reveals that, while perfunctorily condemning U.S.

imperialism, they laud the dominant group in the ruling circles of the United States to the skies. They say the Soviet Union is against the U.S. acts of aggression, but for all their talk they are begging for Soviet-U.S. collaboration. This sort of minor attack but major help is simply trickery to deceive the people of the Soviet Union and the world, and to give better service to U.S. imperialism.

The two books have attracted public attention. They are fine texts for teaching by negative example. They expose all the different tricks the new leaders of the CPSU are now playing.

These leaders claim that they are opposing U.S. imperialism. But what are the facts? It was precisely in the year 1965, when U.S. imperialism was frantically extending its war of aggression in Vietnam, that they published these books advocating Soviet-U.S. collaboration and proclaiming "the immutability of the Soviet policy directed toward all-round cooperation with the United States " on many occasions, they have personally made statements to this effect. L. I. Brezhnev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, declared on 8 May 1965: "We are in favor of developing and improving our relations with the United States." (Note 5) In the interview he gave to "New York TIMES" reporter James Reston on 6 December 1965, A. N. Kosygin, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, said that for the Soviet Union and the United States, "from the standpoint of these long-term concepts, the most important idea should be the mustering of all forces to oppose war," and that they must mobilize their own forces "for developing cooperation and solutions to various points at issue." (note 6) Where is the opposition to U.S. imperialism in this? Are not these words all confessions by the new leaders of the CPSU that they are clinging fast to Soviet-U.S. collaboration?

The new leaders of the CPSU ostentatiously say that "the aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed." But let people examine what they are really trying to prove in the books they have published. Like Khrushchev, they say that the dominant group in American ruling circles are "sensible," are "inclined to peaceful coexistence," have come to a "knowledge of the realities of the nuclear age," and understand that "only a suicidal person can resort to war as an instrument of policy." Does this not amount to saying that the representatives of U.S. imperialism are not pursuing policies of aggression and war and that U.S. imperialism is no longer the main force of aggression and war? Are these not arguments brazenly proclaiming that the nature of imperialism has already changed?

Although there are groups with different interests within the monopoly capitalist class in the United States and although there are acute conflicts of interests among these groups, they are completely at one in their fundamental interests, the enslavement of the people at home and abroad; they are all reactionaries. Although the U.S. ruling groups hold different views with regard to the methods of counterrevolution and frequently quarrel among themselves, one preferring this counterrevolutionary method and another that, they are completely at one in their basic policy of maintaining reactionary

rule at home and of committing aggression abroad. There is no such thing as supraclass "sensibleness." If the representatives of U.S. monopoly capital are "sensible" at all, they are "sensible" only in safeguarding the fundamental interests of their own class, in oppressing the American people at home, and plundering other peoples abroad, and in executing their policies of aggression and war. The new leaders of the CPSU are keen on dividing U.S. ruling circles into the "sensible" and the "reactionary," but what other interpretation of their real intention is possible except that it is to provide a cover for U.S. imperialism and help the U.S. imperialists lull the people of the world?

Sometimes the new leaders of the CPSU mouth a few phrases attacking Johnson. This is only a smokescreen. These books of theirs demonstrate that, like Khrushchev, they portray the presidents of the United States as angels of peace and absolute representatives of the American people. The reason is very simple. It is that the Khrushchev revisionists invariably put their stakes on the chieftain of U.S. imperialism. They always do their utmost to prettify the president of the United States whoever he is.

Facts have given the Khrushchev revisionists one slap in the face after another. Of all the contemporary U.S. presidents, has any single one not been the tool of monopoly capital? Johnson himself does not conceal this. He told the U.S. monopoly capitalists at the 1964 annual conference of the American Chamber of Commerce. "You are stockholders in this government," and spoke of doing "the things that you have hired me to do." From Truman and Eisenhower to Kennedy and Johnson, they have been following the same policies of aggression and war for world domination. These policies, moreover, have become more and more articulated and rampant. The "Johnson doctrine" is contemporary fascism. It blatantly proclaims that force will be used for intervention in all parts of the world and for the overthrow of every government which is not to the liking of the United States. The Johnson administration is escalating its war adventures. The "Johnson doctrine" is a manifestation of the increasingly bellicose and adventurist nature of U.S. imperialism. By trying desperately to beautify the U.S. imperialist chieftains, the new leaders of the CPSU only reveal their own ugly features.

The new leaders of the CPSU say that they "strictly follow Lenin's behest." But how do they present Lenin? In these books of theirs, they have gone so far as to describe Lenin as the initiator of the policy of "all-round cooperation" between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the history of Soviet-U.S. relations as that of "all-round cooperation." What is this if not a betrayal of Lenin and a distortion of history?

After the victory of the October revolution, U.S. imperialism took an active part in the imperialist crusade of armed intervention against the new-born Soviet state.

After the failure of this intervention, it attempted to prevent the

growth of the Soviet Union by resorting to "the noose of famine." In the period of Lenin's and Stalin's leadership, Soviet-U.S. relations were filled with acute and complex struggles, which were an expression of the fierce worldwide conflict between the international proletariat and the international bourgeoisie. In trying to erase class struggle from the history of Soviet-U.S. relations, the new leaders of the CPSU adulterate history and insult the Soviet people.

Lenin pointed out that the U.S. imperialists were acting "as the hangmen of Russian freedom, as gendarmes" (note 7), and that they were "the throttlers and executioners of the world revolution." (Note 8) Lenin called on people to be "uncompromising enemies of American imperialism -- the freshest, strongest, and latest in joining in the worldwide slaughter of nations for the division of capitalist profits," (note 9) How fresh these words of Lenin sound to us even today! The Khrushchev revisionists are trying to hide themselves behind the flag of Lenin. But it is precisely Lenin's words which most powerfully expose them for what they are.

The new leaders of the CPSU say that they are loyal to the declaration of 1957 and the statement of 1960. But these books give them the lie. The declaration and the statement point out that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the people of the world. But these books prate about Soviet-U.S. friendship. The declaration and the statement point out that the people throughout the world must form the broadest united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. But these books actively boost Soviet-U.S. cooperation. These leaders are still loyal to the Khrushchev revisionist general line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition", and "peaceful transition." When they wave the 1957 declaration and the 1960 statement, the new leaders of the CPSU are merely repeating the old tactics of the revisionists of the Second International -- to emasculate the revolutionary principles of a document while paying lipservice to it, to cover up their own anti-revolutionary essence with fine phrases.

The new leaders of the CPSU say that they recognize the role played by the people of all countries in the struggle against imperialism. But in these books, they undisguisedly advocate power politics and shamelessly flaunt their big-power chauvinist arrogance. In their eyes, the destiny of the world should be decided by the rulers of the Soviet Union and the United States, and more than 100 countries on this globe should revolve round the Soviet-U.S. axis, and the very existence of the people of the world must depend on the mercies of the ruling circles of the Soviet Union and the United States. Doesn't this show that what the Khrushchev revisionists hanker after is nothing but Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination?

The new leaders of the CPSU hypocritically declare that the socialist countries and the revolutionary people of all countries have "a common aim" and "common interests." They have repeatedly professed loyalty to proletarian internationalism and support for the revolution of the people of all countries. But what they play up in these books are the "common interests" of the Soviet

Union and the United States. How can these two kinds of "common interests," which are as diametrically opposed to each other as fire and water, be mixed together? U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the people of the socialist countries and all other lands. The Khrushchev revisionists' eager pursuit of "common interests" with the U.S. imperialists merely testifies that they have gone over to the side of U.S. imperialism and pitted themselves against the people of the socialist countries and the world who are opposing U.S. imperialism.

In the very nature of things, there are irreconcilable contradictions between the socialist Soviet Union and the imperialist United States. As a socialist country, the Soviet Union should support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations, and sharp struggles between it and U.S. imperialism both on a worldwide scale and in particular regions are inevitable. Today, however, the new leaders of the CPSU stress that between themselves and U.S. imperialism there are no clashes "either on a world scale or on any regional scale." This only shows that the worldwide contradiction between revolution and counterrevolution, as well as the duty of supporting the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations, have long since ceased to exist for them. They have sunk in the mire of bourgeois national egoism, and not a trace of proletarian internationalism can be found in them.

The new leaders of the CPSU stress the "common interests" of the Soviet Union and the United States in order to cater to the needs of U.S. imperialism. Kennedy long ago exhorted the leaders of the CPSU to "merely seek to protect its own national interests" and to reach agreement with the United States on "protecting the interests of our two great countries." (note 10) Both Khrushchev and the new leaders of the CPSU have readily responded to the call of U.S. imperialism. For they do indeed have common interests with the U.S. imperialists; these are the common interests shared by the privileged Soviet bourgeois stratum, whom they represent, with the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups and the common interests of Soviet-U.S. partnership against world revolution.

The ideas guiding the policy of Soviet-U.S. collaboration as expounded by the new leader of the CPSU in these books have long been put into practice. Recently, in pursuit of their "common interests" with the United States, they greatly accelerated their ganging up with U.S. imperialism.

The tripartite Soviet-U.S.-Indian meeting in New Delhi in January 1966 openly strengthened the united front against China. U.S. Vice President Humphrey made no secret of his satisfaction after his long talk with Kosygin, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. In a television interview Humphrey said that the talk was "frank and candid," and that he had explained the U.S. Government's positions and "had a response from Mr. Kosygin." He said that "the Soviet (as received) is attempting to build a containment wall, so to speak, around Communist China" and that "the Government of the Soviet

Union is much more concerned today about its relationships throughout the entire world vis-a-vis Communist China than it is over anything that the United States may be doing in any part of the world," Humphrey held that "looking ahead for the next few years the contacts between ourselves and the Soviet Union will expand, that the relationships can and should improve."

Humphrey's comments show how chummy the Soviet Union and the United States have become in their collaboration. It is because they have confided to each other what they have in mind that Humphrey is so very sure of the policies of the new leaders of the CPSU and has dared to make these comments publicly. The policy of the new leaders of the CPSU is to unite with U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries in forming a counter-revolutionary ring of encirclement against China. This policy fully meets the desires of U.S. imperialism and it is only natural that the U.S. imperialists should acclaim it and give it their support and encouragement. This is what the Soviet-U.S. talk in New Delhi boils down to. This is a most flagrant betrayal on the part of the new leaders of the CPSU. If this is not how things stand, why haven't the new leaders of the CPSU repudiated Humphrey's allegations?

Soviet-U.S. collaboration has been further stepped up on the question of Vietnam. While the United States was making a "pause in the bombing" and raising a hue and cry about "peace talks," Shelepin took pains to visit Hanoi in close coordination with this U.S. "peace talks" plot. The new leaders of the CPSU have also reached a tacit understanding with the United States on the European situation, so that the United States can transfer more and more troops from Europe to expand the war in Vietnam. The new leaders of the CPSU have uttered some words of support for Vietnam and given it some aid, but their aim in all this is to get more of a say for themselves on the Vietnam question, sow dissension in Sino-Vietnamese relations, and help the United States to realize its "peace talks" plot. In the final analysis, they want to find a way out for U.S. imperialism on the Vietnam question, enable it to occupy South Vietnam permanently and strike a political deal with it.

The U.S. imperialists are very well acquainted with this stand of the new leaders of the CPSU. McGeorge Bundy, special assistant to the U.S. President, said: "It has been made clear to us over a long period of time that the Soviet Government hopes there can be a peaceful settlement." (note 12) One American paper stated, "Evidence is piling up that the Soviet Union and the United States, are, in fact, moving on parallel tracks toward certain objectives they hold in common." (note 13) Another American paper said that if the Soviet Union would "ultimately help an acceptable Vietnam settlement," the United States could "extricate itself from a critical situation." "The fundament of present Soviet-American relations in this complex situation is that they must be tacit The conflict between the USA and the USSR must remain explicit; agreement must remain implicit." They "are simultaneously thus both explicit enemies and implicit allies." (note 14)

The line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration pursued by the new leaders of the CPSU has recently been extended to include Soviet-Japanese collaboration. U. S. imperialism has accelerated the fostering of Japanese militarism as its major war accomplice in Asia, directed the Japanese reactionaries and the South Korean puppet clique to conclude the "Japan-ROK treaty," and thus in effect rigged up a northeast Asia military alliance. Instead of condemning these grave war moves by U.S. imperialism, spearheaded against China, Korea, and other Asian countries, the new leaders of the CPSU have done their utmost to please and woo the Japanese reactionaries. High-ranking Soviet and Japanese officials have exchanged frequent visits. Recently, the Japanese foreign minister made an official visit to the Soviet Union. The new leaders of the CPSU have, in fact, recognized the Japan-U.S. military alliance, and what is more they want to contribute their share of rigging up a Soviet-U.S.-Japanese alliance to oppose China, Korea, and the people's revolutionary struggles in other parts of Asia.

After all these events, the new leaders of the CPSU still claim that all communist parties and socialist countries should put aside their difference and take "united action" in the anti-imperialist struggle. How can their words be trusted? Isn't it clear enough whom they are uniting with and whom they are against?

The new leaders of the CPSU are taking united action with the U.S. imperialists, the Japanese reactionaries, the Indian reactionaries, and all the lackeys of U.S. imperialism.

Since they are so enthusiastic about taking counterrevolutionary united action, how can Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people take united action with them? In the contemporary world the greatest difference, the fundamental difference, between Marxist-Leninists and Khrushchev revisionists, between genuine revolutionaries and pseudorevolutionaries, is whether to oppose U.S. imperialism or unite with it. How can this vital difference be put aside?

We will never take any united action with the new leaders of the CPSU so long as they do not abandon the Khrushchev revisionist line, do not change their line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration, and do not abolish the Soviet-U.S.-Indian-Japanese alliance.

The Khrushchev revisionists have thrown in their lot with U.S. imperialism. In order to oppose U.S. imperialism, Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people must inevitably oppose Khrushchev revisionism. Only by drawing a clear-cut line of demarcation between oneself and the Khrushchev revisionists and by carrying the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism through to the end can one wage a successful struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Since the Khrushchev revisionists are spreading the idea of worshipping the United States, we must foster the idea of scorning U.S. imperialism and see through its decadent essence. Since the Khrushchev revisionists are

spreading the idea of toadying to the United States, we must foster the idea of hating U.S. imperialism and clearly identify it as enemy number one of the people of the world. Since the Khrushchev revisionists are spreading the idea of fearing the United States, we must promote the idea of scorning U.S. imperialism, and let it be truly seen as a paper tiger. Since the Khrushchev revisionists are spreading the idea of uniting with the United States, we must foster the idea of striking down U.S. imperialism, and strengthen and expand the broadest united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has formulated a series of theses on the question of how to appraise and deal with U.S. imperialism which have creatively developed Marxism-Leninism and become a powerful weapon in the hands of the people of the world in their anti-U.S. revolutionary struggle. He has called for the formation of the broadest united front by relying on the workers and peasants, and uniting with the masses of the people who constitute over 90 percent of the world's population, as well as with all the forces subjected to U.S. aggression, control, interference, and bullying, so as to isolate U.S. imperialism, the main enemy today, to the maximum extent and concentrate our attacks on it. All forces that can be united must be united, all contradictions that can be utilized must be utilized, and all positive factors conducive to the struggle against U.S. imperialism must be brought into play. This great strategic concept of Comrade Mao Tse-tung points to the correct way of defeating U.S. imperialism. Its correctness has been proved by the whole process of international class struggle in the postwar period. Not only has this strategic concept armed the Chinese people, but it is exercising and increasingly far-reaching and profound influence throughout the world. It is what U.S. imperialism fears most and what most upsets the Khrushchev revisionists; but it is most warmly welcomed by the people of the world.

The domination of the world through Soviet-U.S. collaboration is nothing but a wild dream. The real masters of the world are the people. It is absolutely impossible for the ruling circles of any country, be they imperialists or revisionists, to ride roughshod over the people of all lands and dominate the whole world.

A new and great revolutionary storm against U.S. imperialism will soon sweep across the world. The antipopular policy of the Khrushchev revisionists, which proceeds from the motive of harming others, can only end by hurting themselves. Those who are against the people will be overthrown by the people and those who run counter to the tide of history will be submerged by it. Whatever the struggles and the twists and turns, there is only one future for the world -- U.S. imperialism and its accomplices will certainly perish and the revolutionary cause of the people throughout the world will certainly triumph.

NOTES

1. PRAVDA, 16 November 1965.
2. N.S. Khrushchev, speech at the Soviet-Indian friendship rally, 8 September 1961.
3. N.S. Khrushchev and L. I. Brezhnev, New Year greetings to U.S. President Kennedy, 0 December 1961.
4. N.S. Khrushchev, interview with Gardner Cowles, an American publisher, 20 April 1962.
5. L. I. Brezhnev, report at the rally in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of victory in the Soviet people's Great Patriotic War, 8 May 1965.
6. A. N. Kosygin, interview with American correspondent James Reston, 6 December 1965.
7. V. I. Lenin, "Moscow Party Workers' Meeting: A Report on the Attitude of the Proletariat towards the Petty Bourgeois Democratic Parties" Collected Works, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. XXVIII, p. 209.
8. V. I. Lenin "Speech on the International Situation at the Extraordinary Sixth All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers, Peasants, Cossacks and Red Army Deputies," op. cit., p. 158.
9. V. I. Lenin, "Letter to American Workers," op. cit., p. 62.
10. John F. Kennedy, interview with A. I. Adzhubey, editor in chief of IZVESTIYA, 25 November 1961.
11. Hubert Humphrey, television interview with American correspondents, 16 January 1966.
12. McGeorge Bundy, television interview with American correspondents, 16 January 1966.
13. CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 13 January 1966.
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TWO BOOKS BY NEW USSR COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP
ADVOCATE SOVIET-AMERICAN COOPERATION

[Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 2, 11 February 1966, pages 10-15.]

In a short period of a year or so since its assumption of power the new communist leadership in the U.S.S.R. has published a host of books to advocate and stress Soviet-American cooperation. The Dynamics of American Foreign Policy, and U.S.S.R. and the United States -- Their Political Relationship and Economic Relationship are two of the most representative ones.

Nominally to discuss America's external policies and the history of Soviet-U.S. relationship, these books in fact were designed to camouflage, to the greatest extent possible, the aggressive nature of American imperialism; to paint the history of the relationship between Socialist U.S.S.R. and imperialist America into a history of "full cooperation"; and to advocate a Soviet-U.S. alliance to lord over the whole world. These books distort facts and misrepresent history at will; betray Marxism-Leninism; and attempt to defend the road of "full cooperation" between U.S.S.R. and the United States.

It is true that these books also devote considerable

space to discuss aggressive actions of the American imperialists and to condemn them. But, they finally always reach the conclusion that the government party of the American ruling group represents the "sensible and wise faction," that the aggressive nature of American imperialism can be changed, and that the road of Soviet-U.S. "full cooperation" cannot be modified. Thus the false pretenses of the new communist leadership in the Soviet Union is exposed. Its anti-American gestures are merely a sleight of hand used to deceive the peoples of the world.

In disseminating the absurd ideas of worshiping and dreading America, of fawning and advocating an alliance with America, these books published by the new Soviet communist leadership and those published in the Khrushchev era on similar themes are in the same vein. If anything, the former are even more thoroughgoing, more bare-faced and in a manner even more repulsive than the latter. Running through these books there is the black thread of the so-called "peaceful co-existence", "peaceful competition", and "peaceful transition" -- the general line of Khrushchev revisionism.

The Dynamics of American Foreign Policy , and U.S.S.R. and the United States -- Their Political Relationship and Economic Relationship have been translated and published

for nation-wide distribution by the World Knowledge Publishing Company. Now, the gist of these two books is given as following:

DYNAMICS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Edited by the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, Science Academy of U.S.S.R.

Chief Editor: M. Le-ming

Published in 1965 by the "Science" Publishing Company of U.S.S.R.

TO DECLARE A CHANGE OF AGGRESSIVE
NATURE OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS

This book said that "to understand the realities of the 'nuclear century' -- is a factor which constantly exerts a beneficial effect on the efforts to maintain world peace and to improve Soviet-American relationship." The Soviet Union has the "absolute weapon" thus "forcing the American leadership to drastically change its original concept." America has come to understand that "to engage in a missile-nuclear war is suicidal for the United States, and, therefore a road other than war must be found." The book said: "Only the insane, and those bent on committing suicide employ war as the means to further their policies.

Peaceful co-existence has become an objective necessity and a historical inevitability." "The United States government has indicated a willingness to compromise under a wide variety of conditions."

The book said that "the main dynamic force behind America's international policies" and "the major factors dictating the current American course of action" are "the competitions and the contesting struggle between the two systems." "To a greater or lesser degree the American ruling class has begun to realize that the decisive theater of struggle between the forces of the different classes of people in the world is peaceful economic competition. The fate of capitalism is being decided there."

DIVIDE AMERICAN RULING CIRCLES INTO TWO
CAMPS: "SENSIBLE" AND "WAR-LIKE"

The book emphasized that "the nature of imperialism cannot be treated in the abstract", and "a unique circumstance exists among the United States monopolist group." After dividing the United States monopolistic capitalist class into two factions -- the "cool-headed and sensible" and "the war-like and aggressive", the book said: "We cannot brand the entire American society as monolithic, but must realize that there are two trends in the ruling camp and in the American

society struggling against each other, namely, the war-like and aggressive trend and the trend toward moderate and sensible course of action." The book said: "There is the struggle between the moderates and the aggressive elements taking place inside the American ruling group, among the tycoons, in the Congress and the state machinery."

This book expressed the opinion that "in the field of external policies and military policies the true rulers of America -- the largest monopolistic organizations -- are increasingly beset by a struggle of two trends, adventurism and aggressiveness on the one hand and sensible and wise trend on the other." "Within the American society there are two trends in the field of foreign policy represented by two groups, namely, one group advocating extreme reactionary actions and frenzied aggression and the other group tending to wisely estimate the current world power balance and advance a peaceful co-existence policy. The struggle between the aggressive faction and the cool-headed and sensible faction has reached an extreme height."

This book also said: "In America's foreign policy, the struggle between the war-like, aggressive and anti-Soviet trend and the moderate and sensible trend which countenance peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union will continue, and

will become more acute." "To a very large degree the future of Soviet-American relationship will be determined by the process and outcome of a bilateral struggle between two opposing trends in the American society."

LOUD APPLAUSES FOR U.S. DEMOCRATS

The book said that in America "a certain demarcation line tends to show itself between the two political parties in recent years," "with the Democratic Party beginning to move closer to unions, to labor and intellectuals and to consider the latter groups its own mass support." "In both domestic and foreign policy the Democrats are more flexible and more cautious and represent a liberal approach toward state administration." "In an election, the Democratic Party is widely supported by workers, civil servants, intellectuals and negro community. The more moderate and cool-headed bourgeois group also tends to move closer to the Democrats." This book also said that the Democratic Party "is prepared to 'welcome' any indication that the Chinese People's Republic wishes to relax her strained relations with the United States." This book even quoted the lie told by John F. Kennedy at a press conference held one week before his death: "We have not sworn to a policy hostile toward Red China." This quotation was used by the book to

cover up American ruling group's anti-Chinese policies.

MUCH PRAISE FOR EISENHOWER, KENNEDY, JOHNSON

With regard to Eisenhower, the book said that "President Eisenhower himself represented then the relatively moderate people who had no intention to carry out an adventuristic policy or to risk a world war," and that "it seems he could not be included among the extreme militarist group." The book stated that during the Eisenhower Administration "Sunshine, for the first time, pierced through the dense fog of 'cold war', and the earliest signs toward a relaxation of international tensions made their appearance." The book considered "Eisenhower to be, in reality, if not in name, a representative figure of a bi-partisan group opposed to isolationism."

Toward Kennedy, this book offered nothing short of complete admiration. It said that Kennedy was a "popularly supported" president and "an outstanding statesman who understood the realities of the nuclear age and the feasibility and necessity of peaceful co-existence." "In his statements and correspondence he always kept wide open the door to negotiations as a way to settle disputed international problems. In his 1960 election campaign Kennedy promised to to ensure a lasting peace. He also showed himself to be more capable

than his predecessors in dealing with the Soviet Union."

"It is a mistake to consider that the peace-loving statements issued by the Kennedy Administration and the peace-loving actions taken by it reflected nothing but electioneering."

The book alleged that after assumption of office Kennedy did his best to cooperate with the Soviet Union. "Before he was murdered, the policy line of earnestly improving U.S.-Soviet relations and eliminating the threat of 'cold war' was increasingly taking a clear shape." The book said that Kennedy "appealed for a stoppage in cold war and a way of disarmament. Kennedy did his best to convince the people that a new appraisal of United States attitude was essential." "Kennedy was of the opinion that existing differences could and had to be eliminated through peaceful means and that would lead to an insurance of peaceful co-existence."

The book quoted the opinions expressed by "moderate and cool-headed circles in America" to the effect that Kennedy "applied timely brakes during the Caribbean crisis because he understood the holocaust which would follow an invasion of Cuba." The book applauded "the role Kennedy played in the last stages of the Caribbean crisis" which "raised his prestige to unprecedented heights." "There are reasons for one

to say that 1963 constituted a turning point in America's foreign policy." The book also praised "President Kennedy as far-sighted, capable of facing an urgent international problem with calm, and willing to seek and reach a modus vivendi with the socialist world." The book even quoted Khrushchev from the telegram he sent to Johnson after Kennedy was assassinated: "Kennedy's death is a blow to all those who treasure dearly peace and the task of American-Soviet cooperation."

With regard to the incumbent President Lyndon B. Johnson who has been frenetically escalating the aggressive war in Vietnam, the book said that he "is an activist who maintains a flexibility unaffected by various schools of political thought and who is not disposed to political adventures," and who "pays careful attention to the implementation of his own election promises." "In his election campaigns Johnson very resolutely spoke out for peaceful co-existence, for preventive measures against a thermonuclear holocaust, and advocated a termination of 'cold war', and a thoroughgoing improvement of Soviet-American relations." The book stated that "in the 1964 American election, the nationwide voting was on the question of war and peace. Johnson has received an absolute mandate from the people to carry out the policy of consolidating

peace, eliminating the 'cold war' and seeking closer ties between the Soviet Union and the United States." The book also said: "For the experienced, cautious and moderate statesman Johnson it is fair to say that during the 1964 election campaign, at least, he accepted the challenge of Goldwater in the field of foreign policy; and countered a platform of political adventurism and war-like aggression with the comparatively moderate and realistic slogans of international cooperation and a relaxation of tensions."

With high hopes in Johnson, the book said: "Johnson and the Democratic Party will win the 1968 Presidential Election. In other words, it is to be expected that in the eight immediate years to come (1964-1972) the leadership in America's foreign policy will be in the hands of Johnson and the Democratic Party. Johnson won the Presidential Election mainly because of his foreign policy platform. He promised to follow the foreign policy lines laid down by the late President Kennedy."

In addition, the book admiringly described America's present Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara as one "endowed with courage and decisiveness," and even turned the notorious war-monger MacArthur into what it called "a supporter of a moderate, cool-headed and realistic policy." The book also

cast America's current Vice President Hubert Humphrey, Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield, and Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright in the commendable role of the "'left-wing' liberals in Congress" and said that they frequently "criticized the foreign policy execution of the Democratic Administration from a left-of-the-center position", and "often made recommendations for the relaxation of international tensions on the basis of a desire for peaceful co-existence; and often expressed opposition to aggressive provocations committed by the American government."

DISTORT MARX, LENIN'S THEORY OF STATE

In order to create a basis for the theory that the so-called "moderate" and "cool-headed" American President possesses a certain "independence" in the formulation and execution of foreign policy, this book attempted to emphasize the "independence" of the American government and to describe the state as existing above class. The book said: "The role that foreign policy matters play in the life of a society has gained increasing importance. The struggle inside the ruling camp and around the questions of international affairs has become more and more acute. These conditions further enhance the relative independence of the machinery of state (such as the President, the government, and particularly the machinery

of diplomacy and military affairs) in the formulation and execution of foreign policies."

The book tried to tear down the Marxist-Leninist theory laid down by Stalin regarding the obeisance a modern bourgeois state pays to the monopolistic organizations. The book erroneously and maliciously condemned this Stalinist theory as "assigning to the state too insignificant role; not recognizing a certain independence and active role of the state; and reducing the state to a mere slave of a private bank and trust."

PUBLICIZE "COMMON INTEREST", "TRADITION OF FRIENDLY COOPERATION" BETWEEN U.S. AND U.S.S.R.

In a discussion of the "historical nature and historical traditions" of Soviet-American relations this book said: "traditional friendship ties have existed between the United States and Russia," "except in the period from 1918 to 1920 when America participated in military intervention in the Soviet Union. That action was a black spot in the history of a relationship between Russia and America and between the Soviet Union and America which has otherwise been free from any military conflict and the dark clouds of war. On the other hand, during World War II, America and the Soviet Union were allies and this attested to the common interests shared by the two nations."

The book expressed the opinion that "The very vital characteristics of Soviet-American relationship" are: even now, there is no territorial or economic disputes between the two countries and their national interest, whether on a world-wide or a regional scale, are not in conflict with each other."

ADVOCATE "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, "PEACEFUL
COMPETITION" BETWEEN U.S.S.R. AND U.S.

The book said: "no matter how vehemently the two systems are opposed to each other, there still exists a reliable key to a solution, namely, the extremely brilliant discovery of Lenin known as the principle of peaceful co-existence." The book said: "If thermonuclear war is not allowed to take place because people realize the destructive nature of such wars; and if there is the realization that the inviolable rule of peaceful co-existence in international life is essential, then the competition between two socio-economic systems and the ideological struggle between two antagonists in the international arena will be confined to competition and cooperation in the broad fields of economic, diplomatic, scientific, and cultural activities, free from bloodshed and warfare."

Urgently pleading for expanded Soviet-American trade and Soviet-American cooperation, the book said: "At the end of 1963 the American Congress consented to the sale of grains to the Soviet Union and approved the Presidential decision to grant

needed credits. This was a hopeful beginning." It added: "in November, 1964, ninety-two American bankers and industrialists visited Moscow," and afterwards these American businessmen promised to exert their influences in the direction of normalizing and expanding economic ties between the Soviet Union and the United States.

REPRESENT SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONSHIP
AS "AXIS OF WORLD POLITICS"

This book said: "The ties between the Soviet Union and the United States are the ties between the two strongest countries in the world, and, therefore, constitute the axis of world politics and the major foundation of international peace." The book quoted United States Secretary of State Dean Rusk as giving emphasis to "the special responsibilities of the two great countries -- the Soviet Union and the United States -- toward the fate of the world and of the human race." The book said: "The leadership of the two countries; to use Rusk's words, 'understand that any top leader of the Soviet government and any president of the United States shoulder, of necessity, the special responsibility of maintaining world peace, a responsibility, on which hinges -- without the slightest exaggeration -- the very survival of the northern hemisphere in the current nuclear century.' This was indeed a very apt statement."

The book said that the Soviet Union, "considering Soviet-American relations as the foremost and most vital question in present world politics and a key to the question of war and peace, endeavors to maintain peace and cooperation with the United States."

Over and over again the book praised the shameful way in which the Khrushchev revisionist group tried to carry out Soviet-American cooperation to control and lord over the world. The book said the conclusion of the partial test ban treaty between the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom represented "a sign of certain changes in American policy," "a major step in the relaxation of international tensions, and an expression of the vitality of the policy of peaceful co-existence." The signing of that treaty was considered "a great victory for the good people throughout the world."

U.S.S.R. AND THE UNITED STATES
-- THEIR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP

Approved for publication by
the Institute of World Economics
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Author: B.A. Wa-li-ko-fu

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of U.S.S.R.

DECLARE UNCHANGEABILITY OF POLICY OF FULL
COOPERATION BETWEEN U.S.S.R. AND U.S.

This book declared: "The Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet government have always considered the normalization of Soviet-American relations as a task of first rate significance." The book quoted the following view from a resolution on the report made by Khrushchev at the twenty-first Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.: "To improve the relations between the Soviet Union and America will exert a decisive effect on a healthy trend in international developments because the Soviet Union and the United States are the two countries which have a special responsibility towards the maintenance of a general world peace."

The book emphasized that "the Soviet policy designed to establish a full cooperation with the United States cannot be changed."

The book also stated: "Since the very first day of its establishment, the Soviet state has persistently and continuously followed the policy of full cooperation with the United States." "Since the very first day of its existence the Soviet state has mightily striven and is continuing to strive for the establishment of cooperation and friendship ties with the United States. The Soviet state has repeatedly

made suggestions for the establishment of normal political, economic, and cultural relations and for the development of full cooperation."

The book said: "The history of Soviet-American relations from 1917 to 1941 has demonstrated in a convincing manner that peaceful co-existence and friendly cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States is not only consistent with the interests of the peoples of the two countries, but also consistent with the interests of the peoples of all other nations."

ALLEGE WILLINGNESS OF U.S. RULING GROUP
TO CO-EXIST AND COOPERATE WITH U.S.S.R.

The book publicized a series of suggestions advanced by the Khrushchev revisionist group directly to the American government for an improvement of political and economic relations between the two countries. It also listed the various joint actions undertaken by the two countries in the United Nations since 1959 and a series of other mutually supported actions to demonstrate that Soviet-American cooperation must be put into effect.

The book said: "The joint draft resolution in the United Nations related to a complete and general world disarmament (November, 1959); the joint United Nations

resolution connected with the peaceful use of cosmic space (December, 1959); the Soviet-American joint motion before the 16th United Nations General Assembly in connection with the principles of disarmament; the special agreement on the peaceful use of the Antarctic; and the agreement concluded between the Soviet Science Academy and the United States National Astronautics and Space Administration on 8 June 1963 in connection with space matters are ample indications that the two countries can cooperate with each other in all practical fields."

The book gave much attention to the most notorious partial test ban treaty, and alleged that "the treaty signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963 on the basis of a three-cornered agreement reached between the Soviet, American and British governments banning nuclear weapons test in the atmosphere and outer space and under water; and the unanimous United Nations resolution passed in the 18th General Assembly in October 1963 on the basis of a mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States prohibiting the orbiting of articles carrying nuclear weapons or any other type of mass destruction weapons in space around the earth, have elicited significant reactions from throughout the world. These resolutions are consistent with the interests of the

entire human race, and exert a salutary effect on the relaxation of international tensions and on the relations among individual nations, including the bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. They have created the pre-conditions for a deepening of the trust between countries under different socio-economic systems and pre-conditions leading to new steps to point international developments in a hearthier direction."

Finally, the book proclaimed that the development of a cooperative Soviet-American relationship "is a necessity which determines the life or death not only of the peoples of the two countries of the Soviet Union and the United States, but also of the entire human race."

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ERA OF MASTERING THEORY BY THE MASSES OF WORKERS,
PEASANTS, AND SOLDIERS HAS BEGUN

[Following is a translation of an article by its commentator in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 2, 11 February 1966, pages 16-19.]

An unprecedented theoretical study movement by the masses is being carried out extensively and penetratingly throughout the country - a movement spontaneously launched by the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers to go all-out in reading Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works. The results of study indicate that the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers have not only succeeded in learning the Marxist-Leninist theory, but have also scored remarkable achievements in studying and applying the theory.

We have noticed that more and more people have mastered the basic question of proletarian world outlook as complete devotion to the revolution, everything for the revolution, and wholehearted service to the people. We have also noticed that this proletarian world outlook has gradually become the guiding principle for action of the masses.

We have noticed that the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers have become more and more familiar with the basic viewpoints of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge that correct thinking is derived from social practice, that material power can be converted into moral strength, and vice versa. Guided by such viewpoints, they have created tremendous material wealth.

We have noticed that the "one divides into two" theory, that is, the law of the unity of opposites which is the kernel of material dialectics, is now no longer a mystery to the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers but has been extensively applied to daily life by everyone.

Marx said: "When theory has mastered the masses it becomes material power." He also said, "Since philosophy utilizes the proletariat as its own material weapon, therefore, the proletariat may also regard philosophy

as its own moral weapon." ("Introduction on the Criticisms of Hegelian Philosophy"; page 467, first volume of The Complete Collection of Marx and Engels published by the People's Publishing House) In China today, the theory has mastered the masses, and the masses have also mastered the theory, thus converting the theory into tremendous material power. Mao Tse-tung's thinking has become the most powerful moral weapon in the hands of the masses.

By mastering Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers have raised their consciousness to a higher level and realize the significance that their factory work, their farming, and military training are all for the sake of the revolution.

By utilizing Mao Tse-tung's thinking as an instrument in looking for laws governing their particular activity, they have become more skillful in doing their jobs, in farming, and in training for battle. Having realized that all work is for the revolution through mastering Mao Tse-tung's thinking, people of all trades and sectors have also become more skillful in doing their work. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers have unceasingly made discoveries and inventions in the great struggles to reform nature and society.

Through all history of mankind, the broad masses of laboring people have always been deprived of the privilege to learn theoretical knowledge. Whenever the subject of theory is mentioned, people would immediately regard it as a matter only for the intellectuals. Although the proletariat had its own intellectuals a long time ago, they only represented a minority. However, the situation has undergone a tremendous change in China today.

The broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, under the party's leadership, are no longer deprived of the privilege of learning theoretical knowledge and have begun to master philosophy and social sciences as well as natural sciences. In the process, theory has been liberated from the classrooms and research offices. The monopoly of theory by a minority of intellectuals has been shattered and a new epoch in the history of mastering theory by the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers has been opened.

The mastering of theory by the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers is of inestimable and great significance. As time goes on its great significance will become more and more apparent. However, the learning of theory by workers, peasants, and soldiers is not welcomed by everyone. There is often a struggle. It is like the resistance of old influences to the emergence of new things and a struggle is necessary. Adhering obstinately to their own bourgeois point of view, some people do not believe the masses. They belittle the masses and also do not think that the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers can learn theories.

Several years ago, when an upsurge in learning theory by the masses took place, some people raised a hue and cry alleging that the learning of

theory by the masses was simply "to act from impulse," "piecemeal learning, and "nonsystematic," thus destroying the "complete system" of theory. They even slandered that it was "a foul draft" and "a queer thing" supplying theoretical work "with rich negative teaching materials."

Owing to the fact that the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers began to study and apply philosophy, those bourgeois philosophers who have tried to monopolize philosophy allege that their theoretical work is a job of "bad luck" and they feel "crestfallen."

For the past few years, workers, peasants, and soldiers have scored immediate and great achievements in learning theory by different methods, such as studying and applying them creatively, combining study with application, and studying them for immediate uses, thereby disproving such groundless fallacies.

The people are the masters of history. Under the proletariat dictatorship, their mastering of theory of understanding and transforming the world is a matter of course and inevitable in the development of history and cannot be changed by the will of man. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, having reflecting the interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of people, should be understood and can be understood by the masses.

There is a poor woman in Kiangsu who has studied, together with others, Chairman Mao's works. Some people were afraid that she would not understand. She said, "Chairman Mao speaks to us poor and lower-middle peasants but not to landlords and rich peasants. Why can I not understand?"

Such a matter-of-course thing which could not be realized by the broad masses of people in the old days can now become a reality under the socialist system of Mao Tse-tung's period.

In 1895 Lenin said: Tsarist gentlemen of ministerial ranks were afraid of the theories of Marx and Engels. The ministers considered workers' explosive power and knowledge and education as fire sparks. They were confident that once the sparks fell on the explosives, the Tsarist regime would be hit.

Lenin said: "Workers: You see how our ministers are afraid of the combination of knowledge with workers! You should show all the people that no force can prevent the awakening of the workers! Without knowledge, workers cannot defend themselves while with knowledge, they are powerful!" ("What Are Our Ministers Thinking About?" page 68, second volume of the complete works of Lenin, published by the People's Publishing House)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung once pointed out: The despots take advantage of people's ignorance. We benefit by the people's wisdom. We want all the

people to be divorced from an ignorant state.

Those who are afraid of the combination of workers with knowledge, the awakening of workers, and workers with power and those who oppose the idea that people be divorced from an ignorant state and that people be masters of history will naturally consider the learning of theories by the masses "a queer thing."

When the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers master theory, they will be able more consciously to master their own fate and the destiny of the state. Those who wish to use their bookish knowledge as capital to sell their bourgeois world outlook in an attempt to make use of it to transform the world can hardly achieve their aim. They naturally will feel that they are very "unlucky" and will be "crestfallen."

We regard the studying and mastering of theory by the masses to be normal and correct and to serve as positive teaching material. The bourgeois theorists, however, hold it to be "queer," "foul," and "negative teaching material." This is a struggle between the proletariat world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook and between socialist and antisocialist ideology. This is a class struggle on the theoretical front.

We must realize the nature of this problem and its great significance. We must consciously carry out this struggle and then we can do a better job with the major thing - studying of theories by the masses. We then can make the theoretical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism combine better with the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, enabling them to become ever wiser and more powerful.

When the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers master the theoretical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking it will yield endless strength, which is the most important guarantee for successes in the cause of revolution and construction as well as the most important guarantee against the growth of revisionism and the revival of capitalism.

Class enemies at home and abroad and ghosts of various kinds will be broken into pieces before people who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. To study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thinking creatively by the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers is the first and most important capital construction in the ideological-political field in our country. It is a major thing related to China's destiny and the cause of proletariat revolution. It is a major plan for the next 1,000 and 10,000 years.

An upsurge in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thinking by the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers will play an important role in promoting study by the broad masses of cadres. When cadres, particularly leading cadres, want to be at the frontline of all mass movements they must first of all lead the masses in the study of Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

To learn Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the most important content of education among cadres and in the building of the party. Only when we master Mao Tse-tung's thinking can we vigorously carry out the struggle against modern revisionism and all bourgeois thoughts, and carry out the class struggle, struggle for production, and scientific experiments. Only when we master Mao Tse-tung's thinking can we guarantee correct implementation of party policies and principles and teach and lead the masses to make a continuous improvement and to march forward in the correct direction.

Failing to study hard Chairman Mao's works, one will fall behind others in thinking and in work. Failing to maintain a firm grip on Mao Tse-tung's ideas, one will lose the most fundamental condition in leading the masses to march forward.

It is very dangerous if one fails to understand this point. If the cadres lag behind the masses or the leading cadres lag behind the ordinary cadres in learning, they must immediately correct this situation.

The reason why the workers, peasants, and soldiers can study well is inseparable from their method of creative study and application. We must learn from the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers and learn from their methods in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

The method of creative study and application has always been recommended by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers have used it well. They always study with a particular problem in mind, apply it correctly after they study it, and sometimes even apply it while studying it. They analyze and solve practical problems with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. By so doing they not only can carry out their work and remold the objective world, but also raise their ideological level and do a good job in changing the subjective world.

Many good articles by workers, peasants, and soldiers are written on this basis. Lively and rich in contents, such articles, written through the concrete life of struggle, provide clear philosophical reasoning in the language of the masses. The people love to read such articles and benefit a great deal by them.

Some people may not recognize them as articles on philosophy or as theoretical studies. We say that these are good articles on philosophy and on theory because they are produced through practice in society and through the three social practices of class struggle, struggle for production, and scientific experimentation, and they are used to give guidance to social practices.

Another method of study is studying blindly without application. Those who study blindly without application confine themselves to the study of books and concepts. They do not keep in close touch with the masses and with reality. They neither analyze nor solve practical problems. As a

result, they study from one book to another and from one concept to another. They can talk and write, but they do not know how to use it. They seem to do well in talking, but they are in trouble when they engage in an actual struggle, and fail to distinguish right from wrong.

This kind of study is of no use at all. The articles by those people, although retaining the intellectual flavor, are devoid of actual content. Very few people understand these articles. There is no use, even if they understand them, because these articles cannot help people to know and remold the world.

It is necessary for those who specialize themselves in the theoretical works of philosophy, economics, and so on to undertake a revolution; they must walk out of their books, work in factories, in the countryside, in PLA companies, and in stores so as to maintain close touch with the masses and with reality and to remold their ideas.

The only useful theoretical work will be those which maintain close touch with reality, conduct research work on philosophy and economics in practical life, and sum up and convert the experience gained in practice into theory to tackle new questions encountered in real struggles. Only by so doing, will good articles on the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's ideas be written.

Mao Tse-tung's ideas are the supreme guide to our revolution and construction. We are bound to win victories, so long as we adopt measures to creatively study and apply Mao Tse-tung's ideas, place particular emphasis on the application of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and put Mao Tse-tung's thinking into command of everything.

CSO: 3530-D

WORKERS, FARMERS, SOLDIERS STUDY MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT
WITH INGENUITY AND UNDER REAL WORLD CONDITIONS

SUMMARY OF WEATHER FORECAST EXPERIENCES GAINED BY
LAY PUBLIC THROUGH APPLICATION OF "ON PRACTICE"

[Following is a translation of an article by
Tuan Ch'un-tso of Hunan Provincial Weather
Service Station in the Chinese-language period-
ical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 2, 11
February 1966, pages 20-27.]

I was born in 1939 to a poor farmer's family. In childhood years I herded cattle for the landlord, migrated like a vagabound in a time of famine, begged for food, and drifted about year after year. After Liberation, the Party and Chairman Mao rescued me out from deep miseries and gave me a chance to go to school. By 1958 I finished the first year in a junior middle school. To meet the need of developing production, the leadership shifted me to the hsien capital to study meteorology. After 20 days of studies, I was returned to the commune as a weatherman.

At the beginning I worked diligently and with enthusiasm. But after a short time, I began to grow discontented. I thought that I learned very little theory of meteorology in the hsien capital. In addition, the working conditions were poor, and there was not a single instrument in the commune, not even a thermometer to read

the atmospheric temperature. How could I go about my work and forecast the weather? I was fearful that should I fail in the job I might become a laughing stock for everybody. Better shift my job in time.

While I was so worried, my elder brother who worked in a national farm wrote to me and bid me not to forget the miseries I underwent in the past or the life of a beggar I experienced on the streets of Changsha before Liberation. He admonished me about taking the Party's advices and seriously pursuing the work as a weatherman. This letter reminded me of my miserable life before the Liberation. I am a miserable child rescued by the Party and Chairman Mao. How can I be so self-centered in my plans and discard the advices of the Party? No! I should not forget the pain as soon as the sore is healed. I must not fail to repay the education and help the Party had given me. After a thorough-going ideological struggle staged within my mind, I found my way.

Afterwards, I studied Chairman Mao's work under the guidance of the Party organization. Through these studies I have been encouraged and have grown resolute in my decision to stick to weather work for the rest of my life.

I wish to make my useful contribution to the welfare of the people.

In recent years, I have studied over and over again some 20 articles such as "In the Memory of Pai Ch'iu-en", "To Serve the People", "On Practice", and "On Contradictions". While studying these articles I gradually gained a higher level of class awareness and realized that to do weather work was to engage in revolutionary tasks, and to "manage the weather well" for the benefit of the people. Since 1960 particularly, I have learned and applied the views in Chairman Mao's "On Practice"; learned from the masses and enthusiastically worked on scientific experimentation; and sought experiences under real world conditions through indigenous methods.

LEARN FROM MASSES

Once the ideological and thought problems were solved, enthusiasm sky-rocketed. I could hardly wait any longer before establishing weather observation posts and engaging in weather forecasting. But, the objective difficulties were still there. There was a lack of knowledge and inadequately prepared conditions. What was I to do? While I was so worried, the Secretary of the commune's

Party Committee enlightened me by saying: "If you have no foreign manufactured instruments, why don't you use or make indigenous ones. To conduct scientific experimentation, one must follow the mass line and humbly learn from the masses." These words gave me much food for thought and a great deal of confidence and resoluteness in overcoming difficulties.

Guided by the leadership I went over the article "On Practice" over and over again and gained the basic understanding that to gain knowledge a person has to participate in work and practice. The working men of our country have accumulated a wealth of weather forecasting experiences through a long long period of work and practice. To make my weatherman's work a success, I had to learn from the masses.

But, how to go about learning from the masses was still a difficult question. At that time, a poor farmer member of the commune gave me a suggestion. He told me that he knew of an old farmer who was experienced at weather forecasting. Upon hearing this, I went to see this old farmer with a great deal of confidence and enthusiasm that he would impart some of his precious experiences. However, during my interview with him, the old farmer said: "There is nothing to talk about. Ours are just old stuff, old

superstition. Now, people want new technology." Repeated questions go me nowhere and the old man would not say anything. That time, I returned empty-handed.

Why did the old man refuse to say anything? I honestly recalled my attitude and method in talking with him and found the reason of his silence: that I used the wrong approach. When I was talk to him to solicit his help, I had a notebook in my left hand and a pen in my right, as if exacting a confession. Consequently, he refused to give me any help. After thus reviewing the process of this interview, I began to pay a great deal of attention to the method and approach employed in my investigative work. Generally, I would first work alongside the masses to establish friendship ties with them before even bringing in some subjects for small talk, and later subjects on agricultural production, and finally, weather forecasting. Thereafter, I achieved successes only because I employed this improved methods in interviewing old farmers experienced at weather forecasting work.

Once I learned that old farmer Teng Lo-nan had a book in which much traditionally treasured experiences of weather forecasting were recorded. But, for a long time at the beginning he would not even show it to me. After working alongside with him and had a long and extensive period of

contact with him, the old farmer not only offered me the book, but also told me about more than 30 weather forecasting phrases such as: "When old clouds come, the weather will be either cloudy or rainy," "When the sun smiles, even the temple will collapse when hard rain comes." That old book he gave me and a number of other old books on the subject yielded in part the weather forecasting experiences accumulated by people in ancient times, although a large part of their contents constituted feudal superstitions. The useful experiences are still applicable today. For instance, such gems as "With sea clouds rising in the early morning, storm and rain will come at the blink of an eye," "When dark clouds appear to the northwest, thunder and rain will sound out," and more than a hundred others are quite valuable references for the weather forecaster. Teng Lo-nan also taught me how to forecast the weather by observing leeches, frogs and other animals. All these gave me an early taste of the benefits from learning from the masses.

In further reliance on the masses and to mobilize the masses for weather work, I invited from nearby production brigades five old farmers experienced in weather observation and organized a "five-man weather observation team." We were constantly gathered together to engage in productive

labor and, at the same time, to observe the change of the weather.

Following Chairman Mao's instruction to humbly learn from the poor and lower middle farmers enabled me to cultivate a profound friendship with them. In our work they always supported me. More importantly, they gave me great help ideologically. Sixty-odd-year-old poor farmer Tu Hungkuang of our commune made use of his rest periods in the early morning and late evening to help me make shuttered windows and always gave me encouragement and urged me to do my weather observation work well. One day, he saw me troubled by difficulties encountered in my work, and told me: "It is very good to do weather work. It is useful." And he told me a sad experience in 1947 before the Liberation. His two sons worked for a landlord and were out on the Ta-t'ung Lake to gather weeds in the water. A sudden storm capsized the boat and the two of them and his brother, a fifty odd-year-old poor farmer all drowned together. With tears in his eyes, Tu said: "If it were now, my two sons and my brother would never have drowned." Listening to the old man tell all this was a vivid class educational session. How badly our class brothers wish for the establishment of their own weather station! I was made even more

aware of the responsibilities that go with my weatherman's post.

DIRECT OBSERVATION UNDER REAL WORLD
CONDITIONS YIELDS MUCH DATA

Old farmer Teng Lo-nan told me that "observing leeches can help weather forecasting. When leeches float on the surface of the water or climb on land in the paddy field, rain will usually follow." After hearing this, I went out to gather a fat leech and placed it in a bottle filled with water for the purpose of experimentation. But it lied there at the bottom of the bottle very still even before it rained. What was the matter? Was Teng wrong? Why didn't my experiment get any results? Frustrated but not discouraged, I continued with my experimentation by collection more than a dozen leeches of different sizes and colors and placed them in six bottles for observation.

In the morning of 28 March 1959, a cloudless day, Comrade Tsui Shu-chun of the commune's weather observation post and myself found that the dozen or so leeches have mostly escaped from their bottles. Having been thus alerted, we went immediately to the nearby production brigade to consult with the old farmers of the "weather observation team." A forecast warning that a cold wave with seventh

to eighth grade strong north winds was due to reach the area by that afternoon or evening. The cold wave came that evening, bringing along with it strong winds of ninth grade force as well as hail. Our commune had just planted rice seeds five days before and sprouts were beginning to appear. An emergency mobilization initiated by the commune Party Committee in time made it possible to save the seeded 3,358 mou from serious damages. The success of this forecasting experience enhanced my interest, enthusiasm in my work and the confidence in scientific weather experimentation. The importance of such experimentation was deeply engraved on my mind.

The strong desire of making my work a success drove me on to deeper and wider contacts with the masses and efforts to learn from them. No matter whether it was rainy or clear, whether day or night, whether far or near, as soon as I heard of an old farmer, an old fisherman or an old boatman who was experienced in weather observation, there I went to seek advice and help. In recent years I called upon 242 old farmers, 65 old boatmen (including ferry workers), 48 old fishermen and 31 persons afflicted with discomforts associated with weather changes to conduct 267 interviews and investigations and to collect 1,106

items of weather-forecasting proverbs and sayings plus 185 farmers' proverbs. All these gave me much precious experience. For example, "When bubbles arise in a stagnant pool of water, strong winds will be here," "When fish jump above water, there will be a wind storm," "Little fish patrol the banks, windstorm is coming," and similar proverbial phrases forecasting windstorms were collected from fishermen and represented their weather forecasting experiences accumulated through the years.

In February 1960, I participated in a conference convened in the city of Chu-chou for the purpose of exchanging scientific and technological experiences. There I heard participating comrades tell their experiences of how to employ "On Practices" as a weapon in conducting scientific experiments and in attacking difficult problems in scientific research. That conference helped me very much.

At that time, I picked up again "On Practices," and "On Contradictions" and studied them anew. "On Practices" has told us: "If you want to know the taste of a pear, you have to transform that pear and take a bite yourself."

[Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol 1, People's Publishing Company, 1952, second edition, page 276.] This

passage reminded me of my work. To do work in the field of meteorology, you cannot just listen to other people talk. But you should use your own hand, observe with your own eyes, and try various experiments yourself. Chairman Mao's words also led me to attempt courageous and sweeping hypotheses as well as a great deal of experimentation. I began to make use of weather forecasting animals, plants, and household furnitures which had not yet been discovered by the lay public in conducting my observation and experimentation. To broaden the field of useable research materials, I moved from leeches to fresh water snails and then to earthworms. And from animals I moved to plants, and from plants to household furnitures and utensils. For example, when I was in the mess hall, I discovered that the paper ball hanging down from the roof would touch one's head sometimes, but, other times would be above head level. What accounted for the rise and lowering of these colored paper balls? I took notes seriously of my observations and finally found the rule that these paper balls rose before a clear day arrived and lowered before the coming of rain.

Based on this characteristic of the paper ball, a "crinkled paper rain-or-shine indicator" was made. Another experiment was conducted in the following manner. I wrote

with water solution of alum on a piece of cardboard paper and also wrote with water solution of table salt on another piece of cardboard, and observed their appearances for a long period of time. Before it would rain, the cardboard written on with alum solution would turn white while the one written on with salt water turned dark (black). Taking notice of this phenomenon I wrote with brush pen and water solution of salt on a large piece of cardboard the character of "rain". After rinsing the pen thoroughly I painted with water solution of alum along the side of the character. This cardboard would not show anything when the day was fine and clear. But just before a good rain, the character "rain" would gradually appear. This was an indigenously made meter to "tell the change of weather by reading the character." In addition, I also made "electric rain-or-shine indicators", and "bamboo fork rain-or-shine indicators" and others. Some plants which would indicate and anticipate a change of weather were also found. During these recent years I conducted 586 experiments and found 110 of them successful.

DIRECT OBSERVATION RESULTS IN UNDERSTANDING

Through diligent and painstaking effort at collecting materials and conducting large numbers of experiments, an

abundance of materials and data were on hand. But, they were so numerous and complicated as well as oftentimes self-contradictory. Which one was correct and which was wrong, posed a difficult question. Chairman Mao said in "On Practices": "To completely understand an event or an article, to know its nature, and to be familiar with its inner rules, one must think and meditate so that an abundance of materials collected by the senses may be sifted to ferret out the crude and retain the refined; to get rid of the counterfeit and keep the genuine; to move from one to another; to reach from the outer appearance to the inner core. All these reforming and molding and manufacturing processes turned a heap of prime materials into concepts or a system of theories. Cognition through the senses must be elevated to perception through reasoning."

[Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol 1, page 280.]

I knew that the materials I had on hand were partly the "genuine" article, and partly "counterfeit". They must be sifted to separate the crude from the refined, the counterfeit from the genuine through a reforming and manufacturing process. I, then, took the 1,106 items of popular weather proverbs and experimented on each one of them for the purpose of verification, refinement, and a classification

into three categories, namely, the scientific category, the coincidental and chancy category and the category of superstition. Finally, I determined that 520 items were scientific; 316 were coincidental and only borne out by chance; and 270 items could only be classified as superstition. For example, there was this saying: "South winds on the first of lunar January, shrimps would come to hide beneath the eaves." This meant that when south winds blows on the first of January on the lunar calendar, there is like to be much rain during the year, or possibly flood. Checking with historical weather data in Nan-hsien, Ta-t'ung Lake, Chang-te and their vicinities, I found that during the 11 year period from 1950 to 1960, there were six January 1's which had south winds. But these years were not rainy and even seriously dry in two of these six years. These data disproved the validity of the above saying.

In 1960, I made 24 observations in connection with the saying that mentioned "dark clouds follow a setting sun." The results indicated that 19 times out of 24 rain did come that same evening or in the next day. The remaining five times recorded no rain, but still several subsequent days of cloudiness. These observations proved that the saying "Dark clouds follow a setting sun, rain

will come today or tomorrow," had its scientific basis.

This process of "ferreting out the crude and retaining the refined; getting rid of the counterfeit and keeping the genuine" resulted in a refinement of the materials collected through the senses. But, why could these animals, plants, and old sayings foretell weather changes was a question that eluded me. To find a solution, I visited Nan-hsien and Changsha to borrow and buy many books on meteorological theories in order to study them by myself. At the beginning, I was frustrated by such scientific terms as "atmospheric current", "front", "high pressure", "low pressure", "ridge", "trough" and many others. But I persisted and sought help from specialist comrades. This way I gained some knowledge in basic meteorological theories.

Still, I could not find a clear answer to the reason behind the special ability of these animals, plants and old weather proverbs to forecast changes in weather. Later on, I repeatedly studied "On Practices" and found Chairman Mao telling us: "Things we can perceive with our senses do not lend themselves to rational understanding. But things one can understand with reason can be better perceived through the senses. Senses only solve the question of phenomena. Only theories can solve the question of the nature of

things. A solution of these questions cannot, for a moment, be divorced from work, practices, and experiences." [Select-
ed Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol 1, page 275.] "Cannot, for a moment, be divorced from work, practices, and experiences" -- how important are these words! Teachings of Chairman Mao led me to the resolution to apply what knowledge I gained from books to the working conditions in the real world as a further experiment and analysis. Taking the approach of "going to the tiger's den", namely, with selected emphasis on limited points, I conducted a large number of experiments and concentrated my energy toward one or two items. By following through developments and by observation and deep searching studies I was trying to ascertain the scientific theories behind these unusual capabilities of certain animals, plants and proverbial sayings in predicting weather changes.

For instance, I made detailed observations on how the common frog could predict weather changes. Why and how could the croak of frogs foretell weather changes. To find out the reason, I adopted the approach of "following the tiger to its den" and watched frogs in the field at close ranges and observed their behavior in rainy or fine weather. repeated observations revealed that the croaking of the

frog was controlled by two bellows or air pockets one on each side of the frog's head. An expansion and a contraction of this bellows resulted in the croaking sound. During a fine day the croak came out very naturally and the tone and volume were loud and steady. About six hours before a storm, the steady croaking was changed into a loud one followed by two of a smaller volume, accompanied by shaking of the body on the part of the frog.

There was still the question of how these two bellows-like things could predict weather changes. I, then, caught a large number of frogs of different sizes and colors and dissected them to observe their two bellows. It was found to be a thin membrane which would respond to air blown in through a straw. Now I associated this finding with the theories found in books, and found out that drastic changes in atmospheric pressure caused the frog to issue croaking in different ways. This was the reason that frogs could foretell weather changes.

Repeated experimentation like this enabled me to understand the relationship between changes of the behavior of animals and changes in plants on the one hand, and atmospheric pressure, humidity and air temperature and similar meteorological factors on the other. Cognition

through the senses was elevated, in a first step, to understanding through reasoning.

Regarding the use of the proverbial sayings as a basis of weather forecasting, we also conducted repeated observations and experiments. To solve the riddle of the saying that "when the sun smiles, even the temple may collapse under heavy rains." I thought and reasoned with great effort. One day, the sun appeared to be smiling in the skies. That same evening when I lit my kerosene lamp and place the glass top on the scene appeared to resemble very closely that of the "smiling sun". When I immediately cleaned the top glass enclosure and replaced it on the lamp, this "smiling" effect disappeared. I repeated the operation many times and found that a clean glass top gave no "smiling" appearance and the lamp shone bright. When I blow steam from my mouth into the glass top enclosure, the lamp seemed to dim and gave a "smiling" appearance. I reasoned that the glass top was transparent and so was the air. When there was water vapor or dust on the glass top, the lamp "smiles". By the same token, when there was much water vapor or dust in the atmosphere, the sun "smiles". Theories and knowledge told us that when there was much water vapor and dust in the atmosphere, they constitute an important factor inducing rain fall. This was

the scientific explanation behind the saying that "when the sun smiles, even the temple would collapse under hard rains."

One day, I observed that three types of leeches, respectively of yellow, green and mixed coloring floated up to the surface of the water while three other types betrayed no strange behavior. Unable to make a clear decision, I finally took a compromise way out and forecast a "fair but cloudy day". Rain fell the next day and my forecast fell flat on its face.

This failed forecast prompted me to go deeper into the reason of the different reactions of the six different types of leeches. I studied seriously "Zoology", and "General Botany" and other books to gain a preliminary understanding of the physiological characteristics and life habits of the various specimens of animals and plants. Paying particular attention to books on the life habits, characteristics and environment of leeches, and checking pertinent reference works, I gathered and sorted analytically and systematically all available materials describing these six types of leeches and finally found that various types of this animal reacted in different ways to weather changes in different seasons. The large yellow leech reacted most sensitively to weather changes during

the spring. The mixed-colored leech, during summer, and the gray ones during autumn. The green and white ones during winter. Of all these types, the yellow leech, which reacted most sensitively during spring, and the green one, which reacted most sensitively during winter, would also have reactions to weather changes in other seasons.

If leeches reacted to weather changes in a way that varies with the season, would other animals and plants do the same? This question prompted me to observe frogs, ants, and more than a hundred other animals and plants which were found to be sensitive to weather changes. I found a common trait among them -- seasonality. Pursuing this line of investigation further afield, I found that frogs were the most sensitive and most accurate indicators of oncoming thunderstorms; chickens and ducks, the best forecaster regarding rain-or-shine changes; and earthworms the best indicators predicting a heavy downpour. Each one of them had its unique forte. This uniqueness was a characteristic shared by all.

Following up this investigation, I found in more than a year's time six major characteristics of animals and plants which possess an ability to forecast weather. These characteristics are: seasonality, uniqueness, life habits, local

attributes, time of the day, and a composite factor. This enhanced my mastery of the method of weather forecasting on the basis of animal and plant behavior.

Having listed "six characteristics" in predicting weather changes on the basis of animal and plant behavior, I preceeded to define the six attributes in predicting weather on the basis of proverbial sayings circulated among the people. The result was another "six characteristics", namely, relatedness, seasonality, locality attributes, accuracy, time factor, and comparability. This was another step forward.

Urged on by the leadership and supported by my comrades, in 1960 I made a summary of the results of my efforts to learn from the masses and to conduct scientific experiments. The result was a book entitled "Weather Forecasting by the Lay Public."

REPEATED PRACTICES VERIFY THEORY
AND KEEP UP IMPROVEMENTS

The writing of "Weather Forecasting by the Lay Public" indicated an elevation from cognition through the senses to the perception through reason. According to what Chairman Mao had explained to us about the cognitive process of the human race in "On Practices" this represented only

one half of the cognitive process, and not the important half at that. How could I complete the other more important half? How could I apply the knowledge of the rules of the objective world to the task of transforming that world?

I was made aware that in order to make our understanding consistent with real world conditions, we should follow the instructions given by Chairman Mao to go to productive labor so that the validity of theories may be checked and verified.

Chairman Mao said, in order to completely solve the question whether a theory is consistent with an objective truth "the only way is to return rational understanding to the real world conditions in society; to apply theories to practices; and to see whether the anticipated results could be achieved." ["On Practices", Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol 1, page 281.] He also said "Marxism emphasizes the importance of theory, precisely and only because theory can guide our actions." ["On Practices", Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol 1, page 281.]

The objective of the revolutionaries' efforts to seek out objective laws of events and things is to use these laws to guide our revolutionary tasks. The objective of our study of the laws governing weather forecasting on

the basis of animal behavior and on the basis of popular proverbs was to achieve accurate weather forecasting in the service of farm production. If we master the theory and fail to apply it to practical life and to verify them, the theory would become idle talk of no utility.

In order to apply theory to production, I intended to further check and verify the validity and accuracy of the "six characteristics" of weather forecasting based on animal and plant characteristics and meteorological phenomena. Starting from 1960, I prepared a list of classifications and on the basis of the list, checked, one by one, the pertinent things and phenomena to verify these "six characteristics".

For example, on 17 May 1960, I discovered that leeches escaped from the bottles, owls flew low with heads awry, and swallows also flew low. Based on these unique characteristics of these animals, a strong wind warning was immediately issued. The second day, howling winds of eighth grade force hit the area. Timely precautions and preparations forestalled damages to life and property. This episode further proved the accuracy of this method of weather forecasting based on animal behavior.

On 25 July 1960, based on such phenomena as leeches

floating on the surface of water; ni-chiu fish jumping about; the "orinkled paper rain-or-shine indicator" lowering and such indicators in the sky as "When purple clouds accompany a sun rise, thunderstorm will sound out in the afternoon", we issued a forecast warning of afternoon thunder showers. After receiving this forecast, the various production brigades mobilized their members and swept in the grains they had out under the sun with great dispatch. In the afternoon, thunderstorm indeed did come. Because of timely preparations and precautions measures, the more than 260,000 catties of paddy rice of the entire commune were saved from damages.

This way, once, twice, three times and countless times, weather forecasting warning the commune of disasters scored beautifully. In their services to production, these methods and theory were further proven to be correct.

Another thing worth mentioning is the necessity to supplement what was lacking in theory through work and practice. After groping for and found the "six characteristics" of the method of forecasting on the basis of animal and plant behavior and characteristics; as well as the "six characteristics" of forecasting weather on the basis of weather proverbs, I thought these findings were proven and

tried out by myself through actual work and practices. I thought they were quite reliable. But, "On Practices" has told us: "The truth in many many theories is not the complete truth. Work and practice can supplement this incompleteness. Many theories are incorrect and in error. Work and practices check and correct these errors." [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 1, pages 281-282, 285.]

After reading this above passage, I began to doubt whether the things considered by myself to be reliable were indeed completely so. Following Chairman Mao's teaching I needed to put these theories under continuous check and testing under real work conditions for work and practice.

How was this checking and testing to be carried out? I adopted two approaches. One approach called for a check of observation data accumulated over the years. And the other called for investigation while putting the theories into practice.

One day, I observed that clouds rose in the west when the sun was setting. According to the saying "Clouds rise when the sun sets, By midnight you can heard rain drops," this meant that rain will come down that midnight. But it did not rain until the next day dawned. This led me to a check of my data. From 1960 to 1963, of the 32 times

when the phenomenon of "when the sun sets and the clouds rise" was observed, 19 times found rain starting next morning; one time, in the afternoon of the next day; two times, early in the morning of the next day when it was still dark; six times, exactly at midnight; and four times, when no rain followed the phenomenon. Later we also examined hundreds of other such weather proverbs and found each has different variations in the accuracy of time predictions. This called for a flexible interpretation. This flexibility was the "seventh characteristic" added to the original "six characteristics."

In the use of salt urns or salt water-soaked blotter paper to predict downpours, we found, in repeated experiences, that they did not react to sudden weather changes which brought about thunder showers. The reaction came only after the arrival of the rain. This was a refinement of the incomplete observations stated earlier.

Chairman Mao pointed out over and over again in "On Practices" that knowledge and cognition has no limit. "Work and practice, cognition, work and practice again, and knowledge and cognition again. This is the form and the cycle that the process will assume and repeat until

infinity." ["Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 1, pages 281-282, 285.] The cognitive process knows no end, and our efforts at understanding weather laws should also be a continuous process of groping, working, and putting theories into practice. While collecting and making use of weather proverbs created by the masses, we again published forty-odd proverbial sayings on the examination of sky scenes such as "The clouds have no roots, the rain makes no appearance," "When the clouds look like steamed bread, the sun is hot enough to bake a man to death," "When clouds look like shuttles, clear skies are certain." This showed that only through continuous work and practices can we continuously expand our knowledge.

In order to further and more closely serve the interest of agricultural production, we searched for relationships between the weather and agricultural production. One day, some commune members and myself worked on a compost fertilizer. I asked an old farmer how could the fertilizer decay faster and raise the efficiency of enriching the soil. He replied that it was best to have sunny days when water and soil temperatures would be high and fertilizer fermentation would be fast, thus raising the efficiency of fertilizing the soil. This reply enabled me to

understand that the questions connected with fertilizers were directly related to weather conditions. Can a breakthrough be achieved here to further weathermen's service to production? That question prompted me to a study of the relationship between water and soil temperatures and weather.

Choosing five observation points of similar topography, water source and soil types, I placed thermometers at each point to measure the water and soil temperatures six days a week continuously with no regard to rain or sunshine. After several months of observation and analysis together with technical cadres and old farmers, we devised a set of methods to be applied to the preparation of fertilizers under different weather conditions. This was done after we found out the laws governing water and soil temperature variations and their effect on fertilizer preparation. Later, I also devised ways to raise the water and soil temperatures in the ditch for compost preparation. Numerous experiments enabled me to find out that a reduction in the quantity of water added during a sunny autumn day resulted in a rise of water and soil temperatures, thus speeding the decay of compost.

In the recent years, what made it possible for me, at my work post as a weatherman, to humbly learn from the

masses; to collect the precious experiences of weather forecasting from the masses; to conduct observations and experimentation; to research the experiences of weather forecasting of the people was a major realization that we must study Chairman Mao's works with revolutionary class sentiments; and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought to our scientific research. Chairman Mao's books are books of proletarian revolution. "On Practices" is a great work guiding the proletariat on their revolutionary road. Only by firmly establishing the viewpoint that we should whole-heartedly serve the interest of the people, cultivate true proletarian sentiments can we trust the masses; resolve to penetrate deep into the ranks of the masses; learn from them and be willing to apprentice under their guidance. To penetrate deep into the ranks of the masses is the beginning of knowledge and the beginning of the task of transforming the society. Only in such a way can we point ourselves in the correct direction in our work and in putting theories into practice. Only then, can we study and benefit from "On Practices", and apply what we learned to our work.

While studying "On Practices" one has to study and at the same time putting what he studied into practice,

in other words, one studies with a problem in mind. For example, guided by the 16-character sentence "ferreting out the crude and retaining the refined; getting rid of the counterfeit and keeping the genuine; moving from one to another; and from outer appearances to the inner core" I endeavored to ferret out the superstitious; refine and abstract from the scientific sayings; search for laws governing weather forecasting on the basis of animal and plant behavior, sky scenes and laymen's proverbs. This was accomplished only after repeated studies and research. With a little bit added, we apply that little bit to practical use. Sometimes, even one phrase or a couple of words took up a long time of deliberations and thought until its essential meaning was grasped. When difficulties were encountered during work and in scientific experimentation, I went to seek advice in "On Practices." After being enlightened by it I went on to look for new problems to solve.

To study and make use of "On Practices" one must possess a high degree of courage and boldness, a "thick-skinned" quality and single-mindedness.

Studying "On Practices" and making use of "On Practices" is not a simple matter. The road is strewn with difficulties. Whenever a roadblock appears one needs

a certain revolutionary fervor and courage, a courage which carries the day. However, this courage and boldness has to be subjected to the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Blind boldness cannot achieve anything.

"Thick-skinned" quality means a revolutionary fervor in the application of the theory in "On Practices" to scientific experimentation. This revolutionary fervor is absolutely essential, when one wishes to find a way to conduct scientific experiments. When I followed the frog about all day long to watch its behavior, to hear its croaking, and to catch it for dissection, some people called me an "idiot" doing "stupid things." The final results of these experiments answered these people. The success of a scientific experiment calls for these "idiots" doing these "stupid things." Work has educated me and made me understand that as long as you concentrate on doing a thing along the lines pointed out by Chairman Mao, you will, sooner or later, achieve results.

Single-mindedness indicates a lack of fear toward difficulties and defeat, and a determination to solve problems one after the other. To study "On Practices" one needs to be tenacious in order to fully understand. Only with

single-mindedness can one go deep in the studies and do well in applying the studies to one's work and hope for discoveries, inventions, creative achievements, and advances forward.

I consider myself far from adequate in arming myself with knowledge. Like a toddler beginning to walk, I was just groping toward the door. I am still far away from what the Party and the people demand of me. I must forever remember what Chairman Mao has said: "Humility makes one go forward while pride drags one behind," and strive onward, never to stop in my tracks and never stop making progress.

6403
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THEORIES FROM "ON CONTRADICTIONS"
APPLIED IN CEMENT KILNS

[Following is a translation of an article by Liu P'ei-shun, stoker of Mou-tan-chiang Cement Factory, in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 2, 11 February 1966, pages 28-32.]

I am a stoker in the Mou-tan-chiang Cement Factory. Since 1958 I started to study Chairman Mao's works. In these years, comrades in my Party cell and myself have studied Mao Tse-tung's thought and have applied it to our work. We have brought the philosophical views found in "On Contradictions" into the cement kilns and reaped results in production.

MEN ARE DECISIVE FACTOR IN
PRODUCTION IN CEMENT KILNS

I started studying Chairman Mao's works while having the problem of how to understand and solve the question of the relationship between men and the kiln.

In 1951 I started to learn the work as a stoker. In 1954 the leadership told me to hold the job independently. At that time, I felt the responsibility to be very heavy because the success or failure in keeping the kiln running in a proper way had a decisive effect on the quality and quantity of the cement output. We, the stokers, directly

controlled the cement kilns. The Party entrusted to me this heavy responsibility and made me mighty proud. I decided to do a good job of this, and not to fail the Party and the state which had confidence in me.

But, at that time, what I thought and what I did never matched each other. I did not spare myself any effort, but the work was not done as I wished. A good fire going today could turn to be a bad one tomorrow. Sometimes a good fire for this hour may turn bad the next hour. I was almost out of breath all day long and still plagued by troubles from time to time.

One day, after I took over the job, the kiln temperature maintained a normal level for three or four hours on a stretch. Later, it rose slightly and I made some adjustments in the coal supply. But the temperature kept on rising and I was at a loss of what to do and was afraid of doing anything. In less than an hour's time the kiln was finally ruined. And I got the blame.

At that time, I was at once worried and feeling guilty, regretting that I did not study diligently enough while still an apprentice. Later on I was to find myself not the only one worried. Two old hands were also throwing their hands up in air when such difficult conditions

arose. Some people said: "Cement kilns are a peculiar thing. You take chances like a blind cat hit by a dead mouse. If you have no luck, you could work yourself to death without getting the place in shape." I was always a slave to the job because I never mastered the production laws of the cement kilns.

In 1958, under the guidance of the General Line of socialist construction in our country, the Great Leap Forward Movement was shaping up. At that time, the Party organization led us in our studies of Chairman Mao's works and studies of the General Line of socialist construction of the Party. In the process of these studies, first of all, I was made aware that men were the topmost precious element among all the things and events in the world. If the active factor of human beings can be fully mobilized, socialist construction can be carried on in accordance with the principle of "much, fast, good, and thrifty".

Work is done by men. Roads are trodden into existence by the feet of humans. It takes men to destroy the old order and it also takes men to build a new world. The hourly output of the cement kiln of our factory was raised from about a dozen tons to 29 tons. Wasn't this made possible by the decisive factor of men? After thinking of all these I was

encouraged and was not afraid to fight the kiln. If I could not win today, I shall fight again tomorrow and will eventually win the battle.

But, how do I go about fighting this battle. Chairman Mao said: "A military leader cannot attempt to win a war beyond what material condition would permit. However, he can and must fight for victory in a war within the limitations of material conditions." ["Strategic Issues of the Chinese Revolutionary War," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol 1, People's Publishing Company, 1952, second edition, page

175.] This view advanced by Chairman Mao was completely applicable to cement kilns production. To fight with the kiln, we must be courageous and must know how. In other words, we must possess revolutionary fervor as well as a scientific attitude. First of all, we must respect our enemy. Fight it without respecting and paying proper attention to it it would be a blind struggle which would end in defeat. If one merely respects and only pays attention to the enemy without attempting to fight it, he will never be the master.

Comrades of my Party cell and myself use Mao Tse-tung's thought as a weapon to devise ways to strengthen the ventilation at the end of the kiln in order to raise output. With strong support from the Party committee, we also made changes

here and there regarding the operations of the kiln, strengthen ventilation and raise the hourly output from 29 tons to 33 tons.

The above experience gave us a first taste of the truth that men should be masters of the kiln which was only a means of production. Certain material conditions are essential but the quality of the output, after all, was decided by men and not by the kiln. Fully mobilized human initiatives can constantly change the kiln in the process of putting theories into practice, make better use of the kiln, and constantly raise output.

CHECK, DEVELOP EXPERIENCES THROUGH WORK

Ever since we first raised the cement kiln's hourly output through the improvement in ventilation at the end of the kiln, we have tried to repeat that production increase by strengthening the ventilation. But after a number of repetitions ventilation increases not only would not bring with it higher output, but actually a lower volume in production. I was much confounded to find that a once sure-fire method later turned sour. After long hours of thought and study, I was still in the dark.

For a clear answer to this question, I reached out for "On Practices". "The change in the objective real world

has no end; and human understanding of the truth through the process of work and practice also knows no end." [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol 1, page 284.] As I understand it, Chairman Mao meant that the objective world is constantly changing and developing; and the cognitive process and understanding of man must also change and develop as the objective world constantly evolves instead of always staying the same. Chairman Mao's words enabled us to find the root of the problem.

The reason that increased ventilation at the end of the kiln could raise hourly output was the fact that it then matched the air circulation at the entrance of the kiln. Just like the way we heat the brick "kang" bed. When the chimney is stopped, the air flows backward. When too much air is sent in the flame is sucked into the kang compartment of the set up. Only when ventilation and air supply is just right the heating can be done properly. Returning to our kiln, if we should consider the increase in kiln-end air supply to be the only way to raise output and exploit it endlessly, regardless of other conditions, the result would be elongated flames, lowered temperature, diseconomy in the use of the heat. Ventilation at kiln end is related and tied in with

air circulation at the entrance of the kiln. One end should not go beyond the limit set for it by the other. Or else, the operation would go out of adjustment, and directly affect the length of the flames and the rate of burning. After finding this out, we also increased the air current flow and improvement in production ensued.

This episode also demonstrated to us that to gain real experience in the actual production process we must adopt an analytical approach. All things happen under a given set of conditions which never stays constant and unchangeable. When we make use of these experiences and findings, we must be careful to constantly check and verify them during the work and practice process, and further develop and enrich them with new experiences and finding gained in the work and practice process. To apply all experiences as if they are panaceas to an objective world regardless of how the latter changes; and to forget about continuous development and enrichment of these experiences during the work and practice process lead us to the pitfalls of empiricism. Even good experience could bring bad results. And successful experiences may actually become a factor leading to failure.

OVERALL INTERESTS TAKE PRECEDENCE
THEN FULL DEVELOPMENT FOR PARTS

To increase cement kiln production, we must not only solve the problem involving man-kiln relationship. More importantly, we must also solve the question involving human relations. This is so because of the special characteristics of cement kiln production. Cement kiln production involves dozens of machines connected together and three shifts of workers. The start and conclusion of one shift after another are related and in a sense in conflict with each other. During the production process the relationship between the main machines and accessory machines, between one shift and another involve conflict. For instance, one shift might like to raise the temperature of the kiln in order to speed up production when that shift is on. The result is: one shift burns the fuel and two other shifts spend time to service the kiln; one shift finishes its assignment, and the two others cannot do the same. There is even the danger of ruining the kiln.

Should this become a regular practice, not only would the output suffer, the relationship between the three shifts would turn sour. This, I feel, is due mainly to the lack of understanding on the part of some people of the idea

of "all is in one chess game." Some people think of a question only in reference to their own shift and how it can finish its work. They would not think of the three shifts as a whole in production.

In order to solve this problem, comrades of my group and myself gathered together to study Chairman Mao's works which dealt with the relationship between the part and the whole. These studies convinced us that the parts should pay obeisance to the whole because without the whole the parts would not be able to stand alone no matter how good they are individually. But, on the other hand, the whole is made up of various parts. If these parts are not good, wholesome and healthy, the whole naturally will not be so. If there is a way that would be feasible or desirable for the parts, but not applicable to the whole, then the parts should subordinate their interests to those of the whole. Conversely, if an idea appears infeasible for the parts but feasible for the whole, the parts should also yield to the whole in making the choice. Therefore, we should place the whole above others and under that premise develop parts as fully as it is possible. We must correctly solve the problems involving the relationship between the parts and the whole in order to make productive efforts a success.

During the study sessions, first of all, we reviewed our mistakes of not recognizing the interest of the whole. Thinking of one's own shift only and often disregarding the interests of the entire three shifts is a reflection of the narrowness of a small producer's mind. This is not consistent with the needs of large-scale production under socialism. Our comrades after these studies have re-examined their concepts and improved their understanding. Some of them said: "Our three shifts are on the same production post, use the same viewer and the same kiln. We are after the same objective. We should not confine our sight to an individual group, but must broaden our concern to the whole shop and the whole factory. We must see the close relationship between our production on the one hand, and socialist revolution and socialist construction on the other. Thinking only about the assignment of one's own shift and forgetting the assignment of the whole factory is a mistake and is petty!"

After studying Chairman Mao's works, we have broadened our sight. We have firmly established the viewpoint that we should pay greater attention to the kiln, and to the whole. Things which benefit our own shift but are detrimental to the whole we will refrain from doing.

Things that are beneficial to the whole but not to one's own shift we will go ahead and do them. This way the unity between the three shifts is strengthened. We also paid attention to the problem of the timetable involving starts and ends of various shifts. Thereafter, the order of starting and concluding shifts have run as smoothly as a thread which binds the three shifts closely together. And they help each other and cooperate with each other closely and harmoniously. The result has been improved production.

PROMOTE ADVANCED ELEMENTS AND
OVERCOME REACTIONARY FACTORS

As production advanced, our group took on a new image and has been praised as an advanced group in the Province and in the city. However, during the 1964 campaigns of emulating the Liberation Army and learning from Ta-ch'ing our group fell behind the Electrical Group in such matters as instrument and tool maintenance and the responsibility system. At first, we were not overly worried. Some comrades said: "We are richly endowed, and have a good foundation. As long as our output is good, what are we worried about?" When the Party Committee called on the whole factory to learn from the Electrical

Group, we were quite cool about it. We tried to compare our strong points with the past drawbacks of the other group. We would not compare with others in such matters as revolutionary fervor or ideology. Such self-satisfied attitude was soon reflected on production. Our superiors require that the average trouble free period of cement kiln operation period stay at the 60 day level. In 1963, our cement kiln had two 80-day safe and trouble-free operation periods. But in 1964, safe operations were twice interrupted and the two periods extended only to 46 and 55 days respectively.

These developments awakened us to the seriousness of the situation and prompted us to turn to Chairman Mao's works immediately for help. Firstly, we studied "On Contradictions" and gained the understanding that anything can be "divided into two." The Electrical Group changed its rating from a low to a high because they were courageous enough to uncover their own mistakes and contradictions, to analyze them; and with a reservoir of revolutionary spirit ceaselessly urging them to move forward and constantly guarding them against self-satisfaction, they faced their own

achievements and drawbacks squarely and honestly. Our group moved the other way because we did not follow the road pointed out by the thought of Mao Tse-tung; because we let achievements get into our head, and let difficulties overwhelm us.

We also studies such articles as "On Correcting Erroneous Thoughts in the Party," and engaged in criticism and self-criticism. Consciously, we discuss ideology, and examine ourselves for pride and self-satisfaction as well as reactionary and isolationist ideas. Someone said: "After two setbacks in production, you uncovered a great deal of ideological troubles. Isn't the advanced group going to the dogs?" However, we all disagreed with this assessment and think it was wrong. Chairman Mao has told us: "If there is no contradictions inside the Party or ideological struggle to solve these contradictions, the life of the Party will cease." ["On Contradictions," "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 1, page 294.] The question of whether or not we should uncover our contradictions and troubles is in fact the question of whether or not we should continue to carry on the revolution. To uncover drawbacks and weaknesses in ideology and in work can only lead to improvement of the group. Drawbacks and weaknesses are roadblock on the

path to progress. If you do not move them away, they will trip the group and cause its downfall. After discussing this problem, our group overcame the idea that "we should not wash our dirty linen in public." And we treated problems of production with all seriousness and overcame them to improve output.

MOBILIZE HUMAN INITIATIVE TO TRANSFORM
UNFAVORABLE CONDITIONS INTO ADVANTAGES

Past experiences indicated to some people that after a long period of safe operation, a cement kiln will then have a short operation period. "A long one and a short one", according to these people, is the "law" governing kiln operations. A long safe operation period following another is impossible, they say. With this issue in mind, I went to Chairman Mao's discussions of development laws and analyzed operational conditions of cement kilns. In the past several years cement kilns indeed operated along the wavy pattern of "a long one and a short one", or "a long one and several short ones". There was no long safe operation periods following each other. Therefore, this, in some people's mind, seems to be a "law". But, if we only go deeper into specifics of long and short operation periods, we can see clearly that "a long one and a short

one," or "a long one and several short ones" are not inevitable. For instance, under the same material conditions, some operation periods were long and others short. Why these differences under identical conditions. After analyzing the situation, we have found that the most important factor affecting the length of safe operation periods is the human factor. Under the same material conditions, if man maintains and services the kiln with better care; makes more timely remedies when troubles occur then the safe operation period is longer. If maintenance and servicing work is poor and timely treatment is not given to newly arising troubles then, the operation period is shortened. This study caused us to make the decision to fight for longer safe operation periods.

Human initiative in production also takes the form of specific analysis of production conditions and efforts to turn disadvantages into favorable conditions. For instance, in 1964, our cement factory would like to try a new type of fire-proof brick in the kiln. Some people said that this type of brick had been tried by fraternal factories and had proved to be not suited for this purpose. Their kilns of new bricks went apart in a week's time. It would not

contribute to long safe operation. We took this question up and asked ourselves whether we could try this new type of fire-proof brick and how we should evaluate the failure of our fraternal factories. With the comrades of our group I started to study Chairman Mao's discussions on such questions as the interchange between the two opposing sides in a contradiction, and the question of how to take full advantage of human initiative. After these studies, we have gained the understanding that all things opposed to each other may interchange their status under given conditions. Failures may be turned into successes and vice versa. And subjective human initiatives are an important condition in this process. Therefore, we should also make specific analyses and give correct treatment to things which failed.

We, then, dispatched people to fraternal factories to study their use of this type of brick, and at the same time conducted a number of experiments ourselves. With a helping hand from technical personnel, we have found that this type of brick could not stand sudden heating, sudden cooling or abrasion. But it could stand rather high temperatures. The fireproof bricks we were using could stand sudden temperature changes, but was inferior with regard to high temperatures. We also found that our cement

kiln was characterized by a steady temperature operation with very few sudden temperature changes, and less abrasive materials. These led us to determine that the new type of fire-proof bricks could be used. In actual use we also alternated this new type and the type we were using in adjacent rows so that their strong points were combined, and their weaknesses canceled each other. This enabled us to achieve a safe operation period of 120 days in that same year.

* * *

We have been deeply convinced in the past several years that production is a great body of contradictions which change and shift in a thousand different ways. And the development process of production represents a process of changes and transformation of all these contradictions. These contradictions in production, reflected in different light, assume the form of contradictions between the right and the wrong; between the advanced and the backward; and between dialectics and metaphysics. As long as we study and make use of Chairman Mao's materialistic dialectic thought, we can correctly understand and solve these contradictions.

It is true that we have made progress in studying

Chairman Mao's works, in transforming our thought, and in raising production levels. But we are far from achieving adequacy. We are far from mastering completely the laws governing cement production. The operation period is still not stabilized. Many problems in production need to be solved. From now on, we must strive on further in our studies; in improving our work to cope with the needs of new situations, and new missions.

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TEN THOUSAND KILOMETERS AND ONE KILOMETER

[Following is a translation of an article by Chao Wei-hui (6392 4850 2585), squad leader of a certain transport company, Liberation Army, in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 2, 11 February 1966, pages 33-34]

As an ancient saying goes, "a thousand-li great dike is destroyed by an ant hole." How does a tiny little ant hole destroy a great dike? Because the maintenance crew think nothing of the little ant hole and are indifferent and careless. Indifference and carelessness are often an important reason for automobile accidents.

One December day last year, I went on a trip with new operator Yen Hung-hsin (7346 3163 2450). For his practical training, I let him drive the truck. Through main streets and side alleys, highways and mountain roads, all the way to the brick and tile plant, he was very steady in reversing, turning, and driving. We left the plant after loading the truck with bricks. The highway to the construction area was wide and smooth. A little tired, Yen Hung-hsin stopped the truck and asked me to drive. I felt that he could relax and rest as the steering wheel was in my hands and I had more than ten thousand kilometers of safe driving experience behind me. After a short distance, I saw more than twenty carts parked along both sides of the highway and the cart pullers resting under the trees. According to my experience, I decided that the cart pullers were not going to move around. So, I proceeded without reducing speed or sounding the horn. Unexpectedly, some one walked out from the back row of the carts. He panicked upon seeing the truck and ran toward the middle of the road. I twisted the steering wheel and slammed on the brake, and the truck hit the carts. Though there was no bodily injury, two carts were damaged, causing a loss to the state.

The accident happened after I had driven only one kilometer. Afterward, I pondered over the matter. How was it that I could drive safely for 10,000 kilometers but failed to do so for one kilometer? The answer was that, in the past, I was careful all the time. But this time, burdened with the idea of "10,000 kilometers of safe driving," I became careless and failed to be prepared for the unforeseen. I only saw the cart pullers resting but failed to consider the possibility of some one walking on to the highway. I made one calculation only, without any alternative. When the matter developed contrary to my expectations, I became confused and caused an accident.

As shown by the facts, that the "10,000-kilometer of safety" could transform into "one-kilometer of unsafety" is not surprising. Here, 10,000-kilometer and one-kilometer, safety and unsafety, are the unity of opposites. Without the safe driving of one kilometer by one kilometer, there can be no 10,000 kilometers of accident free driving. On the other hand, once one is burdened with the idea of "10,000-kilometer of safe driving" and loses one's vigilance, one may encounter danger in one kilometer.

Since then, I have been giving serious attention to safety. This year, I have driven more than 3,000 kilometers, but every time I put my hands on the steering wheel, I consider the road ahead as my first kilometer.

(Reprinted from Chieh-fang-chun Pao, 22 July 1965.)

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HOW THE "OLD PROCEDURE" WAS BROKEN
TIME AND AGAIN

[Following is a translation of an article by Wei Ch'in-sheng (7614 0530 3932) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung Ch'i (Red Flag) Peiping, No. 2, 11 February 1966, pages 34-35]

In the large dining hall of a certain regiment, one catty of soybeans produced two catties of bean curd. It was a "standing procedure" passed on from squad leader to squad leader, and Hsiung Yu-fang (3574 7183 5364), the new squad leader, followed suit. Though only two catties were produced out of one catty of soybeans, it was better than boiled beans. Hence, no one thought of changing or improving it.

Last May, the third company actually got four catties of bean curd out of one catty of soybeans! Amazed, Hsiung Yu-fang realized that one must not follow the old rules and procedures or consider them as immutable, and that one must have the spirit to break through them. Thus, he decided to emulate and catch up with the third company.

At the beginning, it was not smooth sailing. Not only the bean curd ground by them according to the third company's method did not increase in quantity, but it deteriorated in quality. The bean curd fell apart when cooked and tasted rather sour. They persevered for four more times, but the result was about the same as the first time. However, through the many failures, Hsiung Yu-fang discovered the reason for the sour taste of the bean curd. It was because the beans deteriorated when processed, though they were fresh to start with. After analyzing the matter, they thought that the deterioration most likely occurred while the beans were being soaked. They were soaked from 9 o'clock in the evening to 6 o'clock the following morning. They experimented with reducing the soaking time and came to the following conclusion. When soaked too long, the beans formed more froth, and the bean curd was small in quantity and sour;

when soaked not long enough, the beans formed more dregs and the bean curd was likewise small in quantity; the most ideal soaking time was three and one-half hours, when the surface of the beans was lustrous and smooth and the flat of the halves turned slightly concave. Hsiung Yu-fang began to wonder why the third company could produce large quantities of tasty bean curd after soaking the beans seven or eight hours. After investigating, he found that the beans used by it were larger. Thus, he discovered that, when learning the experience of others, one must not simply copy it as a whole, because all matters were different, and the concrete problems must be concretely analyzed.

However, they could only produce three and one-half catties of bean curd, still below the level of the third company. They continued to study the matter and discovered that they had put either too much, or too little, water in when grinding the beans. After further studying and experimenting, they found the proper ratio between the amount of beans and the amount of water. The quality of the grinder also affected the fineness of the bean juice. The better the grinder, the more frequently should the beans be added. The bean juice thus produced was fine and even, and the quantity of the bean curd large. They could produce more than four catties of bean curd out of one catty of beans.

They had reached the highest level of the unit and won the praises of the leaders and the comrades. Nevertheless, they were not satisfied, but continued to experiment and improve, knowing that others were improving all the time and would soon leave them behind. Thus, they further activated every one to summarize the experience, uncover the problems, think of the means, and aim at higher peaks.

They uncovered a new problem. In the past, the moment the juice boiled, gypsum was added, and it was difficult to be accurate. The mixture was either too hard or too soft. Was it possible to add gypsum after the mixture cooled off? They experimented on it again and changed their operation method.

The first time, the mixture was left to cool for ten minutes, when it got to about 90° C. The quantity of the bean curd increased, and the quality was fair.

The second time, it was left to cool for a longer period until it reached a lower temperature. There was a further improvement.

The third time, it was left to cool for more than 20 minutes, when it reached around 70° C. The quantity decreased, and the taste turned sour again. Why? Was it left too long?

The fourth time, the cooling interval and the temperature were identical with the third time, but the result was five and one-half catties of superior bean curd.

Amazing! Why was there such a big difference? They discovered that the third time, after adding gypsum, the mixture was left standing for more than two hours before pressed into bean curd, and

the filter cloth was not clean. Thereby they corrected the carelessness and inattentiveness in their work, and both the quantity and the quality of the bean curd became stable.

Recently, squad leader Hsiung Yu-fang became the bean curd processing technical instructor of the regiment. He is both a "teacher" and a "student," humbly learning the good points of his brother units and further improving their own operation method. Now, with the same grade of soybeans, they can produce six cattles of bean curd, creating the highest record in the unit. One can say that Hsiung Yu-fang has relatively mastered the freedom of bean curd processing.

(Reprinted from Chieh-fang-chun Pao, 29 October 1965.)

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TEND THE STORE COUNTER FOR THE PEOPLE
AND LEARN THE SKILLS IN PRACTICE

[Following is a translation of an article by Yang Chin-yu (2799 3866 3842), sales clerk of the variety goods retail department, Fang-chih-ch'eng store, Hsi-an Municipal Consolidated Retail Corporation, in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 2, 11 February 1965, pages 36-41]

Serving the People as a Sales Clerk with One's Whole Being

After graduating from senior middle school in 1961, the labor unit wanted me to do commerce work. Receiving the notice, I felt a chill in my heart. What future was there in buying and selling and receiving customers with a smile all day long? A relative also advised me against it, because, he said, the least bit of carelessness would result in undeserved blame. His words made me more restless. After I was assigned as a bookkeeper at the variety goods retail department of the Fang-chih-ch'eng store, I saw the dozen volumes of accounts and felt dizzy. I was unhappy and had no energy in my work. Unable to control myself, I would weep in secret.

How could I continue like this? I must find a way to get out of it. I told my father my feelings. My father is a communist party member. He solemnly criticized me. I returned to my room and examined myself. I remembered the time when I joined the league. Standing before the portrait of Chairman Mao, I raised my hand and swore to obey the party's needs, serve the people with my whole being, and struggle to the final end for the communist cause. I remembered the leadership's minute concern over me and their eager hopes in me, and the encouragement of the teachers and friends in school. They urged me to subjugate my personal desire to the need of the country and guard against becoming captive to my personal interest. The more I pondered, the more embarrassed I became.

Upon learning my condition, the party general branch led me to study Chairman Mao's "Serving the People" and "in Memory of Bettume." I felt that many of his words were aimed at me. I deeply realized my error of the past and made up my mind to work successfully and sacrifice everything for the interest of the people.

Once my mind was clear, I would think of Comrades Chang Szu-te and Bettume when I saw the abacus and the figures, and could not but devote my full energy to my work. My fellow workers ridiculed me for my ineptitude with the abacus. Instead of being annoyed, I found that they were right. When a bookkeeper could not manipulate the abacus, it was like a soldier unable to use the gun. I learned from Comrade Ts'ui Kuei-hsien (1508 2710 6343), an old bookkeeper who worked with me. To give her more time to coach me, I helped pick up her child at the nursery. I practiced the abacus with my younger brother on Sundays, competing with each other, until my fingers were numb. To learn bookkeeping, I bought some books and spent one hour every morning studying them. I persevered in reading the bookkeeper's manual printed by the store several times a day until I memorized it word by word. Thus, with the concern of the leadership and the help of the comrades, I gained a preliminary knowledge in bookkeeping and could perform independent work.

Not long afterward, Comrade Ts'ui Kuei-hsien went away, and I had to do the work of two and was very busy. When I saw how the others joining bookkeeping work the same time as me all worked together with old bookkeepers and did not have to work very hard, while I had no time to rest or attend the movies, I became restless again. Knowing that it was wrong to feel this way, I sought instructions in Chairman Mao's works and studied "in Memory of Bettume" repeatedly. Chairman Mao said: "Many people are irresponsible toward their work, choosing the light and avoiding the heavy, shifting the heavy burden to others while reserving the light for themselves. In face of a matter, they think of themselves first and others afterwards." (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, volume 2, page 653, People's Publishing House, 1952, second edition). I realized that, if one wished to serve the people, one must not think of oneself in everything, but must think of the collective, the people, at all times and in all matters. This was especially so with us young people in the process of gaining knowledge and undergoing steeling. If we did not voluntarily undertake the heavy burden, how could we improve? Thereafter, I worked gladly overtime until two or three o'clock in the morning when the work was rushed. If I did not finish my work of the day, I could not sleep well.

Being a new recruit on the commerce line, I did not make much achievement, but was adjudged by my comrades as a store bookkeeper model soldier and an advanced worker in 1963, and subsequently elected by the league organization to attend the Communist Youth League

Ninth National Congress. On 11 June 1964, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Chairman Mao and other party and state leaders received the delegates and had a group picture taken. It was a day which I shall never forget in my whole life and the starting point of my revolutionization. When Chairman Mao walked near me, I was so moved that I broke into tears. I shouted with all my might: "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao!" I grew up under the red banner. Since the day I joined the youth vanguard, I hoped for the day when I could see our revered Chairman Mao. But when my hope came true and I saw Chairman Mao, I felt ashamed in my heart, finding that I had done nothing worth reporting to him. I made a secret pledge to him: "Chairman Mao, hereafter, be it wind or rain, fire or water, I shall follow the party, follow you. Even if I should sacrifice my life, I shall raise high the red banner of the revolution."

After returning from Peking, I made a thorough examination of my work. In "on Practice," Chairman Mao said: "Rational knowledge depends on sensory knowledge." (Ibid., page 280). As a little intellectual coming out of school and sitting in an office, I possessed neither rational, nor sensory, knowledge of commerce work. I must begin with sensory knowledge. Thus, I was determined to serve as a sales clerk on the front line. Upon the approval of my application by the leadership, I officially became a sales clerk in the cosmetics section in November of 1964.

One day, hearing that I had seen Chairman Mao in person, an old lady in her fifties came specially to the store, walked to my counter, took hold of my hand, and asked warmly: "You are such a young girl and yet you've seen Chairman Mao! How is his health?" I immediately replied: "Chairman Mao is healthy, very healthy." The old lady gazed at me for a long moment and said: "You have seen Chairman Mao. You must work properly hereafter!" The hopes of the people deeply impressed me. I thought in my mind: "Old lady, set your mind at ease. I shall serve as a sales clerk successfully all my life!"

Familiarizing Oneself with the Merchandise, Understanding the Customers, and Learning the Basic Skills

Being new at the counter, I was ignorant of everything and ran into many difficulties. Often I could not answer the customers' inquiries. When they asked about the taste of the toothpaste or the scent of the soap, I could only say: "I don't know." Some of them would walk away dissatisfied. I felt uncomfortable. Why couldn't I do my work well? It was mainly due to my ignorance of the merchandise. Hence, the only way was to learn the business diligently, so that I could serve the customers more efficiently.

How should I learn the business and familiarize myself with the merchandise? At the beginning I thought that a period of study in the commerce school would solve the problem. My mind went round in circles for a long time. Later on I recalled what Chairman Mao said. He said: "Book learning is study, and application is also study, and a more important one at that." ("The Strategy of China's Revolutionary War," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, volume 1, page 174). He also said: "All true knowledge has its source in direct experience." ("On Practice," op. cit., volume 1, page 276). According to his teachings, I should learn on the front line of commerce, learn the merchandise in practice, and train myself in the basic skills in practice.

The cosmetics section handles over 500 varieties of merchandise. It was, of course, not easy to know them all at one time. Nevertheless, in spite of the great varieties, there were the important and the secondary items from their marketing condition. Thus, I first studied the more popular toothpastes, soaps, ointments, etc., before the less popular colognes and powders.

After my study and practice, I discovered six study methods:

1. Collecting the merchandise explanatory pamphlets and wrappings and studying them. I collected the explanatory material and wrappings of more than 80 varieties of toothpastes and soaps. Some comrades laughed at me for being childish and collecting odds and ends. Later on, when they found out my purpose, they thought that I was right.

2. Soliciting the opinions of customers and learning from them. For example, I would ask a customer the taste of a toothpaste used by him. After many similar inquiries, I became familiar with the characteristics of the different brands.

3. Purposely choosing different varieties of merchandise for my own use, in order to learn through personal experience and know the functions of the various items.

4. Seeking instructions from the producing plant in case of merchandise difficult to become familiar with, especially the new items. One time, a new variety of translucent laundry soap, with the "fan" trademark, arrived. It cost .43 yuan per bar, which was higher than the common varieties and lower than the scented ones. While some customers would buy four or five bars at one time, others asked why laundry soaps should be so expensive. I wrote to the factory. The factory, in its reply, explained that this variety of laundry soap was a new product made with the same raw material as the scented soap but a little less scent essence, and that it could be used as a scented soap. Thereafter I could explain its characteristics to the customers. I wrote, at different times, to such units as the Shanghai Soap Manufacturing plant, the Tientsin Scented Soap plant, and the China Chemical Industry Association, and received satisfactory replies, thus gaining much merchandise knowledge.

5. Learning from other sales clerks. All the comrades of our cosmetics section had their special good points. Some could tell the price of the different varieties of toothpaste without looking at the price tag; others were rapid and neat when setting up displays. They were all models of my study.

6. Studying books on merchandise knowledge in conjunction with the practical. In the past, as I did not link up the books I studied with the practical, I did not know how to apply the knowledge learned by me. I knew that there were different types of scent, but, when I saw a piece of scented soap, I could not classify it. Subsequently, I linked up the book knowledge with the merchandise, and applied it when receiving customers. Learning and applying at the same time, I could remember what I learned.

How can a sales clerk determine the variety of merchandise best suited to the customer's need? This reminded me of the relationship between the toothpaste and the teeth and the different purposes of the different varieties of toothpaste. A doctor must prescribe the proper medicine for the particular disease. Couldn't we sales clerks do the same? I thought of Chairman Mao's words in "Anti-Pedagogism." He said that we must "learn from Confucius and ask about everything." (Selected Readings of Mao Tse-tung, edition A, page 28, People's Publishing House, 1965, second edition). So, I asked the leadership to write a letter of introduction and took it to see an experienced old physician in the Fang-chih-ch'eng staff and workers' hospital. The physician patiently explained to me that toothpastes could be generally classified into two types, one to prevent decay and the other to prevent corrosion. With this in mind, I could recommend the different types of toothpaste to the customers according to their needs.

From the above instance, I realized deeply that, as long as one was sincere in serving the people, one would always receive eager support wherever one went. This realization promoted my ceaseless progress.

In his talk entitled "How to Play Table Tennis," Comrade Hsu Yin-sheng (1776 1377 3932) said that all his technique was obtained "wholesale" from others. Similarly, my merchandise knowledge was also obtained "wholesale" from others -- from the customers, the sales clerks, and the plants. Now, when I think of the process of my study, from ignorance to relative familiarity, I find that it was the process of developing from the realm of inevitability to the realm of freedom. When I was ignorant of the merchandise and the functions of a sales clerk and did not know the answers to the customers' inquiries, my mind was tense, my work was passive, and I felt uncomfortable at the counter. I gained some "freedom" after acquiring some knowledge and learning the work. I was able to relax and answer the cus-

tomers easily. One time, when the store was out of a certain brand of toothpaste wanted by a customer, I was able to recommend a different brand of the same scent and satisfy him.

To understand the merchandise is one aspect in the work of the sales clerk. The other aspect is that he must analyze and understand the customer's needs. As the customers differ in occupation, age, sex, and place of origin, their preferences also vary. A customer may not like what the sales clerk likes. If the sales clerk recommends only what he himself likes, he may commit the errors of subjectivity and prejudice. Hence, one must always keep the characteristics of the customers in mind and consider their different needs. For example, our store cater mainly to textile workers and their families and suburban farmers, who are different in their personal characteristics. Even among the staff and workers, the needs of the younger persons and the older persons vary. The older staff and workers mostly prefer famous brand and better quality items, while the new ones, especially the women, like inexpensive items of good quality, and sometimes give attention to the packaging as well. In view thereof, one must be versatile and flexible and recommend the proper items to the particular customers, instead of showing all the merchandise without discrimination. One must also adjust to the individuals and the time, according to the time available, the knowledge of the customer, whether the customer can make up his mind, and whether the items are known or new brands. Only when the sales clerk masters the purchase habits of the customers will he be able to satisfy their needs when recommending merchandise, reduce the time of the transaction, and improve the work efficiency.

Improving One's Own Service Attitude

The purpose of familiarizing oneself with the merchandise and understanding the customers' needs is to serve the customers more efficiently. The party organization asks us to be voluntary, eager, sincere, and patient towards the customers, because the attitude of the sales clerk represents the concern of the party and the government for the people. Therefore, the sales clerk's attitude is an important matter. We must ceaselessly improve our service attitude and bring closer the relations between the party and the government and the people.

As a sales clerk receives customers in front of the counter all year long, some times conflicts are unavoidable. According to my observations, there are three types of such conflicts. One type originates from the sales clerk. Due to various reasons, he may not be concentrating, or he may be careless and fail to handle the problems of the customer properly, causing the latter's dissatisfaction. The second type comes from the customer. Some customers fail to give

consideration to the work of the sales clerk and make unreasonable demands, or they insist on returning merchandise without cause, in disregard of the interest of the state, making it difficult for the sales clerk. The third type involves the fault of both sides.

How should such conflicts be solved? In the past, I always thought that both sides should be responsible. I changed my view after studying "on Conflict." The sales clerk serves the customer. As long as the sales clerk has the idea of serving the people with his whole being and a good service attitude, the conflicts between him and the customers can be solved. Thus, I realized that a sales clerk must improve his service attitude in the following aspects:

1. The sales clerk must devote himself entirely to his work, and he must not entertain personal feelings when receiving customers. The moment he steps to the counter, a sales clerk must constantly keep in mind that his service attitude is an important matter affecting the relations between the party and the government and the people; he must receive the customers voluntarily, eagerly, sincerely, and patiently.

2. In case of conflicts between the sales clerk and the customer, the sales clerk must be strict toward himself and voluntarily re-examine his own service attitude.

3. In case of shortcomings on the part of the customer, the sales clerk must give him consideration and explain patiently, so that the problem can be solved properly.

Investigating and Studying, and Improving Ceaselessly

At the counter, sometimes one is busy and other times not. Is there a pattern? I sought instructions from Chairman Mao. He said that, in regard to a certain problem, "if you make a thorough and clear investigation, you will have the method of solution. All conclusions come at the end of investigation, not at the beginning." ("Anti-Pedagogism," op. cit., page 28). To find out the pattern of counter work, on 6 May 1965, I devoted my holiday to observation and collecting statistics. On this day, our small sales team received 860 person-times, at a ratio of 100 men to 180 women, and grossed 260 yuan, averaging more than .30 yuan per transaction. By dividing the sales receipts of a certain period with this average, I could make an estimate of the number of customers for the period. According to summer hours, most customers come to the store between 8:30 and 10 a. m., between 11 a. m. and 1:30 p. m., and between 6 and 8:30 p. m. Such observations served as a reference when organizing commodity sources, assigning duties, and arranging the shifts. Of course, this was only a beginning of my effort to investigate. Hereafter, I shall follow Chairman Mao's teachings and carry out more investigations, in order to furnish a scientific basis for the arrangement of our work and make our work more voluntary.

As the sales clerks of the socialist commerce, we must not limit our work to delivering the merchandise with one hand and receiving the payment with the other. We must also serve as the eyes and ears of the plants, develop our effect as a "bridge" and a "link," and help the state master the conditions of supply, production, and marketing, in order to solve the conflicts encountered in business.

In the latter part of December 1964, I carefully surveyed the marketing conditions of the 20 varieties of products made by the Shanghai Soap Manufacturing plant and discovered that the trading on some was brisk and on others slow. The customers complained about the packaging, scent, etc. I reported their opinions to the plant by letter, so that it would understand the customers' needs, arrange its production, and improve the quality.

A sales clerk must also start from the interest of the revolution and give constant attention to the political direction of his work. During one period, to lower the retail minimum, our cosmetics section changed the nail polish selling at 2.40 yuan per bottle to .01 yuan per polishing. Some young woman textile workers would come to the store to paint their nails red. Thinking it over, I found that, as sales clerks of the socialist commerce, we were primarily revolutionaries, and we must not disregard everything for the sake of business. It was not a question of money, but an unhealthy sign for the woman workers to paint their nails for .01 yuan per time. We handle nail polish mainly to supply the need of performers. Therefore, we suggested to the leadership to have this new retail minimum abolished. It has enabled us to realize that, when working at the counter, we must not facilitate the bourgeois ideology in its corruption of the young people.

I began to study Chairman Mao's works in 1961. Every time I open his books, I seem to feel him standing before and looking at me. Hereafter, I shall listen to his words, apply whatever I learn, adhere to his teachings, reform my thinking, do my work successfully, and be a true red sales clerk.

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WU HAN'S BOURGEOIS VIEW OF HISTORY

[Following is a translation of an article by Ma Yen (7456 1484) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 2, 11 February 1966, pages 42-51]

Can Comrade Wu Han's (0702 2498) "Self-Criticism concerning the Resignation of Hai-jui" be considered as "self-criticism?" No. It is a defense of the Resignation of Hai-jui. Not only a defense, but a counter-attack. It has again proved how stubbornly Comrade Wu Han persists in the bourgeois political and academic views.

The play entitled the Resignation of Hai-jui cannot be overlooked. It loudly proclaims the innermost feeling of the bourgeoisie. It is a reflection of the anti-Marxist and anti-socialist trend.

Nor must its significance be underestimated. The great debate surrounding it is a struggle to promote the proletarian and eliminate the bourgeois.

One important aspect of the struggle is to reveal and criticize Comrade Wu Han for persisting in and spreading the bourgeois view of history. The most fundamental point of such a view is the opposition to the use of the Marxist class struggle theory to examine history. Comrade Wu Han carries through this point in his description of the feudal society and evaluation of the historical figures.

Today, all types of anti-Marxist-Leninist individuals are advocating the fallacy of obliterating the class conflict and reconciling the class struggle. That those among our history scholars subscribing to the bourgeois world philosophy should sing in the same tune is not incidental.

We must, in our study of history, raise high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the Mao Tse-tung ideology, adhere to the class struggle theory, and thoroughly criticize the bourgeois view of history.

Is the History of the Feudal Society the History of the Class Struggle?

Purposely obliterating the class struggle is the core of Comrade Wu Han's bourgeois view of history. According to him, when the feudal society replaced the slavery society, the landlord class was a progressive force and should not be criticized; the First Emperor of Ch'in, Emperor Wu of Wei, the First Emperor of T'ang, and Emperors K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung of Ch'ing reigned in "eras of prosperity," constituted the "bright side of the history" of China, and should not be criticized. (Study, pages 301 and 267, Pei-ching Publishing House, 1953 edition). He asserts: "unlike what some people maintain -- that the entire history was an age of man-eat-man, one should say that there were both dark and bright eras in history." (Under the Lamp, page 191, San-lien Bookstore, 1960 edition).

"Man-eat-man" is a display of the class exploitation and class oppression. In the feudal society, under the ruthless exploitation of the landlord class, the laboring people, primarily the peasants, were either slaughtered or tormented, and could never escape from the fate of being "eaten." As early as in the eve of the "May-Fourth Movement" [1918], when he was still a democrat, Lu Hsun exposed the "man-eat-man" essence of the feudal system in the Diary of a Mad Man: "I open the history book to check, but this history book has no years written in it; the words 'love, righteousness, and morality' are written in a crooked hand on each page. Since I cannot sleep anyway, I spend half the night examining it carefully, and finally discover the words in between the lines. The words 'man-eating' are written in the entire volume!" (Complete Works of Lu Hsun, volume 1, page 12, People's Literature Publishing House, 1959 edition). During the May-Fourth Movement period, the radical democrats, with a fearless spirit, revealed the "man-eating" essence of the feudal system in between the lines of "the whole duty of man; love, righteousness, and morality." It was their anti-feudal revolutionary spirit.

Whether an individual admitted that the "man-eat-man" system was the feudal system and whether he opposed it constituted an important criterion to determine whether he was revolutionary or counter-revolutionary in the May-Fourth Movement period. Comrade Wu Han, who has been bragging about his being "dissatisfied with the big landlords and sympathetic to the peasants" ever since he was a child, cannot even tolerate the anti-feudal spirit of the bourgeois radical democrats! What kind of sentiment does he entertain?

Was the ascendant feudal system not a "man-eat-man" system? Should it not be criticized? Historical materialism never denies the progressive effect of any exploiting system in its ascendant period; it even makes the only scientific explanation of such effect. Nevertheless, it does not imply that the class conflict and class struggle

did not exist in such periods. Whether from the slavery system to the feudal system, or from the feudal system to the capitalist system, it was always a new exploiting system replacing an old one. Any exploiting system, whether in its ascendant or declining period, contains the struggle between the exploited and the exploiter. Where there are landlords, there are peasants who curse them; where there is feudalism, there are peasants who resist it. This is the law of the class struggle. No matter how Comrade Wu Han ridicules those "who shout 'down with all the slave masters, feudal lords, and bourgeoisie' in history the moment they see them," the facts of the class conflict and class struggle in the class society cannot be changed.

In the historical development process of the feudal society, certain relatively economically prosperous periods did appear. However, even in such relatively "prosperous" periods, the exploitation and the "man-eat-man" essence of the feudal system remained unchanged, and the class conflict and class struggle did not disappear because of the "prosperity." On the contrary, such "prosperity" was built on the foundation of exploiting and oppressing the peasant masses and premised on exploitation and oppression. Engels wrote: "Since the foundation of civilization is the exploitation of one class by another, its entire development is pursued in a constant conflict. Each step of progress made in the realm of production signifies a step backward in the living conditions of the exploited class, viz., the majority of the people. The benefit of one class is inevitably the misfortune of another." (The Origin of the Family, the Private Ownership System, and the State, page 170, People's Publishing House, 1954 edition). The serious error of Comrade Wu Han lies in his obliterating the class conflict and class struggle in the "periods of prosperity" of the feudal society and considering them as periods of enlightenment when the emperor loved the people and the people loved the emperor.

Comrade Wu Han sternly censures whoever pointing out the existence of the class struggle in the "ascendant periods" and "prosperous periods" of the feudal society, on ground that they are losing sight of the "bright side of history." He criticizes the many new history textbooks for always describing how bad the dynasties were and how the peasants overthrew them "as if history were one dark mass." (Study, page 267). According to him, the peasant uprising cannot be considered as the bright side of history; not only not bright, but downright dark! To praise the peasant uprisings and to condemn the dynasties are the same thing; both have the effect of obliterating the bright side and advocating the dark side. Yet, according to the Marxist viewpoint, it is precisely the contrary. What Comrade Wu Han considers as the "bright side" was precisely the dark side; what he considers as the "dark side" was precisely the bright side.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung declares: "The scale of the peasant uprisings and peasant wars in China's history is unseen in world history. In China's feudal society, only peasant class struggles, uprisings, and wars furnished the true impetus of the development of history, because each relatively big peasant war dealt a blow to the feudal rule of the time and thus more or less promoted the development of the social production force." ("China's Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, volume 2, page 619, People's Publishing House, 1952 edition). He also points out that such peasant uprisings "against the dark reign of the landlords and aristocrats" were the "glorious revolutionary tradition" of the nation. (Ibid., page 617).

The peasant uprisings were very bright! Wherever the peasant revolutionary force reached, tax payment to the government was stopped, labor conscription could not be enforced, and the landlord class suffered a severe blow. It was the true light shining through the dark feudal society.

To prove that the bright side of the feudal society was not the class struggle of the peasants against the landlords, but the class cooperation between the two, and to fabricate grounds for ^{the} class reconciliation theory, Comrade Wu Han does his best to exaggerate the conflict between the large landlords and bureaucrats and the middle and small landlords on the one hand, and advocates the so-called identity of interest between the middle and small landlords and the people and the theory that the "good emperors" and "honest bureaucrats" represented the interest of the middle and small landlords and the people and struggled against the large landlords. He declares that Chu Yuan-chang [the first emperor of Ming] "dealt a ruthless blow on a part of the large landlords; the political power of the House of Chu rested on the middle and small landlords and rich peasants; the main source of the members of his bureaucratic organs came from this stratum" (the Biography of Chu Yuan-chang, page 187, Sanlien Bookstore, 1965 edition); that Hai-juí "dealt a blow on the bureaucrats and landlords and defended the middle and small landlords, poor and middle peasants, and urban residents" (under the Lamp, page 195).

Back and forth, Comrade Wu Han substitutes the internal conflict in the landlord class for the class conflict between the peasant and landlord classes.

In the feudal society, conflicts did exist within the ruling class, e.g., between the strata and the levels, between the factions, between those in and those out of power, between the local and the central powers, between the local powers themselves, etc. Such conflicts were at times acute, requiring solution by the law court, the jail, or the troops. In such conflicts, the people were often turned into hapless sacrifices in large numbers. Then, how should we interpret them? The internal conflicts in the feudal ruling class, at the

very bottom, were all the conflict of interest within the landlord class and the fight for power to exploit and oppress the people. No matter how aggravated such conflicts became, the various strata and groups of the landlord class remained unanimous on the issue of oppressing the peasants. How, then, can the internal conflict in the landlord class be substituted for the conflict between the peasant and the landlord classes?

As pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "the major conflict in the feudal society is the conflict between the peasant and the landlord classes." ("China's Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, volume, page 619). The conflict between the two classes threaded through the entire history of the feudal society from beginning to end, never disappearing as a result of the "ascendant period" or interrupted as a result of the "prosperous period." This conflict was the fundamental conflict of the feudal society and could not be replaced by the internal conflict in the landlord class. The true impetus of the development of the feudal society definitely was not the internal struggle in the landlord class, but the class struggle between the peasant and the landlord classes. The history of the feudal society is the history of the exploitation and oppression of the peasant class by the landlord class, the history of the resistance of the peasant class against the exploitation and oppression of the landlord class, and the history of the class struggle between the two classes.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung declares: "In the class struggle, some classes succeed, and others perish. This is history, the civilization history of thousands of years." ("Discard Illusions; Prepare to Struggle," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, volume 4, page 1491, People's Publishing House, 1960 edition). Whether to admit or to deny that the civilization history is a class struggle history is the fundamental distinction between the proletarian and bourgeois views of history. Under the pen of Comrade Wu Han, the class conflict and the class struggle between the peasants and the landlords have vanished. He either conceals such conflict and struggle with the phenomenon of economic prosperity or replaces them with the internal conflict and struggle in the landlord class. It proves that what he follows in the study of history is an anti-Marxist bourgeois line, and the class reconciliation theory is the nerve center of this line.

Is the Policy of the Feudal Dynasty the "Super-Class" Policy?

To advocate the class reconciliation theory and whitewash the policies and representative figures of the feudal ruling class, Comrade Wu Han and those holding a similar view vigorously spread the enlightened "compromise policy" towards the peasants introduced by the feudal rulers and declare that Chu Yuan-chang "could accept the lesson of history and made some compromises to the peasants" (the Bio-

graphy of Chu Yuan-chang, page 300) and that the development of the social economy in the early years of West Han, East Han, T'ang, and Ming was the result of the "compromise policy" followed by the then rulers.

This is a distortion of the history of the class struggle.

In all cases in history, after a large scale peasant war and before the founding of a new dynasty, e. g., West Han, East Han, T'ang, and Ming, the situation faced by the feudal rulers was always economic depression and political instability. The landlord ownership system suffered a serious blow from the peasant revolution. In the process of the bloody suppression of the peasant uprising by the landlord class and the disorderly fighting among the groups in the said class, the social economy was greatly devastated. Though the large scale peasant uprising had been suppressed, its tail end had not completely calmed down, and some peasant rebels either still persisted in fighting or nursed their strength under cover for future opportunity. Some of the groups in the landlord class temporarily refused to obey the unified control of the new dynasty. At this time, the feudal ruler had to adopt all types of measures to extinguish the smoldering ashes of the peasant uprising, restore and consolidate the landlord ownership system, and re-install and re-enforce the order of the feudal reign. They realized clearly that the newly built ruler's mansion could not be stabilized otherwise.

The so-called "compromise policy" repeatedly advertised by Comrade Wu Han and others was basically not a "compromise" of the landlord class to the peasants, but the policy of the new dynasty to rally the entire landlord class. The so-called "tax reduction" or "exemption" was actually a special favor to the large and small landlords. This was true with the tax and rent reduction and exemption policy introduced by Emperor Wen of Han. (See the History of Ch'ien-Han, volume 8). By decree, Chu Yuan-chang specified that only active and retired officials could enjoy the privilege of reduction and exemption from labor conscription while others, especially the peasants, had the obligation "to serve the superiors" and were not included among those enjoying the privilege. (A Record of the First Emperor of Ming, volume 111). The introduction of such measures was an important factor for the new dynasty to acquire the confidence and support of the entire landlord class. As a result of such measures, the landlord class could "rest and produce" and recover its strengths, and the new dynasty could rely on it to strengthen its control of the peasants. Hence, the so-called "compromise policy" was a policy for the feudal ruler to readjust the internal relations in the landlord class, unify its class strength, and handle the peasants together.

The "benevolent reign" of the feudal dynasty was only for the landlord class, and not for the peasants. The feudal ruling class would never "accept the lesson of history" as a result of the peasant

revolution or change its class essence and treat the peasants with kindness and charity. On the contrary, after the failure of a peasant uprising, the feudal ruling class would always feel a deep seated resentment, insanely wage a class vengeance, and deprive the peasants of the fruits of victory won by them in the revolution. For example, the feudal ruler in the early years of East Han cruelly suppressed the peasant uprising and rewarded the officials according to the number of people killed by them. In the early years of Ming, peasant uprisings continued ceaselessly, and the rebel peasants arrested and killed by the "government army" numbered in the thousands and tens of thousands. Such ruthless class revenge was an inevitable measure adopted by all feudal dynasties established after a large scale peasant uprising. Such historical facts of bloody class revenge cannot be washed away by the fabricated "compromise policy theory."

True, the new rulers also introduced such measures as resettling those who fled their homes and encouraging land reclamation, but they were merely a means of fraud while the feudal ruling class was in the process of strengthening its suppression by force. It had to adopt such means in order to attain what it could not attain by force. When a dynasty was newly established, as the peasants had died or fled in large numbers in the war, many areas suffered a serious shortage of manpower, and the land was left idle. Without the objective of exploitation, the ruling class could not survive, not to mention the grave threat posed by peasants fled to and gathered in the mountain forests. In view of this condition, the ruling class adopted the policy of fraud, granting little kindnesses and little favors to induce the peasants to serve as the victims of its exploitation. Such measures were not a result of the benevolence or enlightenment of the rulers, or a "compromise policy" toward the peasants, but the means of control best suited to the conditions of the time discovered by the feudal ruling class. It was favorable to the landlord class, binding the peasants to the soil and deadening their revolutionary determination.

Each time after a storm of peasant uprising, the landlord class practiced the counter-revolutionary double policy of "benevolence and force" and again subjugated the peasants under its control and bondage. As the feudal power was seriously undermined by the peasant war and the landlord class had not yet completely recovered its vigor, the exploitation of the peasants in certain areas might differ slightly from before. Nevertheless, no matter when, the exploitation of the peasants by the landlord class was always the maximum possible within its power under the circumstances. For this very reason, with the growth of the ruling power of the landlord class, the exploitation suffered by the peasants would intensify in its cruelty, their production would encounter destruction, and the social economy would again sink into a grave crisis. At this time, the peasants would rekindle the beacon of rebellion.

When the ratio of strengths between the landlord and the peasant classes was favorable to the former, when the large scale peasant uprising had been suppressed and the peasant struggle ebbed, the landlord class would counter-attack the peasants, destroy their revolutionary power as rapidly as possible, and reenforce its exploitation to the maximum; it would never follow any "compromise policy." When the ratio was unfavorable, when it could not rule by the old patterns, it would, at times, adopt some round-about tactics, advancing by retreating, make partial changes of some of its ruling methods, deceive and drug the peasants, and try its best to undermine and extinguish the peasant revolutionary struggle. Such tactics constituted a part, a link, of the entire counter-revolutionary policy of the landlord class; they were not a "compromise" to the peasants. When practicing such tactics, the landlord class would never relax its suppression by force, but supplemented it with such tactics and prepared the conditions for a more ruthless exploitation of the peasants and a more vicious suppression of the peasant revolutionary force.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out: "The principle of the reactionary power toward the people's democratic force is to wipe out all that can be wiped out and prepare to wipe out in the future that which cannot be wiped out for the time being." ("Several Estimates of the Current International Situation," op. cit., volume 4, pages 1181-1182). The feudal rulers applied this same principle toward the peasant revolutionary force. Yet Comrade Wu Han arbitrarily insists that not only the feudal rulers did not adopt this principle toward the people, but followed the benevolent "compromise policy." Look, when the feudal rulers were so very kind, the peasants still wished to resist them and rebel! It was naturally "treacherous" and "punishable!"

Besides advocating the "compromise policy" of the landlord class, Comrade Wu Han also strives to prove that the "good emperors" and "honest bureaucrats" did many "good deeds," e. g., punishing the corrupt, restraining the rich and the power, undertaking water conservation, etc., and maintains that "such good deeds were identical with the long range interest of the feudal ruling class and the current interest of the exploited and oppressed large masses." (Spring, page 204). According to him, due to either their origin in "poverty," or their "uprightness by nature," or their "far-sight," in spite of the fact that they were emperors and bureaucrats, such "good emperors" and "honest bureaucrats" also served as "the people's representatives, doing two jobs at the same time." In sum, that the "good emperors" and "honest bureaucrats" were "good" and "honest" was because they defended the interest of the peasants and did "good deeds."

"Punishing the corrupt!" The emperor himself was the most corrupt of them all. Some times, the emperor would punish a few corrupt officials, because when the corrupt became too greedy, it would reduce the income of the imperial court and might even reach the stage of "forcing the people to revolt."

"Restraining the rich and the powerful!" The emperor was the richest and the most powerful of them all. Some times, the emperor would restrain a few rich and powerful individuals, because their conduct was unfavorable to the reign of the imperial court, and might even upset the stability of the emperor's throne.

The "honest bureaucrats" enforcing the will of the imperial court would some times resist certain "illegal conduct" of the corrupt bureaucrats and the rich and the powerful, but they would never oppose the "illegal conduct" of the landlord class. In fact, the "legal rights" and the "illegal conduct" of the landlord class could not be clearly demarcated, nor could they be fundamentally opposed, but mutable, relative, and mutually supplementary. When commenting on the Land Outline of the French Socialists in 1894, Engels once said: "We might ask the capitalists and the large landowners to reduce as much as possible the use of unjust means against the struggle of the small farmers and do everything possible to prevent the occurrence of excessively frequent direct plundering and fraudulent acts, but these can only be accomplished in exceptional circumstances. In the developed capitalist production pattern, no one can tell just where honest profit ends and unconscionable gain begins." ("The Peasant Problem of France and Germany," Selected Works of Marx-Engels, volume 2, page 436, People's Publishing House, 1958, two-volume edition). In the society of man-exploit-man, it is difficult to clarify where "honest" exploitation "ends" and where "unconscionable" exploitation "begins;" it is also difficult to clarify what is "legal" exploiting conduct and what "illegal." What is considered as "illegal conduct" today may become sanctioned by law tomorrow and turn into "legal rights;" today's "legal rights" may become abolished by law tomorrow while continuing to exist in reality. The "rich and powerful" and the "non-rich and powerful" landlords, "legal rights" and "illegal conduct," are themselves hardly distinguishable. In fact, the dividing line between the "legal" and the "illegal," as drawn by the "emperor's law," was mainly for the purpose of handling the peasants; it was "legal" for the landlords to exploit the peasants, but "illegal" for the peasants to resist them. As for the exploitation and oppression of the peasants, the landlord class was unable and unwilling to determine the realm within which it was "legal" and beyond, "illegal." As a member of the ruling class, how could the "honest bureaucrat" restrain all the corrupt, rich, and powerful and punish all the "illegal conduct?" When the "honest bureaucrat" who "executed the law thoroughly" punished a few corrupt, rich, and powerful, he was merely picking out a few scapegoats to spread the "fairness" of the "emperor's law" and the "enlightenment" of the emperor.

"Water conservation!" Naturally, in regard to developing the social production force, it was a good thing. However, a good thing must also be analyzed. Water conservation was, after all, carried out by the laboring people, and the credit should mainly go to them,

instead of to the "good emperors" and "honest bureaucrats." Furthermore, the purpose of water conservation was to satisfy the need of the landlord class and enable it to extort more rent, and to collect more taxes for the imperial court. As a matter of fact, all exploiting classes, from the slave owners to the bourgeoisie, for the purpose of greater exploitations, will always adopt certain measures to promote production. Some people may ask: When social production develops, **are the laboring people not also benefited?** Even when production develops, the laboring people do not necessarily benefit from it, because the exploiting class often seizes all the additional social wealth. At times, the laboring people may possibly receive a tiny share. Even so, why should they feel grateful to the ruler? The wealth created by the laboring people should be enjoyed by the exploiter, and any little bits and pieces left to the laboring people should be considered as the "great good deeds" of the exploiter! Such is the logic of Comrade Wu Han!

Without doubt, the different representative figures of the feudal ruling class produced different effects in history, and the different policies followed by them exercised a different influence on social production. Marxism will never wipe out the historical merits of policies adjusted to the need of social development and production promotion and the representative figures following such policies. Nevertheless, the policies enforced by the feudal rulers were definitely neither for the interest of the peasants, nor "super-class;" they could only be the class policies of the landlord class. Without exception, the emperors and bureaucrats enforcing such policies were the representatives of the landlord class, and their conduct would never contradict its interest and will. How could there have been the type of people who served both as the representatives of the landlord class and the "saviors" of the peasants?

A Sharp Class Struggle in the Realm of History

Since 1958, under the guidance of the policy that the study of history must serve the proletarian politics, our history circles have launched a revolutionary tide criticizing historical idealism with historical materialism, and the capitalist and feudalist conscious gestalt with the proletarian conscious gestalt. That history works and textbooks must break through the dynastic system and fully express the effect of the masses in history has become the common demand of many history workers. The emperors and generals, and the writers and scholars, formerly idolized by some people, have encountered revolutionary criticisms. In the process, while certain defects of simplification did occur, on the whole, a vigorous atmosphere of courage to break down the old traditions and leap out of the rut of our predecessors has appeared. The appearance of this situation is indivisible from the intensive development of the entire socialist revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "The birth of a new social system is always accompanied by loud shouts and uproars; it is to spread the superiority of the new system and criticize the backwardness of the old system." (The Socialist High Tide in China's Rural Village, volume 2, page 706, People's Publishing House). The stimulating and forceful revolutionary critical spirit in the history circles is an integral part of such loud shouts and uproars and serves the total goal of "spreading the superiority of the new system and criticizing the backwardness of the old system."

The bourgeoisie finds the great surge of the revolutionary spirit in the realm of history most distressing. By its class instinct, it knows full well the necessity of defending its battleground on the ideological and cultural fronts, and it resists and counter-attacks the revolutionary criticisms of the proletariat.

Why does the criticism of the feudal conscious gestalt produce such a violent reaction from the bourgeoisie? Why does the struggle between the capitalist and socialist paths in the realm of history deploy around the issue of the interpretation of the feudal society? The answer must be sought in the characteristics of the bourgeoisie.

When the bourgeoisie prosecuted its revolution, its advanced figures ruthlessly criticized the feudal society, feudal states, and feudal traditions. However, the conscious gestalt of the bourgeoisie and that of the landlord class are both of the exploiting class, with elements in common between them and a foundation for compromise. Therefore, when the bourgeoisie resists the proletariat, it must and can form an alliance with the feudal conscious gestalt. This attitude is determined by the essence of the bourgeoisie, and China's bourgeoisie is no exception, in spite of its special features. When resisting the proletarian conscious gestalt, China's "pre-natally inadequate and post-natally maladjusted" bourgeoisie often feel the paucity of material which can be bragged about or impressive. Meanwhile, the feudal conscious gestalt which has been passed down for thousands of years possesses a deep influence on the people. Therefore, in history, besides peddling certain reactionary theories of foreign bourgeoisies, it must seek help from the feudal conscious gestalt when pursuing anti-Marxist activities.

As early as during the May Fourth Movement period, when Marxism was first brought into China and the communists and radical democrats deployed a violent attack on the feudal civilization, the bourgeois rightists hanged out the signs of "Confucius and the Ancient" and "Eastern civilization," picking out certain items from the trash pile of history as the weapons against the revolution. When the Kuomintang reactionaries launched the counter-revolutionary "cultural encirclement extermination" and promoted the "New Life Movement," with "propriety, morality, modesty, and sense of shame" as its content, their court scholars again displayed the banner of "Revere Confucius and Read the Classics," extolled the feudal morality, and attacked Marxism.

After the founding of the nation, when pursuing anti-Marxist activities, the bourgeoisie continued to form an alliance with the feudal conscious gestalt. Since 1959, its activities have again developed to an extremely blatant degree. It utilized some temporary difficulties encountered by our country and started an anti-socialist ill wind. With the aggravation of the class struggle in the political and economic realms, the class struggle in the realm of the conscious gestalt also aggravated. The "theory of combining two into one," the "theory of the state of non-difference," the "theory of intermediate figures," the "theory of the harmlessness of ghosts," etc., etc. appeared one after the other, reverberating back and forth. It is precisely under this situation that Comrade Wu Han writes and expounds his theories, forbidding the criticism of the feudal system, the criticism of emperors and generals, the criticism of the feudal morality, and the interpretation of history with the Marxist class struggle theory. With the status of a historian, he has actively joined the anti-Marxist and anti-socialist chorus.

Not only thus, but Comrade Wu Han has also "broken through" and written such a play as the Resignation of Hai-jui. Is the play actually like what he declares in "Self-Criticism concerning the Resignation of Hai-jui" -- that it is "to be ancient for the sake of being ancient" and "severed from politics and from reality?"

Our great debate with Comrade Wu Han in the realm of history is an integral part of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths. The battleground of the science of history is similar to all other battlegrounds; if it is not occupied by the proletariat, it will be usurped by the bourgeoisie. We must raise high the great banner of revolutionary criticism of Marxism-Leninism and the Mao Tse-tung ideology and promote the proletarian ideology and eliminate the bourgeois ideology in the realm of history.

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A POOR PEASANT FAMILY

-- Vietnam Correspondence: "The Flower of the People's War Is the Reddest," No. 2*

[Following is a translation of an article by Wei Wei (7614 1550) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 2, 11 February 1966, pages 52-57]

The automobile suddenly starts to jolt in the night. By the faint moonlight, I can see more and more bomb craters outside. Some of the hill slopes have been shattered by bombs and the stones have rolled down and scattered over the road surface. Experience tells me that this is the focal point of enemy air-raid. Upon inquiry, I discover that it is Bridge W not far ahead.

"Oh, Bridge W!" My spirit rises and I cannot help crying out loud. I have long heard that this is a heroic bridge. Prior to our arrival, it has been bombed 36 times by American planes in groups of ten's to a hundred, but it still stands gallantly in the thick smoke and roaring flames. Furthermore, 40 enemy planes were shot down in flames and many flying bandits captured alive. (At the writing of this article, I hear that 60, instead of 40, enemy planes have been shot down).

We decide to get off the automobile and go on foot, so that we can have a close look at this heroic bridge.

Walking along the mountain highway a short distance, we see the river water glimmering in the faint moonlight. I am told that

* "Airplanes Are Also Afraid of the Militia," No. 1 of the series, was published in Jen-min Jih-pao, 25 December 1965, page 6.

this is River D. This is a rapid current held in check in the dark mountains. Like a runaway horse, it tears through a dangerous mountain pass at this point. The Bridge W straddles the gap. The river passes through the black gap and pours into the plains, like a dark dragon leaping out of the mountains.

I stroll slowly on the bridge, looking both at the gallant bridge and the lofty mountains. Everything is superbly magnificent. The river water under the bridge is not noisy, but one hears faintly the deep and powerful roar of a torrent. I hear that, in the two days when the battle was most violent, 28 enemy planes were shot down. What a sight it must have been when the planes dropped on the ground in the dense smoke! Was that what the lords of the White House expected? No, it was not. In their eyes, this was merely an ordinary ferry bridge on the map. Little did they know that, with a heroic people, an ordinary bridge could turn into an angry great fort, a calm and dignified "fishing platform" in the violent wind and fiery rain!

How many heart-stirring stories have come into existence around this bridge!

However, what I wish to tell first is about a poor peasant family. Maybe it can explain why the Bridge W can stand gallantly in the violent fire. Maybe it can also explain why the flower of the people's war blooms most beautifully and reddest in man's heart.

It happened in the last battle in May. As the enemy planes suffered tragic and heavy casualties time after time, the cowardly and cunning flying bandits thought of a scheme. They would head toward the sea when bombing, so that they would drop on the sea when hit and wait for helicopter rescue. This day, when they swooped down to bomb the bridge, a Vietnamese battleship sailed up the river from the sea. It aimed at the planes and fired, posing a fatal threat. To extricate themselves from the predicament, the planes attacked the battleship with bombs, rockets, and missiles. In no time, geysers shot up all around the ship. In perfect serenity, the ship advanced and retreated in the river, similar to a powerful mobile fort, ceaselessly spitting fire at the swooping enemy planes. But subsequently, the ship ran aground and was hit by a rocket. Many of its gunners were injured. It was at this most critical moment that the militia charged forward to protect the ship.

At this time, the person directing the militia on shore was a 21-year old girl by the name of Yuan Shih-ch'ang (7086 3044 1603). She was the leader of the militia of this area. (She has since become a good friend of mine, but I regret that I cannot describe her in detail here.) She was just directing two militia-men against the enemy planes. Seeing the predicament of the ship, she immediately commanded them to fire at the planes in her defense while ordering other militia men and women to board the ship so as to rescue and

replace the injured. Hearing the order, the militia men and women either leaped into the rowboats or plunged into the water to row or swim to the ship. One militia woman by the name of Wu Shih-hsuan (0702 3044 6693) (mentioned in my previous article) was knocked unconscious by the waves and drifted back to shore. But, the moment she revived, she plunged anew into the water. An electrical worker of a power plant swam to the ship to replace the injured electrician. In no time at all, the sound of gunfire resumed on this mobile fort in the river, and the cannon barrels again pointed at the sky for a more violent encounter. At the same time, the people of the village also got busy, cooking for the militia or delivering beer and coconuts to the ship by rowboats. In spite of the raining flaks, the rowboats delivering ammunition and beverages and picking up the injured continued to advance toward the ship without interruption. Even after the ship had recovered and sailed out of their area of defense, the militia still followed it on shore and defended it. What a moving picture of the people's war!

The story about the poor peasant family which I wish to tell happened during this battle. This village has a 64-year old poor peasant by the name of Wu Shou-lin (0702 1108 5677). Of his five sons, the eldest had long ago joined the army. The remaining four all boarded the battleship this time. The four of them together operated an anti-aircraft gun, loading and firing, and displaying a great courage. Wu Shou-liu (0702 1108 0362), the youngest son, nick-named Liu-erh (0362 0348), was wounded twice, but would not get off the ship, and was finally killed when hit the third time. His two elder brothers were also gloriously wounded. While they were fighting, the old man was feeding hogs in the commune, and he never left his post in spite of the news of the death and injury of his sons. He attended the funeral of his youngest. Even then, he refused to be supported by others, nor did he shed even one drop of tear at the memorial meeting.

What a family, and what an old man!

I was eager to meet him. On the third day after my arrival at this area, I went to his house. It was a rainy night. His wife informed me that he was feeding hogs in the commune. After waiting for a while, as he still did not return and it was growing late, I left the village with regret in the sound of the driving rain.

To my surprise, I met him unexpectedly two days later.

It was a hot afternoon. We were sitting in a farm house perspiring and chatting. Wu Shou-lin and his wife came, each carrying two large green coconuts in their hands. Under the scorching sun, they had travelled 20 li to see us. We had met his wife under a small kerosene lamp in the rainy night two days ago. Two years younger than her husband, she was 62 years old. Today, she specially changed into a fairly clean brown jacket. But, the moment one saw her bare feet with bulging veins under her skirt, one could imagine

her life time of toiling. The old man wore a pair of resistance shoes, and the color of his brown garment was faded by perspiration. He had a crew cut popular with the old men of Vietnam. Though his hair was almost all white, his movement was agile and his spirit lively. Putting the coconuts on the ground, he apologized for not being home when we visited his house. He explained time and again that the coconuts were planted by himself, not store bought. He then told us that, not long after we left that night, there was an air raid, and two bombs were dropped near the hog pens, but they were all "stinking." Then he laughed.

We hurried to light his cigarette and pour him tea, and praised the contributions of his sons. He was so excited that he stopped smoking and began to talk about his sons. He informed us that his eldest son joined the army during the war against the French and "took part in the Dien Bien Phu Battle," that his eldest daughter-in-law also joined work and was extremely filial toward him; his second son, formerly a gunner in the army, was a worker in the rice-hulling mill; his third son, formerly a worker in the T'ai-yuan industrial area, returned home to farm recently. At this point, he smiled and said: "Just our family alone, we have four party members!" "Who are they?" I asked. "Look," he stretched out his fingers and said, "we two oldsters and our No. 4 son and Liu-erh. Liu-erh was a league member. He was awarded party membership posthumously on the day of his sacrifice." "Even at the memorial meeting at the grave, his uncle addressed him as Comrade Wu Shou-liu," supplemented his wife.

Seeing that his cigarette had gone out, I immediately offered him a light. He was, after all, getting old. He looked at us and asked: "Now, which one of my sons did I get to a while ago?" Every one laughed and said: "You were getting to your fourth son." "Right, right, it was No. 4," said he.

Laughing apologetically, he told us that his fourth son was also a gunner in the army before, but was now a militia company commander. On the day of the battle, he was drying the rice in the commune, but immediately ran to the river upon hearing the planes...

He talked in great excitement. When it came to the youngest son, Liu-erh, the most favored in the family, his wife interrupted: "Let me talk. There are many things he doesn't know about."

The picture of a lovable 17-year old boy appeared in my mind. I saw his picture when I visited their house that night, round-faced, hair parted in the middle, smiling eyes, and extremely handsome and intelligent looking.

"He was a good child," said the old lady. "Not only the whole family, but the whole village, liked him. He was a committee member of the village league branch. When he was sacrificed, many young men and women wept..."

From what she said, we learned that Liu-erh left school in the seventh grade and served as a sales clerk in the village supply and

marketing cooperative. But he was broadminded and declared that he did not mind stopping school for a few years and resuming it again later on. He worked both as a sales clerk and an air raid warden, dashing back and forth between the two jobs. On the day of the battle, he was just shouting warnings through the loudspeaker. Hearing that the battleship was in danger, he immediately rushed to its aid. He loaded the guns while his elder brothers fired, and he learned to fire also. Though his chin was hit, he wrapped it with a handkerchief and continued. His brothers wanted him to leave the ship, but he refused. When his left foot was injured, he remained standing and firing. Finally, the sliver of an enemy rocket hit his head, and he was no longer able to continue. In the rolling smoke and fire, he saluted his brothers and dropped.

The room was quiet. I again saw the picture of the lovable Liu-erh, round-faced, smiling, and intelligent.

After a pause, the old lady continued: "I did spoil him some when he was living. But on the whole he was alright. He liked books and friends. Liked to dress neatly when going out. He specially loved his seventh younger sister, always teaching her to read every evening. His wages were not much. Besides buying cigarettes and oil for me, he spent everything for his sister's tuition."

I turned toward the old man and asked: "I heard that you were feeding the hogs when Liu-erh was sacrificed?"

He nodded and said: "That's right. I was feeding the hogs in the commune. Some one came running to tell me that all my four sons had boarded the ship. I told him that everyone had his duty and that it was nothing to get excited about. When I heard that my No. 4 and Liu-erh were injured, I shuddered and felt uneasy. They did not dare to tell me that Liu-erh had sacrificed. But I stuck to the hog pens. I could not leave!"

"Why?" Some one interrupted.

"Why?" retorted the old man. "The fifty hogs belong to the commune. If I left, who would let them out when the planes came over?" Excited, he put his cigarette in the ash tray and continued: "When I heard that my four sons were either injured or killed, I knew that the state would treat the injured and bury the dead. I could only hate US imperialism, for, if it weren't for the American planes, my sons would not have been injured or killed! I was so angry that I shook, but I could not weep. The planes had left and there were many people gathered. If I wept, I might affect them. I told my family that no one must cry..."

"That day, many went to comfort him," supplemented his wife.

"Yes, many came to the hog pens to comfort me," said the old man. "Of course I was sad, but Liu-erh sacrificed himself for the fatherland, the party, and the people. By sacrificing himself, he completed his own tasks. I could not leave the hog pens, because I had not completed mine."

Then he said that he was too proud to be supported by others at the funeral, and that his wife had offered to the leadership to take over Liu-erh's job, which he disapproved.

I was greatly shaken by his words. I could not help remembering the little straw hut on the shore of River D on that rainy night. The hut looked more humble than other farm houses in the village. But what a loyal and steadfast family lived in it!

The old man then informed us that, though life still had its difficulties now, it was much better than before, that, prior to the August revolution, he owned not one inch of land, that he and his wife both performed hard labor for the landlords, that they suffered from the Japanese and subsequently the French, and that the landlords took away just about everything they grew. He declared that he would never turn back and live the old life again and that they would fight to the very end.

The old lady sat very still and full of thoughts. I could imagine how much suffering she had gone through. This fertile and green land was oppressed by the French for full eighty years! In those 80 years, the Vietnamese people were squeezed dry. It was said that, as the people could not afford salt, even their perspiration was not salty. What a terrible life! This was the life lived by the two old people and the tens of thousands of Vietnamese. Now that the Vietnamese people have been emancipated from the iron hoofs of French imperialism, the evil US imperialism stretches its devil's claw of aggression into this land and attempts to enslave them again! No wonder the old man was so indignant. It was an old life which must never be permitted to return again! "We must fight to the very end!" This is the cry of the heart of the old man and all the Vietnamese people.

Finally, the old man stood up to leave. He asked us to convey his greetings to Chairmen Mao and Liu and thank the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people for their firm support. He then took off a silver colored from his finger, made from the skeleton of an enemy plane, and slipped it on my finger.

We accompanied the two old people to the door, to the little path fenced on both sides with shrubberies. For a long moment, I looked at their retreating figures, their clothes faded by sweat and their bare feet with bulging veins. I cried silently in my heart: "Poor peasants! Poor peasants who are loyal to the revolution, the fatherland, and the party! Today, in you, I see the unfathomable strength of this land and hear its true voice of the heart. I believe that, even if a fiery volcano should cross your path in front of you, it will not be able to stop you!"

The old couple had rounded the bend of the path and gradually disappeared among the green banana foliage. I was just about to turn around when I heard the loud and pleasing thundering of anti-aircraft guns in the direction of the Bridge W.

2 December 1965.

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