

Wm  
DS  
701  
93/4

JPRS: 35,137

TT: 66-31574

21 April 1966

TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)

No. 4, 1966

- Communist China -

No. 23

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

Price: \$3.00

## FOREWORD

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

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

### PROCUREMENT OF JPRS REPORTS

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

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

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

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

TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)

No. 4, 1966

- Communist China -

No. 23

This serial publication contains translations of all the articles from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 4, 1966. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Letter of Reply Dated 22 March 1966 of Central Committee of CCP to Central Committee of CPSU .....	1
Letter of Central Committee of CPSU Dated 24 February 1966 to Central Committee of CCP .....	4
Great Revelations of the Paris Commune .....	5
Comrade Chien Po-tsan's Outlook on History Should be Criticized .....	23
Comrade Chiao Yu-lu Is Good Example of Creative Study and Application of Mao Tse-tung's Thinking .....	44
Philosophical Story-Telling Meetings .....	52
Wisdom Comes From Practice .....	63

<u>CONTENTS</u> (Continued)	<u>Page</u>
Dialectics in Daily Work .....	82
Simplicity or Complexity? .....	88
Bring Forth Politics and Oppose Compromise-ism ....	92

LETTER OF REPLY DATED 22 MARCH 1966 OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF CCP TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CPSU

[Following is a translation of the text of a  
letter in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-  
ch'i (Red Flag), No 4, Peiping, 24 March 1966, pp 1-2.]

Dear comrades: The CCP has received the letter of the CPSU Central Committee dated 24 February 1966, inviting us to send a delegation to attend your 23d congress as guests.

In normal circumstances, it would be considered an indication of friendship for one party to invite another fraternal party to send a delegation to its congress. But around the time you sent this invitation, you distributed an anti-Chinese document in the Soviet Union both inside and outside the party and organized a whole series of anti-Chinese reports from top to bottom, right down to the basic units, whipping up hysteria against China. Moreover, you sent an anti-Chinese letter to other parties, instigating them to join you in opposing China. You wantonly vilified the CCP as being "bellicose" and "pseudo-revolutionary," as "refusing to oppose imperialism" and "encouraging U. S. imperialist aggression," and as being guilty of "adventurism," "splittism," "Trotskyism," "nationalism," "great power chauvinism," "dogmatism," and so on and so forth.

You have also been spreading rumors alleging that China "is obstructing aid to Vietnam" and that "China has been encroaching on Soviet territory." You have gone so far as to state that "China is not a socialist country." These anti-Chinese activities all go to show that your present invitation is merely a gesture and is sent with ulterior motives. In these circumstances, how can the CCP, which you look upon as an enemy, be expected to attend your congress?

The CCP has attended many of the congresses of the CPSU. Also, we sent delegations to your 20th, 21st, and 22d congresses, after the Khrushchev revisionist group usurped the leadership of CPSU. But at the 20th Congress of the CPSU you suddenly lashed out at Stalin. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. In attacking Stalin you were attacking Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union, communist parties, China, the people, and all the Marxist-Leninists of the world. At the 22d congress, you adopted an out-and-out revisionist program, made a wild public attack on Albania, and reproached the CCP, so that the head of our delegation had to leave for home while the congress was only halfway through.

Russia is the native land of Leninism and used to be the center of the international working class movement. After Stalin's death, the leaders of the CPSU headed by Khrushchev gradually revealed their true features as betrayers of Lenin and Leninism and embarked on the old path of the German social democrats Bernstein and Kautsky, who betrayed Marx and Engels and Marxism. As a result, the leadership of the CPSU has become the center of modern revisionism. Over the last 10 years, we have made a series of efforts in the hope that you would return to the path of Marxism-Leninism. Since Khrushchev's downfall, we have advised the new leaders of the CPSU on a number of occasions to make a fresh start. We have done everything we could, but you have not shown the slightest repentance.

Since coming to power, the new leaders of the CPSU have gone farther and farther down the road of revisionism, splittism, and great-power chauvinism. The moment you came to power, you declared that you would resolutely carry out the Khrushchev revisionist general line of the 20th and 22d congresses. You told us to our faces that there was not a shade of difference between Khrushchev and yourselves on the question of the international communist movement or of relations with China. Far from publicly retracting the anti-Chinese open letter of July 1963 and the anti-Chinese report and resolution of February 1964, you have intensified your activities against China by more insidious tactics.

Despite the tricks you have been playing to deceive people, you are pursuing U.S.-Soviet collaboration for the domination of the world with your whole heart and soul. In mouthing a few words against U.S. imperialism and in making a show of supporting anti-imperialist struggles, you are conducting only minor attacks on U.S. imperialism while rendering it major help. In following this tactic you very well know what you are up to, and so does U.S. imperialism.

Your clamor for "united action," especially on the Vietnam question, is nothing but a trap for the purpose of deceiving the

Soviet people and the revolutionary people of the world. You have all along been acting in coordination with the United States in its plot for peace talks, vainly attempting to sell out the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and to drag the Vietnam question into the orbit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration.

You have worked hand in glove with the United States in a whole series of dirty deals inside and outside the United Nations. In close coordination with the counterrevolutionary "global strategy" of U.S. imperialism, you are now actively trying to build a ring of encirclement around socialist China. Not only have you excluded yourselves from the international united front of all the peoples against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, you have even alined yourselves with U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the people of the world, and the reactionaries of all countries in a vain attempt to establish a holy alliance against China, against the people, against the national liberation movement, and against the Marxist-Leninists.

Disregarding the opposition of many fraternal parties, you convened the divisive Moscow meeting of March 1965. This was an extremely grave step to bring about an open split in the international communist movement. We demanded that you openly admit that the convening of the divisive Moscow meeting was wrong and illegal. Up to now you have not done so.

We would like to inform you explicitly that since you have gone so far, the CCP, as a serious Marxist-Leninist party, cannot send its delegation to attend this congress of yours.

We are confident that in all parts of the world including the Soviet Union, the masses of the people, who constitute over 90 percent of the population are for revolution and against imperialism and its lackeys. In the ranks of the international communist movement including the CPSU, over 90 percent of the communists and cadres will eventually march along the path of Marxism-Leninism. The revolutionary people of the world, the great international communist movement, the great socialist camp, and the great peoples of China and the Soviet Union will eventually sweep away all obstacles and unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Soviet people may rest assured that once the Soviet Union meets with imperialist aggression and puts up resolute resistance, China will definitely stand side by side with the Soviet Union and fight against the common enemy.

With fraternal greetings, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.



LETTER OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CPSU DATED 24 FEBRUARY 1966  
TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CCP

Following is a translation of the text of a letter in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 4, Peiping, 24 March 1966. p. 3.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

Comrade Mao Tse-tung

Dear comrades: The forthcoming 23d congress of the CPSU will be convened on 29 March 1966.

The agenda of the congress has been planned as follows:

1. The report of the Central Committee of the CPSU -- by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

2. The report of the Central Audit Commission of the CPSU -- by Comrade N. A. Mucayeva, chairman of the Audit Commission.

3. The directives of the 23d congress of the CPSU on the five-year plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR from 1966 to 1970 -- by Comrade A. N. Kosygin, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

4. The election of the central organs of the party.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union invites a delegation of the Communist Party of China to attend the 23d congress of the CPSU as guests.

With communist greetings, L. I. Brezhnev, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

CSO: 3530-D

24 February 1966  
Moscow



## GREAT REVELATIONS OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

-- In Commemoration of the 95th Anniversary of the Great Uprising of the Paris Commune --

[Following is a translation of an article by Chen Chih-ssu (6774 0037 1895) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 4, 24 March 1966, pp. 4-18.]

The most fundamental principle of the Paris Commune is the use of revolutionary violence to seize power, smash the state machine of the bourgeoisie, and practice dictatorship of the proletariat. To uphold or to betray this principle has always been the fundamental issue dividing the Marxist-Leninists from the opportunists and revisionists.

The principle of the Paris Commune, advanced by Marx and Engels on the basis of the experience and lessons of the commune, is the basic theory of proletarian revolution. Bernstein, Kautskiy, and other revisionists of their day betrayed this principle and degenerated into lackeys of imperialism and the bourgeoisie. Lenin carried on an irreconcilable struggle against the old-time revisionists, defended the principle of the commune, and led the Russian people to the great victory of the October revolution. The path of the October revolution is the continuation and development of the path of revolution of the Paris commune. Holding aloft the banner of Leninism, Stalin opposed all shades of enemies of Leninism and thus upheld the principle of the Paris Commune and safeguarded the gains of the October revolution.

After the death of Stalin, the Khrushchev revisionists' clique usurped the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Following the 20th, 21th, and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, they thoroughly betrayed the principle of the commune and the path of the October revolution, and adopted a whole set of dyed-in-the-wool revisionist lines, which oppose proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a consequence, the Soviet Union has embarked on the path of restoring capitalism and the leadership of the CPSU has become the international center of modern revisionism.

This is an extremely important experience of a negative character in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat after the Paris Commune. It tells us that it is out of the question for the

le  
br  
W  
I  
A  
c  
S  
m  
F  
C  
C  
S  
t

leaders of any proletarian party to lead a revolution, if it turns its back on the principles of the commune when it has not seized power. What is more, such leaders will become renegades and stool pigeons. If such leaders discard the principles of the commune after they have assumed power, it will lose the people's revolution and its fruits. And these leaders will likewise become out-and-out renegades and stool pigeons and flunkys and accomplices of the imperialists.

Why are the revisionist leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its followers so rabid in opposing China? The fundamental reason is that the great Chinese revolution, victorious under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, has inherited and further developed the experience of the Paris Commune and the experience of the October revolution. The Chinese Communist Party is today the great standard-bearer of Marxism-Leninism and is struggling resolutely against all renegades who have turned their backs on the principles of the commune. Thus, it has incurred the hatred and opposition of all these freaks and monsters. This is not strange, and we are proud of it.

Today, it is of vital and practical significance for the carrying of the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism through to the end and for the advance of the world revolutionary movement to renew the experience and lessons of the Paris commune.

This is the 95th anniversary of the heroic uprising of the Paris Commune.

In those 95 years world-shaking changes have taken place in the world. The happening of the Paris Commune, drowned in a sea of blood by Fan-erh-sai-fei-t'u, achieved victory 46 years later in the great October Revolution under the leadership of Lenin. The victory of the Chinese revolution was also a victory for the principle of the Paris Commune and the path of the October Revolution.

The Paris Commune was an epoch-making great revolution; it was the rehearsal of the proletariat in its attempt to use weapons to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, an attempt to overthrow the capitalist system and to establish the socialist system. The heroes of the Paris Commune exchanged their fresh blood and left us precious experience and lessons.

At present, when the Khrushchev revisionists are paying lip service to the Paris Commune and betraying its principles in action, it is of all the more significance to develop the revolutionary traditions of the commune and to absorb its experience and lessons.

**It is Only by Taking up Weapons that the Proletariat Will Achieve the Right of Self-Liberation; the First Article of Faith for Proletarians Not Willing to Be Slaves is to Hold Firmly the Weapons in their Hands.**

In the 19th century France was the foremost country in the European Revolutionary movement. It was the center of the bourgeois revolution and the center of the proletarian revolution. Between 1789 and 1871 French workers took up arms many times, and also put down their weapons or had their arms taken away many times. Struggle, defeat, struggle again, defeat again -- this went on for over 80 years,

and they paid a heavy price in blood. In this way the proletariat gradually came to understand that when they dreamed on achieving liberation under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and not by conquering the bourgeoisie, the weapons in their hands only served the function of winning empire for their own enemies. Once revolution had succeeded, no matter whether the regime was controlled by the right wing of the bourgeoisie or the left wing, they repaid the workers by taking their arms from them. And once the proletariat was relieved of its arms, it completely lost its rights.

The right of the proletariat to self-liberation should be won by the proletariat taking its arms to the battle field. Step by step, the French workers approached this revolutionary truth. The Paris uprising in June 1848 and the Paris Commune in 1871 were manifestations in differing degrees of their transforming this revolutionary truth into revolutionary action. In these two uprisings, the proletariat took up arms, fought directly with their own enemies, and struggled for their own class.

The Paris Commune was the peak in the efforts of the French proletariat to liberate itself, the peak in the struggle for self-liberation by the international proletariat. As regards the question of using revolutionary arms to liberate the proletariat, this uprising, compared with others by the French workers, had many great accomplishments:

First, in the half year preceding the uprising, they started to set up workers' forces and to obtain weapons; they not only established their own independent political organization (the central committees of 20 regions and the vigilance committees for every region), but they also established their own independent military organization (the national self-defense military workers' battalion and the central committee of the national self-defense army).

Second, they firmly countered the threats and blandishments of the bourgeois government and refused to hand over their arms. The first demand of the first conference of the national self-defense forces was to hold on to their arms. Wa-erh-lan said: "We absolutely cannot avoid fighting and just hand over our weapons; the struggle will never stop as long as we are not victorious." (1)

Third, when the bourgeois government was attempting to disarm the workers by using force, they dared to use revolutionary violence to reply to the counter-revolutionary violence, dared to undertake the uprising under conditions of bloody suppression by the counter-revolutionary regime at home and of pressure on the borders by a strong enemy abroad, transformed the war of plunder between exploiting classes into an internal revolutionary war, and destroyed the state machinery of the bourgeoisie.

Fourth, with the success of the uprising, they did not lay down their arms nor relinquish their power. Marx said: "The new feature of this revolution is that the people did not disarm themselves after the first uprising, that they did not meekly turn their power over to the swarm of republican swindlers in the ruling class." (2)

Fifth, after the success of the uprising, they relied on the

revolutionary arms of the proletariat and set up a preliminary revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx said: "The new feature of this revolution is also that they have formed a commune, and thus they have taken in their own hands the real right of leadership of this revolution. At the same time, they have found a method for maintaining this authority in the hands of the people at the time of revolutionary victory, which is to use their own government machinery to replace the state machinery and government machinery of the ruling class." (3)

Sixth, as the uprising was about to fail, they still courageously battled, preferring to die gloriously with weapons in their hands rather than throw down their arms and accept humiliation. This expressed the great intrepid spirit of the proletariat which would prefer death to submission.

Chairman Mao has said: "For thousands of years the working people have been deceived and frightened by the reactionary ruling classes, and it has not been easy for them to realize the importance of taking weapons in their own hands." (4) The heroes of the Paris Commune smashed the fraud and terror of the reactionary ruling class, resolutely took up arms, and proceeded to destroy the state machinery of the bourgeoisie. This was a huge advance in the cause of the liberation of the proletariat, a new chapter worthy of special and great comment.

The exploiting classes have constantly maintained that they have the right to use all sorts of weapons to oppress the exploited, while any weapons in the hands of the exploited would be a crime. As for taking up arms to rebel, that was all the more a world-shaking crime. In order to accommodate this reactionary viewpoint, the revisionists have always propagated to the proletariat, "never take up arms" -- this slave philosophy. And they have altered a section of the history of the proletarian revolution to make it the history of "peaceful transition." The uprising of the Paris Commune is not exception. When Kautsky discussed the Paris Commune, he loudly proclaimed that the election on March 28th, always stating that the commune was a product of a "balloting by all the people," "pure democracy." When the Khrushchev revisionists discuss the Paris Commune, they eagerly pointed out that only a few people were killed on March 18th, thus hoping to demonstrate that the commune was a "bloodless seizure of power."

Every person with a little bit of Marxist-Leninist common sense knows that in every revolutionary movement there is a certain course of development. To understand the revolution, one must survey the entirety, not simply extract this or that event from out of the middle, thus characterizing the whole with the part or substituting the specific for the general. The course of development of the Paris Commune, the cycle from the eve of the uprising to the bloodletting, is filled with the life-and-death struggle between revolution and counter-revolution. The great amount of blood shed by the heroes of the commune during the armed uprising and during the efforts to preserve the fruits of the victory cannot be concealed by the lies of the revisionists.

The Proletariat Must Use Revolutionary Means to Seize Political Power, to Smash the Military and Bureaucratic Machinery of the Bourgeoisie, to Establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The French political stage before the Paris Commune uprising was very much like a circus, for the various forms of the bourgeois state power were rapidly replacing each other in the violent class struggle. In this way the proletariat came to realize personally that the replacing of the forms of bourgeois state power was a process in which the rulers transferred the right of leadership from one person to another, from one clique to another. It was passed back and forth, and thus the bourgeoisie ruled and exploited the proletariat. In this fashion the proletariat came to realize personally that in the course of the exchange of bourgeois state power, the state machinery became more huge and complete with every change, that it all the more cruelly enslaved the workers and the laboring peoples.

The French proletariat had accumulated more than 80 years of experience (from 1789 to 1871) and it gradually realized that the "political tools used to enslave them could not be used to liberate them." (5) For the proletariat to liberate itself, it must smash the state machinery of the bourgeoisie; this did not mean simply superficial opposition, but a smashing of the machinery itself. Those who rose up in the Paris Commune acted in this way. Marx said: "This revolution is not a revolution which is simply opposed to a form of state political power -- whether it be orthodox, constitutional, republican, or imperialistic. It is rather opposed to the state itself; it is a revolution opposed to the supernatural monster of society; it is the people again seizing their own social life for their own interests. It is not a revolution undertaken for the purpose of transferring state power from this ruling class to another clique; it is for the purpose of smashing the evil machinery of the ruling class itself." (6)

With the collapse of the Second Empire, there gradually developed a struggle for political power between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. At the start of September 1870, in order to preserve the existing state machinery, to prevent political power from falling into the hands of the people, the various bourgeois groups quickly reached an agreement and formed a new government dignified with the label of "government of national defense." Since the proletariat was not fully prepared ideologically or organizationally, it could not immediately set up its own government. However, they started to set up their own government and military organization, and this organization daily became the actual government in the workers' district of Paris; it became a force opposed to the "national defense government."

At that time, the central committee of the 20 districts and the vigilance committees of the various districts, relying on the workers' armed forces and the masses, supervised the activities of the national defense government and its local district activities. The vigilance committee in the workers' district controlled the district chief, or replaced his authority. Ah-la-ko, who had been mayor, said: The committees

"have taken on the responsibility for the arming of the districts, for the provision of supplies, for social welfare and such work;" this "is a breeding ground for revolution activism." (7) Ta-liu-po-chueh said: "They are applying pressure on the district chief to influence his decisions, and this includes replacing his authority, issuing proclamations, and inspecting dwellings. They regularly use the pretext of guarding against spies to make arrests and searches." (8)

At that time, under the supervision of the national self-defense military workers' battalion and the revolutionary masses, "the police headquarters had been completely stripped of its power, and the chief of police simply sat there fearing that he would be dragged away by the people." (9) T'e-lo-hsu-ai-han, head of the national defense government, said: "The streets and districts of the city have fallen into the hands of the masses; the courts are without function, and all the organs for maintaining public order, customs, health and sanitation have broken down." (10) In a few months' time the reactionary authorities had changed the police chiefs several times, hoping to restore police rule, but these efforts met with defeat.

It is very clear that from the collapse of the Second Empire to the Paris Commune uprising, two governments actually existed in Paris. This is similar to the situation which existed in Russia after the revolution in February 1917 in which two governments appeared in Petersburg.

In the face of the bourgeois state machinery, the Parisian proletariat established a military organization of the proletariat in direct opposition, and this served an important purpose in smashing the bourgeois state machinery. On 18 March 1871 when T'i-yeh-erh provoked a civil war, the proletariat relied on its own armed strength to defeat his counter-revolutionary assault, to smash the state machinery of the bourgeoisie.

Based on its own class capabilities and government experience, the revolters of the Paris Commune understood that the standing army and the bureaucracy were important organs on the bourgeois state machinery. After the uprising had succeeded, they immediately dismantled these organs. The first decree of the commune was the "decree to destroy the standing army and to replace it by the national self-defense army." The decree stipulated: "Apart from the national self-defense army, no other armed forces may be established or brought into Paris," "all citizens eligible for military duty will be taken into the national self-defense army." (11) The commune dissolved the bourgeois battalion of the national self-defense army.

At the same time, in the "proclamation stating that all decrees and directives of the Fan-erh-sai government were void," the commune stipulated: "The commune is now the sole government, ... from now on all employees of any social organ must acknowledge that decrees or communications issued by the Fan-erh-sai government or its supporters are null and void, that they have no force of law. ... Any official or employee who does not submit to this decree will be immediately removed of his position." (12) The commune dissolved the positions of the

reactionary bureaucrats left in Paris, and demanded that the ordinary employees of the old government act faithfully for the people.

The commune smashed the old legal organs, dismantled the reactionary courts, stipulated that law officials would be elected by the people; the commune directly appointed a procurator.

After destroying the material foundation of the old bourgeois rulers, the standing army, the commune immediately started to destroy the spiritual instruments by which it had ruled the people. It proclaimed the separation of church and state, the abolition of the special rights of religion, etc.

In their revolutionary practice, the Paris Commune revolters repudiated the erroneous proposals of the Proudhonians and the Blanquites on the question of the state. They did not act as the Proudhonians suggested and set up an anarchy; rather they established proletarian state organs. They did not act as the Blanquites suggested and set up a dictatorship of a minority of revolutionaries; rather they relied on the activism and initiative of the proletariat and established in preliminary form a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Why do we say that the Paris Commune was a dictatorship of the proletariat? First, the commune was a revolutionary regime by which the proletariat opposed the bourgeoisie. It was born in the armed uprising against the bourgeoisie, and it was erected on the base of smashing the bourgeois state organs. In the 72 short days during which it existed, it engaged in an heroic struggle against internal and international capitalist forces. "The proclamation of the national self-defense army central committee explaining the social nature of the 1871 revolution" characterized this as a great struggle between "parasitic life and labor, between exploitation and production." (13)

Second, the commune was a revolutionary regime in which the proletariat became masters of the state. Its main support was the workers' armed forces; "the first condition for a dictatorship of the proletariat is the armed forces of the proletariat." (14) It had the extensive support of the workers' and masses' organizations. Most of its policies originated in the suggestions of the masses, and it reflected the interests of the proletariat and the laboring people. The members of its leadership had been selected from the masses, were directly supervised by the masses, and in accordance with the law the masses could change or dismiss them.

Third, the commune was completely different from a bourgeois congress. In the commune "representative organs still existed, but the special organs, the assembly system which had the division of labor of law-making and administration and which had members who enjoyed special privileges no longer existed." (15) The commune was a work organ which both administered and made laws; the commune committee promulgated laws, the committee members administered the laws, and were responsible to the committee and the people.

Fourth, the commune was a revolutionary regime which upheld its proletarian internationalism. "Because the commune was not struggling

for any local or narrow nationalistic interests, but rather for all of laboring mankind, it was struggling to liberate all men who had been harmed and humiliated." (16) "The summing up of the commune's electing of the committee" proclaimed: "The banner of the Paris commune is the banner of world republics." (17)

Fifth, the commune was a revolutionary regime which had as its goal the elimination of exploitation. "The commune wanted to eradicate the class system of ownership which transformed the labor of the majority into the wealth of the minority. It wanted to dispossess the dispossessors. It wanted to take the means of production, the land, and capital which were tools to enslave and exploit the laboring people and turn them into tools of collective labor." (18)

These features of the Paris Commune show that it was a product opposed to all exploiting class regimes; it was not an instrument by which the minority of exploiters ruled the masses of working people, but it was rather a tool by which the exploited seized their own destiny and strove for their own self-liberation. Consequently, the reactionaries viewed it as a "fierce monster." Lu-i Le-lang, who pretended to be a socialist, also attacked the commune, saying that "it was chosen by very few people, that most of its members were nobodies, and that it was suspect as far as their ability went, and in some cases, as far as their character was concerned." (19) He beautified the national assembly of Fan-erh-sai and attacked the commune for the crime of launching the civil war. He said: "Ah, civil war! A frightful struggle! The cannon are roaring! There is death and destruction, and those persons in the national assembly who are willing to sacrifice their lives and who also want to solve this blood-letting problem peacefully have been forced into inaction, into not being able to respond, into not being able to speak out!" (20) The shameless lies of this traitor vividly portray the evil countenance of one who opposed the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Marxist-Leninist classical writers have resolutely repudiated the reactionaries' slander of the Paris Commune. They point out that because the commune had no leadership by a Marxist-Leninist party, because it was not led by Marxist principles, it was an incomplete, immature dictatorship of the proletariat. But as regards the realization of proletarian rule, it made a contribution of world-wide significance. Marx said: "The true secret of the commune lies in: In essence it was a government of the working people, the result of the class struggle between the producers and the possessors; it was a political form, finally discovered, that could use labor to achieve its own liberation economically." (21) The Marxist-Leninist classical writers also point out that the commune, this form of political power, and the few correct measures which it created, were products of proletarian revolutionary practice, a crystallization of the creativity of the masses. To take up arms to seize the right of liberation, to strive to grasp its own destiny, in doing this the proletariat relied on its own class ability to break through the bonds of Proudhonism and Blanquism; and in this it created a path in the struggle. Engels said: "The commune was the grave

of the old, French-style socialism; it was also the cradle of new (as far as France goes) international communism." (22) "Although the Proudhonians had many representatives into the commune, based on the Proudhonian program nothing was done as far as eradicating the old society or organizing economic forces. It was just the converse: the great glory of the commune lay in the fact that all its economic measures had a "living spirit", that they were not created by any principles but rather out of simple actual need. Since this was the case, all these measures -- getting rid of night labor, prohibiting fines in the plant, confiscating factories which were not running and turning them over to workers' groups -- were not in the least in accord with the Proudhonian spirit; rather they were in accord with the spirit of German scientific socialism." (23) Lenin said: "Regardless of the erroneous theories and errors of Proudhon and Blanque, the masses raised the entire movement to a new stage." (24)

To smash the bourgeois military and bureaucratic organs, to set up the dictatorship of the proletariat to replace the bourgeois dictatorship -- this is the most important content in the theory of the state in Marxism-Leninism. This was the most important experience of the Paris Commune. It was on this important question that the dividing line between the Marxist-Leninists and the opportunists and the revisionists appeared. Marx and Engels made a sharp criticism of the right opportunists' "fixation with the assembly" and their "terror of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Lenin and Stalin made a sharp criticism of the erroneous theory of the "peaceful growth into socialism" held by the revisionists of the Second International.

Now, the Marxist-Leninists of all countries are engaged in an irreconcilable struggle with the reactionary word and deed, "the peaceful transition" and the "all-people state", etc., of the Khrushchev revisionists. The Khrushchev revisionists use the pretext that times have changed to propagate the fraudulent monstrosity that the proletariat can seize power without smashing the bourgeois state organs, that the socialism can be achieved without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the 90-odd years since the uprising of the Paris Commune, huge changes have occurred in the world. However, no matter what the change, nothing can change the character of bourgeois opposition to socialism. The more moribund becomes the capitalist system, the more the bourgeoisie tries in every possible way to strengthen its state organs, and to hang on. Take the United States as an example. In 1871, it had armed forces of only 42,000 men, but now these have grown to more than 2,600,000. As compared with the armies of Bismarck, Napoleon the Third, and T'iyeh-erh, not only have the numbers increased several times or tens of times, but the equipment has improved several hundreds of times, and the ugliness of this in its reactionary degree has increased several thousand times. It has taken on the role of world gendarme, hoping both to stifle the revolutionary movement within the U.S. and to eradicate revolutionary movements in other countries. Under conditions of the unprecedented size of the bourgeois state organs, of the bourgeoisie using various forms of phoney socialism and weapons of oppression and peaceful transition to undermine the cause of proletarian liberation, to advocate that

it is possible for the proletariat to seize political power without smashing the bourgeois state organs, that socialism can be built without the dictatorship of the proletariat, is to advocate false revolution, to propagate true surrender; this is to betray and sell out socialism, to protect capitalism in reality. The Khrushchev revisionists are selling this phoney socialism and phoney revolution.

The Proletariat Which Has Seized Power Must Prevent Its Own State Organs from Changing from the Servant of Society to the Master of Society; the Cadres in a Proletarian State Organ Must Discard High, Double Salaries, and Enjoy No Special Privileges.

How can we prevent the state organs in the dictatorship of the proletariat from becoming the opposite of what was intended, from degenerating? On the question here, the Paris Commune made some probings, and took some measures which, while only preliminary, were of far-reaching significance; these enlightened us.

Engels said: "In order to prevent the state and the state organs from changing from the servant to the master of society -- and this situation is still unavoidable in all countries at present -- the commune adopted two correct methods. First, it took all positions in administration, in the courts, and in national education, and turned them over to persons elected by a general election; and it stipulated that they could be changed or dismissed at any time. Second, with regard to all persons in public service, regardless of rank, it paid the same wages as the workers got. The highest salary which the commune paid was 6,000 francs. In this way, even if the commune did not further restrict the representatives of the organs, it was able reliably to prevent people from pursuing riches." (25)

The masses were the true masters of the Paris Commune. During the existence of the commune, the masses were extensively organized. In their own organizations they discussed important affairs of the state; each day about 20,000 activists attended the club meeting and put forward suggestions and criticisms of the major and minor affairs of social and political life. They also passed on the drafts and letters sent to the revolutionary publications, putting forth their own demands and aspirations. The activism and initiative on the part of the masses formed the source of the commune's strength.

The Paris Commune committee were very interested in the opinions of the masses; they attended the various meetings of the masses and studied letters from the masses. In a communication to the commune's secretary, the secretary-general of the commune's executive committee said: "Every day we receive large batches of oral and written suggestions from individuals and clubs, and some from international branches. These often are good suggestions and should be examined by the commune." (26) The commune truly and conscientiously examined and adopted the suggestions of the masses. Many of the famous decrees -- such as the discarding of the system of high salaries for public employees, the abolition of rent owed, non-religious education, the prohibition of night labor for bread

workers, etc. -- were based on suggestions by the masses.

The masses conscientiously supervised the commune committee and their work. In one decision the third district commune club said: "In the people being the masters ..., if the representatives which you have selected waver or falter, please push them forward so as to achieve the goal which we desire -- the striving for our rights, for the consolidating of the republic, for the victory of just causes." The masses criticized the commune for not taking firm measures in dealing with counter-revolutionaries, deserters, and traitors. They criticized the fact that decrees were not implemented in a timely manner and a lack of solidarity in the committee. For example, on 27 April the Tu-hsieh-lao-tieh Paper published a letter from a reader which stated: "Please regularly urge on the commune committee members; ask them not to sleep too much, nor to procrastinate on implementing their own decrees. They should constantly avoid personal disputes, for it is only when their opinions are unanimous that they will have greater strength to protect the commune."

Nor was it any empty threat to change or dismiss persons elected who went against the interests of the people. The commune withdrew the position of committee member of Pu-lang-she, because he was a clergyman, a businessman, a spy; he hid in the national self-defense army when Paris was surrounded and used a false name to enter the commune. The commune abolished the position of military representative of K'o-lu-tse-lieh because he "fooled around, neglected his duties ... and almost lost the Yin-hsi artillery position." Before this, the traitor Liu-erh-yeh was relieved of his duties and arrested by the central committee of the national self-defense army.

The Paris Commune resolutely abolished any special privileges of cadres in state organs, and particularly as regards salaries it made a great change of historical significance.

We know that in order to train lords to ride roughshod on the people, exploiting countries always give special privileges and excellent treatment to their officials. High officials and great remuneration, tyranny and evil -- these reveal the officials of the exploiting classes. Take France of the period of the Second Empire: The annual salary of officials was: 30,000 francs for National Assembly members; 50,000 francs for ministry heads; 100,000 francs for members of the Privy Council; 130,000 francs for cabinet members. A individual might have several titles and this would increase his salary. Lu-ai, minister under Napoleon the Third, held three positions, in the Assembly, on the Privy Council and the cabinet; his annual salary was 260,000 francs, and this was about equal to the wages for an adult worker for 150 years. As for Napoleon the Third, every year the state treasurer provided him with 25 million francs; which added to various benefits came to 30 million francs altogether.

The French proletariat hated this situation deeply. Before the setting up of the Paris Commune, they many times put forward the demand to abolish the high salaries of officials. After the Paris Commune was

established, this aspiration of the working people was realized. On 1 April, there was issued the famous decree that the high salary for an official could be only 6,000 francs. The decree pointed out: Before "there was much intriguing for the high positions in the state organs because of the high salaries, and these were often allotted because of behind-the-scenes maneuvering." And "in a true republic there should be neither sinecures with high salaries nor excessively high salaries." (27) The 6,000 franc yearly salary was about equal to the salary of an adult worker. According to the calculations of the famous scientist, Ho-hsu-li, this amount was about equal to one-fifth of the wages of a secretary in the London National Education Bureau.

The Paris Commune also prohibited public officials from accepting dual salaries when they occupied dual jobs. The decision of 19 May said: "Under the commune system, the amount of the remuneration of each position is sufficient to guarantee the livelihood and operational capacity of every employee. ... The commune has decided: There shall be no dual jobs and dual salaries; apart from their own work the officials of the commune should help in other work, but they shall receive no extra compensation for it." (28)

At the same time that the Paris Commune abolished high salaries and prohibited dual salaries, it also raised low wages and decreased the difference between wages. Take the post office for example: the 800 franc per year salary was raised from that level to 1200 francs, which is an increase of 50 percent; the high salary of 12,000 francs per year was decreased to 6,000, which is a decrease of one-half. In order to insure the life of the low-salaried persons, the commune also prohibited all format deductions and fines.

The commune committee members in a model way also carried out the regulations of discarding special rights and abolishing high salaries and dual salaries. T'ai-ssu, responsible person in the commune post office and commune committee member, was supposed to receive 500 francs per month, but he accepted only 450. The general of the commune, Fu-lu-lo-lieh-ssu-chi discarded his remuneration of being a general and refused to live in the Yeh-li-hsieh-yin palace; he said: "A general's quarters can only be among his men."

The Paris commune also passed the decision to abolish ranks of generals. In the decision of 6 April, this committee said: "In consideration of the fact that the ranks of generals are incompatible with the principles of the democratic organization of the national self-defense army, this decision is: The positions of generals shall be abolished." (29) It is a pity that this decision was not fully carried out.

The national leaders only received about as much in salary as the mature workers; they had many duties to fulfill, but no privilege for remuneration; still less had they any special rights. This was a great invention; its significance lay not only in realizing the slogan of "pure government"; but also in getting rid of the "divine nature" and "special nature" in so-called state affairs which the exploiting class used to befuddle the people and in changing state activities into a form of workers' job, in making national organ cadres into workers who used a "special instrument". But it also provided the conditions

for preventing state cadres from degenerating. Lenin said: "Not only are the state organ cadres produced by elections, not only can they be changed at any time, but they labor remuneration is not the same as for the 'lords', nor for the bourgeoisie; they receive the same as the workers -- this is the ideal of the working class." (30) He also said: "Abolish all special privileges for the public officials in getting expenses and salaries; reduce all their salaries to the level of the 'workers' wages'. This will most clearly express an evolution: The change from the bourgeois democratic system to the democratic system of the proletariat; the change from the democratic system of the oppressors to the system of the oppressed classes; the change from the special force of the state in suppressing one class to the mutual strength of the majority of people, the workers and the peasants, in oppressing the oppressors. On this clear point, perhaps on the most important point of the question of the state, people have completely forgotten the teaching of Marx. ... They consider this point as an out-of-date immature behavior, and they completely disregard it." (31)

The leadership of the Khrushchev revisionists have completely forgotten this point, the most important experience of the Paris Commune. They raise up special privilege, make use of the position of special privilege, change the public into the private, encroach upon the fruits of the labor of the people; they have incomes which are several tens of times or several hundred times higher than that of the average worker. From their political standpoint to the style of living, these persons have betrayed the working people; they put themselves on a level with the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois bureaucrats. They also use high wages, awards, high remunerations, high allowances, and encouragements in order to develop a special stratum with high salaries; they attempt to strengthen the social foundation of their rule. They vociferously tout "material incentives", claiming that the "ruble is a vigorous locomotive," and that the "ruble ought to be used to educate people." They attempt to use money to undermine the revolutionary determination of the people. If we compare what the Khrushchev revisionists say and do with what they view as the "immature behavior" of the Paris Commune, people can very easily see what the servants of the people are and what the lords of the people are; they can see how state organs have changed from being the servants of the people to being the masters of the people. Engels has said: "Do you want to know what the dictatorship of the proletariat is? Please take a look at the Paris Commune." (32) We can also speak this way: Do you want to know what a degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat is? Please take a look at the Soviet "all-people state" under the Khrushchev revisionist clique.

**The Proletariat Must Be Vigilant Against the Phoney Peace Overtures of the Enemy and the Actual Preparations for War; It Must Use the Two Hands of Revolution to Counter the Two Hands of Counter-Revolution.**

The great enlightenment of the Paris Commune contains both many

previous experiences and also many painful lessons.

The commune was led by the Blanquists and the Proudhonians, neither of which constituted a proletarian political party. Neither understood Marxism, neither had any experience in leading a proletarian revolution. With the urging of the proletariat, they accomplished a few correct things, but because their consciousness was not sufficient, they also committed many errors. One of the major errors was that they fell for the enemy's phoney peace overtures and actual preparations for war; they did not use their victories to crush the enemy. They let the enemy have a breathing spell so that he could reorganize his strength; they lost the opportune moment for expanding the revolutionary victories.

Historically all exploiting classes have used the dual tactics of counter-revolution of violent suppression and peaceful fraud. When they have not yet readied themselves fully to assault the people or when they have been attacked by revolutionary strength, they often use the plot of "peace" to deceive the people. But as soon as they feel that they have the force to overcome the revolutionary people, they brandish their butchering knives and undertake bloody suppression. T'i-yeh-erh use such a dual counter-revolutionary tactic to handle the Paris Commune.

After T'i-yeh-erh fled to Fan-erh-sai, there remained only 15,000 or 16,000 soldiers. They were demoralized, and these remnants were no match for the superior Paris workers in either numbers or determination. Moreover, Paris and Fan-erh-sai were only 18 kilometers apart, and the Paris workers' forces could easily have covered this in one day. When T'i-yeh-erh mentioned this situation, he had to admit: "This was the most uncomfortable day of my life. In Paris the common expression was: 'Fan-erh-sai is a gone goose. As soon as we get there, the soldiers will surrender.' I would not have put it quite like that, but if the enemy had attacked with 70,000 or 80,000 soldiers, I could not have guaranteed the reliability of my army. This was due to wavering because of the discrepancy in numbers." (33) Thereupon, the sly traitor T'i-yeh-erh, in order to gain a foothold at Fan-erh-sai, in order to gain more time to marshall his counter-revolutionary forces, put forward the plot of "negotiations" and threw up the smokescreen of "peace".

T'i-yeh-erh first of all instructed the Paris district chiefs to discuss the question of the commune elections with the central committee of the national self-defense army; they were to procrastinate, to divert the attention of the central committee until Fan-erh-sai had prepared for an attack. At this time the national assembly also approved of Paris government elections, and this was coordinated with the negotiations of the time. The negotiations dragged out for eight days, and the day of the commune elections was put off. Fan-erh-sai got a breathing spell. The Paris Commune lost its chance to exterminate the counter-revolutionary nest. Later, the district chiefs discussed the situation of phoney negotiations and true preparations for war. Chi-la-erh said: "The important goal which this opposing position achieved was to delay the forces of the Paris Commune from attacking Fan-erh-sai. ... Our opposition in these days was to have the government make preparations for defense." (34) Te-ma-lieh also said: "I think that I must continue the risk so as to let the Fan-erh-sai government have time to arm itself." (35)

Next, T'i-yeh-erh sang the tune of not interfering with the "peace" of the Paris situation. He raised the banner of "upholding the republic." Marx said: At the same time that T'i-yeh-erh started to decide on his bandit's war against the Paris Commune, "he played a little comedy of discussions. ... On 21 March, when T'i-yeh-erh still had no army, he declared to the national assembly: "No matter what, I will not send an army to Paris." On 27 March, he also stated: 'I have discovered that the republic is a fait accompli, so I will staunchly uphold it.'" (36) His idea here was to ensnare the old republican elements and to pretty up his counter-revolutionary regime. He wanted to deceive the out-lying provinces and to draw in the middle classes; he intended to benumb Paris and to isolate the proletariat. Behind his statement of "non-interference" lay concealed murderous intent, and his idea of "upholding the republic" was simply a way of preparing to annihilate the proletariat.

At the same time that he used the plot of "negotiations" and put up the smokescreen of "peace", T'i-yeh-erh vigorously prepared for armed suppression. He collected his remnant forces, entreated Bismarck to release the French prisoners-of-war, and dispatched persons to propagandize among the POWs about the Paris Commune. Based on the need to attack Paris, he set up a military police force, a cavalry force, and an artillery force. He sent many spies into Paris to collect military intelligence; he organized an encirclement of Paris, erected fortifications on this. He started propaganda organs to slander the Paris Commune, and to prepare public opinion for the suppression of the uprising. After more than two weeks of multiple preparations, Fan-erh-sai launched an armed attack against Paris in the beginning of April.

From the beginning of April to the beginning of May, T'i-yeh-erh's military forces were still rather weak. The prisoners released by the Prussians were not many, nor was the development of the military assaults rapid. They had no great confidence in overcoming Paris. Consequently, during this period T'i-yeh-erh both fought and continued to use the fraud of peace. On the one hand, he frantically killed the soldiers of the commune, calling on Prussia for more support. On the other hand, he also used the so-called mediation of the bourgeois organization of the "republican league of Paris rights" to attempt to lure them into surrender. He attempt to get them to lay down their arms, to turn over their political power, to achieve a victory which they had not yet won on the battlefield. For example, on 27 April he said in the assembly: "I want to reiterate: If those persons who have taken up arms will lay them down, we will immediately stop punishment and discuss reconciliation; the small crimes will be treated lightly." (37) On 8 May he still said to the delegation of the intermediate classes: "As long as the rioters agree to surrender, the gates of Paris will be open to all persons; only the villains who murdered the two generals, K'o-lieh-mang T'o-ma and Lo-k'ang-t'e, will be exceptions." (38)

However, by the middle of May Prussia had released many prisoners and Fan-erh-sai had formed an army of 30,000. Mai-k'o-ma-hung guaranteed T'i-yeh-erh that Paris could be taken quickly, at this time T'i-yeh-erh

completely threw out his ideas of "peace," "negotiations," and "non-interference." He immediately declared to the assembly: He would "use the existing laws to enter Paris and force those evil-doers who had shed the blood of the soldiers and who had desecrated the public monuments to atone for their crimes." (39) He ranted: "I will be merciless; those who have sinned will not be given compromises, and the judgment will be stern and merciless." (40) To his own Po-na-pa bandits he said that the government had given permission to take vengeance on Paris.

The Paris Commune committee members were not in accord in their understanding of the dual counter-revolutionary tactics of T'i-yeh-erh. Most of the persons were confused about the nature of the reactionary class, and they cherished the illusion of peace. After the success of the Paris Commune uprising, the delegates of the middle and petty bourgeoisie propagandized that internal peace could be realized through elections, that "elections were somewhat better than killing. . . . It was only unanimous, solemn elections which occupied a position of superiority that could be helpful in the struggle, that could give a guarantee to the laborers." (42) They said that it was only elections which could cool off people's heads, which could insure security on the streets, which could restore trust, guarantee safety, and establish legitimate administrative organs. Only this could finally end the hatred of the destruction of the republic in blood. The central committee of the national self-defense army also stressed that it wanted "reconciliation," "a large measure of forgiveness," that it wanted to make the thought of universal love its slogan for action. They erroneously held that with the election of the commune by ballot, civil war could be avoided. Thereupon on the one hand they issued orders to take down the street barricades, and on the other hand prepared for elections. They undertook many discussions with the Paris districts chiefs about the time of the elections, the procedure, the methods, and other such technical questions.

However, these elections did not manage to beat swords into plowshares. They did not bring about security on the streets; still less did they provide a guarantee to the laborers. It was the very opposite: Paris, busy with the elections and the negotiations, lost the opportunity to strengthen its revolutionary forces; it neglected the measures which must be taken to enlarge revolutionary victories. They did not seal off the gates of the city, did not control communications; they let reactionary elements come and go, did not stamp out counter-revolutionary activities, did not occupy the French bank, did not attack Fan-erh-sai, etc. Thus Fan-erh-sai got the chance to strengthen its counter-revolutionary forces, and made preparations to attack Paris.

Some of the Paris Commune committee members saw through the dual tactics of T'i-yeh-erh. They disclosed his plot of negotiations and they made a sharp criticism of the illusion of reconciliation propagated by the bourgeois groups and the benumbing thinking about peace within the commune. For example, at the 4 May meeting of the commune committee, the committee member Pa-ssu-k'a-erh Ko-ly-se said: "Citizens, things are

very serious. ... This is because the reactionaries are wearing the false mask of reconciliation, and have been so for several weeks now; this mask has not yet been stripped away." (43) After the Fan-erh-sai regime has issued statements and continue to discuss reconciliation, when the cannons are roaring and our brothers are being killed by the bullets of the evil-doers of Fan-erh-sai, they talk loudly of peace -- this is complete betrayal, this weakens the defenses of Paris, this spurs the citizens to show weakness and to flee. In actuality, this is to discuss surrender and defeat." (44) The revolutionary papers and the mass organizations variously exposed the counter-revolutionary "peace" plot; they criticized the illusion of reconciliation. The "Voice of the Central Committee of the Women's League for Defending Paris and for Rescuing Injured Persons" pointed out severely: "No, what the women of Paris want is not this sort of peace; they want to battle to the end. Today, reconciliation is betrayal. ... This betrays the liberation of the workers themselves." (45) The club resolutely opposed compromise, and did not permit compromising members to attend meetings. Some sent delegates to the commune to state: Whoever calls for a ceasefire with Fan-erh-sai shall be declared a traitor. It is a pity that these correct opinions were not completely accepted. Right until the Fan-erh-sai bandits launched their attack against Paris, there were many persons who did not realize the situation, who were intoxicated with the work of the elections. Li-sha-chia-lo, observer of the situation of the time, wrote: "All Paris is listening to frantic booming of cannon. No one thought there would be such an attack. Since the 28th, people have been living in blind trust without suspicion. This is a complete misconception." (46) When the people finally discovered that they were in the midst of such an attack, despite their heroic, unyielding resistance, the moment was too late because of their lack of political and military preparation.'

Fan-erh-sai was sharpening its knives, while Paris was voting; Fan-erh-sai was preparing for war while Paris was negotiating. As a result, the Fan-erh-sai bandits attacked Paris with weapons in their hands. They slaughtered the captured commune committee members and the soldiers, slaughtered the masses taking refuge in the church, slaughtered the wounded soldiers in the hospital. They killed the aged workers, saying that they had rebelled many times, that their "crimes" were heavy. They killed the women workers saying that these women had inflamed the situation, that "only after death would they resemble women." They killed the children saying that "they would grow up to become rebels." They termed this great slaughter "pig-killing" and it went on for six months. Paris was filled with corpses; the Seine was a river of blood, and the commune was drowned in it. More than 30,000 persons were killed, 100,000 were punished or forced to flee. In this way did Fan-erh-sai repay the "benevolence" and "generosity" of the Paris Commune; in this way did they conclude the fraud of phoney negotiations and actual preparations for war. This was an extremely painful and bloody lesson. This bloody lesson tells us that the proletariat must carry the revolution through to the end. Hard-pressed

bandits must be wiped out, dogs fallen into the water must be beaten to death; the enemy must be given no breathing spell.

If we say that 95 years ago a number of committee members of the Paris Commune did not see through the plot of phoney negotiations and true war preparations on the part of T'i-yeh-erh, it is mainly because their experience was insufficient, because they did not well understand. Today when the Khrushchev revisionists are everywhere working for the phoney peace and true aggression of U.S. imperialism, it is certainly no question of understanding. It is rather that they stand in the position of traitors, that they are in collusion with the U.S. imperialists in using the dual counter-revolutionary tactics, in exterminating the proletarian revolutionary movement and the national liberation movements. However, times are marching forward and so are the people. Revolution is marching ahead. The revolutionary peoples are more and more understanding how to use dual revolutionary tactics to handle the dual counter-revolutionary tactics, how to carry the revolution through to the end. The imperialists, the revisionists, all reactionaries, and their multiple plots will in the long run be thrown completely into the dust bin of history by the people.

\*

\*

\*

In commemorating the 21th anniversary of the Paris Commune Engels said: "Let the bourgeoisie celebrate its 14th of July or 22nd of September. The celebration day of the proletariat will always be the 18th of March." (47)

Now, as we are commemorating the 95th anniversary of the Paris Commune uprising, the day of celebration of the proletariat, everywhere we look on the globe we see a great revolutionary movement of "angry waves surging in the four seas; of thunder shaking the five continents." History heroically proves the prediction of Marx made 95 years ago: "Even if the commune collapses, the struggle will only be prolonged -- that's all. The principles of the commune will always exist; they are indestructible. Before the working class is liberated, these principles will be manifested again and again." (48) "The Paris Commune may be knocked over, but the social revolution which it created will triumph." Its principles have spread all over the globe." (49)

6722

CSO: 3530-D

1870

COMRADE CHIEN PO-TSAN'S OUTLOOK ON HISTORY  
SHOULD BE CRITICIZED

Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag) Peiping, No 4, 24 March 1966, pp 19-30./

The class struggle in the domain of history has been rather acute over the past few years in China. This is an important aspect of the class struggle in the ideological sphere.

The great current of the socialist revolution is washing against the old school of history serving the feudalist and capitalist systems of ownership. Under the situation marked by the victory of the socialist revolution, the proletarian historians have launched a struggle against the old, traditional outlook on history. This makes the position untenable to some historians who firmly adhere to the direction set for history by the bourgeoisie and the feudal class. They are aware that the think on which they nestle is shaking as if about to fall, and there is no alternative but for them to rise and fight.

As a consequence, the struggle between the two lines--with the proletariat on one side and the bourgeoisie on the other--has become acute in the domain of history. A series of debates on problems involving important principles has been going on all the time. The great polemic on historicalism and the class viewpoint, the peasants' wars of China, the evaluation of historical characters, "the policy of concession," and other problems--which has been initiated by the criticism of Comrade Wu Han's Dismissal of Hai Jui--has opened up a lively and animating phase that knows no precedent.

This great polemic is a great struggle between Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung on the one hand and bourgeois and feudal ideas on the other in the domain of history.

It is a struggle launched by the proletariat of China--after it came into power and enforced the socialist revolution--for the eradication of the bourgeois, feudal and other reactionary and mistaken ideas in the domain of history. It is a component of the struggle for the promotion of proletarian ideas and the destruction of bourgeois ideas--the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "Class struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism."(1) The present great polemic in the domain of history is one over whether the use of the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on class struggle to handle historical problems should be firmly adhered to or opposed. In other words, it is a polemic between historical materialism and historical idealism.

In the struggle between the two lines within the domain of history, one side firmly adheres to historical idealism and the direction set by the bourgeoisie and the feudal class for history, and Comrade Wu Han is one of the commanders on that side. Another commander is Comrade Chien Po-tsan.

Over a long period of time, Comrade Chien Po-tsan, who considers himself a Marxist historian, has written quite a number of articles on many important problems pertaining to historical theory. These articles are considered by some persons the guiding documents in historical research. The important ones are:

"On Peasants' Wars of Ancient China"

"Some Problems on Evaluation of Historical Characters"

"Some Problems of the Moment on Teaching History"

"A Preliminary View on Handling a Number of Historical Problems"

"Some Problems Found in Present-Day Historical Research"

"How to Handle the Relationships of Nationalities and Classes in History" (2)

Among these articles, the two published in 1961 and 1962-- "A Preliminary View on Handling a Number of Historical Problems" and "Some Problems Found in Present-Day Historical Research"-- have methodically discussed his bourgeois and feudal outlook on

history. They are two anti-Marxist historical programs.

Because he flaunts the Marxist-Leninist banner, he is quite capable of misleading people. In order to distinguish right from wrong and to bring out truth, a serious discussion of some important problems in regard to Comrade Chien Po-tsan's outlook on history is most essential to the revolution in history which is presently under way.

#### What Does So-Called "Historicism" Indicate?

Both the feudal class and the bourgeoisie are unable to understand the movement of social history of mankind and its law. They describe history sometimes as a conglomeration of incidents and sometimes as the schemes of God. They attribute it sometimes to the revelation of the conscience of emperors, princes, generals and ministers, and sometimes to the criminal activities of tyrants. The chief reason that the feudal and bourgeois historians want to distort history as something preposterous and in confusion is that they cannot scientifically and objectively observe historical changes because of the interests of the exploiting classes. Only Marxism has scientifically exposed for the first time the true identity of history, discovered the basic law governing the development of history. This is the law of class struggle.

Marxism-Leninism sums up the historical events and the activities of historical figures as class activities. It holds that all struggles in history--economic, political or ideological--are manifestations of class struggles. The struggle of the oppressed and exploited classes against the oppressor and exploiting classes is the real motive force of historical development.

Because the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle is ever more better grasped by the broad masses of the people, those historians with the stubborn bourgeois world outlook have no alternative but to change their method of opposition.

This is precisely the course which Comrade Chien Po-tsan has taken. He has made use of bourgeois historicism to distort historical materialism and to resist the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on class struggle.

Comrade Chien Po-tsan put forward his so-called "historicism" in 1952. However, "historicism" was not vociferously publicized as an integral system of thought until the past few years. From 1961 to 1962 he publicized everywhere his "historicism" in Peking, Nanking, Shanghai and Soochow, and wanted to replace the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle with his so-called "historicism."

Why does Comrade Chien Po-tsan give so much publicity to "historicalism?" Because he is of the opinion that the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on class struggle is onesided and cannot be wholly used to interpret history. He says "Besides the class viewpoint, there must also be historicalism." He also says: "The class viewpoint must be integrated with historicalism. If there is only the class viewpoint but not historicalism, it is easy onesidedly to reject everything. If there is only historicalism but not the class viewpoint, it is easy onesidedly to affirm everything. Only the integration of the two can give historical facts a fair judgement in all respects." (3). It is obvious that the viewpoint on class struggle is excluded from his "historicalism."

Comrade Chien Po-tsan says that some comrades, "in order to adhere firmly to the class standpoint, have described the ancient history of China as a mass of pitch darkness, a heap of rubbish and the conglomeration of sins. The reason for this is none other than that the ancient history is the history of class society." He also says: "Some comrades simply use the class character as the yardstick for evaluating historical personages. Many historical personages are negated for no other reason than that they belonged to the landlord class by origin." (4)

It is slanderous to say that the proletarian historians have described the Chinese history as "a mass of pitch darkness." What Comrade Chien Po-tsan really means to say is that the class struggle viewpoint is undesirable, and if such a viewpoint is used to analyze history and to consider history as a history of class struggle, history will be described as "a conglomeration of sins." As Comrade Chien Po-tsan sees it, once the method of class analysis is used to evaluate historical personages and such personages are evaluated with class character as the yardstick, the historical personages of the feudal class will be negated.

"In order to cling firmly to one's stand, when discussing contradictions in history, only the contradictions between antagonistic classes are discussed, and no mention is made of the contradictions within the ruling class... With such an attitude adopted toward history, history is too simple--so simple that there is no contradiction of any kind." (5) This is another attack made by Comrade Chien Po-tsan against the class struggle viewpoint.

Yes, historical materialism advocates the use of the contradictions between antagonistic classes--such as the exploited class and the exploiting class, the slaves and the slave-owners, the peasants and the landlords, the workers and the capitalists--to interpret historical phenomena. Comrade Chien

Po-tsan says this will not do, and if only such contradictions are discussed when discussing contradictions in history, history is "too simple--so simple that there is no contradiction of any kind." According to Comrade Chien Po-tsan's viewpoint, the history taught should be more complex--so complex that the boundaries of classes cannot be distinguished. He wants to discuss the contradictions within the feudal ruling class in a big way because he wants to make use of such contradictions to dilute or replace the contradictions between antagonistic classes.

Comrade Chien Po-tsan has affixed many labels--such as "nihilism," "non-historicalism," "over-simplification," "one-sidedness," "negation of everything," etc.--on those comrades who make use of the class struggle viewpoint to interpret history. The biggest label, however, is "dogmatism."

The Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle is the foundation of Marxism-Leninism, and is a universal truth that can be correctly applied anywhere in the world. Under the slogan of opposing "dogmatism," Comrade Chien Po-tsan vociferously opposes the use of the class struggle viewpoint to study history. He says: "Broadly giving lip service to some theories and principles...dryly quoting some dogmas...preaching only universal truth and general principles without integrating them with its own historical characteristics...such dogmatism...should be opposed." (6)

Comrade Chien Po-tsan has said a lot of things about Marxism-Leninism. He also orally acknowledges historical materialism, but takes exception with the class struggle viewpoint. This is a tactic for removing the core. What he opposes is precisely the core of historical materialism--the class struggle viewpoint.

Comrade Chien Po-tsan considers his so-called "historicalism" as a law which must be "strictly" followed in the study of history. As a matter of fact, his so-called "historicalism" is a wornout weapon used by the bourgeoisie to oppose the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle. Comrade Chien Po-tsan merely gives it a coat of golden paint and wields it everywhere .

Let us lay aside who are after all those persons now mouthing "historicalism" in the world. Judged by history, Croce, an Italian historian of the 19th century who was opposed to Marxism, first made use of "historicalism" to oppose the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on class struggle. He thought that "the sole reality is fluidity," i.e., "spirit," and declared that this was "historicalism." Many philosophical sects of the bourgeoisie--e.g., Kantism, pragmatism, existentialism, logical

positivism--also maliciously attacked the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on class struggle. For example, logical positivist Bebel attacked the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on class struggle as "a dangerous and oversimple viewpoint" which only "acknowledges that the difference between the rich and the poor is at all times of basic importance" and "erroneously interprets all political conflicts as struggles between the exploiter and the exploited," but rejects "the struggle between the Pope and emperors" as well as "the split within the ruling class." (7) Dewey, the notorious pragmatist, ostensibly also acknowledged that "history is a process of changes," but he firmly opposed the view that class struggle is the motive force of historical changes, and disparaged the class struggle viewpoint as "dogmatic historical philosophy." (8)

People have reasons to say that Comrade Chien Po-tsan's so-called "historicism" and the theory of the bourgeois historians follow the same track, and that he is standing together with the bourgeois scholars who oppose the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on class struggle.

#### The Revolution of the Peasants Is Distorted and Disparaged

Comrade Mao Tse-tung eulogizes with consistent enthusiasm the peasants in history, their uprisings and their wars. He says: "The class struggles of the peasants, the peasant uprisings and peasant wars constituted the real motive force of historical development in Chinese feudal society." (9) Because of this, as far as historians are concerned, how to deal with the peasant uprisings and peasant wars is a question of basic attitude and basic standpoint. It is precisely on such a question of fundamental character that Comrade Chien Po-tsan exhibits the sign-board, "Peasant wars should be handled on the basis of historicism," and has on more than one occasion publicized:

"The peasants opposed feudal oppression and exploitation, but had not opposed--and also could not oppose--feudalism as a system.

"The peasants opposed the landlords, but had not opposed--and also could not oppose--the landlords as a class.

"The peasants opposed the emperor, but had not opposed--and also could not oppose--imperial authority as a doctrine." (10)

What does this mean? It means to say--as Comrade Chien Po-tsan sees it--the peasant uprisings and peasant wars were opposed to feudal oppression and exploitation, but not the feudal system; they were opposed to the landlords, but not the landlord class. Comrade Chien Po-tsan's viewpoint on the peasants in

history and their uprisings and wars has fully exposed what his so-called "historicalism" means.

Will he please tell us why were the peasants opposed to feudal oppression and exploitation, and not to the feudal system? Can it be said that feudal oppression and exploitation are not the products of the feudal system? Why were they opposed to the landlords, and not to the landlord class? Can it be said that the landlord class is not formed by the landlords?

The principal contradiction in feudal society is the contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class. The feudal system is a system for the landlord class to oppress and exploit the peasant class. How can it be said that the peasant uprisings and peasant wars were not opposed to the feudal system and the landlord class? According to Lenin, war, as the highest form of class struggle, is aimed at "opposing not the individual but the class" (11). When Comrade Mao Tse-tung discussed the peasant uprisings and peasant wars in Chinese history, he said: "The ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression of the Chinese peasants forced them into numerous uprisings against landlord rule." (12)

Comrade Chien Po-tsan wants to draw a dividing line between feudal oppression and exploitation on the one hand and the feudal system on the other, and between the landlords and the landlord class because he wants to prove that the peasant uprisings and peasant wars were not opposed to the feudal system and the landlord class. This viewpoint is a distortion and disparagement of the peasant uprisings and peasant wars in history.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another." (13) According to Comrade Chien Po-tsan's argument, the peasant uprisings and peasant wars were not opposed to the feudal system and the landlord class. What reasons have we then to call them revolution? Is it not more proper to call them reforms?

Now, about the statement, "The peasants opposed the emperor, but had not opposed--and also could not oppose--imperial authority as a principle." If this statement means to say that the insurgent peasants were not opposed to the feudal principle of imperial authority because they sometimes rallied their uprisings in the name of an imperial dynasty, then only the form but not the substance is seen. Marx had this to point out: "The name of Napoleon has a vastly different meaning to various classes," (14) Can it be said that the rally of a peasant uprising in the name of an imperial dynasty should not be given

a class analysis in this way? If this statement means that the insurgent peasants had not their own "doctrine" and thought, then the theory that social consciousness is determined by social existence is rejected, and so is the class struggle in the realm of ideology. Lenin said: "The existence of exploitation will forever engender among the exploiters themselves and some 'intellectual' representatives some ideals that run counter to this system." (15) Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "So long as classes exist, there will be as many doctrines as there are classes" (16). May we ask why the peasants who were exploited in the feudal society would not engender ideas against the feudal system? Why couldn't they have their own "doctrine?" Can it be said that the ideas, "equality of the patrician and the plebeian and closing the gap between the rich and the poor," "equal distribution of land and exemption from taxes," etc.--as advanced in the peasant uprisings and peasant wars--are not fundamentally antagonistic to the feudal doctrine of imperial authority?

The peasant uprisings and peasant wars were by character opposed to the feudal system and the landlord class. This was determined by the principal contradiction in feudal society--the contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class--and was not dependent upon whether or not this point was known to the peasants at those times. In the feudal society, the struggles of the peasants against the landlord class developed to become peasant uprisings and peasant wars. They were directed against the feudal system and the landlord class, and whether or not this point was known to the peasants at those times made no difference. Opposition to feudal oppression and exploitation was opposition to the feudal system and opposition to the landlords was opposition to the landlord class; whether or not this point was known to the peasants also made no difference.

Comrade Chien Po-tsan also says: "A regime established by the peasants could only be a feudal regime." (17) This is a serious distortion of historical facts. For example, the uprising under Huang Ch'ao led to the establishment of the Ta Ch'i regime, and the uprising under Li Tzu-ch'eng led to the establishment of the Ta Shun regime. In areas under the control of these regimes, "all officials captured were beheaded," "the rich people were required to walk barefooted," and "the spacious houses and fertile fields" were without owners. The "poor people" were given back their "ancestral properties," and "the impoverished, slaves and servants encroached upon estates, made abusive use of wealth, and annexed" the landlords' "land, gardens and magnificent houses." Can it be said that such regimes which suddenly brought the peasants from a humble station to an honorable position and caused the landlords to flee the life were feudal regimes? May we ask what feudal regime in history had done such things?

The revolution of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace was the climax in the development of peasant wars. It was also most typical in the establishment of a peasants' regime. The Jen-min Jih-pao published on January 11, 1951, an editorial entitled, "Commemorating the Centenary of the Revolution of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace." This editorial said that "the heroes of the revolution of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace established their own State, organized strong and powerful armed forces, enforced various kinds of revolutionary policies, and aroused the broad masses of the peasants to fight for the overthrow of the feudal land system." Will Comrade Chien Po-tsan please tell us: If the peasants could only establish feudal regimes, are you of the opinion that the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace was a feudal regime like the Manchu Dynasty?

The peasants of the feudal society have created material wealth and spiritual wealth for society with their own production activities. Their revolutionary struggles against the landlord class have impelled historical development and given birth to the overture of the liberation of the Chinese people. Because of their revolutionary character against the feudal system and the landlord class, they are able to accept the leadership of the working class under new historical conditions, form solid alliance with the working class and become the main force in revolution and construction. According to Comrade Chien Po-tsan's interpretation, the peasants of the feudal society were not opposed to the feudal system and the landlord class and had no revolutionary character. How then can they accept the leadership of the working class under new historical conditions and form an alliance with the working class?

#### Emperors, Princes, Generals and Ministers Are Prettified and Eulogized

On the one hand, Comrade Chien Po-tsan makes use of his "historicalism" to distort and disparage the peasants and the peasant revolution in history. On the other hand, he also makes use of his "historicalism" to prettify and eulogize vociferously the representative personages of the landlord class and the feudal system.

In 1958, there was launched on the history front a heroic movement for the revolution of history by eradicating history under the domination of emperors, princes, generals, and ministers and writing the history of the working people in a big way. Confronted by this revolutionary movement, Comrade Chien Po-tsan lost his "patience" and stood forth to fight for the emperors, princes, generals and ministers.

Comrade Chien Po-tsan is of the opinion that it is necessary to affirm the merits of the First Emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty for building the Great Wall, and of Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty for building the Grand Canal. He says: "The building of the Great Wall, the harnessing of the Yellow River and the construction of the Grand Canal were made possible by the labor of the working people in those times. The First Emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty had not carried earth, Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty had not built any embankment, and Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty had no part to play in digging the canal, but they were responsible for the initiation and organization of these giant projects." (18) This is to say although the building of the Great Wall and the construction of the Grand Canal were made possible by the labor of the working people, yet the First Emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty and Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty were responsible for their initiation and organization, and their feats must be acknowledged and affirmed.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that in the feudal society, "the peasants and the handicraft workers were the basic classes which created the wealth and culture of this society." (19) In Chinese history, regardless of whether the Great Wall, the Yellow River or the Grand Canal was involved, were such projects created by and the feats of the working people, or were they created by and the feats of the First Emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty, Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty and other emperors? Comrade Chien Po-tsan wants to credit the First Emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty and Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty with these giant projects. Can it be said that this is not in contravention with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's viewpoint?

Especially in the case of Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty, even the historians of the landlord class dared not to speak in favor of him. They were of the opinion that "he wanted to gratify his insatiable desire with his rich resources, to turn the vast country into his hunting ground, and to offer the broad masses of the common people as bait for snakes and boars." (20) Nevertheless, Comrade Chien Po-tsan has eulogized such a lustful and shameless emperor as "the initiator and organizer" of the construction of the Grand Canal. This is his "historicalism!"

Can we say that Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty should be credited with the meritorious feat because he "initiated and organized" the construction of the Grand Canal, and thus affirm and eulogize him? Of course not.

A concrete problem must be analyzed in a concrete manner. We cannot look at all the water conservation projects built and the undertakings initiated by the exploiting classes in the same light. However, the political designs of those projects which

directly served the exploitation and oppression of the people must be exposed with firmness. Comrade Chien Po-tsan has completely covered up the class character of the Grand Canal constructed by Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty, and described the exploitation and oppression of the people as a good deed carried out for the people. This is entirely wrong.

Comrade Chien Po-tsan has another reason for eulogizing the emperors, princes, generals and ministers of the landlord class. He thinks that at the stage when the exploiting class is on the ascent, it can only be eulogized but cannot be criticized. He says: "According to the viewpoint of historicalism, when the landlord class opposed the slave-owner class, it was a revolutionary class. Only when this class was on the decline and its system was about to collapse was it reactionary, and it ought be denounced and opposed. If that class and that system were opposed as soon as they appeared in history, it would mean opposition to historical evolution." He says: "Only the slave owners could oppose the newly emerging feudal system." (21)

What kind of "historicalism" is this? It is "historicalism" opposed to class analysis. According to the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on class struggle, as far as the working people are concerned, the exploiting classes are at all times the exploiters and oppressors. On what ground are they not allowed to denounce and oppose such exploitation and oppression? It is generally thought that feudal society in China began to go downhill from the T'ang and Sung dynasties. The decline of the capitalist system began after the great revolution of the Paris Commune in 1871. According to Comrade Chien Po-tsan's viewpoint, the landlord class and the feudal system of China before the T'ang and Sung dynasties, and the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system before the Paris Commune basically cannot be opposed. Those who do so are opposed to "historicalism." What does this mean? It means to say that the revolutionary struggles of the peasants against feudalism before the T'ang and Sung dynasties--e.g., the peasant uprising at the end of the Ch'in Dynasty and the Yellow Turban Insurrection at the end of the Han Dynasty--were all opposed to historical development, and took the standpoint of the slave owners in opposing the newly emerging feudal system. Likewise, the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat in France, Britain and Germany prior to the Paris Commune were also opposed to historical development and in violation of Comrade Chien Po-tsan's "historicalism," and were therefore wrong.

Perhaps some persons may think that Comrade Chien Po-tsan's beautification of the emperors, princes, generals and ministers seems to be conditional, because he eulogizes only those emperors and princes known to have performed so-called feats of merit for

the people, and only the representative characters of the landlords and the bourgeoisie on the ascent. Is that so? No. As a matter of fact, Comrade Chien Po-tsan affirms the landlords and the bourgeoisie without exception. He denounces those who are not disciples of his so-called "historicalism" by saying: "Even though they want to affirm the representative personages of the ruling class--emperors, princes, generals and ministers--they also denounce them in the first instance. Or else, they reject them once again after affirming them. They seem to think that without doing this they would forfeit their class stand." (22) This means to say that emperors, princes, general and ministers cannot be criticized, nor can they be rejected after they are affirmed. They can only be eulogized and worshipped, and you are not permitted to say "no." How great his affection is for the emperors, princes, generals and ministers!

Comrade Chien Po-tsan's eulogizing the emperors, princes, generals and ministers is based upon a theory which he considers to be very important. This is that the emperors, princes, generals and ministers safeguarded with law the people's right of existence. He says that the important task of feudal emperors and princes was "to safeguard with legislation the right of existence of the broad masses of the people, but not to redress the grievances of individual persons." (23) As Comrade Chien Po-tsan sees it, this means to say feudal emperors and princes were able not only to redress grievances for "individual persons," but also to safeguard with legislation the right of existence of the broad masses of the people.

According to Comrade Chien Po-tsan's viewpoint based upon "historicalism," it was a matter of course that feudal emperors and princes would redress grievances for the people. But wait. Will he please tell us what were after all the grievances which the emperors and princes had redressed for the people? The grievances of which class were redressed? Was there such a thing in history? Even a single case will do. What was feudal legislation? Feudal legislation was a political system for upholding the exploitation of the peasants by the landlord class. What is after all the profound theory which requires emperors and princes to make use of the legislation of the landlord class to safeguard the right of existence of "the broad masses of the people?" This is to worship the emperors and princes and the State and law of the landlord class as supra-class idols.

Comrade Chien Po-tsan clamors that "historicalism" must be used to evaluate historical personages. In fact, he not only has made use of bourgeois historicalism to oppose the method of class analysis and to prettify the emperors, princes, generals and ministers, but also has basically rejected the Marxist-Leninist theory on State and law and eulogized State and law as tools for reconciling class contradictions.

"Policy of Concession" or Counterattack for Reckoning  
in the Reverse Direction?

In order to prettify and eulogize the emperors, princes, generals and ministers, and in order to disparge the peasant revolution and to reject the historical role of peasant revolution, Comrade Chien Po-tsan has all the time vociferously publicized that the feudal rulers had implemented a "policy of concession" by alleviating their exploitation and oppression of the peasants.

In February, 1951, Comrade Chien Po-tsan had put forward the theory of "concession" made by the ruling class to the peasants. In an article entitled, "On Peasants' Wars of Ancient China," he put forward a formula of historical development in feudal society: peasant war--concession made by the ruling class--propulsion of historical development. He said: "After every major insurrection, the new feudal rulers, in order to restore feudal order, must make some concessions to the peasants. This is to say, the exploitation and oppression of the peasants must be reduced to a greater or lesser extent. In this way, the restraint of the feudal relations of production on the productive forces was reduced, and the productive forces of feudal society could develop continuously, thus driving Chinese history forward." (24) In 1956 Chien Po-tsan, Shao Hsun-cheng and Hu Hua jointly compiled the Outline of Chinese History in which much publicity was given to the "policy of concession." In the past few years, the Summary of Chinese History edited by Chien Po-tsan gave even greater publicity to the "policy of concession." Formerly, it was only said that the ruling class made "concession" after every major insurrection of the peasants. Now he says that every insurrection of the peasants--and even the small-scale uprisings not very well known--"also forced the rulers to make concessions to some extent." (25) As Comrade Chien Po-tsan sees it, the "policy of concession" adopted by the ruling class has obviously impelled historical development. The theory of "policy of concession"--as publicized by Comrade Chien Po-tsan--is a distortion of historical facts and is anti-Marxist.

"There is no knowledge without comparison." We also must compare the landlord classes of ancient and modern times, in China and in other countries.

Let us first take a look at the situations of modern class struggles. The 1927 Great Revolution of China was very large in scale and was a great shock to the ruling class. However, after the failure of the Great Revolution, what policy was adopted by the ruling class toward the revolutionary people? Was it a "policy of concession?" Was there "any reduction in exploitation and oppression?" No, a thousand noes. In this regard, the memory was still fresh to many veteran revolutionary comrades

and the revolutionary masses. The ruling class only swung its butcher's knife at and opened the doors of prisons to the revolutionary people. Many people were massacred, and there were really rivers of blood. Many people were imprisoned, and it was really a dark age. The few rights which the masses of the workers and peasants won in the revolution were snatched back by the ruling class, and they were made to bear a heavier burden. When Comrade Mao Tse-tung made an analysis of the situation at that time, he had this to say: "The present regime of the new warlords of the Kuomintang remains a regime of the comprador class in the cities and the landlord class in the countryside; it is a regime which has capitulated to imperialism in its foreign relations and which at home has replaced the old warlords with new ones, subjecting the working class and the peasantry to an even more ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression. The bourgeois-democratic revolution which started in Kwangtung Province had gone only halfway when the comprador and landlord classes usurped the leadership and immediately shifted it on to the road of counterrevolution; throughout the country the workers, the peasants, the other sections of the common people, and even the bourgeoisie, have remained under counterrevolutionary rule and obtained not the slightest particle of political or economic emancipation," (26) In this connection there was basically no "concession" or "policy of concession" of any kind from the ruling class, and there was only harsher attack and counterattack for reckoning in the reverse direction, only White Terror!

Let us take another look at the landlord class of feudal society in other countries. The peasant war of 1525 in Germany was a large-scale revolutionary movement of profound influence. After the failure of this peasant war, what policy did the landlord class adopt toward the peasants? Was it a "policy of concession?" Was there "any reduction of exploitation and oppression?" No, a thousand noes! In the book, The Peasant War of Germany, Engels had this to say: "After Gaismeyl retreated to the Venice area, the last act of the peasant was drew to a close. The peasants of all places were once again enslaved by the manors of the Church, the aristocracy or the urban aristocracy. The agreements concluded with the peasants in all places were torn up, and the victors did all they could to expropriate the vanquished. As a consequence, the peasants were required to shoulder even heavier burdens." (27) Similarly, there was here only counterattack by the feudal landlord class for reckoning in the reverse direction, and there was absolutely no "policy of concession."

"All crows in the world are black." Exploitation and expropriation are practiced by the landlord class toward the peasant class at whatever time and in whatever place. It is the nature

of the landlord class to practice exploitation and expropriation. How can it be imagined that the landlord class could adopt the "policy of concession" toward the peasant class and reduce its oppression and exploitation? It is even more preposterous to think that the landlord class would adopt a "policy of concession" after the failure of a peasant revolution. Doesn't this mean to say that the peasant class could get what they could not win in the revolution after the failure of its revolution?

The contradiction between the landlord class and the peasant class is beyond reconciliation, because their interests are basically antagonistic to each other. The landlord class is extremely hostile to the revolution of the peasant class, and is firm with its suppression. After the failure of a peasant revolution, the landlord class could only launch a counterattack for reckoning in the reverse direction against the revolutionary peasants and subject them to sanguine suppression. There would never be any "concessions," much less any "policy of concession."

The policy implemented by the landlord class in the early days of the Western Han Dynasty is the first example cited by Comrade Chien Po-tsan for publicizing and extolling the theory of "policy of concession." He says: "After the great uprising of the peasants at the end of the Ch'in Dynasty, in order to restore order in feudal society, Liu Pang, the new ruler, could not but make some concession to the peasants. The abolition of the harsh laws of the Ch'in Dynasty was the best example." (28)

Was the "abolition of the harsh laws of the Ch'in Dynasty"--- which Comrade Chien Po-tsan especially extols---a "concession" to the peasants? No.

When Liu Pang entered Kuanchung, he introduced, "three chapters of provisional constitution." Was this designed "to abolish the harsh laws of the Ch'in Dynasty?" No. The "three chapters of provisional constitution" provided "death penalty for manslaughter and punishment for inflicting bodily harms and stealing." This was a law for safeguarding the landlord class and opposing the peasant revolution, and was the hallmark of Liu Pang's rebellion against the peasant revolution. In the peasant revolution, whose "law" was violated when landlords were "killed" or "wounded," or their property "stolen?" It could only be the "law" of the landlord class! Instead of exposing it, Comrade Chien Po-tsan has eulogized it. Does this not mean that he stands on the side of Liu Pang to oppose the peasant revolution?

"The abolition of the harsh laws of the Ch'in Dynasty" was entirely falsified for the deception of people. It was used

by the landlord class at that time to cheat the people, so that they might be lured into honestly abiding by the law of the landlord class. The law of the landlord class was a whip prepared by the landlords for the peasants. It was a tool of dictatorship, and definitely was not a kind thing. Instead of exposing the class substance of the law in the early days of the Han Dynasty, Comrade Chien Po-tsan--who calls himself a Marxist historian--has again and again publicized what is called "the abolition of the harsh laws of the Ch'in Dynasty." Is this not an attempt to help the landlord class go on to deceive the people?

Comrade Chien Po-tsan says: Because the early rulers of the Han Dynasty enforced the "policy of concession," under the reigns of Emperor Wen and Emperor Ching, "good harvests were reaped, the common people were well fed, the public granaries were well filled, and there was grain stock to spare." (29) Such a description is but a copy of the stale talks used by the inspired historians of the landlord class to whitewash peace. The richer the landlord class was, the poorer the peasant class would be. The wealth of the landlord class was built on the bones of the peasant class. "While wine and meat stink behind scarlet doors, the roadside is scattered with the bones of those died of cold." Although money and grain were left to rot in the State coffers and graneries of the landlord class, the peasants had still to sell their children and to struggle on the death line. This was not denied even by some rulers in those times. In his memorial to Emperor Wen, Chao Ts'o said: "Today, in a peasant family of five mouths, only two are working, and they can till no more than 100 mow of land and reap a harvest of no more than 100 piculs. They have spring plowing, summer harrowing, autumn harvesting and winter storing to attend to. They have to gather firewood and serve the government and official corvees. They cannot shun the dust storm in spring, the great heat in summer, the rainy days in autumn and the freezing weather in winter. They have to work every day without rest in the four seasons. Moreover, they have to welcome the coming and speed the parting, attend funerals, visit the sick, feed orphans and bring up the young. Notwithstanding their industry and hard work, they remain the victims of floods and drought, harsh government and exorbitant taxes, and everchanging laws. Those with property sell it at half price and those without property have to borrow money at usury rates, and some of them are forced to sell their land, houses, and even wives and sons to repay their debts." (30) Why has Comrade Chien Po-tsan chosen to hide these facts?

Comrade Chien Po-tsan claims that his theory of "policy of concession" is an exposition of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on the peasant revolution in feudal society (31). No, definitely not.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung tells us that history is a history of class struggle, and in feudal society, only the peasant uprisings and peasant wars constitute the motive force of historical development. Comrade Chien Po-tsan is, however, of the opinion that class reconciliation and class compromise have impelled historical development, and the historical role of peasant uprisings and peasant wars can only be manifested through the adoption of the "policy of concession" by the ruling class. Comrade Mao Tse-tung says that the logic of historical development is "Struggle--fail--struggle again--fail again--struggle again--until victory. But Comrade Chien Po-tsan says that the logic of historical development is: Peasant war--concession made by the ruling class--historical development is pushed forward. These two kinds of viewpoint are basically different. How can it be said that the theory of "policy of concession" is an exposition of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's viewpoint?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "The principle of the reactionary forces in dealing with the democratic forces of the people is definitely to destroy all they can and to prepare to destroy later whatever they cannot destroy now." (32) This is the law of class struggle, and is without exception good to ancient and modern times. China and other countries. Because of this, it is necessary to adhere firmly to the theory of class struggle and to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the class enemy. We cannot harbor any illusion that the reactionary classes would make any "concession" or enforce the "policy of concession" toward the working people. The revolutionary people can never harbor any illusion for the enemy.

### Conclusion

During the early days of liberation, although some criticisms had been made against the outlook of the feudal class and the bourgeoisie on history in the realm of history, yet because the gradual formation of the contingent of revolutionary historians was still under way, the edge of criticism was not very sharp. In 1957 the bourgeois right-wingers launched a rabid attack against the Party and socialism, and the bourgeois historians vociferously publicized the bourgeois viewpoint, "Historical data mean history." They opposed the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, refused to study history for the sake of revolution, and opposed the view that historical research must serve proletarian politics. They publicized "History for the sake of history," and were actually studying history for the sake of individualism, and personal fame and gain. After the conclusion of the anti-rightist struggle, the revolutionary historians, led by the Party, have launched a lively revolutionary movement for history. This revolution holds high the red banner of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, persists in criticizing and re-

writing history as a whole with the class struggle viewpoint, and is opposed to all sorts feudal and bourgeois outlook on history.

This revolution for history--which is full of the vernal spirit of youth--takes the right direction and is abounding in vigor and achievement. The revolutionary critical spirit has been brought into full play, and the old outlook on history has been criticized.

As Lenin had said, Marxism "has had to fight for every step forward in the course of life"(33), and the course of development for revolutionary history is also not a quiet one. The feudal and bourgeois outlook on history will never voluntarily give up its dominant role and will never be reconciled to its doom.

Although the strong and powerful socialist revolutionary forces have made some representative personages of the feudal class and the bourgeoisie go bankrupt in the ideological realm, yet the struggle is still a protracted one full of twists and turns. Under given conditions, the representative personages of the bourgeoisie will perform again on the stage. Between 1960 and 1962, because of the betrayal of the Khrushchev revisionist group and of serious natural calamities, China was beset with temporary economic difficulties. At that time, in the realm of history as in other realms, the representative personages of bourgeois history availed to the opportunity, and openly gave performances on the stage.

Comrade Chien Po-tsan adopted the lordly attitude of the bourgeoisie toward the revolution for history. He jeered at it sarcastically, made a mockery of it and hit at it. He went around to make speeches, and published articles, describing the revolution for history--which had just begun--as good for nothing. He did not hesitate even to fabricate stories for attacking the revolution for history. For a time, there emerged a countercurrent in the revolution for history among the historians.

Comrade Chien Po-tsan greatly resents the view of "leading history with theory," that is, guiding historical research with Marxism-Leninism. He says that the slogan of "leading history with theory" is onesided, and "consequently, the whole are of research lies in profusely quoting passages from classic works." He says: "For a period of time, it is apparent that the vogue is to make works excel in vagueness, abstractiveness and dryness,"(34) He preaches: "Data are the fountainheads of knowledge, and so far as historical research is concerned, book knowledge is of primary importance."(35) He has, in fact,

repeated the bourgeois viewpoint, "Historical data mean history," and stood it against Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Chien Po-tsan preaches that "politics is in the service of economy," that "economy is the spine of history," and that they are "principles for writing history;" and he directs them against the revolutionary viewpoint that historical research must serve proletarian politics." He denounces some comrades by saying: "By narrowly interpreting the propositions that history must serve politics, that history must be integrated with realities and that things of the past must be made to serve the present, nearly every policy, call or slogan of the Party has been stuffed into ancient history." He also says: "To make history serve politics does not mean coordinating it with every political movement before us." (37)

Comrade Chien Po-tsan is especially opposed to the view that historians must firmly adhere to the standpoint of the proletariat. He repeatedly and tirelessly ridicule those historians who--"for the sake of holding fast to their stand-point"--"oppose whatever is feudal and abuse every landlord" as "taking the stand of slave owners." (38)

Comrade Chien Po-tsan has summed up the revolution for history in this way: "Summing up, onesidedness, abstraction, simplification, absoluteness, modernization have been the salient defects in the teaching and study of history over the past few years." (39) \*

Summing up, Comrade Chien Po-tsan's anti-Marxist-Leninist compendium for history is based upon "opposing two things and protecting two things." He opposes the use of class struggle viewpoint to interpret history, and opposes making historical research and history teaching serve present-day politics. He seeks to protect the bourgeois outlook on history--"historical data mean history" and "history for the sake of history"-- and to protect the historical system of the feudal dynasties for prettifying the emperors, princes, generals and ministers and uglifying the peasant revolution. The fig-leave for this compendium is bourgeois historicalism which has lost its teeth due to its age.

This is the reflection of the realistic class struggle in the realm of history.

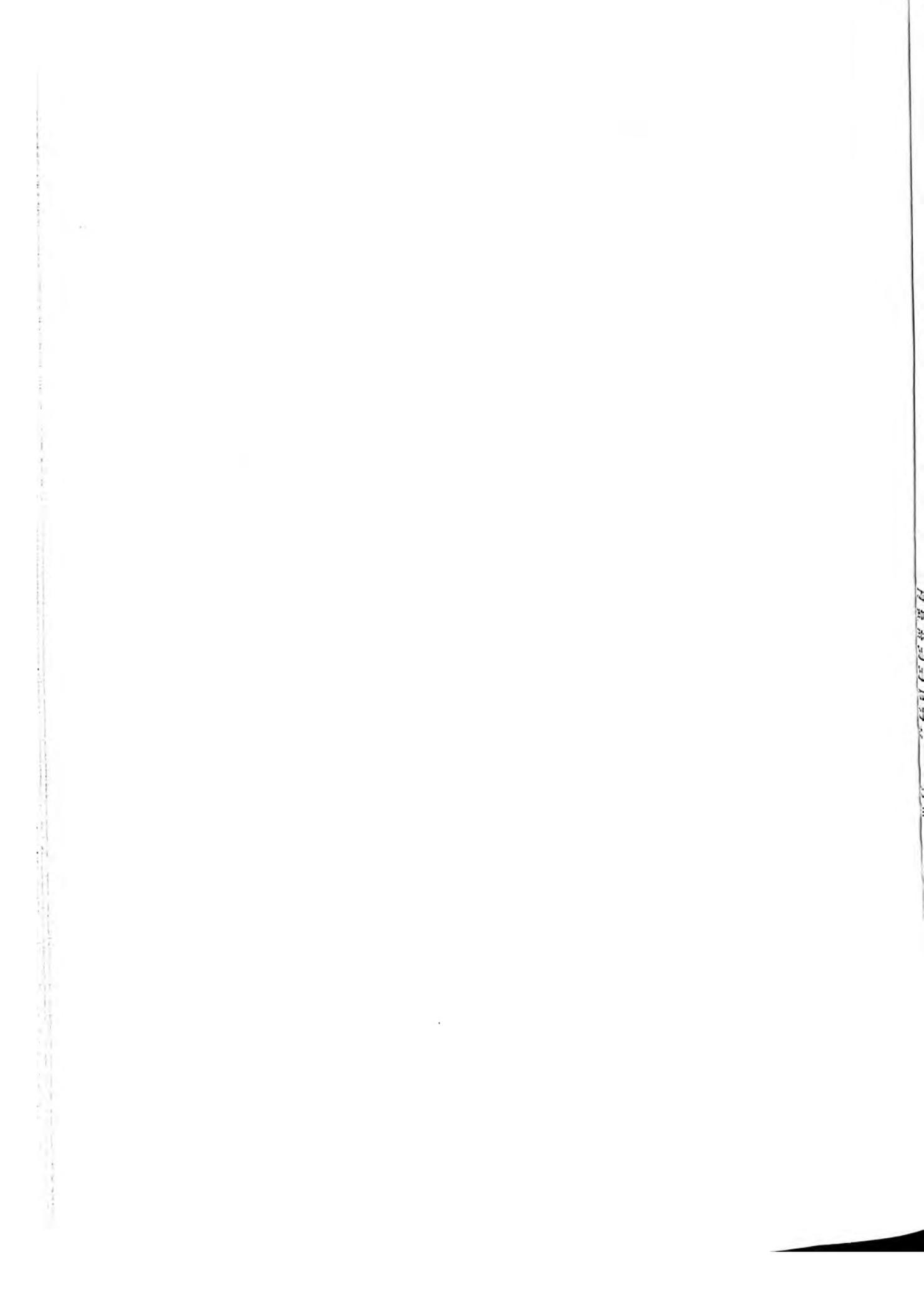
In order to carry the revolution for history through to the end, Comrade Chien Po-tsan's outlook on history must be criticized.

Notes:

- (1) "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. IV, p. 1491
- (2) For these articles see: Collected Works on Historical Problems (Revised Edition), People's Publishing House, new 1st edition, 1962; Hsin Chien-she, September, 1952; Hung-ch'i, No. 10, 1959; Kuang-ming Jih-pao, December 22, 1961; Chiang-hai Hsueh-k'an, June, 1962; Wen-hui Pao, May 18, 1962.
- (3) (4) (5) (6) "Some Problems Found in Present-Day Historical Research," Chiang-hai Hsueh-k'an, June, 1962.
- (7) "Open Society and Its Enemy."
- (8) "Liberalism and Social Activity," Selected Philosophical Works on Dewey.
- (9) "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. II, p. 619.
- (10) "A Preliminary View on Handling a Number of Historical Problems," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, December 22, 1961.
- (11) "What Is 'Friend of the People'," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. I, p. 277
- (12) "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. II, p. 619.
- (13) "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. I, p. 18.
- (14) "Class Struggles in France from 1848 to 1850," Collected Works of Marx and Engels Vol. VII, p. 51.
- (15) "Economic Content of Populism," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. I, pp. 393-394.
- (16) "On New Democracy," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. II p. 680.
- (17) "A Preliminary View on Handling a Number of Historical Problems."
- (18) "Some Problems of the Moment of Teaching History," Hung-ch'i, No. 10, 1959.

- (19) "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. II, p. 619
- (20) History of Sui Dynasty: Annals of Emperors
- (21) (22) "Some Problems Found in Present-Day Historical Research."
- (23) "Historical Reality and Artistic Reality," Hsi-chü Pao, No. 21, 1959.
- (24) "On Peasants' Wars of Ancient China," Collected Works on Historical Problems, (Revised Edition), p. 117.
- (25) Summary of Chinese History, Vol. II, People's Publishing House, 1963 edition, p. 90.
- (26) "Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?" Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. I, p. 49.
- (27) "The Peasant War of Germany," Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. VII, p. 478
- (28) (29) "On Peasants' Wars of Ancient China," Collected Works on Historical Problems, (Revised Edition), pp. 117, 117-118
- (30) Tzu-chih T'ung-chien, Vol. XV, Annals of Han Dynasty, VII.
- (31) See Collected Works on Historical Problems (Revised Edition), p. 409.
- (32) "Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation," Selected Works on Mao Tse-tung, Vol. IV, pp. 1181-1182.
- (33) "Marxism and Revisionism," Collected Works on Lenin, Vol. XV, p. 13.
- (34) (35) (36) (37) (38) "Some Problems Found in Present-Day Historical Research."
- (39) "A Preliminary View on Handling a Number of Historical Problems."

CSO: 3530-D



COMRADE CHIAOYU-LU IS GOOD EXAMPLE OF CREATIVE STUDY AND  
APPLICATION OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S THINKING

Following is a translation of an article by the  
Hung-ch'i Commentator in the Chinese-language per-  
iodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 4, 24 March  
1966, pp 31-34.

Comrade Chiao Yu-lu is a fine student of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, an outstanding member of the CCP, a faithful son of the people, and a good example for leading cadres of all trades and sectors. Everyone is attracted by the immortal deeds of Comrade Chiao Yu-lu, and an ardent upsurge in learning from Comrade Chiao Yu-lu has taken shape in all parts of the country. To emulate Comrade Chiao Yu-lu and arm one's mind with Mao Tse-tung's thinking have become a common aspiration and demand of cadres at various levels and the broad masses of people.

In learning from Comrade Chiao Yu-lu, the most essential thing is to study his way of creatively studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the revolutionary world outlook of the proletariat. By mastering Mao Tse-tung's thinking and using the proletarian world outlook to observe and reform all things, a revolutionary will be able to possess such outstanding dispositions of the proletariat as complete devotion to the revolution and people, total disregard for personal fate and interest, and fearlessness in the face of trials or death.

Comrade Chiao Yu-lu regarded Chairman Mao's works as the highest instruction for his own work and the study of the Mao Tse-tung's thinking as his lifetime militant task. He put Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command of everything. He was also skillful in combining Mao Tse-tung's thinking to reform the subjective

and objective world outlook. Although there are thousands and millions of things which we must learn from Comrade Chiao Yu-lu, what we must learn first is his way of creatively studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Only by means of maintaining a firm grip on this important factor can we learn the outstanding disposition of Comrade Chiao Yu-lu and fully understand the proletarian world outlook.

Comrade Chiao Yu-lu was transferred to work at Lankao at a time when the class struggle, both at home and abroad, was acute, and when the people of Lankao County had suffered from extremely serious disasters of waterlogging, sandstorms, and alkaline soil. What had Comrade Chiao Yu-lu brought with him when he arrived in Lankao County? He brought with him neither relief grain nor relief funds; what he brought with him was four volumes of "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung." What did he actually rely upon to overcome one hardship after another as well as the three major disasters of waterlogging, sandstorms, and alkaline soil? Without relying upon heaven or earth, he simply relied upon the great Mao Tse-tung's thinking and the broad masses of people who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

There was a great deal of work to be done in Lankao County at that time. Comrade Chiao Yu-lu faced many difficult problems and many contradictions as well. What were the major contradictions and what were the key problems?

Having noticed the serious natural calamities, some persons worked hard on the allocation of relief grain and relief funds, while others only maintained a firm grip on manure collection or concentrated on production. All of them had forgotten what Chairman Mao has constantly taught the people that a firm grip must be kept on the major links of class struggle and the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism.

Comrade Chiao Yu-lu told them: "It is not enough to only keep a firm grip on all this. What we must do first is to maintain a grip on class struggle and the ideas of cadres and people.

"Without revolutionary ideas, it is impossible to do a good job in production no matter what methods may be adopted. In order to keep a grip on ideas, it is necessary to read Chairman Mao's works more and follow the instructions of Chairman Mao."

Attending a conference of cadres at four different levels called by the Lankao CCP Committee in 1963, he said: "We should

not be politically rusty, nor should we only keep a grip on production and ignore the class struggle. Moreover, we should not go after the production of grain, cotton, and oil-bearing crops only, and do nothing about maintaining a firm grip on the enemies, ourselves, and on friends."

The law of class struggle is the core and essence of historical materialism, whereas the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism provides the motive force for the advance of socialist society. Because Comrade Chiao Yu-lu had maintained a firm grip on the essential contradiction--class struggle--in handling complicated and difficult things, Lankao County has advanced by leaps and bounds on an unprecedented scale in its history.

Revolutionary workers may from time to time encounter hardships. However, there are two different attitudes in the face of hardships. Some persons who are afraid of hardships cannot stand straight in the face of hardships, holding that hardships will forever remain as hardships. They cannot see any victory or any hope through hardships. This attitude reflects the ideology of cowards and lazy people and a metaphysical world view.

Other persons hold that like all other things on earth, each hardship has a dual character. Hardships are not absolute, for they can be changed under certain circumstances. This attitude represents the revolutionary dialectic of the one-into-two theory and also the proletarian world view.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung once said: "Facing hardships, our comrades must look upon the previous achievements, realize the bright future, and also heighten their courage." Comrade Chiao Yu-lu had not only realized that "Lankao County is a poor and disaster-stricken area with more difficulties," but the important thing is that he saw the favorable factors, the possibility of change, of future development under the unfavorable conditions.

In the spirit revealed in a Chinese saying "Heavy Snowfall is appreciated only by plum blossom," Chiao Yu-lu, instead of being cowed by hardships, welcomed the hardships with open arms with a determination to surmount them courageously. After visiting the disaster-stricken areas of Lankao County, he declared enthusiastically: "There are tremendous prospects in Lankao County." Cadres of Lankao County said: "In handling problems, our new party committee secretary is better than others." Chiao Yu-lu is better than others, because he looked upon all problems on the basis of revolutionary dialectic of the one-into-two theory, and handled all difficult problems with Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

Who should be relied upon for overcoming difficulties? Who should be relied upon for surmounting the serious natural calamities? There were also two different attitudes toward these questions.

Some persons held that the most important way to overcome "the three major disasters" is to rely on water conservancy, and the control of sand and alkaline land, as well as on the material support of the state.

By only taking material things into consideration, they have failed to see the strength of the masses of laboring people. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Of all things on earth, man is the first valuable thing. Any miracle can be made on earth, provided there are men led by the Communist Party." Comrade Chiao Yu-lu had employed Comrade Mao Tse-tung's views of historical materialism to observe all problems, holding that the decisive power of surmounting Lankao County's disasters is to arm the 360,000 diligent and valiant people of Lankao County with Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

It is the opinion of some persons that in the face of disasters, the masses are a group of hungry people with only one thing in common--the demand for relief. They cannot see the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, the urgent demands of the masses for overcoming natural calamities, and the capability of the masses to surmount natural calamities. This manifests the lack of a mass viewpoint.

Acting on Chairman Mao's teachings, Comrade Chiao Yu-lu developed strong confidence in the wisdom of ordinary laboring people and their revolutionary and creative spirit. The one person whom Comrade Chiao Yu-lu respected most was an old poor peasant Hsiao Wei-feng. He treated Hsiao Wse=feng as teacher, spending three days and three nights to learn from him.

Comrade Chiao Yu-lu held that in the face of hardships, "one must work and carry out the revolution"; furthermore, one must rely on his own strength to overcome natural calamities in the spirit of "waging a trial of strength with heaven." He held that this is the only way to truly reflect "the revolutionary demands of the masses" and the basic interests of the masses.

While facing serious disasters, some persons held that the only important thing is to solve the problem of eating and drinking and that all others are empty talk. But Comrade Chiao Yu-lu resolutely opposed such erroneous viewpoints, holding that the most important factors in overcoming difficulties are "the revolutionary desire of men" and "the revolutionary virtue of man," particularly the "mental outlook" of leading cadres.

Facing a powerful enemy and encountering serious difficulties, it is impossible to achieve victory without establishing the revolutionary courage of defeating the enemy and the firm determination of overcoming difficulties ideologically.

Comrade Chiao Yu-lu knew very well that to overcome disasters, it is necessary to first maintain a firm grip on ideological education. He held that in order to eliminate the "three disasters," it is necessary first of all to wipe out the detrimental ideas and attach special attention to conducting ideological education on disaster resistance among the cadres of the party committee of Lankao County.

It was precisely through his creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, putting politics first, and his achievements in launching political-ideological work that the masses of the people were fully mobilized, defending natural calamities and changing the backwardness of Lankao County at a rapid rate through painstaking struggle.

Materialists only recognize the decisive role of material things over the things of the mind and deny the reaction of mentality to material things; they only recognize that material things can be transformed into the things of the mind, but deny that the things of the mind can be transformed into material things.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung told us: "Man's thinking is determined by the existence of man's society. When the correct thinking, which represents the progressive class, is mastered by the masses, it will convert into material power for the transformation of society and the world." This is a dialectical and thorough materialism.

Comrade Chiao had repeatedly publicized among the masses of cadres and people the dialectical materialist theory of how material things can be transformed into things of the mind and how things of the mind can be transformed into material things.

He said: "In order to revolutionize production, we must first revolutionize our thinking. When a material foundation is laid, ideas can transform everything. Therefore, the result of transformation is determined by the ideas we have.

"One group of people thinks that under certain conditions if we persist in the class line, fully mobilize the masses, dare to think and dare to do, engage in scientific experiment, they can build up a tremendous strength and rapidly transform the backward situation.

"Another group of people may not have earnestly studied or carried out Chairman Mao's instructions on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production, and scientific experiment; their ideas are lagging behind the actual situation and their work falls behind reality; they do not realize the potential that can revive production; they are blind to the initiative of the masses who demand transformation; they are afraid of making mistakes in their work.

"When we are unable to grasp the key to class struggle, we will not be able to carry through the class line or fully mobilize the masses. Production will decline although there is a good material foundation."

The victory over natural calamities won by the people in Lankao County proves that in the mind of people, there is a strong will to defeat waterlogging, sandstorm, and alkaline soil. The will can be transformed into strength through practice. When people keep in mind Mao Tse-tung's thinking they are able to turn out grain, cotton, oil, and so forth.

Comrade Chiao said: "The people of Lankao have such a fad that they dare to transform sun and moon in the sky." The "fad" mentioned here is the thinking of Mao Tse-tung.

Under the leadership of Comrade Chiao, the victory won by the people of Lankao County against the "three major disasters" is a victory of giving priority to politics, a victory of the dialectical materialist thinking of how material things can be transformed into things of the mind, and things of the mind can be transformed into material things. In other words, this is a victory of the thinking of Mao Tse-tung.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has instructed us that there are two distinct characteristics of the Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism--namely, the essence of class and the essence of practice.

The essence of class in Marxism-Leninism and in the thinking of Mao Tse-tung is to openly serve the proletariat. It is the scientific universal outlook of the proletariat. Only revolutionaries who firmly uphold a proletarian standpoint and are faithful to the proletariat can actually master Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

The books written by Chairman Mao have expressed what thousands upon thousands of working people wanted to say. Every single word in his works reflects the demand and wishes of the proletariat. Only those who have profound class sentiment toward the proletariat and the working people can have the same profound

class sentiment toward Chairman Mao's works.

Only by destroying the bourgeois world outlook centered around individualism and by establishing the proletarian world outlook, can we understand the lively revolutionary dialectics and can we study well Chairman Mao's works. By class sentiment is meant ardent love for the working people and extreme hatred toward the class enemy. Comrade Chiao studied Chairman Mao's works with this strong class sentiment.

Comrade Chiao upheld a firm class standpoint. Precisely because of this firm class standpoint, he was able to grasp the key to class struggle, see hope while in dire straits, and realize the decisive role played by men in transforming things and the decisive role played by politics in economy.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "When we study Marxism-Leninism, we should not study it only from books. We should study it by waging class struggle, through practice of work, and by making close contact with the masses of workers and peasants." This means that we must study Mao Tse-tung's thinking through the practice of revolution.

It is not difficult for intellectuals to memorize the theory of class struggle, memorize the role of letting politics take command, memorize the duality of hardships, memorize the theory of how material things can be transformed into things of the mind and things of the mind can be transformed into material things. Whether we can study Chairman Mao's works well or not is determined by whether we are able to put it into practice.

Comrade Chiao studied Chairman Mao's works well. He also put it into practice well and resolutely carried out tasks according to Chairman Mao's instructions. He applied Mao Tse-tung's thinking to the guidance he gave to the class struggle, struggle for production, and scientific experiment in Lankao County. He used Mao Tse-tung's thinking to mobilize the masses, harnessed floods, blocked sandstorms, and improved alkaline soil.

Together with the people of Lankao County, in the course of transforming the old world into a new one with Mao Tse-tung's thinking as guidance, Comrade Chiao mastered the art of using Mao Tse-tung's thinking and intellectuals who have departed from practice, and lazy persons who eat all day and think of nothing.

The immortal deeds of Comrade Chiao have shown us that in order to study Mao Tse-tung's thinking, we must first solve the problem of class standpoint and the problem of world outlook. These problems cannot be solved if we just sit and think in our study at home. Only by plunging ourselves into the practice of

the ardent revolutionary struggle, guided by Mao Tse-tung's thinking, can we transform the subjective world and our standpoint while transforming the objective world.

This is the basic experience Comrade Chiao gained in the study of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and it is also the basic experience gained by the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers in the same study.

Comrade Chiao's deeds of studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thinking in a dynamic manner can be performed by every genuine revolutionary. It is a question of whether we like to study it, not a question of whether we can study it. We have the great thinking of Mao Tse-tung and we are in a new great revolutionary era of the world. "It is still not too late to become an outstanding person today." Every determined revolutionary cadre and person willing to serve the people should make up his mind to become a good student and Chairman Mao with Comrade Chiao as an example.

Think for a moment: When our country's party secretaries and our cadres study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thinking creatively and, like Comrade Chiao Yu-lu, wholeheartedly serve the revolution and the people, pursue neither fame nor profit, fear neither hardship nor death, and lead the 600 million people who are fired with boundless enthusiasm to struggle valiantly, is there an enemy that cannot be defeated?

What hardship cannot be overcome? What force can obstruct us from advancing? Be it imperialism, revisionism, or atom bomb, none of them can bother us. No heavy winds and treacherous storms, nor monsters and freaks can cow us. The color of our country will remain brilliant Red for generations to come. The cause of our revolution will forever remain in the hands of the proletariat.

CSO: 3530-D

## PHILOSOPHICAL STORY-TELLING MEETINGS

Following is a translation of an article by Chang Yen-chi (1728 1693 0679), Liu Yu-feng (0491 3768 1496), Chou K'o-feng (0719 0668 6265), Ch'eng Ming-chiu (4453 2494 3773), Yang Tse-min (2799 3419 3046), and Ch'en Yun-lin (7115 7189 2651) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 4, 24 March 1966, pages 35-40.]

Editor's Note: Since the publication of the advertisement in the No 2 issue of this periodical this year, expressing our "Welcome to Contributions from Workers, Peasants, Soldiers, and Students," the broad masses of them have given their zealous response and support by rushing their letters and contributions to us. They declare, "It is an innovation in the age of Mao Tse-tung for workers, peasants, and soldiers to write;" "We have been very greatly encouraged by the readiness of the Hung-ch'i to welcome contributions from workers, peasants, soldiers, and students;" "The periodical of the Chinese Communist party is published for us, and it is a signal honor for us to participate in it." Some even say, "Formerly we never dared to write, regarding it as the job of theorists, but now we are also beginning to wield the pen."

Limited by space, we can only make use of a portion of the contributions received. Of these some are published in full and others only in part. For example, only excerpts have been taken from the articles on "Dialectics in Daily Routine."

\*

\*

\*

To push ahead the live study and application of Chairman Mao's works and to lay stress especially on "application," the Youth League Branch of the Reconnaissance Company of a certain

unit of the Liberation Army has responded to the demand of its members by organizing philosophical story-telling meetings for the exchange of experiences in the application of dialectics to regular routine.

The chairman of the meetings is Chang Yen-chi, Deputy Secretary of the League Branch. After explaining the objects of these meetings, he asked who was to fire the first gun.

The atmosphere at the first meeting was full of vitality, with some shouting, "The Commander of our Company has loads and loads of stories. Let's invite him to start the ball rolling."

Thus the Company Commander, Chao Kuang-hsin (6392 0342 2946), stood up amid warm applause. He spoke on

### The Practice of "Grabbing" and of "Walking"

"Formerly some made the suggestion, in connection with the night tactical training of reconnaissance units, that we should only practice 'grabbing' of prisoners of war, and not 'walking' (to meet the enemy). This is inconsistent with the actual requirements of warfare and should be changed. At the time I thought, 'Since they have trained for years and accumulated abundant experiences, does it fall to our lot to throw these experiences overboard? If change had been necessary, would they have not introduced it long ago?' I was inclined to take the view that the experiences of our predecessors were entitled to our belief. So, I stuck to the old pattern of practicing only 'grabbing' and not 'walking.'

"During the winter camping last year the higher levels ordered us to break away from the old pattern and improve our method of training. I thought that with the demand of the masses long ere this, coupled with the directives of the higher levels, we could very well go ahead to have a thorough reform, and so we cast aside the training of 'grabbing' and led our comrades in the practice of 'walking.' As a result there was of course great improvement in our walking, but when we encountered 'enemy condition,' we were at a loss to know how to 'grab' it.

"It was only later that it dawned on me that there should not be one-sided stress on either 'grabbing' or 'walking' and that neither should be discarded. I realized that only by practicing 'grabbing' in walking and by practicing 'walking' in grabbing could we comply with the requirement of actual warfare. If we only practiced 'grabbing,' we could learn the skill of seizing our enemies, but we could not learn how to get near or

avoid the enemy. On the other hand, if we only practiced 'walking,' we could acquire the skill of getting near or avoiding the enemy, but how could we seize our enemies?

"It is impossible to proceed from one one-sided step to another. When we take the first one-sided step, we believe superstitiously in the experiences of others, stick to a fixed pattern, and as a result bind our own hands and feet. When we take the second one-sided step, we deny the experiences of others completely, proceed at random, and as a result take a tortuous road. It is therefore clear that only by affirming the experiences of others, discovering their inadequacies, and boldly renovating and enriching them with our own practical experiences uninterruptedly can we be creative and make progress. This applies to our training as it does to other activities."

When the company commander concluded his remarks, Hsu Tsai-p'eng (1776 0961 7720), a fighter in Class No 8, stood up and said, "Truly it applies to other activities also." He continued to tell a story, which was caused by one-sided subjectivism, on

#### A Mild Storm in the Inspection of Beds

"One night, after coming back from my post, I felt very cold. I thought that in such cold weather my comrades might catch cold, if they were not well covered. So, I made my rounds to inspect the beds in the dormitories of the various platoons. When I got to the room for our platoon and turned on the electric light, some occupying upper bunks shouted, 'Who is making much ado about nothing?' With all my good intention, I was given this heavy blow, and because of this I did not sleep well for the whole night.

"Subsequently I did some cool thinking. I realized that I had forgotten that the switches in our platoon are different from those in other units. In other units one switch controls only one light, and turning on one light would not disturb everybody. On the other hand in our platoon each switch controls a number of lights, and when one touches the button, the whole dormitory room is lighted. That night I must have waked up several comrades by turning on the light, and no wonder that they were upset. Though my intention was good, my method was wrong and the result was bad.

"It can thus be seen that in doing anything one cannot obtain good results by adopting the wrong motives, but that even with good motives, the results are sure to be bad if the method adopted is wrong. At times, when we show one-sided subjectivism

and fail to have a total understanding of the objective reality, we can also make a mess of things. Here method is very important. Chairman Mao has taught us to apply different methods to the solution of different contradictions in our work, as it is only when the method is right that good results can be produced. It behooves us therefore to conduct investigations and researches and proceed from realism. With good motives and by adopting good methods, we can hope to have good results."

At this juncture, Ch'ien Chih-p'ei (6929 2535 1014), a stout deputy machine-gun hand in Class No 5 said, "Though I did not at first render my service with peace of mind, I acquired the knowledge of the relationship between the whole and its parts, and then I continued

#### To Serve as a Deputy Machine-Gun Hand with Peace of Mind

"When the leadership transferred me to this post, I felt that it would be more interesting to get that of Chief Machine-Gun Hand and that an assistant is always of shorter stature. The moment I had my cartridges on my person, I lost my spirit. On one occasion, when we practiced target shooting, my chief had already lain down and made preparations to shoot, while waiting for me to pass the cartridges to him. As I failed to do the job properly, the shooting was adversely affected.

"I was called in by the Counselor for an interview. Pointing to the table, he asked me, 'What is this?' I said, 'A table.' He asked me further, 'If the four legs were removed?' I replied, 'Would it still be a table?' 'That's right,' he went on. 'A table is composed of its top and legs. Without the legs it would no longer be a table. The relationship between the table and its legs is that between the whole and its parts. This applies to a table as it does to a machine-gun. Each of the two machine-gun hands cannot be separated from the other. To do good target shooting, how can the deputy machine-gun hand be dispensed with?'

"Only after this explanation by the counselor did I understand the relationship between the chief and deputy machine-gun hands in target shooting. When a war is on, only the intimate cooperation of the two can produce the firing power of the machine-gun. If one did not cooperate with the other, how could the enemy be annihilated? From then on I served as Deputy Machine-Gun Hand with peace of mind, and in the drills I cooperated closely with my chief. Next time, when there was a loaded target shooting, we came out with high marks."

The one who followed in the discussion was Hsi Kuo-sen

(1153 0946 2651), a fighter in Class No 7. When he first practiced target shooting, he got a high mark, but on a second occasion he only succeeded in hitting the bull's-eye once out of five times. He said that this was because he had not clearly distinguished between

### "Almost" and "Way Off"

"On the second occasion I thought that my technique was almost perfect. Because of my previous success I was very self-confident on this occasion. When I got to the drill ground, I was lucky enough to hit the bull's-eye right away. Carried away by this success, my hand relaxed, and the result was that all the remaining four shots failed. Thus 'almost' became 'way off.'

"We must not have the thinking of 'almost.' When you feel that you are 'almost' perfect, you are really making no more progress and standing still. On the other hand objective requirements are higher and higher and comrades make greater and greater progress. As a result we fall far behind and are 'way off.' As things are developing all the time, what is 'almost' perfect may become 'way off' at any time. Only when one feels always that one is 'way off' and uninterruptedly strives to do better can one avoid being 'way off.' When one feels that one is 'almost' perfect, one stands still, makes no progress, and is plunged into the state of being 'way off,' while others advance. On the road of advance, only by always feeling that we are 'way off' can we pluck up courage to go forward and scale the peaks; otherwise we might roll down from the slopes."

Then Li Ssu-t'ung (2621 1835 6639), after several futile attempts, stood up even without recognition from the Chairman, saying that

### Seeking to Lighten Work May Have the Opposite Result

"Once, our company organized a trip with the aid of a map and arranged the search of ten objectives by making a detour of 5 km on complicated topography within two hours. After receiving the order, I planned to study the map with my comrades before we set out. Some comrades commented that a circle of 5 km is only as large as a thumb on the map and that it would be a waste of time to study it, the more economical way being to commence our trip as early as possible. As a result we took the advice and set out in a hurry.

"No sooner had we set out than we went in the wrong direction. When we looked at the map, we had already bypassed the

first objective by more than 4 km. Then one hour had elapsed when we turned back and found the first objective. After this wasted time and effort, I hastened to lead my comrades in studying the map. In this study we noted down every turn and every visible and recognizable signpost indicating it on the road. As a result it took us only 50 minutes to locate all the remaining nine objectives, thus enabling us to fulfill our task ahead of schedule.

"It can therefore be seen that while it takes time to do preparatory work, the latter saves our time by simplifying our task. On the other hand, if we are afraid of losing time and make haste without doing preparatory work, the result is that we may have to go back on the job and waste more time. From this it is seen that in doing anything, the less one is afraid of trouble, the less troublesome it is and the easier something difficult becomes; and that the more one seeks to lighten work, the less light it becomes and the more difficult something easy turns out to be."

Wu Hsiang-keng (0702 4382 2704), a fighter in Class No 6, has learned very profoundly that things can under given conditions turn into our opposites. Listen to his explanation of

#### Why A Large River Boat Can Capsize in A Mere Stream

"When I first participated in swimming across the Yangtze, I studied together with the rest of us the great call made by Chairman Mao in connection with training in swimming, made up my mind to succeed, and overcame all my difficulties spiritually. Before I plunged into the water, I had done material and technical preparatory work in all directions. As a result I was calmer and calmer while in water and ultimately I braved wave after turbulent wave and succeeded in swimming to the other side of the river.

"After my return from the Yangtze I tried to swim across a much smaller river. I thought that after my experience in the large river, I should not worry about 'capsizing' in a mere stream, so to speak. But strangely enough, just because I was lax spiritually and did not make adequate preparations materially and technically, I failed to get across. During this minor exercise my body was not active enough, I had spasms in my legs, and my gun was not in the right position, slipping back and forth, weighing on my head, and making it difficult even for me to breathe. Before I could go much further, I had to stop.

"It is said, 'Even after you have reached your own door, guard against falling.' This is a very wise saying. Everything

is divided from one into two. Advantage is often contained in disadvantage, and vice versa. Under given conditions the two are mutually changeable. In a large river the surface of the water is wide and there may be high wind and rough waves. These are its disadvantages. However, because we can see these disadvantageous factors, we can, through subjective effort, make them transform themselves in the advantageous direction. On the other hand, in a stream the surface of the water is narrow and wind and waves small. These are advantageous conditions for swimming. However, owing to my defective thinking, many disadvantageous factors have arisen, and I have 'capsized' in a mere stream. This incident enables me to recognize that no matter how advantageous or disadvantageous the conditions may be, we should fully develop our subjective dynamism, belittle our difficulties strategically, but attaching importance to them tactically."

Speaking of training in swimming, Liu Chao-ho (0491 0340 0735), Leader of Class No 9, told a story regarding the necessity of making a concrete analysis of concrete problems, that is, the necessity to

#### See Ideological Differences First

"During the first week of training in swimming Ch'en Hsi-lin (7115 6932 2651) could only swim about ten meters, whereas Ch'en Chi-kao (7115 4949 7559) could already exceed 200 meters. At the time I thought that both of them were outstanding and that in stature, physical strength, and ability to learn Ch'en Hsi-lin could not be far behind. So, he was asked to catch up with Ch'en Chi-kao during the second week. But by that time the latter had exceeded 700 meters, but Ch'en Hsi-lin could hardly coordinate the movements of his hands and feet.

"After investigation and research I learned that while Ch'en Chi-kao was always striving to get ahead in every drill, Ch'en Hsi-lin was worried whenever he saw water. The word "dare" was the cause of the rapid progress of Ch'en Chi-kao, and the word "fear" was something which Ch'en Hsi-lin had not yet overcome. Formerly I only observed superficially that the two enjoyed the same conditions in almost every respect, and I did not make an analysis and comparison of them ideologically, to find out their differences. In asking Ch'en Hsi-lin to swim in deep water, I was not doing the right thing.

"Subsequently I explained to him that learning to swim is for the purpose of eliminating more enemies. I also told him the story of Chairman Mao's swimming across the Yangtze. Finally I made clear to him that one must be bold enough to

practice before one could have the right of freedom in water. Later Ch'en Hsi-lin caught up with others very rapidly.

"This matter has enabled me to see that the detection of differences should be regarded as much more than a superficial phenomenon. If we merely look at a question superficially and deny inherent ideological differences, we cannot help the backward catch up with the advanced."

Someone pushed Chin Chung-fa (6855 1313 4099), a capable climber and expected him to tell the meeting about what he had learned from his two climbings. He stood up and said that

#### Only Courage Can Produce High Skill

"When I first learned to climb, I was frightened by the height of the steep mountain slopes in front of me. I was afraid of not only being unable to go up but being forced to fall down. My heart was jumping all the time. Unexpectedly, at this time my class leader gave me another impetus by reminding me that being an old comrade, I should fire the first shot. I could only make a desperate effort to go ahead, but when I reached the middle of the mountain, I was stopped by a rock and could not go on. It was only after some comrades on the mountain pulled me with a rope that I finally ascended it.

"The second climb I made was different. With the summary of my first experience, I eliminated the word 'fear,' and bearing the enemy in mind, I struck my teeth together as soon as I reached the site of my training. I thought of the exploitation and oppression to which generations of my ancestors had been subjected by the landlords, the tragic scene of the torture of my grandfather by them, the deep water in which the people of South Vietnam still find themselves, and the living led by a great many people in the world comparable to our life before the liberation. This thinking filled me with hatred, and as soon as the order of the class leader was issued, I made an effort to climb up. I said to myself that above me were the landlords who tortured my grandfather by beating him fatally and the executioners who are murdering the people of Vietnam. This gave me full strength, which enabled me to climb up to the 'enemy' patrol. When my class leader asked me how I did it, I replied that class hatred had mustered my courage.

"From the two climbings I have learned that high skill without courage is empty and may become zero. Only those who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking are the most courageous and can develop fully their military skill. Even if their skill may not be high for the time being, with practice it will certainly become solid."

The successes and experiences of others should certainly be studied, but Quartermaster Lu Hung-chih (7627 1347 2535) said that

### The Experience of Failure Should Also Be Seriously Studied

"It is reported that many experiments have been made on outdoor coal-stoves. With very great interest we made several investigations. The first time we went, the kindling of the fire failed; and the second time half-raw rice was cooked. On our return we discussed the matter. Some said, "What can we get out of them when they are not yet ready?"

"I could not help thinking of the experience we had in the last half-year in improving the hoof-like stove. In that connection we had altogether 23 failures. Owing to the lessons learned from the repeated failures, we finally succeeded. But for the 23 failures, how could we have achieved the success in the 24th experiment? Since we have learned our lesson from our own failures and converted defeat into victory, why can't we benefit from the failures of others?"

"Early next morning, carrying with us pans and pokers, we went to the unit concerned and tried experiments on its stove. We kindled the fire, made repeated studies for several days, and finally discovered the reasons for the half-raw rice. They were the excessively vertical nature of the interior walls of the stove and the narrowness of the pan. On the basis of the experience acquired in the improvement of the hoof-like stove, we dug out the interior walls of the stove, so that it took on the shape of a drum. As a result, a full pan of rice was well cooked.

"Failure and success are opposed and unified. The factor of success is contained in failure. In doing anything we naturally hope for success, and not for failure. But in fact, in order to achieve success we frequently cannot avoid a certain amount of frustration and failure. So long as we can stand failure, are skilled in learning our lessons from our failures, and humbly absorb the experiences of others and the lessons learned from them, defeat can be transformed into success."

There are a great many instances of the transformation of failure into success. In the practice of wrestling, for example, men of small build naturally cannot compete with those of larger build. But having had the experience of taking on T'ao Shun-yin (7118 7311 6892), K'ung Ch'ing-lin (1313 1987 7207) stood up and said that we should

### Meet the Shortcomings of Others with Our Own Merits

"T'ao Shun-yin is a husky fellow, taller than I by one head. Even before I contended with him, I got quite nervous. Once in the ring, he was so fierce that I forgot everything I had thought of in dealing with him. Holding my breath, I rushed toward him and administered a blow, but with great calm he consigned me to the ground. Though I could not take the defeat, I tried to find out the cause of it. On the basis of Chairman Mao's teachings, I made a new appraisal of the conditions on both sides. On T'ao's side the favorable conditions were his stoutness and strength, and on my side the favorable conditions were my small build and agility. My advantage was his disadvantage, and his advantage my disadvantage. To deal with such a strong hand, courage is the first prerequisite. I must solve the problem of my "nervousness" before I could meet his shortcomings with my merits.

"So, when I met him for the second time, I was full of confidence and did my best to get rid of my shortcomings and develop my merits as far as possible. As a result his head perspired ceaselessly, he could not help feeling fatigued, and the more he moved, the more confused he became in his movements. At last, when his attention was distracted, I took the opportunity to coordinate my movements in striking his chest and brushing aside his legs, ultimately grounding him.

"In wrestling courage is a decisive factor. If we do not intend or dare to fight, then we cannot fight down the opponent. Of course, if there is only courage and no skill or strategy, a strong opponent is likely to stand unopposed. With knowledge of oneself and one's opponent, courage, and strategy, men of small build can defeat those of larger build."

One story after another made clear one philosophical principle after another. The longer the meeting lasted, the larger the number of people who wished to speak. Ku Fa-hsiang (7357 4099 4382), Leader of the Culinary Class, said that it was the first time he had attended the meeting and that he wished to try to explain

### Why the Taste Was Changed

"Last summer, when the training in swimming was most intense, our Culinary Class received a large batch of onions. I thought that this was something our comrades loved to eat and that perhaps it could help improve their living. I called together the whole class and made a very careful study, as a result of which we put on several lunch menus such dishes as

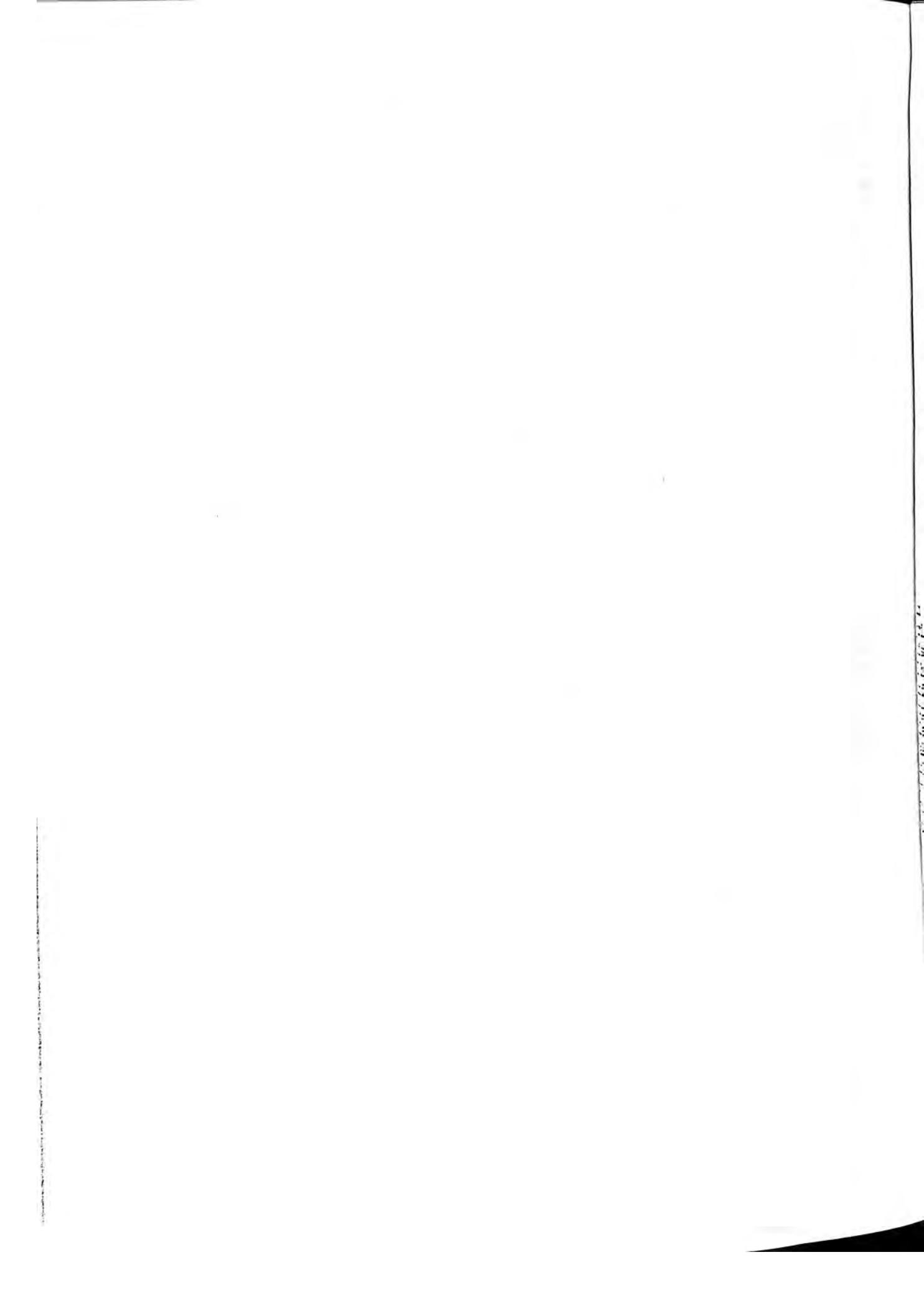
fried pork slices with onions, fried eggs with onions, etc. I took a personal part in preparing these dishes, into which I put an especially large quantity of spices. I felt strongly that these dishes would be particularly relished by all comrades. To my surprise, three classes had left-overs on the second day, and certain classes did not want any of the food allocated to them on the third day. I was so amazed that I was at a loss to know why there should have been such a change of taste.

"Later the company commander ordered us to take part in the unit's armed swimming. After swimming for something more than 800 meters, I felt a stomach upset, sour liquids spurted out of my throat, the smell of onions went up into my head, I could not breathe well, and I held myself together only after a strenuous effort. Upon landing, some comrades in my class told me how revolting the taste of onions could be to the stomach. Only then did I realize why the comrades ceased to like onions. Military training in water is different from that on land. In the former case the objective conditions have changed, and both the physiological reactions and taste of comrades have changed. Under these circumstances we are sure to receive rebuffs if we continue to act according to the old pattern."

Though the meeting had lasted more than two hours, the enthusiasm of those attending it was still very high. After consultation with the Chairman, Ting Hsien-ming (0002 0341 2494), the Counselor, adjourned the meeting.

Comrades gradually stepped out of the meeting place, but many comrades continued their discussion with undiminished interest.

5096  
CSO: 3530-D



## WISDOM COMES FROM PRACTICE

Following is a translation of an article by Sung Lo-shan (1345 2867 1472) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 4, 24 March 1966, pages 41-51.

In 1955 the leadership assigned me to do barracks work in the Combined Services Department of the Wu-han forces, my principal responsibility being that of making, purchasing, and distributing furnishings and supplies. For the last ten years I have visited many localities in nine provinces in the North and South, purchased more than 200,000 barracks furnishings and supplies and several thousand cubic meters of timber, and handled several million yuan without any question or serious mistakes. Giving me credit for setting a good record, comrades have asked me what experiences I have gained. Thinking it over and over again, I feel that if I have had any success or experience, the basic thing I have done is to act strictly in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings and guidance.

### Study of "Service for the People" and Ardent Love for Barracks Work

Originally connected with the police and guard service, I had very low standards, had never worked in official organs, and was especially unfamiliar with barracks work. When I first came, I was confused by the blueprints of the barracks with their white lines and greatly puzzled by the statistical charts containing the names of tens of categories of furnishings and supplies. Being extremely troubled, I thought that I could not perform the work, which seemed uninteresting in that it consisted of getting mixed up with tables, chairs, and benches. I

felt that my place was in the armed forces, to which I should have returned at an early date.

However, leaders of the Combined Services Department said to me, "In engaging in revolutionary work you must bow to any assignment you receive. You have no right to choose. If you returned to the armed forces, who would replace you in your combined services work? Also, "All work is for the service of the people. You don't have to worry about your inability; all you have to worry about is your failure to study. Just think, what could you do before joining the services? Isn't it true that the only progress you have made has been acquired with the training you have received from the party?"

At this juncture I studied the article on "Service for the People." The words of Chairman Mao touched my heart very deeply. Chang Ssu-te (1728 1835 1795), who had also been in police work, burned charcoal happily when he was ordered by the party to do so, and for the people's revolution he sacrificed his life. Now that the party has assigned me to barracks work, why should I hesitate, since it is also part and parcel of our revolutionary work?

Finally I thought it through and gained the comprehension that whatever we do is for the sake of constructing socialism and for training ourselves into useful material in the fulfillment of this cause; and that after learning the good management of barracks work I can not only live up to the expectations of the party with regard to armed forces, but help save expenditure and support socialist construction. As a result I felt that I could continue my work with peace of mind.

Subsequently, whenever I encountered any difficulty in my work and there was any vacillation in my thinking, I studied over and over again the work on "Service for the People," which has caused me to love my job even more ardently.

#### Bold Practice Converts the Unskilled into Experts

The determination to give a good performance is not the same as doing a good job. If one wishes to do a good job, one must be bold in engaging in practice, from which only progress can result.

Shortly after I joined the barracks work, I had to go to Chengchow with another comrade to take over a batch of barracks furnishings being processed. At the time I did not know anything, and like a cog in a machine, I listened to whatever others told me. I was indeed greatly worried. How was I to learn? So, I studied the work on "Questions of Strategy in the

Chinese Revolutionary War." There Chairman Mao said, "To learn about war from war--this is our principal method. Those who do not have the opportunity to enter school still can learn about war, and that is from war itself. Revolutionary war is the concern of the masses of the people, who frequently do not learn about it before engaging in it, but engage in it before learning about it, and so acting is learning." [See Note]

[Note]: Mao Tse-tung Hsuan-chi (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung), Vol I, People's Publishing Agency, 1952, 2d ed, page 174.

This passage from Chairman Mao has given me very great enlightenment. Formerly I did not know how to shoot, bayonet, or throw bombs. Did I not learn all these from practice? Formerly I was unable to read a single word, but now I have higher standards. Did I not acquire these from practice also? Now I still know very little about barracks work, but if I practice boldly enough and learn well enough, I am sure to give a good performance. Therefore I made up my mind to learn while I engage in my practical work.

In 1956 the leadership sent me to Hsin-hsiang, Honan, to make barracks furnishings. This was the first time I had ever sent out singlehandedly to undertake an independent task, and I was charged with the expenditure of more than a million yuan and the production of more than 100,000 barracks furnishings and supplies. It was indeed a major operation. Like a small rabbit, I experienced incessant throbbings of my heart.

As I did not possess the rudiments of knowledge concerning the manufacture of the above-mentioned supplies, how was I to go about it? The thing to do was still to consult Chairman Mao's works. Said he, "We must learn economic work from all experts (no matter who they are). We should take them as our teachers and learn from them respectfully and honestly. If we do not know, we should not pretend to know." [See Note]

[Note]: "On the Dictatorship of the People's Democracy," ibid, Vol IV, People's Publishing Agency, 1960, page 1485.

This passage has had a tremendous effect on me. I thought that all workers are experts and my teachers. What should I be afraid of before so many experts and teachers? So, I moved from my hotel to the woodwork plant, actively participated in its labors, and became one with its workers. As the latter performed their work, I watched them carefully, and even when they were having their rest, I went over to seek their advice.

At first some of them were irked by me and said that I lacked good judgment. "How much more comfortable you are at the hotel!" they commented. "Wouldn't it be enough for you to make an inspection from time to time and then transport back the supplies when they are ready? Why should you give yourself so much trouble and sacrifice the leisure you can very well enjoy?"

However, I believed that if I wanted leisure, then I could not learn anything, and if I wanted to learn, I should not be afraid of trouble. I might have a little trouble then, but my later work would be much simpler. I insisted on working and learning at the same time, sawing, planing, and nailing with the workers, getting concerned with their living, and becoming warm and intimate with them. Thus, with the assistance of the workers, I learned how to read blueprints and how much time, how many nails, how much paint, and how many accessory materials would be required to produce a set of furnishings. I also learned in a preliminary way how to use the electric saw, the electric planer, the electric drill, etc. All this knowledge has enabled me to make an accurate estimate of the costs, to check the quality of the products more easily, and to carry out my work more successfully.

In 1961 I went to En-shih, Hupeh, to ship timber. This was another new experience for me. I knew nothing about the distinction of grades of timber, the checking of the measurements, and the formation of rafts. As my time was short and my work heavy, I was somewhat worried. I was also anxious to pick up everything I had not grasped within the shortest time possible. So, I borrowed from the Timber Transshipment Station a guide to the "Method of Calculating the Accumulation of Timber," but I still could not understand it after studying it for a long while. What was to be done? I thought that in order to learn about the checking of the measurements and the formation of rafts, I had to join in the actual practice personally.

So, I decided to learn from the workers right in their midst. At first, without any formality, I asked them, with arms akimbo, "Comrades, how do you go about checking the measurements?" "Checking the measurements?" they inquired. "Ask the leaders. They know." Then I asked, "What is superior timber?" "It's all superior," was the reply. So, I was at a loss to know why they should answer my questions in this fashion. Chairman Mao said that we should all give up our air and be willing to become small students. Since I did not participate in labor and become one with the workers, how could I ask them so many questions so suddenly and expect them to welcome me?

When I thought of this, I went forthwith up the mountain

and joined with the workers in their labor of lifting, piling up, and measuring timber. I also went to the river bank and helped them form rafts and carried water for them. I was contented to purchase and eat some persimmons when I was too busy to have my regular meal. At times I soaked myself completely in water all day until my hands and legs became white. On one occasion I fell into the water and twisted my back, but I resumed my work immediately after I climbed up.

Seeing that I was really interested in learning, the workers took the initiative to help me and teach me to distinguish timber, check its measurements, and form rafts. They say that fir and pine are easy to distinguish, as they generally rot from the outside, but that round pine is not easy to distinguish, as it rots from the inside. Timber which is becoming black and spurts white sap from its two ends, the latter being sieve-like, is rotten. That which gives out a flat sound when hammered is also bad timber. In checking measurements the middle of the diameter of strips of timber and the smaller end of the diameter of round timber should be measured. In forming rafts the upper layer should be especially strong and the lower layer tied together with fir strips, because fir is straight and has great capacity for floatation.

The assistance extended to me by the workers has enabled me to gain the profound understanding that the masses are our true teachers and that if we only see to it that we really assume no air, are willing to become small students, and learn from them respectfully and honestly, we can acquire any knowledge.

In my purchasing work I have often met with transportation problems. At first I did not understand the laws of transportation and received many rebuffs. In 1962 I went to Pao-ch'uan-ling, Heilungkiang, to ship bed boards. Before I set out I had made plans without the necessary know-how and ordered two open cars on the train for the shipment. I had not realized that the loading capacity of these cars was too small for the boards and that wooden stakes, wiring, and rainproof cloth were also required. The cars in question were evidently unsuitable. But when automobiles were ordered, I could not answer the questions of comrades of the transportation station with regard to their makes, tonnage, and number.

Subsequently I made some investigations and studies in Ho-kang, Lo-pei, and Pao-ch'uan-ling. I carried my notebook with me to the railroad station, where I took down the loading capacity and tonnage of each kind of rolling-stock. I also planned the method of loading on the basis of the specifications of the boards and the capacity of the rolling-stock.

After making a survey of five kinds of rolling-stock and analyzing and comparing them, I selected two of them most suitable for the loading of bed boards. In addition, I checked on the regulations of the station, such as those on the application for rolling-stock, the time of loading, etc.

Which kind of automobile is most suitable for loading and shipping bed boards? I went to garages to investigate, and even on the streets I looked at the cars very carefully. On one occasion I saw a large truck passing by. I thought that a big car like this must be able to hold a great deal. So, with the permission of the chauffeur, I got on the car and measured it over and over again. I said to myself, "This is the most suitable car." The chauffeur asked with surprise, "Why is it so suitable?" "Most suitable for loading bed boards," I said. The driver said, smilingly, "This must be a car maniac." I thought that without being a manic no one could learn anything nor fulfill tasks assigned by the party.

I made a further attempt to investigate the conditions of river transportation. In October 1964 I went to Kiangsi to ship bed boards. I wanted to know whether it was cheaper to ship them by train or by boat. As there were advocates of both methods, I had a hard time deciding. But I recalled the words of Chairman Mao, who said, "The correct arrangements made by the one who exercises direction originate from his correct determination, which in turn originates from his accurate judgment, which in turn originates from close and the necessary investigation and his thinking resulting from the coordination of all kinds of material derived from the investigation." [See Note]

[Note]: "Questions of Strategy in the Chinese Revolutionary War," ibid, Vol I, page 173.

As I gave my consideration to the word "investigation," I immediately realized that without such investigation it was impossible for me to have the correct determination. So, I inquired of every boat that sailed along the Kan River. In some cases I could not go on board, because the ships were busy. It was after proceeding for more than ten li more that I spotted a big ship. With the permission of the skipper, I went aboard. I was so pleased that I rushed to the wharf and borrowed a ruler, with which I carefully measured the hold. I made some calculations, which indicated that transportation by boat is much cheaper than by train. So, I decided to use the former.

To give a good performance, one must have an ardent love for one's work. Formerly, when I visited a place for the first time, I liked to see some movies or visit its parks. Now I am

attracted by furniture stores and what they can provide, and I always note down whatever is suitable for purchase. After seeing a great deal, I can remember what is good, where it is expensive, and where it is reasonable. I can also determine how good and how expensive barracks furnishings purchased by others are.

For example, in 1964 our unit processed a batch of bed boards in Hankow, the cost being 5.3 yuan per set. At a glance I felt that it was too high, and after recalculating it with the plant and making some on-the-spot experiments, it was agreed to reduce the price to 2.6 yuan. In September of the same year the timber depot of Pai-sha-chou, Hupeh, supplied to us 700 cu m of round pine. After checking the measurements I discovered that as much as 80% of the timber was rotten. Further consultation with the departments concerned and the performance of some on-the-spot experiments resulted in exchanges for fresh timber and rebates for that portion which had already been shipped out.

In the last few years it has been deeply recognized in our work that if we Communists wish to win the victory of our struggle for the understanding and transformation of the world, we must gear our thinking to the laws governing the objective external world. To this end, we must study hard the works of Chairman Mao, penetrate into social practices, that is to say, get rid of our airs as cadres, walk out of the offices, make investigations and researches, and learn with humility from the masses.

#### Rely on the Masses and Overcome Our Difficulties

During the last few years I have constantly been sent far away from the leadership to attend to business alone, and I have frequently encountered many difficulties. Whenever I had a difficulty, I studied Chairman Mao's works, acted according to his teachings and guidance, relied on the masses, and mobilized them, thereby overcoming all my difficulties. I gained the profound understanding that whatever the difficulties, they would disappear, if I acted according to Chairman Mao's directives and relied on the masses.

In April 1964 I ordered 5,000 sets of bed boards and 10,000 benches for holding them in Lo-pei Hsien, Heilungkiang Province. According to the contract the merchandise was to be shipped in two installments at the end of June and that of July. At the beginning of June I went to Lo-pei again, to see how the contract was being implemented and map out a plan for making available four railroad cars for shipping back the first installment of the furniture. However, no sooner had I arrived

there than my enthusiasm cooled down, as a great many contradictions faced me. First, the bed boards and benches already produced were in part inferior in quality. Second, the rate of processing was slow. Third, because of the busy farming season the work force was insufficient for loading the cars. Fourth, being alone, I could not attend to the take-over from three processing units and the organization of the shipment. Faced with so many contradictions, I was truly like an ant in a hot pan and could neither sit down nor walk securely.

What was to be done? As I studied the article "On Contradictions," I engaged in deep thinking. Chairman Mao said that by grabbing hold of the principal contradictions we could solve all our problems. So, I made an analysis of all these contradictions, to find out which of them were the principal ones. After thinking it over and over again, I realized that the bed boards were man-made and that their quality and serviceability depended on the workers wholly. Therefore the human factor held the first place, and so long as the positiveness of the masses of the workers could be developed, all these contradictions could be solved.

However, not being the leader of this unit, how could I carry out the ideological mobilization and develop the positiveness of the masses? So, I contacted the leader of the unit and acquainted him with my thinking on the mobilization of the masses, with which they concurred. At the same time I studied the article entitled "Be Concerned with the Living of the Masses and Pay Attention to the Method of Work" and gained the understanding that to mobilize the masses, we had to start with living together with the masses, being concerned with their well-being, and genuinely seeking their interests. As a result I decided to visit the timber depot, to participate in the labors of the machine-shop, become one with the workers, and help them and their dependents in every respect.

I got up as soon as the day broke next morning, and with a broom I cleaned up the surroundings of the office of the timber depot and the families' residential area. After breakfast I went to labor in the electric-saw machine-shop. During the rest period at noon I helped the workers shovel the ground with a borrowed spade. Wherever I saw an empty urn, I filled it with water for the family. At each meal I helped the culinary staff by washing the dishes and wiping the tables. After I worked like this for several days, all the workers and their dependents got to be very intimate with me.

Whenever I had some rest, many workers surrounded me and asked me to tell stories about the revolution. I thought that

the initiative the workers had taken to get close to me provided an opportunity for carrying out the ideological mobilization. As they also asked me to sing revolutionary songs, I told them that my voice is no good and that I could read some of Chairman Mao's works to them. As soon as they heard this, they were all the more pleased. So, I went on to read to them the article on "Service for the People" and the discussions on the industrious and frugal building of the country and revival through self-exertion. In connection with the production of bed boards I explained the necessity for the improvement of quality, which alone could extend the duration of the furniture, reduce the expenditure for national defense, and support the construction of socialism, which is equivalent to the concrete service of the people.

At first some workers regarded the low quality of bed boards as unimportant. To this I answered, "The workers live in the Northeast and are unfamiliar with the conditions of the South. When it is hot, and when there is only a single sheet or no sheet at all on the bed, a fighter cannot sleep well and the sheet can easily be worn out, if the bed board is not smoothly planed." I went on to say, "When you make the bed boards better you are supporting the armed forces with concrete action. When fighters sleep comfortably, they will have vigor in training the men and in fighting, and they will be grateful to you senior workers for your support." Then I asked, "Do you have relatives in the armed forces?" As the answer was affirmative, I said, "Would it be right to let them sleep on poor bed boards?" At this the workers all laughed, saying that what I had said was reasonable. They even took the initiative to work over the furniture once more. Some even said, "Lao Sung, whatever you say goes. We will guarantee the quality."

Following this, a mobilization mass meeting was called, a production contest based on comparison, emulation, catching up, and help was held, and a guarantee was given for the quality of the bed boards, thus supporting the call of the armed forces. At this time I penetrated further into the labors of the machine-shops. When the workers proceeded with the reinforcement of the bed boards, I served as a carrier and provided water for them too. Then my stomach trouble came back, with very severe pain, but I continued to work and eat together with the workers.

To enable them to study Chairman Mao's works better, I bought from the local bookstore more than ten volumes of these works and presented them to the workers. This stimulated their vigor even more. To insure good quality, they took the initiative to organize small groups for the checking of quality. Through their increased effort, the bed boards were produced

quickly and according to high standards.

There were only seven or eight days before the bed boards were to be loaded and shipped. There being more than 100 km from the processing unit to the Ho-kang Station, there was the problem of how to transport the bed boards to the station on the scheduled date. Based on the work involved, more than 20 working hands were required every day for the loading and unloading, to assure prompt delivery. But as it was the busy farming season, it was difficult to organize the working hands. I thought of making use of the dependents of the workers for the loading and unloading, to which the leadership signified its agreement after our consultation. Even before I broached the question to the dependents of the workers, they came to me on their own initiative. They said, "Lao Sung, we guessed it long ago, and even if you don't ask us to, we have to offer our help." Some even added, "Since you have got up as early as when it's still dark to carry water to us, sweep our floors, and plant our vegetables, we have to do some good for the Liberation Army too." On the first day more than 20 came to me. Some even gave up their meals to work doubly hard at the loading and unloading, and the work made very rapid progress.

It was a rainy day when the bed boards were transported to the station. The road was so slippery and muddy that some chauffeurs were reluctant to take them, especially in any large quantity. I took the opportunity to harangue them on the great importance of moving barracks furnishings. I told stories of the heroic chauffeurs among the Volunteers in the Korean War and encouraged them to struggle with their difficulties. Some chauffeurs said, "Let it go. Let's unload the bed boards." Others said, "Let's leave the trailers here and come back later." While mobilizing them, I jumped into the mud, to dig out the mud and move the cars. Ultimately, with the assistance of the workers, I dragged the cars out of the mud.

Thus, through the joint effort of the workers, their dependents, and the chauffeurs, we succeeded in shipping out the first installment of bed boards three days ahead of schedule.

After this we had to expedite the production of the second installment. I went again to the timber depot. The problem at the time was the inability of the fire-saw machine-shop to increase its speed of production. I went to the machine-shop and collaborated with the workers in digging up our potential power. Finally we succeeded in increasing the production of timber from 16 cu m per day to 22 cu m. To increase its output, the woodwork machine-shop also devised many means. The vigor of all workers was multiplied, and the work proceeded very smoothly.

Our work in Lo-pei has given me a substantial education. Said Chairman Mao, "Each comrade should be enabled to understand that so long as we rely on the people, believe firmly that the creative power of the people is inexhaustible, and in consequence have confidence in them and become one with them, we can overcome any difficulty and no enemy can prevail against us, but we can only prevail against him." [See Note] This passage has enlightened me even more profoundly.

[Note]: "On the Coalition Government," *ibid*, Vol III, People's Publishing Agency, 1953, 2d ed, page 1097.

Make Careful and Minute Calculations  
and Save Every Penny for Socialism

Those of us who undertake purchasing work have to handle money and materials constantly. If they are careless to the slightest degree, they are liable to be wasteful. How should we go about it to accomplish the most with the least money? I have no other secret than the careful study of Chairman Mao's discussions on economy and the implantation of the thinking of industrious and frugal army-building. Chairman Mao said, "The principle of our accounting system is to save every penny for the causes of war and revolution and for our economic construction." [See Note] The cadres of the Combined Services Department are the caretakers of the armed forces. To take good care of them, these cadres must truly bring about industry and frugality according to Chairman Mao's directives.

[Note]: "Our Economic Policy," *ibid*, Vol I, page 129.

Each time I make a purchase for the barracks, I make a careful calculation, to see if every farthing is devoted to the right expenditure and if the purchase is helpful to the socialist construction.

In 1964 I was in Lo-pei to ship bed boards from the Ming-shan timber depot. Between coarse cords and wire, which is cheaper for binding bed boards? I went to a hardware store to make an investigation. I figured it out time and again, and finally I found that the use of No 18 wire would cost only 5¢ per bundle and that wire takes up less space and can be reused. On the other hand the use of coarse cords would cost 5.5¢ per bundle. So, I chose the former.

On another occasion, when we processed a batch of three-drawer desks in Hankow, the plant estimated the amount of nails required for each desk to weigh two liang. I got hold of one of these desks and counted the number of nails used on it. Then

I counted the number of the same size of nails contained in two liang and found them to be sufficient for two and a half desks. Usually, wherever I go, if I see a nail or a piece of usable wood on the ground, I pick it up and save it for future re-use.

The saving of state property requires constant alertness, planning, repeated experiments, and unceasing practice, because the potentiality for saving is always there. In 1964 I was in Chi-an to ship bed boards, which were stored in three warehouses 1,300 meters from the wharf. Was it cheaper to use automobiles or carts? I compared the two, and the experiment showed that the cost of automobile transport would cost 9.5¢ per board, because additional help would be needed for loading and unloading, and that cart transport would cost only 5.7¢ per board, because no additional help would be required. So, I chose the latter.

In the past few years the loading capacity of automobiles and trains for bed boards has been increased uninterruptedly. This progress has been derived from repeated experiments. At first not more than 104 boards would fill a Liberation car. The loading capacity of each car being normally four tons, I thought that we were not making full use of this capacity by loading only 104 boards, which weighed only slightly more than two tons. So, after consultation with the workers, I tried to do the loading myself. The result was that only 103, not more but one less than before, were loaded. Someone said to me, "Don't waste your brain. The freight is borne by the government anyhow, and you don't have to spend a penny." "We should be responsible to the state," I replied. "One car saved means so much more transport capacity for the state." With the enthusiastic assistance of the workers, I persisted in the experiment, and the number of boards loaded on each Liberation car increased steadily to 140 in 1963 and 176 in 1964.

The same thing was true of train transport. At first only 700 boards were loaded on each car, but after incessant research all available space has been taken advantage of and the number of boards loaded on each car increased to 835.

The practice of strict economy requires the spirit of sacrifice and endurance of great hardships and hard work, if it is really aimed to accomplish the most with the least expenditure. For all these years, with a view to purchasing reasonable barracks furniture of good quality, I have made countless surveys with regard to sources of supply and prices, taken many trips, climbed many mountains, constantly suffered hunger, and at times slept in open air. Though I have led a miserable and tiring life, spiritually I feel very comfortable, because all my sufferings have been worth while, so long as I have been

able to effect economy for our socialist construction.

On one occasion, when I was in Ma-ch'eng, Hupeh, to order bed boards, I learned that they were reasonable and of good quality in Kuei-shan. So, I decided to purchase them from the latter. Unfortunately, however, it rained very hard for two consecutive days, and there was no transport service between Ma-ch'eng and Kuei-shan. After Studying Chairman Mao's directive that "the more difficult it is to get to a place, the more we should go there," I decided to defy the rain. But it was really difficult to travel on the mountainous path, and I was so tired that I perspired all over. After arriving in Kuei-shan, I got in touch with the unit concerned even before I had a chance to have my lunch. I returned to Ma-ch'eng on the same day after covering more than 80 li, with one blister after another cropping up on my feet. Though I was dog-tired, I felt very happy, because I had overcome my difficulties according to Chairman Mao's teachings and guidance and succeeded in ordering bed boards which suited us.

Those of us who undertake purchasing work must implant the conception of loyalty to the state and adopt the total viewpoint. In January 1965 I was in Nanking to ship bed boards. For this purpose the Navigation Bureau placed at my disposal five 100-ton wooden boats. It was on the eve of the Spring Festival, when traffic was very heavy between the city and the countryside. To relieve this congestion, I tried to see if I could not set aside one of the five vessels for public transport. So I went aboard and made the necessary measurements to help me reach a decision. At last the size of the hold, the height of the vessel, and the specifications of the bed boards convinced me that four vessels would be sufficient for my purposes. When it came to the actual loading, I gave my personal help to the workers, piling up the boards without leaving any available space unfilled. Finally it was confirmed that only four vessels were sufficient. According to the contract, the use of one vessel less would not involve any reduction of the freight. But it would mean the saving of more than 600 yuan in tonnage cost for the navigation department and so much more transport capacity for the state.

In my work I absolutely refuse to undertake anything prejudicial to the state or collectives, and no matter how insignificant the matter is, I never do anything to promote my own private interest. When shipping bed boards from Nanchang, the Business Department of the Nanchang Native Products Company gave me one set of boards too many. I at once informed them of the mistake and bought over the extra set at the price agreed upon. Because of this additional set the export certificate had also to be altered; otherwise it would be contrary to the rules

of navigation. We who undertake purchasing cultivate, in connection with such minor details, the conception of subordinating the individual to the general interest and setting the example of observance of state laws and orders.

Try Our Best to Do What Is Beneficial to the People

There is no limit to the service we revolutionary workers can render to the people. We should try our best to do whatever is beneficial to the people at the first opportunity that presents itself.

In this respect I was not very self-conscious at first, and I did what was useful to the people only in a corner where there was no one else, but was too shy to do it wherever there were many people. However, after the movement of emulating Comrade Lei Feng (7191 6912) was launched, I made an examination of myself, and bearing this problem in mind, I studied the related discussions made by Chairman Mao, who said, "We Communists are like seeds and the people like land. When we arrive at a place, we should get together with the people and take root and blossom among them." [See Note] I am a member of the Communist Party and my work keeps me in close contact with the masses. So, I should do as many good turns for the people as possible in accordance with Chairman Mao's directives.

[Note] "Concerning the Chungking Talks," ibid, Vol IV, page 1161.

In April 1964 I took the train to Lo-pei. On my way, in addition to studying Chairman Mao's works, I helped the attendants carry water, polish the train, and clean the lavatory. When passing through Hsin-yang, we encountered a cold current. Seeing that the conductor was scantily dressed and that he had to get off the train in defiance of the biting North wind at each station, I took off my own quilted gown and threw it over him. At first he categorically refused to accept it. I said, "You must get off at every station, but there is no question about me on the train." I felt warm in my heart when he finally consented to put on my quilted garment.

This time when the train I took approached Ho-kang, I saw on it a woman taking with her two children and more than 50 chin of luggage. One child was having measles with high fever, and the other was also sick. Naturally she was greatly worried. I asked her, "Where do you live?" "New 2nd St., Tung-shan Mines, Ho-kang Municipality," was the reply.

When the train arrived, I left them in a safe place away from the wind and went to the transshipment department to borrow

a pushcart. The woman placed her children on it, but she herself refused to get on it, lest it be too heavy for me. I said that it was important to gain time for the medical treatment and that if she also got on, we could go much faster. I added that I would not mind being a little tired for the children's sake. Thereupon she got on the cart.

The ice is not all thawed in the Northeast in April. Being afraid that the children might catch cold, I took off my quilted coat and covered them with it. On the way their mother never ceased to say, "The Liberation Army is concerned with the people in every respect" and "You are truly one of the true fighters educated by Chairman Mao."

After they got home, her husband, an old worker by the name of Sun Hsiang-shu (1327 4161 1859), being deeply touched, held me with both hands and said, with tears in both eyes, that I was dearer even than a brother. The woman waked up the elder boy and told him to salute me, call me a good uncle from the Liberation Army, and become a member of the army when he grew up. Seeing that it was getting late, the couple begged me to stay overnight, but I said, "Don't mind me. Hurry up with the treatment of your children, which is more important than anything else." Subsequently the couple wrote to thank me and gave me the good news of their children's full recovery.

In the last few years I have visited several provinces and regions north and south, and I have never missed an opportunity to help the masses. On trains I pass bowls of rice and water to passengers. In hotels I take advantage of my morning and evening leisure to sweep the floor and clean spittoons. In public mess halls I help the culinary staff wash the dishes and wipe the tables. In public latrines I clean up whenever I find dirt. When I do my shopping, I help others load and unload. In a barber shop, when there are many waiting to have their hair-cuts, I help with the sanitary work. I have swept streets in Amoy, Fukien, hotels and streets in Nanchang and Chi-an, Kiangsi, hostels in Nan-ching Municipality, Hunan, and waiting rooms in stations in Chia-mu-ssu and Harbin. I have also cleaned up streets and lanes in the residential areas for workers' families in Lo-pei Hsien, Heilungkiang Province.

The sweeping of the ground is superficially a trifle. However, one sweeping gets one much closer to the masses. In Lo-pei, when my clothes were dirty, they were secretly washed by comrades; when it rained, my raincoat was delivered to me at the site of my work; when it was cold, hot water was offered to me as soon as the masses saw me getting water from the well to wash my face; when I slept on the table, a newly-wed worker forced me to use his comforter; when I was sick, workers' de-

pendents kneaded noodles and made dumplings for me, forcing me to eat them; and when I had any difficulty in my work, the masses extended their help to me. Whenever I visited them, the masses inquired after my health, prepared tea for me, and provided me with water. When I walked out to the street, many people greeted me. In the hostel a number of local cadres, workers, and students constantly looked me up. At times, when I was sweeping the streets, a group of children followed and said to me, "We want to learn from our uncle from the Liberation Army."

It is especially difficult for me to forget two things. First, in Ming-shan, Lo-pei, I bought 100 chin of wire, which had to be sent to a timber depot five li away. After carrying it for more than one li, I perspired heavily. At this point I met a worker who was unknown to me, but seeing that I was struggling hard, he said, "Lao Sung, my cart is in front. Let me send it for you." I was on the point of asking how he knew me when he carried the wire away. After I had just sat down at the timber depot, he delivered the wire to me. It was only then that I realized that he had no cart at all and that he had carried the load with his own hands.

On another occasion, because I was busy working at night, I could not return to the Lo-pei Hostel until after 11:00. No sooner had I entered than the comrade on duty asked, "Comrade Sung, have you eaten?" Though I had not had time to eat, I was afraid that I might give the comrade too much trouble. So, I said, "Already." Shortly afterward he sent me some rolls. Where did these come from, it being the deep of night when all the cooks were fast asleep? I was told only next day that the said comrade had groped for them from the mess hall.

#### Carry on the Revolution and Study Chairman Mao's Works for the Rest of Our Lives

In the past several years, in the course of my study of Chairman Mao's works, I have gained the profound understanding that to study these works with real proficiency, we must have a deep proletarian feeling and a high degree of revolutionary self-consciousness and coordinate study and application intimately, with special stress on the word "application."

I was born in a poor-peasant family. My father was subjected to endless oppression and exploitation in the old society, and was beaten by the Japanese to death. A six-year-old brother died from sickness, because the family had no money to spend on his medical care. From my childhood I had joined my mother in begging for our food. When I was ten, I tended pigs for a landlord. In my youth I was subjected to countless beatings and curses, and had to endure hunger and cold for days and

nights on end. Such tragic living was not concluded until 1945 when my native town was liberated. Since then I have had the sweet taste of the new society.

In 1947 I joined the Liberation Army. With the education provided by the party, I have increased my class consciousness uninterruptedly, understood a number of revolutionary principles, and learned that the wise leadership of the party and Chairman Mao has been responsible for liberating the poor and converting them into masters of their own house, and comprehended that only by perpetually listening to the words of Chairman Mao and following the Communist party can the poor obtain their thorough liberation.

As a result, from the bottom of my heart, I have had an ardent love for the Communist party and Chairman Mao. Since then I have begun to study some of Chairman Mao's books and to derive revolutionary principles from them. In 1960 the Enlarged Conference of the Military Council issued the call, "Hold aloft the red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and really acquire it." Then I paid more attention to the study of Chairman Mao's works in coordination with my own thinking and work.

These works have given me new strength and made my thinking and work show a new face. The more I study them, the more anxious I am to study them. I feel uncomfortable and cannot sleep if I stop doing so even for one day. When we have a class feeling toward Chairman Mao's works and are self-conscious in studying them, the question of the time of study can also be solved. My study has reached such a stage that it is continued whether I am sent out on a mission or remain in my office, whether my environment is good or bad, whether I am busy or not so busy. I am all the more in need of the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking; otherwise I would be unduly busy and I might even get sick. I make it a rule to read Chairman Mao's books everyday without change, even though my environment may undergo change.

In studying Chairman Mao's works I frequently think over questions cropping up in my own work and ponder how they should be solved with the help of Chairman Mao's thinking. Once I think it through, I lay aside the book and just act according to his directives. In the course of my work I try to find out which part of it is and which not consistent with these directives. When I have done right, I again consult Chairman Mao's works to see why I have done right, and when I have not done right, I also consult these works to get at the reason for my failure. As a result of this sustained study I can accumulate good thinking and methods of work and continue to consolidate them and improve them. Wherever I have erred, I can learn

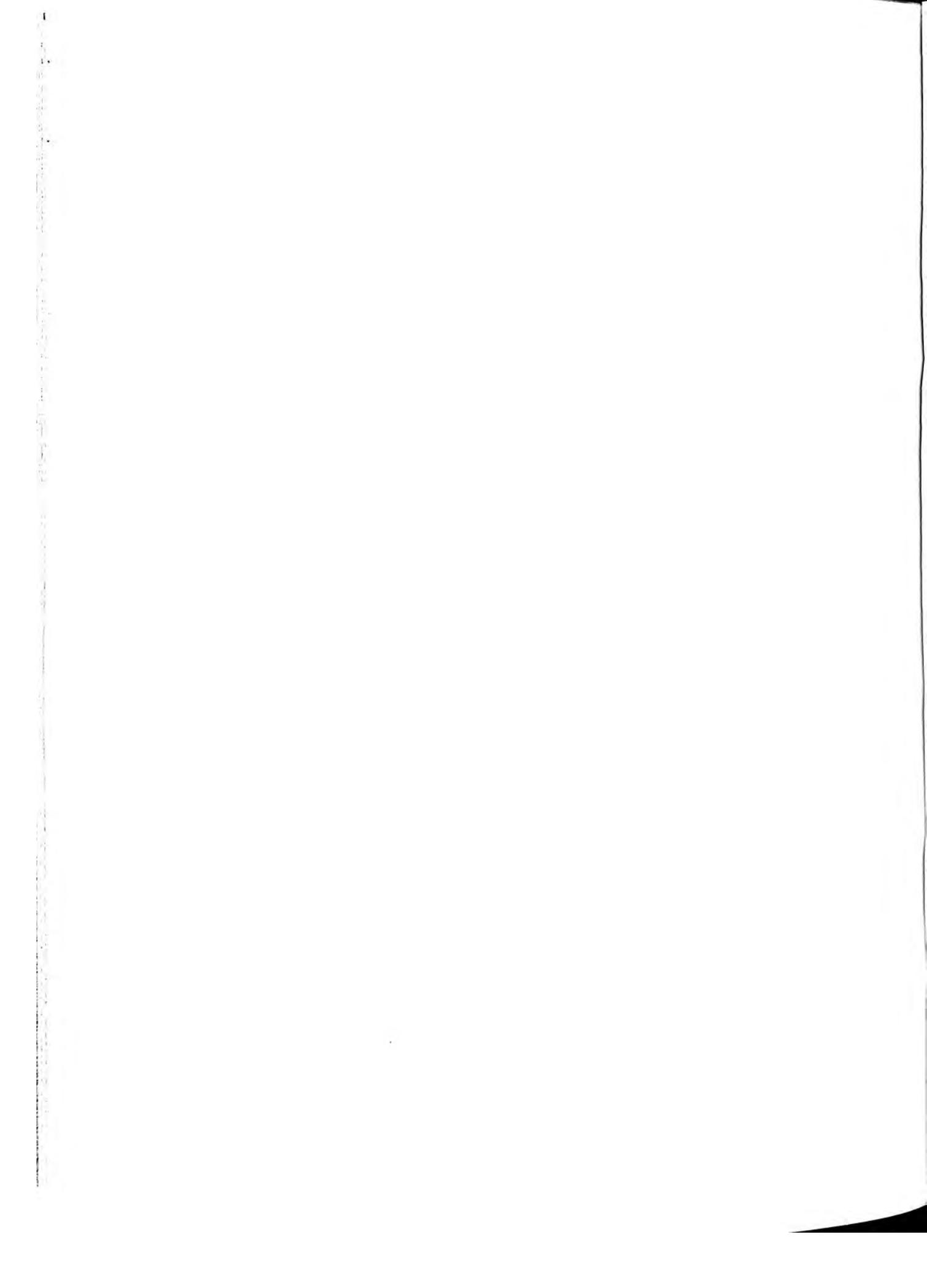
the lesson and avoid the repetition of any mistake.

The object of the study of Chairman Mao's works is nothing but application. To attain this object, it is necessary to solve the question of the relationship between the means and the end. When we study we must have an object, and when we apply what we study, we must likewise have an object. In the past several years, whenever I have encountered any difficulty, I have sought to learn from the discussions on dare-to-struggle and dare-to-win in the article on "Mountain-Moving by Yu-kung (1446 0361)!" When there are many contradictions and problems in my work, which have to be solved by penetrating into reality, I have sought to learn from the discussions in the article "On Practice" and that "On Contradictions" in connection with investigation and research. When I have to get in touch with the masses, I have sought to learn from the articles entitled "Be Concerned with the Living of the Masses and Pay Attention to Methods of Work" and "Service for the People." When I receive commendation, I have sought to learn from the discussions which teach that "humility brings progress and pride leads to backwardness." When a criticism is leveled at me, I have sought to learn from the discussions regarding criticism and self-criticism. When I detect the deterioration of my own thinking, I have sought to examine myself with the related sayings of Chairman Mao, so as to nip it in the bud. I deeply comprehend that so far as individual thinking is concerned, Chairman Mao's works are a process in the rise of proletarianism and destruction of capitalism and in the uninterrupted revolution. When there are defects, they cannot be rectified without the study of Chairman Mao's works; and when there is achievement, it cannot be consolidated without the study of Chairman Mao's works.

In my view, to be a member of the Communist party and a revolutionary serviceman, one has the task of not only striving oneself to study Chairman Mao's works, but actively propagandizing to the broad masses of the people Mao Tse-tung's thinking. At the timber depot, timber factory, and hostel of Lo-pei, the Victory Road Hotel of Nanchang, and the Chan-ch'ien Hotel of Chi-an, I have participated in the studies conducted by our working comrades and helped others in their work of organization and guidance. For example, a clerk of the Victory Road Hotel of Nanchang could not work with peace of mind, but after I helped her study Chairman Mao's works, she is said to have done very well, having moreover attended the conference of Nanchang enterprises with the five good things and that of the deputies of functionaries and workers with the six good things. On my trips train attendants often organize travelers to launch a number of cultural and recreational activities, and I have taken the opportunity to lecture on the sayings of Chairman Mao.

I have merely begun with the study of Chairman Mao's works. In my thinking and work I still have many defects. Hereafter I am determined to follow the directives of Comrade Lin Piao (2651 1753) by carrying on the revolution and studying Chairman Mao's works for the rest of my life, and I must succeed in acquiring Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

6096  
CSO: 3530-D



## DIALECTICS IN DAILY WORK

[Following is a translation of a group of articles in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 4, 24 March 1966, pages 52-56]

### The Skill of Fire Tending

By Wang P'ei-chien (3769 1014 1696), orderly, teachers' study class, K'ai-feng special district office

After graduating from senior middle school last year, I became an orderly at the teachers' study class, K'ai-feng special district, and worked as a fireman. When I saw the old workers spreading the coal in the furnace and making the fire roar so easily, I thought it a simple matter, and promised to undertake the job. Though the leadership warned me that I must learn the work in spite of the difficulties, I paid no attention.

I reported for work the next day. It looked simple, but was hard to do. I could not regulate the flame. Either a pot of rice porridge was burnt, or the bread was not done after 40 minutes of steaming. Finally, the old workers had to help me. Thus passed the first day. It was even worse in the next few days. One or both of the two fires tended by me would go out. I was worried all day long. My colleagues composed a poem to ridicule me. I became even more depressed and wanted to quit.

Fortunately, the leadership promptly pointed out the source of my trouble and urged me to study Chairman Mao's works more. I studied again "Serving the People" and "the Fool Moving the Mountain" to find out why I could not tend the fire properly, and I realized that, first of all, I failed <sup>to</sup> link up fire tending and the revolution. I

tended the fire because I was assigned to the job, but failed to realize that successful fire tending would produce good meals and enable the teachers of the class to eat well, study better, and complete their mission of cultivating revolutionary successors upon their graduation. I did not realize that fire tending was a part of the revolutionary work or establish the determination to overcome the difficulties. Thus, the moment I encountered difficulties, I became discouraged and felt that I was not suited to the job. How could I succeed? Next, in addition to correct thinking, I must master the pattern of fire tending. After studying, my understanding improved, and I became more energetic.

Thereafter, I observed carefully and learned from the old workers. After a period, I finally mastered the pattern of fire tending. I discovered that, to make a big fire, I must add coal in small amounts frequently, that I should keep the low flame going by adding coal often, and that I could poke the low flame and produce a high flame immediately. Before banking the fire at night, I must first clean out the dregs, cover the surface with coal evenly, and fill the pool below the fire with water to prevent leaking. The fire would not extinguish the next morning.

After the solution of the old conflicts, new ones cropped up. I could now regulate the size of the flame, but I found that one of the two fires would scatter the newly added coal. It was wasteful, and the flame was not strong. I wondered why this should happen when I tended both fires in the same manner. I observed it carefully but still could not solve the problem. Thus, I studied again "Anti-Pedagogism." Chairman Mao said: "You cannot solve the problem? Then, you must investigate its present condition and past history! After you have made a thorough investigation, you will have the means of its solution." (Selected Readings of Mao Tse-tung's Works, edition A, volume 1, pages 27-28, People's Publishing House, second edition of 1965). I received a great enlightenment. I was making superficial observations only, without going into the core and the history of the problem. I sought instructions from the old workers and discovered that it was due to the high efficiency of the air-blaster and the shallow fire. Thereupon, I mixed more water to the coal in order to make it form bigger lumps and added more coal each time, and the coal was not scattered any more.

Due to the different kinds of coal, the method of using it must also vary. There was a large pile of coal next to our kitchen. Every time it rained, black water would flow everywhere. It was both wasteful and unhygienic. I found out that the coal was called "li-feng" coal, which was difficult to burn, and so was not used, and that bituminous coal was preferred. I wanted to find a means to make use of it. Finally, I succeeded in mixing it with the bituminous coal and produced a good result. By so doing, money was saved for the state.

I studied some dialectics in middle school. But, as I did not put it to practice, I could only recite the concepts. Now that I have put it to practice and produced good results, I have become more interested in learning. However, I have only begun to practice it, and I am still far from adequate. Hereafter I will continue to study Chairman Mao's works and make greater contributions in my work.

### "Alright" and "Not Alright"

By Huang Yu-ming (7806 3768 2494), secretary of the first company of a certain unit, Liberation Army

In our work, there is often the problem of "alright" or "not alright."

When I first came to the company as a secretary, I was not familiar with the work, my academic level was low, and the standard of the unit was high. I thought: "Impossible, I cannot do secretarial work!" When the leadership asked me to write something, I devoted my entire energy to it, but my work still ended up as a "reject." I was discouraged, could not sleep at night, and thought it impossible for me to continue. At this time, the company leader encouraged and educated me, enlightened me with Chairman Mao's words, and enabled me to realize that man's correct thinking could only come from social practice. One must not wait until one has learned the skill before doing the work, but must learn while doing the work. Thus, my mind was clarified. Thereafter, according to Chairman Mao's words, I rallied my courage.

In my work, I constantly learned from my comrades and the old secretaries in regard to writing reports and materials and safekeeping and recording documents. I visited other units to learn from their experience, how they investigated and studied, and how to grasp the essence from the voluminous data. I asked for advice from others before writing a report and asked them to correct my writing. I then compared my own writing and their corrections. After some time, I gradually learned the work.

By this time, as I had basically mastered the pattern of secretarial work and learned some of the methods, I became self-satisfied. The result was an unfavorable effect on my work? Why was it so? With this question in mind, I studied the viewpoint of splitting one into two and analyzed myself. I realized that, when one found oneself "alright" in one's work, one must not fail to see where one was still "not alright." It was a relative matter. One might be "alright" by the low standard, but "not alright" by the high standard; "alright" when compared with the novices, but "not alright" when com-

pared with the veterans; "alright" in matters of which one was experienced, but "not alright" in matters of which one had no experience. As I did not judge myself with the splitting one into two viewpoint, I was satisfied with the little accomplishment I made and turned into "not alright."

I have realized that the principle applies to other kinds of work as well as secretarial work. At the beginning, one must have a revolutionary courage and revolutionary energy to learn and steel oneself in practice and master the pattern of the work. Afterwards, when one is "alright," one must see oneself as a whole and realize just where one is still "not alright," in order to prevent stagnation. In sum, only by understanding the problems with the splitting one into two method and working actively will one prevent discouragement and self-satisfaction and continue to advance. We will then become more "free" in our work and more efficient as we go along.

### "To Work Alone" or "To Take the Lead"

By Chiang Ta-hung (1203 1129 3163), senior second-year student, Shui-kuo-hu Middle School, Wu-ch'ang

In the past, I often "worked alone." I would undertake the entire or the major part of the blackboard bulletin of the class, or the slogans, cover pictures, and cartoons of the school. I buried myself in work, but the result was not very good. My schoolmates found the blackboard bulletins and the cover pictures always the same and monotonous. After much time and energy, my propaganda work was not successful. What was the problem?

I sought the answer in Chairman Mao's works. Chairman Mao exhorted us time and again to believe in and rely on the masses for everything, for otherwise nothing would succeed. He said: "The positivity of the leadership backbone alone, without combining it with the positivity of the masses, will turn into the wasted labor of a few." ("Certain Problems concerning the Leadership Method," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, volume 3, page 900, People's Publishing House, second edition of 1953). He also said: "The people are the true heroes, while we, ourselves, are often ridiculously infantile." ("Preface and Epilogue to 'Rural Survey'," op. cit., volume 3, page 790). His words seemed to be pinpointed at me. Was I not engaged in "wasted labor?" Was I not "often ridiculously infantile" in my attempt to show off? Chairman Mao told us to activate the masses in our work, because wisdom and power came from them.

However, I also encountered another type of student cadres. Instead of "working alone," they would assign the entire job to others, while they, themselves, would look around and make gestures,

waiting for it to be completed. The task was not successfully completed, and they became more and more severed from the masses. What was the problem here?

I again sought the answer from Chairman Mao's works. Chairman Mao said that a communist party member "must manifest his positivity concretely in all aspects and produce a vanguard and exemplary effect." ("The Position of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," op. cit., volume 2, page 509, People's Publishing House, second edition of 1952). In other words, in any task, we must unite with the large masses, fighting alongside them, sharing the bitter and the sweet, and leading them in attack. Instead of "herding" the horses with a whip, the cadres must serve as the leaders of the herd. Instead of sitting as lords over the masses, they must be common soldiers fused into the masses. They can understand the desires and difficulties of the masses and gain their trust and support. They can activate the masses, take the lead, and complete the tasks successfully.

The two kinds of conditions described above are the result of violating Chairman Mao's instructions consciously or unconsciously. Superficially, they seem to be completely different, but, essentially, they have a point in common -- severance from the masses and violation of Chairman Mao's instructions. Therefore, both are wrong.

For this reason, we must oppose "working alone" and we must take the lead in our work. It means believing in and relying on the masses; it means taking the lead and activating the masses.

Wisdom increases with experience. In this semester, I have been guarding against "working alone" and striving to "take the lead." By following Chairman Mao's instructions, the propaganda tasks are performed more successfully and rapidly. Truly Chairman Mao's ideology produces an instantaneous effect!

#### Be in an Active Position when Directing Traffic

By Liu Chieh (0491 2638), civil police, communications third middle team, Public Security Bureau, Ch'ang-ch'un Municipality

We must occupy an active position in any task, and this is true with traffic directing. As long as we continue to investigate and study, and familiarize ourselves with the characteristics of the different types of traffic, we will free ourselves from the passive situation of "traffic tie-up" and make it flow smoothly.

In the past, when I was directing traffic, "traffic tie-up" often occurred, and I was so confused that I almost caused accidents by my directing. When studying "on Practice," I came across the fol-

lowing passage: "If we want our work to be successful, i. e., to produce the expected result, we must adapt our thinking to the law of the objective external world, for otherwise we may fail in our practice." (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, volume 1, page 273, People's Publishing House, second edition of 1952). His words greatly enlightened me and made me realize that the "traffic tie-up" was mainly due to my ignorance of the characteristics of the vehicles and my inability to direct traffic according to the objective law. Thereafter, I tried to master the vehicle characteristics in order to direct traffic under different conditions.

After a period of practice, I discovered the following points. When the horn of a sedan sounds loudly and insistently, it may mean urgency, and I should let it pass as rapidly as possible; when a truck (k'a-ch'e 0595 6508) creaks and runs slowly, it may indicate a heavy load. As such vehicles are difficult to start or stop and consume much fuel when doing so, I should also let it pass as soon as possible. A vehicle which goes at low speed and rattles indicates an empty vehicle, and it is alright to let it wait. When a vehicle is operated unsteadily at a high speed, it generally indicates the lack of concentration on the part of the operator. Under this condition, one must shout a warning. Meanwhile, one must give attention to the second vehicle when passing the first one, passing the running vehicles before the stopped ones and promptly eliminating communication congestion. By so doing, "traffic tie-up" is greatly reduced, and the work turns from passive to active.

Nevertheless, the active and the passive may mutually convert, and the initiative in traffic directing is not absolutely stable. In traffic directing, unexpected conditions often occur. For example, when an automobile is given the "go" signal, a bicyclist may be fighting for the lead with it, pedestrians may be crossing the street diagonally, or children may be running heedlessly. Under such conditions, any lack of attention may not only make the work passive, but even result in an accident.

In the past, I always thought that such situations were inevitable and that I could only remain passive. Gradually, I have come to realize that no matter how complicated the conditions, I, as a traffic police, must remain constantly vigilant and be mentally prepared for the unforeseen.

To solve the problem, I utilize my spare time to talk about safety knowledge and conduct a safety education in some units. When directing traffic at my post, I concentrate my mind and remain constantly alert. I also propagandize and correct regularly. Thus, I have become more active in traffic directing.

6080  
CSO: 3530-D

## SIMPLICITY OR COMPLEXITY?

[Following is a translation of an article by Hsu Yung-te (1776 3056 1795) and Ku Shu (7357 5289) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 4, 24 March 1966, pages 57-59]

Simplicity and complexity are a pair of contradictions. In technical innovatuon, what is their condition? For example, should a machine be simple or complex? Is the development of machinery toward simplicity or complexity? When improving the machine designing, how should the relationship between them be handled? We feel that analyzing such problems with materialist dialectics will be most helpful to the deployment of technical revolution and technical innovation.

The handling of the conflict between simplicity and complexity in the reform of the liquid pressure control box (i-ya ts'ao-tsung hsiang 3210 1090 2347 4912 4630) by the workers and technicians of the Shanghai Machine Factory serves as an enlightenment to us. After a long period of effort and many changes, they have brought the control box to an advanced level. In the process, they adhered to the viewpoint and method of splitting one into two and solved many conflicts, including the conflict between simplicity and complexity, in the structure of the control box.

Generally speaking, machineries develop from the simple to the complex. With the development of production, the functional and measurement standards of the objects processed become ever higher. Primitive and simple machines generally cannot process the parts for precision machines. Nevertheless, can we thus come to the conclusion that the complex is better than the simple under all conditions and that, the more complex, the better it is? The staff and workers of the Shanghai Machine Factory answered this question in their remodelling of the control box.

We know that the liquid pressure control box is the heart of the grinding machine (mo-ch'uang 4333 1643). Its functioning will produce a great influence on the high precision products processed by the grinding machine. The liquid pressure control box used by the Shanghai Machine Factory on its grinding machine was fairly complex in structure. Prior to remodelling, each grinding machine had two control boxes. One, called the control box, regulated the reciprocating motion of the grinding machine work platform, and the other, called the rotary box (chin-chi hsiang 6651 4822 4630), regulated the rotary motion (chin-chi yun-tung 6651 4822 6663 0520) of the emery wheel. The work involved a high labor intensity and large material consumption, and the quality of the products was not stable. Was it possible to make them lighter, handier, and simpler?

The workers felt that, though it would <sup>mean</sup> a tremendous and arduous task, it could be done. They felt that the complexity of the control box was the result of the many parts. Therefore, they wanted to start with the parts of the reciprocating motion control box. The box had a total of four valves (fa 7042), i. e., the "operating," "flow control," "directional," and "lead" valves. It seemed that every one had its own function and could not be touched. However, starting from their practical production experience, the workers studied the switch on the radio receiving unit. Since the switch of the radio could regulate the volume as well as start and stop the operation, could they not also combine the "operating" and "flow control" valves of the control box by the same principle? It would eliminate one valve, save many parts, and simplify the entire box.

After experimenting, they succeeded in combining the two valves. The structure of the box was much simplified, the volume reduced, the weight lightened, and the production efficiency greatly improved. It tells us that, after man's subjective effort, a complicated machinery which was thought to be untouchable, can be simplified, and the simplified machine can produce more and better products. Thus, it is groundless to feel that the more complicated the machinery, the better it is.

Their success in combining the two valves greatly encouraged them. So, they wondered whether they could not also combine the "directional" and the "lead" valves? If so, the original four valves would be reduced to two. In their experiments, they found that, if the "directional" and "lead" valves were combined, the combined valve must be slipped over the combined "operating and flow control" valve. By so doing, the four valves would be combined into one, and the structure of the control box would be much simplified. But the control box so produced by them did not work. Why? Because the structure of the "four-in-one" valve itself was too complex, and the oil of many lines must pass through it, resulting in uneven pressure and clumsy operation. In spite of the lack of success, they gained valuable experience. The choice between simplicity and complexity de-

pended on the concrete conditions and on whether production would be promoted. It would be just as wrong to feel that any complicated article, under any condition, could be turned into a simple article, without concrete analysis.

Since they could not combine the second pair of valves, they thought of combining the two boxes - the control and the rotary boxes. After repeated study, every one felt that it could be done, because many of the parts and pipe lines of the two boxes could be combined. It would eliminate the rotary box and save material and labor, and improve the functioning of the control box. The two originally separate boxes were not to be put together mechanically, but to be linked together organically, similar to the new matter and its new function after combining two chemical elements. In other words, turning the complex into the simple does not mean the elimination of a few parts. It means clarifying the reason for the complexity, concretely analyzing the concrete conditions, remodelling the structure of some of the parts or the whole, and elevating their functioning. Of course, the structure of the combined box was more complex than either of the single boxes. Thus, the workers encountered new difficulties. Pinpointing at the problem, they again remodelled the structure of the new box. Thus, after many changes, the control box became lighter and handier.

The innovation process of the control box, turning it from a complex to a simple structure, tells us clearly that the simplicity of the whole is attained from the complexity of the parts. The structure of the combined valve, or combined box, is naturally more complex than the single valve or single box. But such partial "complexity" is not complex in the original sense. In other words, the parts are more complex, but such complexity contains the simplicity of the whole; the whole is greatly simplified, but such simplicity is a simplicity of a higher level and contains the complexity of the parts. The simplicity of the whole is our goal, while the complexity of the parts is the means to attain it. If we fail to understand the relationship between the simple and the complex of the whole and the parts, and if we feel that the simpler a machine, the better it is, seeking simultaneous simplicity in the whole and the parts, the structural innovation of the control<sup>box</sup> will be hard to accomplish. Two zero's cannot be added into one. If one part must produce the effect of two, its structure has to be more complex. Naturally, our understanding of objective matters gradually intensifies. After the creation of certain conditions, it is not impossible to simplify the combined part.

Then, by attaining the simplicity of the whole through the complexity of the parts, why was the combining of the two boxes successful while that of the "directional" and "lead" valves unsuccessful? The answer is that, under certain concrete conditions, the complexity of the parts must not exceed certain limits. All matters

transform toward their opposite directions under certain conditions. Beyond a certain limit, the complexity of the parts cannot bring about the simplicity of the whole; on the contrary, it may incapacitate the whole.

Thus, in the technical revolution and technical innovation movement, the correct understanding and handling of the relations between the simple and the complex require the elimination of metaphysical one-sidedness and absolutism. While we must not feel that a complex machine is always better and be afraid to change the complex into the simple, nor must we feel that a simple machine is always better and proceed blindfolded without regard of the concrete conditions. Only by comprehensively analyzing the concrete conditions of the different types of machines, discovering the complicated conditions of their influence on production development, and taking correct measures will we be able to apply consciously the dialectics between the simple and the complex, strive to reduce, lighten, simplify, and refine the structure of the machinery, and attain the goal of ingenuity and economy.

(Reprinted from Chieh-fang Jih-pao, 10 March 1966).

6080

CSO: 3530-D

BRING FORTH POLITICS AND OPPOSE  
COMPROMISE-ISM

[Following is a translation of a reader's letter from Ni Chih-hung (0242 1807 2837) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 4, 24 March 1966, pages 59-61]

Comrade Editor:

I wish to report a condition to you and hope you will organize a discussion in your publication. It is briefly as follows:

A worker comrade of a brother plant visited me while I was recuperating in hospital. He informed me that his plant party commissioner was in the process of organizing the staff and workers to debate on the relationship between politics and production skill. I remarked that the plant party commissioner was foresighted because he was practicing the Marxist-Leninist leadership method, and compatible with the Mao Tse-tung ideology. He then said that his workshop also deployed a debate. When I asked him about the result, he said: "I am indignant over the result. The majority of our workers feel that politics is the commanding general and the soul while production skill is something secondary and should be subordinated to politics. A minority opposed us. However, our party branch secretary (the political director; my comments are in parentheses) criticized both sides when summarizing, saying: 'You are all one-sided and fail to observe the problems with the splitting one into two method (meaning he alone knew how to split one into two, but please observe how he did it). The relationship between politics and production is a dialectic one. (How pleasant are such words! Do Marxism-Leninism and the Mao Tse-tung ideology not stress dialectics?). Politics must serve production, while production must also serve politics. The two form a dialectic unity and mutually serve each other. Emphasis on either will be one-sided. (These words are not novel at all; the Marxist-Leninists have long criticized this viewpoint.)'"

After the worker comrade finished his statement, I commented rashly that their viewpoint was right and compatible with the Mao Tse-tung ideology and that the viewpoint of the branch secretary was typical compromise-ism and opportunism, and incompatible with the Mao Tse-tung ideology. I said that they should struggle against his erroneous thinking with Chairman Mao's ideology, help him overcome his error, reform his non-proletarian thinking, and turn him into a true proletarian political director. I then showed him certain relevant passages from Chairman Mao's analects and the articles of some leadership comrades. He was both pleased and angered -- pleased that he, himself, understood the truth, and angered over the wrong viewpoint expressed by the branch secretary. He announced that he would argue with the branch secretary upon his return. I still do not know the result of his argument. Anyway, I feel that this problem deserves discussion.

Is the said branch secretary alone in entertaining a compromise-ist viewpoint when bringing out politics? In real life, while there are not very many like him, he is not alone. They exist within and without the party, on the industrial and agricultural fronts. One may say that they exist everywhere, varying only in number and degree. Their erroneous views go even beyond that of the branch secretary, such as, "if the production tasks are successfully completed, one good will cover one hundred bad and motivate other tasks;" "production and politics are equally important, and should be stressed by turns in the different periods;" "tackle production with one hand and politics with the other, emphasizing both, without partiality;" etc. As proved by facts, these are all compromise-ist views which must be firmly opposed because they block politics,

Those entertaining a compromise-ist view will always display the materialist dialectic banner to peddle their merchandise. Whenever they discuss the relations between politics and economic, technical, or other tasks, they will always hum and haw in an empty, abstract, and sophistical manner. They seem to be following dialectics, but they are, in fact, practicing compromise-ism. They do not tell people which is the more important and which secondary or which is the major and which minor. They regard political work as something on equal ground with economic and technical work and other business tasks. Thus they fundamentally violate materialist dialectics.

Those with a compromise-ist viewpoint adopt the means of "open observance and secret rebellion" on the momentous fundamental issue of politics. In the name of materialist dialectics, they practice compromise-ism; under the banner of bringing forth politics, they resist it in their deed. Their deeds do not conform to their words. They may succeed temporarily, or over a considerable period of time, in fooling those whose awareness is not high and whose sense of smell is not keen, and may cause great damages to our enterprise.

It is not surprising at all that the compromise-ists disguise themselves with materialist dialectics. As materialist dialectics enjoys a high prestige in our era, if they do not cover themselves with its cloak, they will not find the market to sell their compro-

nise-ism. We must firmly and thoroughly expose their true features and leave no market or territory to them. Only so will we wipe out the obstacles to bringing out politics, strengthen the proletarian political atmosphere, raise high the great red banner of the Mao Tse-tung ideology, bring the socialist revolution and socialist construction cause to a success, and render a greater support to the world proletarian revolution.

At present, the party organizations of all levels, the various units, and the various occupations and fields are in the process of studying and discussing the problem of bringing politics out and deploying a debate over it. The center of the debate is the relationship between politics and economic, technical, and other business tasks. The essence of the debate is the struggle between the proletarian and the bourgeois ideologies, between the socialist and the capitalist paths, and between the Marxist-Leninist and the opportunist political lines. The debate involves the fundamental problem of promoting the proletarian and eliminating the bourgeois. Therefore, its realistic and theoretical significances must not be underestimated.

In the debate, the bourgeois views of some people, such as ignoring or demoting politics, "economics first," "technology determining all," "production tasks first," etc., have encountered, or are encountering, stern criticisms. One may say that such erroneous viewpoints produce very little attraction. At this crucial period, those who come forward with erroneous compromise-ist views are wasting their effort. But since there are such views, we should hold a debate. I hope that the party publications and newspapers will discuss this problem.

Such a debate will be an excellent thing, for it will be similar to a big lecture on Marxism-Leninism and the Mao Tse-tung ideology attended by the people of the entire nation. It will greatly promote the proletarian ideology and eliminate the bourgeois ideology and make the masses follow more firmly the socialist path, raise higher the great red banner of the Mao Tse-tung ideology, and criticize and smash more effectively the many types of opportunist thinking. Consequently, a newer transformation will appear in the spiritual features of the people and a tremendous material power will rise, hastening the socialist construction and promoting the advance and above-norm completion of the third five-year plan.

Firmly bring out politics; oppose compromise-ism!  
Long live Marxism-Leninism!  
Long live the Mao Tse-tung ideology!

With my revolutionary salute,

Ni Chih-jung

Communist party member and executive secretary, political department, state operated Tung-an machine plant, Harbin Municipality.

2 March.

6080

- END -

CSO: 3530-D

CORNELL  
UNIVERSITY  
APR 25 1966  
LIBRARY