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PART II**

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MISCELLANY OF MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT
(1949-1968)

PART II

Selected items from two Chinese-language volumes, Mao Tse-tung Ssu-hsiang Wan-sui (Long Live Mao Tse-tung Thought), totalling 996 pp, published in 1967 and 1969, with no other publication information or attribution. Those items in these two volumes which are already generally available in English-language translation in various publications were not selected for translation and publication in this report. The items in this report are arranged in chronological order irrespective of the Chinese-language volume in which they were published. Photo on cover of this report is of the Exhibition Hall at the National Institute of Peasant Movement in Canton sponsored by Mao Tse-tung.

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SPEECH AT THE NINTH PLENUM OF THE EIGHTH CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

(18 January 1961)

Let me talk about investigation and study, as I did at the work conference. In the period of the Democratic Revolution we made many mistakes of line; those on the right did no investigation or study and neither did those on the left. The questions of what the circumstances in China were then, and of what line and what tactics to use, were not resolved. After the great revolution and the Second Revolutionary Civil War met defeat, we went through the Tsun-i conference and the rectification movement of the Seventh Central Committee, and by 1949 we gained a revolutionary victory.

During the War of Liberation, the circumstances in the fight against Chiang Kai-shek were fairly clear; we were fairly familiar with the various aspects of revolution and circumstances were relatively straightforward.

After the victory, dealing with the lives of several hundred million people, the situation was more complicated. With the mistakes of the past, it had been easy to educate the whole party. For several years everybody was doing investigation and study, but not much. We had no deep understanding of conditions. The restoration of the landlords was an example. It was not something we tried to pin on them -- it was how things really were. They were flying the Communist Party flag, but what they were doing was in fact restoration. Only after disturbances broke out did we realize that all three levels of cooperative units had, on the whole, connections with the counterrevolution. Rigid bureaucrats were the allies of the Democratic Revolution; in addition there were some confused people who did not understand the three-level ownership system and did not understand that if the Communist wind cannot blow, the counter-revolution will use it to attain its evil ends.

In Honan we had the "four highs" -- high targets, high production estimates, high rate of government purchase and high level of food use; but we are not using them any more -- instead we are lowering standards and taking the pressure off them. Things are going the other way, and this is more in accord with reality.

We have been talking for five years about "agriculture, light and heavy industry," "simultaneous development of industry and agriculture," "walking on two legs," and last year these were not realized, but it appears that this year they may possibly be realized. We can only say "possibly," because they haven't yet been realized, but this fact is reflected in the plans.

Investigation and study were also lacking in regard to landlord restoration. We paid more attention to the urban counterrevolutionary elements. After the events in Hungary, we allowed scattered free expression of opinion and tens of thousands of little Hungaries appeared; little Hungaries appeared at Peking University, People's University and Tsinghua University and over four hundred thousand rightists had to be purged. The rural area were also purged, not thoroughly; but we never anticipated the problem of landlord restoration — or we did abstractly, for we always used to talk about contradictions between bourgeoisie and proletariat, and in the Eighth Central Committee resolution the contradiction between advanced production methods and backward production methods was cited.

The Lushan Conference anti-rightist program threw the movement for correction of "leftists" into disorder. At the time anti-rightism was an absolute necessity. The Communist wind began to blow again and we did some "large-scale undertakings." Indeed, large-scale water conservancy and large-scale industry had great and undeniable achievements.

Of the problems of the Communist wind, rigid bureaucrats, confused people, and landlord restoration within the revolutionary ranks, some were not made clear, and some were discussed but without much result.

At the Lushan Conference, the problem of the movement for correction of "leftists" had not been made clear, but P'eng Te-huai forced us to accept the challenge and scatter the anti-"leftists."

Last year the central leadership comrades devoted their main energy to international questions.

At Shanghai in January, Canton in February, Hangchow in March, Shanghai in May, Pei-tai-ho in September, and at Moscow Conference, the Central Committee paid attention to [international] matters and adversely influenced the local comrades.

Why was Khrushchev so anxious to convene the Bucharest Conference and in July the Soviet Plenum began to attack us? Because if he hadn't done so he would have been in trouble: at home his position was none too solid, and they had incorrectly evaluated the situation. They feared the three articles like the plague, while we were not afraid of the "three don't's." We reprinted several hundred thousand revisionist books -- we weren't afraid of all that, and they had to be studied. But they said we were stirring up factions, that China was stirring up factions, and that the three articles were our program for stirring things up against the Soviet Union.

Not only we, but many foreigners as well, said that the three articles were good.

Why was he so anxious to convene the Bucharest Conference? Because he wanted to secure his position, and they thought that this way they could force us down.

We have to summon up all our energies to deal with the situation at home. For the working class to unite with the majority of the peasants, it must start by relying upon poor and lower-middle peasants, and upon middle peasants with a good attitude.

The Moscow Conference abated the anti-Chinese trend, which originated with rightist opportunists in the fraternal parties in the U.S., India and Yugoslavia.

I agree with the opinion of Comrade Liu Hsiao [0491 2556] that the problems have not been solved because they have a social basis.

In our party there are also those who represent the landlord class and the bourgeoisie.

We should not harm the interests of the well-to-do middle peasants. They cannot exploit the peasants. This would be anti-Marxist. Just as soon as we reimburse and indemnify them, the masses will be satisfied, and their mood will change.

This year we are not going to do "two accounts" or put more weights into the balance; in everything we will start out from reality. We will simply weigh and store foodstuffs; we will not use the "four highs"; we'll lower them a bit and resolutely carry out a single account, equal-value exchange, distribution according to labor, work-more-get-more; and we will resolutely purge the "five habits."

In the urban rectification we will run pilot programs. Cities have special urban characteristics, different from those of the rural areas.

This year it appears that the plans won't be much higher than last year. Some people are suggesting there be no changes in steel production this year and that its output should stay at 18,500,000 tons, or possibly 19,000,000 tons, but not much above last year. This is a reasonable suggestion. Since the targets of the Second Five-Year Plan have long since been attained, quantity need not jump, but quality will. With steel not going up, the imperialists and revisionists may say that our Great Leap Forward has failed. They can run us down as much as they like, but in reality we are working on quality, technology, standards, management, rate of production, ... lowering production costs, the right material for each purpose, overcoming insufficiencies, adjustment, consolidation, rounding out, upgrading, in reality it's a case of raising fat pigs in the hall.

England's steel output is greater than ours for the time being, but we will certainly be able to catch or even surpass England in seven more years. Can we catch West Germany (34 million tons)? We must wait and see. We lack experience in economic construction (I have discussed this with Edgar Snow), and our understanding of the laws will have to be repeated a few times, but we hope we will not take 28 years to be successful as the Democratic Revolution did. In reality, 28 years isn't very long. There are many fraternal parties that were founded at about the same time as ours, and they still have not succeeded. We can cut that number by eight years and still get our experience, but it cannot be cut by much more as we used to hope. We cannot transform what we do not know about. Finally, we have to urge people forward; we don't want to have to oppose rightism again at the March meeting -- everybody ought to be genuinely revolutionary. We should hold resolutely to the general line, and aim high. Some people have said we should only stress "better and more economical results" now and not "greater and faster results." In food we need "greater and faster results," and also in industry with respect to material grades, standards and quality we need "greater and faster results."

On the question of unity, the unity of the Central Committee is the heart of the whole party's unity. At the Lushan Conference a small number of comrades opposed unity, but we hope to unite with them no matter how many errors they have made. If they say "you have made errors too," I say that's fine: everybody makes mistakes, in this we're alike; but there are differences in size and gravity, differences in nature, number and quality. If you've made a mistake, don't be afraid to hold your head up, and if some comrades' work positions are lowered that's all right.

P'eng Te-huai's letter reporting on his year of study is welcome regardless of whether or not he has progressed.

Beyond this, when there are comrades working in the Central Committee and the local areas who have also made errors, we welcome their correcting themselves in the course of their work. The situation was grave in Shantung, Honan and Kansu. They didn't understand the circumstances at all, and so their resolution was not great, and their methods not very correct. Now that they understand the circumstances it's easier to manage. Hsin-yang, Honan, which we were all worried about, has now become a good area, a revolutionary area that has turned over a new leaf and seized political power, Kansu has also taken a turn for the better. Of the other places, about 20 percent have broken down. This is not only because of the food problem; according to Commander-in-Chief Lin's report, 400 out of 10,000 army units -- 4 percent -- have broken down, and this was not due to the food problem but to the fact that the leadership had fallen into the hands of the enemy. This was also the case in the cities, factories and schools.

According to our policy, we should get rid of the enemy. Rigid bureaucrats should be reformed into creative bureaucrats. If after a long time they can't become creative, then we should get rid of them.

More than 90 percent of the population are good people, but there are confused people among them. We have been confused ourselves -- otherwise why did we have the Long March? Because we didn't understand circumstances and our policies were not suitable.

Now in handling the new questions of social revolution and social construction, we should institute training squads and train county, commune and brigade cadres, so that they will understand policy.

We can't say that most cadres are unreliable or are KMT people -- we should unite everybody we can -- but also we can't kill a lot of counterrevolutionary elements. We should be wary of killing people and should not repeat our past mistakes. The Soviet Union killed too many people. At Yen-an we declared that no cadre was to be killed. Even P'an Han-nien [3382 3352 1628] couldn't be killed, because one killing leads to another, and more and more people would be getting killed. If we wanted to practice the Buddhist injunction against killing -- there are a few people who should be killed because otherwise the people's indignation could not be relieved. When the Central Committee makes a mistake, it does not involve the question of killing. We will not make Stalin's mistake, but we will also not make Khrushchev's more civilized mistake of dismissing the Central Committee.

We must unite with the Soviet Union, with fraternal parties, with the 87 national parties, no matter what charges they make against us. We shouldn't fear criticism, for there has been criticism ever since there has been a Communist party, and without it we wouldn't be the Communist Party. No matter what their attitude, we should adopt a policy of unity. In time of necessity, for instance at a conference, in case of a departure from the right principles, any person, no matter who, should be criticized. They have upbraided us on five (sic) counts: being a paper tiger, "the east wind prevails over the west wind," the longer Nehru is anti-China the better, and the Sinification of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism is basically one with different twigs and leaves, like a single tree that has many different twigs and leaves. Circumstances vary in different countries. In the past we suffered from having only paying attention to universal truths without paying attention to investigation and study. I hope this year will be a year of investigation and study, one in which investigation and study will flourish. When I talked about these things nobody opposed them, but not many people supported them either, or if they did, they didn't make good on their support. In investigation and study, it's fine to do specialized investigation and study. If you're in favor of them, you can make them work. But if you're not in favor of them, there's nothing to be done.

If we really arouse the masses, they can determine who are the good and bad elements. Some are landlord elements or bad elements who have seized leadership, some are cadres who have fallen away and been won over.... The masses can determine, but we on the other hand have not been very well able to determine. We must have resolution, we must send out large numbers of

cadres to profoundly link up and profoundly stir the masses into action: otherwise we will not be able to solve the problem.

When we go into the work of inspection, we must see with our own eyes, not someone else's, and hear with our own ears, we must feel with our hands, discuss with our mouths, hold fact-finding meetings.... These last few years we haven't been investigating, we've been doing things on the basis of estimates; I urge the comrades to promote a resurgence of investigation. In everything we must start out from actuality, and not express an opinion or make a resolution if we are not sure of the situation. It's not that hard to do investigation, and it doesn't take that many people or that much time; in the rural areas, you can investigate one commune unit or in the city one or two factories, stores or schools, no more than a dozen or so in all. You don't have to do it all yourself: if you do one or two yourself you can organize a squad for the rest and lead it yourself.... This is very important: party committee secretaries and members should all do investigation and study, or they may not have a clear understanding of conditions. You should understand good, average and bad typical cases.

In our work three things are required: understanding of circumstances, great determination, and correct orientation. Clear understanding of circumstances come first and is the basis of all work, because if circumstances are not understood there is no basis for discussion.

Even correct policy is no help if the circumstances are not understood. The policy of the Chengchow Conference was correct, but they said we would not settle accounts, and would not reimburse and indemnify anyone. But this was reversed later. The Shanghai conference adopted eighteen articles, criticized the Ma-cheng [7802 1004], report, and said that we would make reimbursement and indemnification. In 1959 I put out thirty or forty thousand words of material, but it is clear that a mere "battle on paper" is useless, because circumstances were covered up. There were differences in understanding; but now the understanding of the comrades on the provincial and local committees is more profound.

In 1961 we wanted to have a year of "seeking the truth from reality. We have a tradition of "seeking the truth from reality" but probably as the pressure of official work increased we no longer paid attention to getting to the bottom of things. If you do not understand typical cases, then you will not be able to do your work easily. From now on everybody must do investigation and study and not just run other people down.

In the anti-imperialist anti-feudal period of the Democratic Revolution, we emphasized investigation work, and the habit of investigation and study in the party as a whole was rather good. In the 10 years or so since Liberation, our work has rather fallen off in this respect. Why? We need to analyze this. Because in the period of the Democratic Revolution, we made several mistakes in line.... both the right and the left failed to do investigation and study. For a long time the questions of what the circumstances were

in China at the time and what strategy, tactics and policies to adopt were not solved. During the war of liberation, in the fight with Chiang Kai-shek, we paid a lot of attention to investigation, and circumstances were relatively clear. We were fairly familiar with the various aspects of waging revolution, and the problems were relatively straightforward. After Liberation the situation became more complicated. In the past when we had made some mistakes, it was fairly easy to educate the whole party. After Liberation for several years we did some investigation and study, but not enough, and we didn't have a very good understanding of circumstances, as for example in the case of landlord restoration. It was only after disturbances broke out that we realized that the landlords were being restored. Generally, all three levels, the counties, the communes and the brigades, were somewhat counterrevolutionary. Rigid bureaucratic elements who took no account of party policy or of whether the masses lived or died belonged to the third category of bad elements. In the second category are the degenerate elements; in the first category, the landlord elements. The first and second are contradictions between ourselves and the enemy... contradictions with rigid bureaucrats are contradictions among the people, but they must be strictly dealt with, by removing them from leadership positions and educating and reforming them. All who wish to correct themselves may do so through their work. There is another category of those who don't know how to go about things, who are muddled and confused; this is the fourth category. In the fifth are those with an average knowledge on policy matters who are not clear on some questions. In the sixth category are those who are not clear in their minds, know what to do, and do it fairly well. Throughout the country, over 90 percent of the cadres are good or fairly good. Of communes and brigades, 80 percent are good or fairly good, Rigid bureaucrats subjectively are not necessarily aiding the counter-revolution, but in actuality they are aiding it, and a part of them are its direct allies. All three collective elements have connections with the counter-revolution. When rigid bureaucrats pay no attention to whether people live or die, then no matter how they are subjectively, they are in fact the allies of the counter-revolution. If there are people who do not understand the three-level ownership system, then the Communist wind cannot blow. The counter-revolution will make use of them to achieve its evil deeds.

We were lacking in investigation and study concerning the restoration of the landlord class, but we were better informed about the urban counter-revolution. After the events in Hungary in 1956, by means of free expression of opinion we got to the bottom of things and purged several hundred thousand rightists; we also did a purge of the collectives in the countryside, but we did not anticipate the landlord restoration. Theoretically speaking, we anticipated it, because we had discussed the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Is it the landlords' and bourgeoisie's world or the proletariat's world? ; But we didn't carry out investigation or study, and so we did not understand the circumstances and our determination was not great. In 1959 the Communist wind was blowing, but because we did not understand the circumstances, our determination was not great. In the interval came the Lushan Conference. There emerged the right opportunist anti-party clique. We could not but be forced into fighting the right opportunists and could not but oppose them. But afterwards the Communist wind began to blow unprecedentedly hard, and we did some great undertakings: large-scale water conservancy,

large-scale industry, large-scale agriculture, large-scale socialized economy, large-scale local railroads. We won a great achievement, this is undeniable. But how did we manage to carry on such large-scale undertakings? After the Lushan Conference, circumstances were not very clear, and a gust of wind blew from the right, in response to international revisionism and internal right wing. Last year the comrades on the Central Committee concentrated their force on international questions, and the circumstances were understood, the determination great, and the methods correct. We need to collect our forces to deal with internal problems too, to oppose counterrevolutionary elements and rigid bureaucratic elements, and to organize poor and lower-middle peasant committees to replace them, to unite the (poor and lower-middle) peasants. In our party there are elements representing the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie; we must cleanse the party of them.

As to the question of unity within the party: the unity of the Central Committee is the heart of the unity of the whole party. At the Lushan conference there was a small number of people who were opposed to unity. But we must stress unity. Making progress is well and good, but are we really making progress? They say "you have made mistakes too." This is right. Everybody makes mistakes; but they differ in size and nature. If you make a mistake, don't be afraid to hold up your head: the Central Committee and the locals have all made mistakes.

This year we will stress work on quality and on product variety. The figure of xxx tons is not small, but the problem is that the quality is not high enough, so we will not lay stress on increasing quantity but on variety, quality, standards.

There has been some achievements in industry. But we must continue to strive for new achievements. We must contract industry, heavy industry, particularly on the basic construction front, and we must extend the agriculture and light industry fronts. This year we will not inaugurate new basic construction; some parts of old construction we will continue to do, while other parts we will leave where they are. Judging from the present, socialist construction cannot be too fast; we have to stress wavelike advances. Comrade Po-ta has raised the question whether socialism has a periodic law. Just like an army on the march, it must have long and short rests; in between battles it must rest and regroup, must combine hard work and relaxation.

I have talked about "light industry, heavy industry, agriculture," "simultaneous development of industry and agriculture," and "walking on two legs" for five years, but they have not been realized. Now they may possibly be realized. I only say "possibly," because the 1961 plan reflects the relationships among agriculture, and light and heavy industry, so there is a possibility.

At this conference, circumstances have gotten steadily clearer and determination has gotten steadily greater, but they are still uneven. Some comrades have said that when the Communist wind blows we will have to go bankrupt and pay back our debts." This way of speaking sounds bad at first,

but in reality we will have to go bankrupt and pay back our debts. Once the county and commune levels have gone bankrupt and paid off their debts they will then have to "build their house with their bare hands." In the past they built their house with others' work. We Marxist-Leninists cannot exploit the workers, we can only exploit the exploiters. This is the basic principle of Marxism. Building the house with others' work is getting it through exploitation, and is contrary to Marxism-Leninism. The landlords and the bourgeoisie are the ones who exploit the people; their method is to gradually cause the working people to go bankrupt. We practice equalization and use this method to set up a cooperative-ownership and public-ownership economy. If the state-run economy does not purchase goods at an equal price but at a lower price, they may be exploiting the peasants and may be causing the proletariat to desert its ally -- the peasantry. It's easy to talk, but it's not very easy to put into practice. Has the First Secretary really the determination to break up the property and pay back the debts? If this is not practiced by even a single province, then the leadership is lacking in determination.

After the Chengchow Conference (March 1959) the sentiment for thorough reimbursement and indemnification had largely evaporated, but in some quarters it still exists. At the beginning of this [sic] fall, the Central Committee was not clear about various conditions; did not understand them, and still did not rectify them thoroughly. It was good that this kind of meeting was held last spring. Many meetings were held last year, but statements on the problems were not very concentrated, and conditions not very well understood, determination not very great, and methods not very correct.

PREFACE TO OPPOSE BOOK WORSHIP

(11 March 1961)

This is an old article which was written to oppose the dogmatism in the Red Army at the time. At that time we didn't use the term "chiao-t'iao-chu-i" (dogmatism) but rather "pen-pen-chu-i" (book worship). The article was written approximately in the spring of 1930. It has already been 30 years since I've read it. In January 1961 I suddenly found it in the Central Revolutionary Museum. The Central Revolutionary Museum had found it in the Fukien Lung-yen Area Committee. In reading it I find that it still has some use so I have had printed a good many copies as reference for comrades.

READING NOTES ON THE SOVIET UNION'S "POLITICAL ECONOMICS"

(1961-1962)¹

Part One (Chapters 20-23)

I. Concerning the [Transition] from Capitalism to Socialism

It says on pages 327-328 in the textbook: Socialism "inevitably" will replace capitalism and must use "revolutionary means." In the imperialist period, the conflict between the productive forces and the relations of production of the proletariat is a kind of "objective necessity." These interpretations are quite good. It should be interpreted in this way. This "objective necessity" is also very good and makes people like it. To state that a phenomenon is an "objective necessity" is to say that it does not devolve on the will of people and whether you approve or not, it will occur just the same.

The proletariat must "unite all working people around them so as to wipe out capitalism" (page 327). This interpretation is correct. However, mention of seizure of power should also be made here. "The proletarian revolution cannot run into a ready-made socialist form of economy," and "the socialist sector of economy cannot grow to maturity within a bourgeois society based on the private ownership system." (page 328). In actual fact, it not only "cannot grow to maturity," but it also cannot be brought into being. In a capitalist society, the socialist sector of cooperative economy and state-owned economy fundamentally cannot be developed, to say nothing of growing to maturity. This is the essential difference between us and the revisionists. Revisionists say that in a capitalist society such things as urban public grow into socialism. This is a serious distortion of Marxism.

1. Note: In the 1967 volume of this work this date is given as 1960.

II. Concerning the Transition Period

The book says: "The transition period begins with the establishment of a proletarian regime and ends with the realization of the socialist revolutionary task -- the establishment of socialism is the first stage of communism" (page 328). After all, what stages does the transition period embrace? This should be studied well. Does it include the period from capitalism to socialism or does it include the period from capitalism to socialism as well as the period from socialism to communism?

Here, the book quotes Marx: "From capitalism to communism there is a "revolutionary transformation period." We at present find ourselves in this period. Our people's communes must within a certain number of years carry through the transformation from ownership by the basic team to ownership by the basic commune. Moreover, they must go a step further in converting the latter into ownership by all the people. The people's communes have realized the conversion into ownership by the basic commune or collective ownership.

During the transition period, it is necessary to proceed with the fundamental transformation of all social relations" (page 328). In principle, this proposal is correct. What is described as all social relations should include relations of production and the superstructure, and the relations of the different sectors, such as economy, politics, ideology, and culture.

During the transition period, it is necessary "to enable the productive forces to obtain a guarantee of the development required by a socialist victory." Insofar as China is concerned, we require at least about 100 million to 200 million tons of steel [production annually]. Prior to this year, what we did principally was to clear the way for the development of our productive forces. The development of the socialist productive forces of our country actually has just begun. After the Great Leap Forward of 1958-59, 1960 would be a year of great development of production.

III. Concerning the Commonality and Special Characteristics of the Proletarian Revolutions in Various Countries

The book says that the October Revolution "set an example." It also says that each country "possesses its own special and concrete form and method of socialist construction." This way of presenting it is good. In 1848, there was a "Communist Manifesto." After 110 years, there was another "Communist Manifesto." This was the 1957 "Moscow Manifesto" of the communist parties of different countries. This manifesto dealt with the question of integration of universal law and specific characteristics.

To acknowledge the October Revolution as an example is the same as acknowledging the "essential content" of the proletarian revolution in any country. This is where we and the revisionists stand opposite each other.

Why did revolutions not succeed first in those Western countries where the level of capitalist production was very high and the proletariat constituted

a large portion of the population, instead of in those Eastern countries where the level of capitalist production was comparatively low and the proletariat constituted a small portion of the population, such as in Russia and China? A study of this question has yet to be made.

Why did the proletariat first win a victory in Russia? The textbook says that this resulted from the fact that "Russia was the convergent point of all the contradictions of imperialism." Judging from the history of past revolutions, the center of revolutions has shifted from the West to the East. At the end of the 18th century, the center of revolutions was in France. At that time France became a hub of political life of the world. In the middle of the 19th century, the center was transferred to Germany. The proletariat made its appearance on the political stage, giving birth to Marxism. In the early part of the 20th century, the center was removed to Russia, where Leninism was born. This was a development from Marxism, without which there would be no victory of the Russian revolution. In the middle of the 20th century, the center of world revolution was transferred to China. Hereafter, of course, it might shift again,

The triumph of the Russian revolution was also due to having the broad masses of peasants as the allied forces of the proletariat. The textbook says: "The Russian proletariat entered into alliances with the poor peasants" (page 328) [329]². Among the peasants there are several strata. In the rural areas the proletariat relies on the stratum of poor peasants. At the beginning of a revolution, the middle peasant invariably wavers. He wants to wait and see whether or not the revolution has the strength to stand its ground and whether or not the revolution is to his advantage. Only when he has a clear understanding will he come over to the side of the proletariat. It was like this during the October Revolution. It was also during our country's agrarian reform, cooperative movement and people's commune movement.

The break between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in Russia paved the way for the success of the October Revolution in the sphere of ideology, politics and organization. If there had been no contention between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks and no struggle between the former and the revisionists of the Second International, it would have been impossible for the October Revolution to succeed. Leninism was engendered and developed in the struggle against all forms of revisionism and opportunism. If there had been no Leninism, there would have been no triumph of the Russian revolution.

The book says: "The revolution of the proletariat first won a victory in Russia. Before the revolution Russia possessed a level of capitalist development high enough to cause the proletarian revolution to win a victory." For a proletarian revolution to succeed, it does not necessarily have to be in a

2. Note: Here and throughout this article, the number in brackets indicates page citation given in 1967 volume of this work.

country with a very high level of capitalist development. The book is correct in quoting Lenin. Right up to the present, of the countries in which the socialist revolution has borne fruit, only East Germany and Czechoslovakia had a relatively high level of capitalist development. The other countries all had a relatively low level of capitalist development. Revolution has not welled up yet in Western countries with a relatively high level of capitalist development. Lenin once said: "Revolution first broke through from a weak link in the imperialist world." At the time of the October Revolution, Russia was such a weak link. China after the October Revolution was also such a weak link. Russia and China had these in common with each other. Both had a considerable number of the proletariat, both had a great many oppressed and suffering peasants, and both are big countries. In this respect, India was also the same. Now, why could not India break through the weak link of imperialism and score a revolutionary victory like Lenin and Stalin said? It is because India was a colony belonging to Great Britain, an imperialist power. This is where India differed from China. China was a semi-colony under the rule of several imperialist powers. The Indian Communist Party did not take an active part in the bourgeois democratic revolution of their country and did not cause the proletariat to gain hegemony in the democratic revolution. And after India became independent, it did not hold out for the independence of the proletariat.

The history of China and Russia as well as their experiences attest to the truth that a matured political party is a very important condition for winning victory in a revolution. The Russian Bolsheviks took an active part in the democratic revolution and in 1905 put forward a program of the democratic revolution which distinguished them from the bourgeoisie. This program would solve not only the problem of overthrowing the Czar, but also the question of fighting for hegemony between the proletariat which overthrew the Czar and the Constitutional Democratic Party in the course of the struggle. At the time of the 1911 bourgeois revolution (Revolution of 1911), China did not have a communist party. After its founding in 1921, the Chinese Communist Party promptly took an active part in the democratic revolution and stood in the fore of the revolution. The proletariat thus substituted for the bourgeoisie and the political party of the proletariat replaced the political party of the bourgeoisie as the leader of the democratic revolution. The golden age of the bourgeoisie in China was the years between 1905 and 1917. At that time their revolution was full of vigor. After the Revolution of 1911, the Kuomintang was already on the decline. By 1924, there was no other way for them except to seek help from the Communist Party. They saw then what the future held for them. We have often said that the Chinese Communist Party had not attained maturity by 1927. From a principal viewpoint, this refers to the fact that in the course of our party's alliance with the bourgeoisie we did not detect any possibility of a betrayal of the revolution by the bourgeoisie and therefore did not make preparations to cope with such betrayal.

Here the textbook also makes the following point (page 331): That countries where a pre-capitalist form of economy predominated, were able to carry through a socialist revolution was due to the help rendered them by advanced socialist countries. This interpretation is incomplete. That China was able to step on the road of socialism after the triumph of its democratic revolution

mainly resulted from our overthrow of the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. The domestic factors were most important. The assistance rendered to us by those victorious socialist countries was an important condition, but this condition could not resolve the question as to whether or not we could step on the road of socialism. It can only affect the pace of our advance after we have stepped onto the road of socialism. If there is assistance, we can travel a little faster; if there is no assistance, we may have to travel a little slower. What is called assistance includes their economic aid as well as our study of the positive and negative sides of their experiences of success and failure.

IV. Concerning the Question of "Peaceful Transition"

It says in the book: "In certain capitalist countries and former colonies, for the working class to seize political power peacefully through parliamentary procedures is within the bounds of possibility" (page 330). Here, which are the "certain" countries after all? The leading capitalist countries in Europe and the countries of North America are at present all armed to the teeth. Would they permit you to seize political power peacefully?

The communist party and revolutionary forces in every country must prepare two tactics. One tactic is to score a victory through peaceful means. The other is to seize power by force. Neither one is dispensable. Moreover, we must realize that in terms of the general trend, the bourgeoisie are not ready to relinquish political power and will put up a struggle. When they are desperate, why will they not use force? Two tactics were prepared in the October Revolution and in our country's revolution. In Russia, prior to July 1917, Lenin had attempted to use peaceful means in scoring a victory. The events of July demonstrated that it would be impossible to transfer political power peacefully into the hands of the proletariat. He turned around and carried out three months of armed preparedness before he won the victory of the October Revolution. After the proletariat seized power through the October Revolution, Lenin still wanted to use peaceful means and the method of "redemption" to stamp out capitalism and put socialist transformation into effect. However, in league with 14 imperialist powers, the bourgeoisie unleashed a counterrevolutionary armed uprising and armed intervention. Consequently, the Russian proletariat under the leadership of the Party carried out three years of armed struggle before they consolidated the victory of the October Revolution.

V. Concerning Several Questions from Democratic Revolution to Socialist Revolution

The last paragraph on page 330 [331] of the book touches on the change from democratic revolution to socialist revolution and how this change is effected. The explanation is none too clear, however. The October Revolution was a socialist revolution. It incidentally accomplished the tasks left over by the bourgeois democratic revolution. After the October Revolution was won,

the order was promptly promulgated nationalizing all land. But it still took some time to put the finishing touches on the land problem of the democratic revolution.

Our country tackled the tasks of the democratic revolution during the War of Liberation. The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the completion in the main of the democratic revolution and the beginning of the transition to socialism. We spent three years in carrying through land reform, but at the time of the establishment of the People's Republic of China, we lost no time in confiscating the bureaucratic capitalist enterprises which constituted 80 percent of the fixed assets of industry and transportation in the country and turning them into ownership by all the people.

During the War of Liberation, besides proposing anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist slogans, our country came out against bureaucratic capitalism. The struggle against bureaucratic capitalism was of a dual nature. One on the one hand, the struggle against bureaucratic capitalism was a struggle against comprador capital, which was in the nature of a democratic revolution. On the other hand, the struggle against bureaucratic capitalism was a struggle against the big bourgeoisie, which was in the nature of a socialist revolution.

A very large portion of comprador capital had been taken over after the successful conclusion of the war of resistance by the Kuomintang from the hands of Japan, Germany and Italy. The proportion of bureaucratic capital to national capital was 8:2. After liberation, we confiscated the bureaucratic capital lock, stock and barrel, thus wiping out the major element of capitalism in China.

If one had presumed that after the whole country was liberated, "the revolution at the early stages would mainly be in the nature of a bourgeois democratic revolution and only in the future would it gradually develop into a socialist revolution," he would have been wrong.

VI. Concerning Violence and Dictatorship of the Proletariat

On page 333, the concept of force is not treated accurately enough. Both Marx and Engels always said that "a state uses it to suppress organs of violence of hostile classes." Thus it cannot be said that "The dictatorship of the proletariat only uses force on exploiters, or even that it does not use force in the main."

In desperation, the exploiting class will invariably use force. Indeed, they need only see a revolution start, and they will use force to quell it. The textbook says: "History and experience bear out the truth that the exploiting class is not ready to yield political power to the people and will use force to oppose the people's political power" (page 333). This interpretation is incomplete. Not only after the people have organized a revolutionary regime will the exploiting class use violence to oppose the revolutionary regime, but

when the people rise to seize power from them, they will use violence to suppress the revolutionary people.

Our purpose in revolution is to promote the productive forces of society. Therefore, first we overthrow the enemy, and secondly, we suppress the resistance of the enemy. Without the revolutionary force of the people, how can we accomplish all this?

Here, the book talks about the "substance" of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it does not deal fully with the "main tasks" of the working class and the laboring people in a socialist revolution. Nor does it dwell on the suppression of the enemy or the remolding of classes. Landlords, bureaucrats, counterrevolutionaries and undesirable elements have to be remolded; the bourgeoisie and the upper petty bourgeoisie have to be remolded; and the middle peasants also have to be remolded. Our experience shows that remolding is not easy. One cannot be remolded well if he is not subject to struggle over and over again. It will take at least 10 to 20 years, or even as long as half a century, to utterly destroy remnant forces of bourgeois ideology and their influence. As far as the rural areas are concerned, when the system of ownership by the basic commune has been put into effect, private property has been nationalized, new cities and big industries dot the whole country, communications and transportation have been modernized, and economic conditions have indeed been completely changed, the world outlook of the peasants will change little by little until the process is complete. (Note: In its reference here to the "main tasks," the book quotes from Lenin a statement which is contrary to his original meaning.)

In speech or in writing, when one makes every effort to tally with the manner of speech of the enemy and the imperialists, then he is trying to hoodwink the masses. The result will be comforting the enemy and befuddling one's own class.

VII. Concerning the Question of Form of the Proletarian State

It says on page 334 [304] that the form of the proletarian state can be of "every variety." This is correct. However, the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the people's democratic countries does not differ much in essence from that of the dictatorship of the proletariat set up in Russia after the October Revolution. The soviet of the Soviet Union and the people's congress of our country are both representative assemblies. Only in name are they different. In our people's congresses there are delegates representing the bourgeoisie, delegates representing a splinter group of the Kuomintang, and delegates representing other democratic personages. They all accept the leadership of the Communist Party. A section of them wanted to create disturbances, but they were not able to do so. This kind of form seems to be different from the soviet. But after the October Revolution, there were among the soviet delegates Mensheviks of the rightist Social Democratic Party, Trotskyites, Bukharinites and Zinovievites. Nominally, they were representatives of workers and peasants. Essentially, they were also representatives

of the bourgeoisie. At that time (meaning after the October Revolution), the proletariat accepted a large number of personnel from the state organs of Kerensky, and these people were all elements of the bourgeoisie. Our Central People's Government was established on the basis of the North China People's Government. Members of the different departments all came from the base areas and the vast majority of the backbone cadres were Communist Party members.

VIII. Concerning the Transformation of Capitalist Industry and Commerce

On page 335 [375], the process of changeover in China from capitalist ownership to socialist state ownership is stated incorrectly. It deals with our policy governing national capital, but not our policy (of confiscation) governing bureaucratic capital. With regard to the assets of bureaucratic capitalists, we adopted the policy of confiscation to achieve public ownership.

Paragraph two on page 338 [379] is intended to treat the transformation of capitalism in the form of state capitalism as a kind of isolated and peculiar experience and to negate the universal significance of this kind of experience. In West European countries and in the U.S. the level of capitalist development is very high. A handful of monopoly capitalists occupy dominant positions in these countries. But at the same time there are a great many middle and small capitalists. It is said that American capital is both centralized and decentralized. In these countries, after a revolution is concluded successfully, there will be no question about the confiscation of monopoly capital, but will the assets of the middle and small capitalists be expropriated without exception? Will the form of state capitalism be adopted to transform them?

Northeast China can be described as an area with a very high level of capitalist development. The same can also be said of Kiangsu Province centering around Shanghai and the southern part of the province. Since these provincial areas in our country can put state capitalism into practice, why cannot this policy be pursued in countries which are much the same as these provinces of ours?

In the past, the method that the Japanese used in Northeast China was to do away with the local big capitalists and convert their enterprises into Japanese state-owned enterprises or enterprises of monopoly capital. With regard to the local middle and small capitalists, the Japanese employed the method of forming parent and branch companies to exercise control.

The transformation of national capitalism in our country went through three steps. These were: placing orders by the state with private enterprises for manufacturing and processing; unified purchase and distribution (government requisition to guarantee distribution? [sic]); and joint state-private operation (joint state-private operation of individual enterprises and joint state-private operation of whole trades). Each step was carried out by degrees. This kind of method made it possible for production to suffer no disruption and to develop during the course of improvement.

On the question of national capitalism, we have gained much new experience. The distribution of a fixed rate of interest to capitalists after the conversion of their enterprises to joint state-private operation is a new experience.

IX. Concerning the Middle Peasants

After agrarian reform, land in our country become worthless and peasants dared not to become "conspicuous." For a time, some comrades regarded this kind of situation as unfavorable. In actual fact, after a class struggle, in which landlords and rich peasants were made contemptible, peasants considered being poor as an honor and being wealthy as a disgrace. This was a good phenomenon. It explained that in politics poor peasants have overpowered the rich peasants and established their superiority in the rural areas.

It says on page 339 that land was confiscated from rich peasants and turned over to poor and middle peasants and that the government confiscated the land, then turned it over to the peasants for distribution. This is a kind of favor-bestowing viewpoint, as neither class struggle nor mass movement was involved. In substance, this is a kind of right-deviationist viewpoint. Our method was to rely on the poor peasants to join hands with the vast majority of middle peasants (lower-middle peasants) in seizing land from the landlord class. The Party played the role of a guide and was against taking everything into its own hands. It also had a set of concrete methods. These consisted of showing concern for hardships of the poor, searching for activists, taking root and exchanging experiences, uniting centers, airing grievances, organizing class ranks, and unfolding class struggle.

The textbook says: "Middle peasants have become central figures in the rural areas." This interpretation is not good. To tout middle peasants as central figures and to laud them to the skies, not daring to offend them, will put former poor peasants out of countenance. Surely this will result in the well-to-do middle peasants assuming hegemony in the rural areas.

No analysis of middle peasants is made in the book. We divide them into upper middle peasants and lower middle peasants. We distinguish them further between new and old. New ones are somewhat better than the old ones. Our experience with successive campaigns shows that the political attitude of three categories of people, the poor peasants, the new lower-middle peasants, and the old lower-middle peasants, is relatively good. They are the ones who support the people's communes. Of the upper middle peasants and the well-to-do middle peasants, a portion support the people's communes and a portion are against the people's communes. With regard to the materials on Hopeh Province, there are in the entire province over 40,000 production teams. Of these, 50 percent fully support the communes with no wavering, 35 percent basically support the communes with some holding certain opinions or wavering on isolated issues, and 15 percent either oppose the communes or waver seriously. These teams are either opposing the communes or wavering seriously mainly because the leadership of the teams is in the hands of well-to-do middle peasants or even in the hands of undesirable elements. During the present education in the struggle between the two roads, these teams must unfold a debate and,

above all, change the leadership. Thus it can be seen that it is necessary to conduct an analysis of the middle peasants. In whose hands the hegemony of the rural areas lies will have a most important bearing on the direction of rural development.

The book says (page 340): "The middle peasant, according to his fundamental characteristics, is of a dual nature." We must also make a concrete analysis of this problem. Poor peasants, lower-middle peasants, upper-middle peasants, and well-to-do middle peasants are working people on the one hand and private individuals on the other hand. However, as private individuals, each has different private viewpoints. It can be said that poor peasants and lower-middle peasants are semi-private individuals and that their private viewpoints are more prone to change. The private viewpoints of upper-middle peasants and well-to-do middle peasants have greater depth. Hitherto, they have opposed cooptivization.

X. Concerning the Worker-Peasant Alliance

On page 340, the third and fourth paragraphs dwell on the importance of the worker-peasant alliance, but make no attempt to describe how it can be developed and strengthened. They talk about the necessity of remolding the small producer-peasant, but make no attempt to explain the process of remolding, what contradictions there are in each stage of this process, how to resolve these contradictions, or the steps and strategy to be used in the entire process of remolding.

Our worker-peasant alliance has already gone through two stages. The first stage was set up on the basis of the land reform and the second stage established on the basis of the cooperative movement. If we had not organized the cooperative movement, the peasants would certainly have been polarized. There would have been no way to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance or to adhere firmly to unified purchase and distribution. Only on the basis of cooperativization could the policy of unified purchase and distribution stand firm and be carried out fully. Now, our worker-peasant alliance will go a step further by establishing itself on the basis of mechanization. If there is only cooperativization and communization, but no mechanization, the worker-peasant alliance cannot be strengthened. So far as the cooperative movement is concerned, if there is only small-scale cooperativization, the worker-peasant alliance also cannot be strengthened. Furthermore, we must develop from the cooperative movement to the people's communes, and in the communes from ownership by the basic team to ownership by the basic commune, and from ownership by the commune to ownership by the state. Then on the basis of integration of nationalization and mechanization, we will be able to truly consolidate the worker-peasant alliance. Accordingly, the differences between workers and peasants will gradually disappear.

XI. Concerning the Remolding of Intellectuals

On page 341, the book deals specially with bringing up the workers' and peasants' own intellectuals and drawing bourgeois intellectuals into taking part in socialist construction. But it makes no mention of the remolding of intellectuals. Not only do bourgeois intellectuals have to be

remolded, but intellectuals of worker or peasant origin also are in need of transformation because they have in many respects been affected by the bourgeoisie. Proof of this is Liu Shao-t'ang [0491 4801 2768] of the literary and art circles, who vigorously attacked socialism after becoming a writer. Among intellectuals, the question of world outlook often is symbolized by the way they look at knowledge. Some people consider knowledge as their own possession and wait to get a good price in the market. When the price is not high enough for them, they will refuse to sell their knowledge. They are expert only, but not red. They say that the Party is "unskilled" and therefore "cannot lead the expert." Those engaging in cinema work say that the Party cannot lead in cinema work; those engaging in song and dance work say that the Party cannot lead in song and dance work; those engaging in scientific work on atomic energy say that the Party cannot lead in atomic energy scientific enterprises. In short, they say that the Party cannot lead in everything.

In the entire course of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the remolding of intellectuals is one enormous problem. Of course, it is wrong if we do not attach significance to it and adopt an accommodating attitude toward things bourgeois.

On the same page, it is said that the fundamental contradictions of the economy during the transition period are the contradictions of socialism and capitalism. This is correct. But this paragraph merely says that a struggle should be launched in all spheres of economic life to determine who triumphs over whom. This is incomplete. Our way of saying it is that we should conduct a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on three fronts, namely: political, economical and ideological fronts.

The book says that we are drawing bourgeois elements into participating in enterprise management and state administration. (The same thing is said on page 357 [341].) However, we have held out that the task of carrying out the remolding of bourgeois elements is to help them to change their living habits, their world outlook and their viewpoints on isolated issues. No mention of this remolding is made here in the book.

XII. Concerning the Relationship Between Industrialization and Collectivization of Agriculture

The book looks upon socialist industrialization as a prerequisite of collectivization of agriculture. This kind of interpretation does not correspond with the Soviet Union's own conditions. The Soviet Union by and large achieved collectivization in the years between 1930 and 1932. At that time, although their tractors were greater in number than ours, the area under mechanized farming in 1932 constituted less than 20.3 percent of the total cultivated acreage. Collectivization does not hinge entirely upon mechanization of farming. Therefore, industrialization is not a prerequisite.

The collectivization of agriculture in East European socialist countries was accomplished at a very slow pace. This was mainly because after land reform was completed, they did not strike while the iron was hot, but took a break for a time. In some of our base areas, there emerged the

phenomenon of a section of the peasants who were content with the land reform and did not want to advance any further. The question does not depend upon whether there is industrialization or not.

XIII. Concerning War and Revolution

On pages 352-354, it is said that the different people's democratic countries in East Europe were able to build socialism under conditions of no civil war at home and no armed intervention from abroad. It adds that the realization of socialist transformation in these countries did not go through a civil war. It should be said thus: These countries carried on civil war through the form of an international war. It was conducting an international war and a civil war combined in one. It was the iron plows of the Red Army of the Soviet Union which plowed away the reactionaries of these countries. To say that there was no civil war in these countries is to say that one has looked at the question from a formalistic viewpoint and not seen its essence.

The textbook says that after the revolution in the East European countries, "parliaments have become structures broadly representing the interests of the people." In fact, this kind of parliament is entirely different from the bourgeois parliament of old. It is the same only in name. Our political consultative conference during the early days of liberation was the same in name as the political consultative conference of the Kuomintang period. When we were holding negotiations with the Kuomintang, we were not interested in the political consultative conference, but Chiang Kai-shek was keenly interested. After liberation, we took over the signboard and called a Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which was to serve as a provisional people's congress.

It says in the textbook that China "in the course of the revolutionary struggle organized a people's democratic united front" (page 357 [xxx]). Why does it mention only the revolutionary struggle and not the revolutionary war? From 1927 until we achieved victory nation-wide, we waged 22 years of continuous revolutionary war. Earlier, beginning with the bourgeois revolution of 1911, we had carried on war for 15 more years. These were the revolutionary war and the imperialist-instigated chaotic wars of the warlords. If counting from 1911 right up to the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, China can be said as having waged 40 years of continuous war, which included revolutionary wars as well as counterrevolutionary wars. Since the establishment of our party, we have either taken part in or led revolutionary wars for 30 years.

A big revolution cannot but go through a civil war. This is a rule. To see only the bad points of war but not its good points is one-sidedness on the question of war. And to speak one-sidedly of the destructiveness of war is disadvantageous to the people's revolution.

XIV. Is Revolution in Backward Countries More Difficult?

In Western countries, they have been having one big difficulty in carrying out revolution and construction. This is because the poisons of

the bourgeoisie are very powerful and have permeated every nook and cranny. In our country there have been only three generations of the bourgeoisie. However, in such countries as Great Britain and France the bourgeoisie have existed for scores of generations. The development of their bourgeoisie has a history of 250 or 260 years to more than 300 years. The ideology and working style of the bourgeoisie are having an effect on all fields and on all levels. Hence the British working class does not follow the Communist Party, but the Labor Party.

Lenin said: "The more backward the country, the more difficult its transition from capitalism to socialism." Now it seems that this way of speaking is incorrect. As a matter of fact, the more backward the economy, the easier, not the more difficult, the transition from capitalism to socialism. The poorer they are, the more people want revolution. In Western capitalist countries, both the employment rate and the wage standard are relatively high, and bourgeois influence on the working people has been far-reaching. It looks as if it is not that easy to carry out socialist transformation in those countries. The level of mechanization in those countries is very high, too. After the revolution has borne fruit, boosting mechanization further should present no serious problem. The important question is the remolding of the people. In the East, countries such as Russia and China originally were backward and poor. Today, not only is their social system far more advanced than the West, but also the rate of development of productive forces is much faster than the West. So far as the history of development of capitalist countries is concerned, it is again the backward which have overtaken the advanced. For instance, the U.S. surpassed Great Britain at the close of the 19th century and Germany also overtook the latter in the early part of the 20th century.

XV. Are Big Industries the Basis of Socialist Transformation?

The textbook says: "Countries which have stepped on the road of socialist construction are confronted with a task such as this: use the method for speeding up the development of big industries (the basis for conducting socialist transformation of the economy) to eliminate without delay these consequences of capitalist domination" (page 364 [349]). Here, it describes the development of big industries as the basis for conducting socialist transformation of the economy. This is not complete. The history of every kind of revolution shows that new productive forces need not be fully developed first before underdeveloped relations of production can be transformed. Our revolution began with making propaganda for Marxism-Leninism. This was to create new public opinion to push the revolution ahead. In the course of the revolution, only after the backward superstructure was overthrown was it possible to put an end to the old relations of production. The old relations of production were wiped out and new relations of production set up. This paved the way for the development of new social productive forces. Consequently, we were able to organize a technical revolution vigorously so as to develop social productive forces on a large scale. Simultaneously with the development of productive forces, we must continue to carry out the transformation of relations of production and ideological remolding.

This textbook only talks about material requisites and seldom touches on the superstructure, namely: class state, class philosophy, and class sciences. The target of economic research is principally the relations of production. However, political economies and the materialist concept of history rarely can be separated. It is not easy to make a clear explanation if one does not range over questions about the superstructure and questions concerning the economic basis and relations of production.

XVI. The Salient Points of Lenin's Discussion of Stepping Onto the Road of Socialism

On page 375 is a quotation from Lenin. It is aptly spoken and can be used in defense of our work method. Lenin said: "The level of consciousness of the inhabitants and their attempts to realize this or that kind of program will certainly be reflected in the salient points of stepping onto the road of socialism." Our putting politics in command was precisely to raise the level of consciousness of the inhabitants and our Great Leap Forward was precisely an attempt to realize this or that kind of program.

XVII. Rate of Industrialization Is an Acute Problem

The textbook says: "To the Soviet Union, the rate of industrialization is a very acute problem" (page 326 [386]). In our country, at present, the question of pace is also a very acute problem. To begin with, the more backward the industry the more acute the question of pace. Not only is this true when a comparison is made between nations, but even within a nation this also is true when a comparison is made between localities. Take, for example, the Northeast and Shanghai in our country. Because the cornerstone there is comparatively good, state investments in these areas have been increased at a relatively slow rate. On the other hand, state investments have been increased at a very rapid rate in some areas where the original industrial base was weak and the need for development was urgent. In the 10 years after liberation, the total investments in Shanghai amounted to 2.2 billion yuan, including the 500 million plus yuan invested by capitalists. Shanghai originally had over 500,000 workers. Aside from the several hundred thousands transferred elsewhere, the city still has a work force in excess of one million. This is twice the original number. Comparing Shanghai with some new cities where there has been a large increase in the number of staff and workers, we can clearly see that the rate of industrialization is an even more acute problem in areas with a weak industrial base. This paragraph in the book mentions only that political circumstances demand a high rate of industrialization, but it did not deal with the question of whether the socialist system itself can permit a high rate of industrialization. This is a kind of one-sidedness. If there is only a need for a high rate of industrialization, but no possibility, then how can we achieve it?

XVIII. Simultaneous Development of Big, Medium and Small-Sized Enterprises to Achieve a High Rate of Industrialization

On page 381, although it touches on our extensive development of medium and small-sized enterprises, it has not correctly reflected our concept of the simultaneous development of indigenous and foreign methods and simultaneous development of big, medium and small-sized enterprises. It says that we "have settled on the extensive development of medium and small-sized enterprises in view of the country's extreme backwardness in technology and economy, a large population, and an actual employment problem." The question does not rest with old-type technology, a large population, or with increasing employment. We are developing a large number of medium and small-sized enterprises under the guide of big enterprises and adopting extensively indigenous methods under the guide of foreign methods mainly for the sake of achieving a high rate of industrialization.

XIX. Can Two Kinds of Socialist Ownership Coexist Over the Long Term?

On page 386 of the textbook it reads: "Socialist countries and socialist construction cannot be established on two different bases over a relatively long period of time. This is to say that they cannot be established on the biggest and the most unified socialist industrial basis and on the scattered and backward economic basis of peasants and petty commodities." This interpretation is of course correct. From this we can draw, by way of inference, this logical conclusion: "Socialist countries and socialist construction cannot, over a relatively long period of time, be established on the basis of the two different systems of ownership by all the people and collective ownership."

The two kinds of ownership of the Soviet Union have coexisted over too long a period of time. In actual fact, the contradictions between ownership by all the people and collective ownership are the contradictions between the workers and the peasants. These contradictions are not recognized in the textbook.

Likewise, the coexistence of ownership by all the people and collective ownership over the long term all the more cannot conform with the development of productive forces. Nor can it adequately meet the needs of the livelihood of the peasants and the steady growth of agricultural production. If we are to satisfy these requirements, we cannot but resolve the contradictions between the two kinds of ownership, convert collective ownership into ownership by the whole people, and on the single basis of ownership by the whole people for the entire country, map out a unified plan for the entire country of production and distribution in industry and agriculture.

The contradictions between productive forces and production relationship are developing incessantly. Production relationships may be suited to the development of productive forces now, but after a time they will no longer be suitable. After we finished organizing advanced cooperatives in our country, there arose in every special district and county the question of having both large and small cooperatives.

In a socialist society, the principle of to each according to his work, commodity production, and the law of value may now conform to the requirements for developing productive forces. However, as these are carried forward, there will certainly come a day when they will no longer be suited to the development of productive forces, when they will be shattered by the development of productive forces, or when they will settle their own fate. Can it be said then that certain economic domains of a socialist society will forever remain unchanged? Can it be said that such domains as to each according to this work and collective ownership will forever remain unchanged and, unlike other domains, are historical domains?

XX. Socialist transformation of Agriculture Cannot Rely on Machines Alone

It says on page 392: "Machinery and tractor stations are important tools to carry out the socialist transformation of agriculture." In many places in the textbook, emphasis is laid on the part being played by machines in socialist transformation. However, if we do not raise the consciousness of the peasants and remold the ideology of man, how can it be possible to rely on machines alone? The question of the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism and the question of employing socialist ideology to remold man and discipline him are a big problem in our country.

On page 395, in the discussion of the tasks of carrying out overall collectivization in the early stages, mention is made of the struggle against hostile rich-peasant elements. Of course, this is correct. However, in its description of rural conditions after cooperativization has been put into effect, the textbook does not touch on the question of the well-to-do stratum or on inner contradictions, such as those between the state and the collective on the one hand, and the individual on the other hand, and between accumulation and consumption.

On page 402 it reads: "Under the conditions of an upsurge in the agricultural cooperation movement, the broad masses of middle peasants will no longer waver." We cannot talk in generalities in this respect. A portion of the well-to-do middle peasants now are wavering and will continue to waver in the future.

XXI. So-called "Complete Consolidation"

"Consolidate completely the system of collective farms" (page 407). It gives one a sense of discomfort to look at the two words, "complete consolidation." The consolidation of anything is relative. How can it be complete? If since the beginning of mankind, all the people did not die and were "consolidated completely," what would this world be like? In the universe and on this earth, all things emerge, develop and extinguish continuously, and cannot be consolidated completely. In terms of a silkworm, not only must it eventually die, but during the course of development in its lifetime, it must pass through four stages -- silkworm's egg, silkworm, pupa, flying moth -- from one stage to the next, and in each of these stages it cannot be consolidated completely. The flying moth dies eventually, and the old essence

transforms into a new essence (It lays many eggs). This is a flying leap of essence. However, the development from silkworm's egg to silkworm, then to pupa and flying moth evidently entails not only a quantitative change, but also a change in essence -- a partial qualitative change. Man, in the course of proceeding from birth to death, passes through the different stages of childhood, youth, manhood and old age. Man from birth to death is a process of quantitative change and at the same time a continuous process of partial qualitative change. Is it possible to say then that from childhood to manhood and from manhood to old age there is only an increase in quantity and no change in quality? Inside the human body cells divide constantly, worn-out cells die and new cells grow without interruption. And when man dies, a complete qualitative change occurs. This qualitative change is accomplished through the continuous quantitative change in the past and the continuous partial qualitative change in the course of the quantitative change. Quantitative change and qualitative change are a unity of opposites. There is partial qualitative change in the process of quantitative change. It cannot be said that there is no qualitative change in the process of quantitative change. There is quantitative change in the process of qualitative change. It cannot be said that there is no quantitative change in the process of qualitative change.

In the long process before the final qualitative change is reached, it must pass through an unbroken series of quantitative changes and many partial qualitative changes. If there are no partial qualitative changes or if there is not much quantitative change, the final qualitative change cannot occur. Take a factory for example. It has its plant and has reached a certain scale. Inside, its machinery and equipment are renovated section by section. This is a partial qualitative change. Although its size and outward appearance have not changed, the interior of the factory has changed. It is the same with a company of soldiers. More than a hundred engage the enemy in a battle and suffer scores of casualties, and are replaced by the same number of men. Fighting continues non-stop and replacement also continues without interruption. It is through continuous partial qualitative changes like this that this company of soldiers grows and strengthens itself steadily.

The smashing of Chiang Kai-shek was a qualitative change. This qualitative change was effected through a quantitative change. For example, it took three and one-half years to wipe out, little by little, Chiang Kai-shek's armies and regime. Likewise, there was a partial qualitative change in the midst of this quantitative change. During the War of Liberation, fighting went through several different stages and each new stage differed in nature from the preceding stage. The transformation from individual economy to collective economy was a process of qualitative change. This process was consummated in our country through partial qualitative change in such different stages as mutual aid team, early stage cooperative, advanced cooperative, and people's commune.

The present socialist economy of our country consists of two different kinds of ownership -- ownership by all the people and collective ownership. This kind of socialist ownership has its own course of emergence and development. Is it conceivable that it will not have its course of further change?

Is it possible for us to say that "these two kinds of ownership will for a long time be "consolidated completely?" Is it possible that in a socialist society such economic domains as to each according to his work, commodity production, and the law of value will live forever? Is it possible that there are only growth and development, and no extinction? Is it possible that unlike other historical domains, they are historical domains just the same?

Socialism must pass over to communism. When it passes over to a communist society, some of the things in the socialist stage will certainly die. In the communist period there will also be continuous development. Communism will probably go through many different phases. Can it be said that after communist society is reached, nothing will change? Everything will be "consolidated completely?" And there will be quantitative change only and no continuous partial qualitative change?

The development of things is one phase following another in an unbroken line. But invariably there is a "side" to each phase. We study every day, commencing at 4 o'clock and terminating at 7 or 8 o'clock. This is the "side." In terms of ideological remolding, socialist ideological remolding is a long-term undertaking. But after each ideological remolding campaign there invariably is a conclusion. That is to say that there is a "side." On the socialist ideological front, after undergoing quantitative change and partial qualitative change continuously, capitalist ideological influence definitely will be eliminated completely one day. By then, the qualitative change in ideological remolding will have been accomplished and a new process of quantitative change in quality will have begun.

The building of socialism also has a "side" to it. It must keep an accounting, like what proportion will industrial products constitute, how much steel is to be produced, how high are the living standards of the people, and so forth. To say that the building of socialism has a "side" to it is, of course, not to say that we do not want to go a step further in passing over to communism. The transition from capitalism to communism will quite possibly be divided into two phases. One phase is from capitalism to socialism, which can be termed as undeveloped socialism. The other is from socialism to communism, which is to say from relatively undeveloped socialism to relatively developed socialism, i.e., communism. The latter phase will probably require an even longer period of time than the earlier phase. After the passage of the latter phase, material products will abound and spiritual values will be enriched, and the communist consciousness of the people will be heightened. Then it will be possible to enter a higher stage of communism.

XXII. Concerning War and Peace

On page 408 it is said that in a capitalist society "it is inevitable that a crisis of surplus production will be precipitated and a rise in unemployment will result." This is to say that war is in the making. Is it conceivable that Marxist economic principles have suddenly been out of gear? Is it conceivable that war can be abolished completely when the capitalist system still exists in this world?

Can it be said that there has now emerged the possibility of abolishing war forever and utilizing all the world's material and financial resources in the service of the whole of mankind? In this kind of interpretation there is no Marxism, no class analysis, and no differentiation between the conditions under the rule of capitalism and those under the rule of the proletariat. How can we abolish war without eliminating classes? Whether there is going to be a world war or not does not hinge upon us. Even if a no-war agreement is signed, the possibility of war still exists. When the imperialist powers want war, no agreement can be taken seriously. As to whether atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs are used when war begins, that is another question. Although there are chemical weapons, conventional arms have been used in wars instead of the former. Even if there is no war between the two camps, this is no guarantee that there will be no war in the capitalist world. It is quite possible that one imperialist power will fight another imperialist power or that inside an imperialist country the bourgeoisie will battle against the proletariat. Indeed, imperialist powers are conducting a war against the colonies and semi-colonies. War is one method of class conflict. Only through war can we eliminate classes and only through eliminating classes can we abolish war forever. We do not believe that classes can be eliminated without carrying out a revolutionary war. It is just not possible to destroy the weapons of war without eliminating classes. In the history of class society of mankind, all classes and all nations have paid attention to positions of strength. To set up positions of strength is in fact an inevitable trend of history. Forces are the concrete manifestations of class strength. As long as there is class antagonism, there are going to be forces. Of course, we do not hope for war. We are hoping for peace. We are in favor of making great efforts to prohibit atomic warfare and striving for the signing of a nonaggression pact between the two camps. Very early on we advocated striving for 10 or 20 years of peace. If this can materialize, it will be most favorable to the entire socialist camp and to socialist construction in our country.

On page 409 it states that the Soviet Union today is no longer in capitalist encirclement. This interpretation runs the risk of making people fall asleep. Of course, present conditions have vastly changed from the days when there was only one socialist country. To the west of the Soviet Union today there are the different East European socialist countries and to the east of the Soviet Union there are several other socialist countries, including us, Korea and Vietnam. However, guided missiles have no eyes. They can hit targets several thousand or ten thousand kilometers away. Many U.S. military bases are deployed around the entire socialist camp. The spearhead of these military bases is pointed at the Soviet Union and the various other socialist countries. Can it be said that the Soviet Union is no longer in the encirclement of guided missiles?

XXIII. Is "Unanimity" the Motivating Force of Social Development?

On page 413 [417] it says that socialism "unites as one" and is "firm as a rock," adding that unanimity is "the motivating force of social development."

To acknowledge only unity and solidarity, without acknowledging that inner contradictions exist in a socialist society and that contradictions are the motivating force of social development, is to deny the law of the universality of contradictions, thereby cutting off dialectics. Without contradictions there will be no movements. And society, after all, is developed by movements. In the socialist period, contradictions remain to be the motivating force of social development. This is because there must be disparity before there is the task of unification and before there is the need to struggle for unity. If invariably there is unity, why is there need to carry out the work of unification continuously?

XXIV. Concerning Workers' Rights Under the Socialist System

On page 414, in discussing the different kinds of rights being enjoyed by the workers, the book makes no mention of their rights to administer the country, the different kinds of enterprises, and culture and education. As a matter of fact, these are the workers' greatest rights under the socialist system. These are the most fundamental rights. Without these rights, they will have no right to work, to receive an education, or to take a rest.

The question of socialist democracy is first and foremost a question of whether or not the working people have the right to overcome all sorts of hostile forces and their influences. In whose hands are such things as newspapers, periodicals, broadcasting stations, and motion pictures? Who are to make criticism? All these belong to the question of rights. If these things lie in the hands of a limited number of right opportunists, then the vast majority of people throughout the country who are in urgent need of a great leap forward will have their rights in these sectors taken away from them. If motion pictures are taken over by people like Chung Tien-p'ei [6988 1855 5952], how can the people exercise their rights in the sphere of motion pictures? Within the ranks of the people there are all kinds of factions and party spirit. Whichever faction controls all organs and all enterprises will have great bearing on the question of guaranteeing the rights of the people. If they are in the hands of Marxists, there will be a guarantee for the rights of the overwhelming majority of the people. If they are grasped by right opportunists or rightists, these organs and enterprises will probably deteriorate and the rights of the people in regard to them can no longer be guaranteed. In short, the people must have the right to take charge of the superstructure. We cannot give ourselves to understand that the question of the rights of the people only involves the administration of the country by a section of the people. Only under the administration of certain people can the people enjoy the rights of labor, education, and social insurance.

XXV. Is the Transition to Communism a Revolution?

On page 417 it reads: "Under the socialist system, there are no classes or social organizations which run counter to communist interests. Therefore, the transition to communism will be accomplished without going through a social revolution."

Without question, the transition to communism is not one class overthrowing another. But it cannot be said that this is not a social revolution. This is because the supersession of one kind of production relationship by another is a qualitative leap, which in itself is a revolution. In our country, the transformation of individual economy into collective economy and from collective economy into economy of all the people are a revolution in the sphere of production relationships. The conversion from socialism's to each according to his work into communism's to each according to his needs cannot but be regarded also a revolution in the sphere of production relationships. Of course, to each according to his needs will be brought to fruition gradually. It is quite possible that when the supply of staple commodities is adequate, we will first practice to each according to his needs with these commodities and then push through to other commodities in accordance with the development of productive forces.

Let us talk about the development of our people's communes. At the time of conversion from ownership by the basic team into ownership by the basic commune, could tendencies of conflict have occurred among a portion of the people? This question is worth our study. A decisive condition for carrying through this conversion was that the communes had an economic income constituting more than one-half of their gross income. The realization of ownership by the basic commune is of benefit to commune members on the whole. In this way, it is estimated that there is no conflict with the vast majority of the people. However, on the part of the original team cadres, in view of the fact that they at that time could no longer run their own teams and their administrative power must have been relatively reduced, could they have conflicted with such a conversion?

Although a socialist society has abolished classes, in the process of its development it will probably have certain problems with "vested interest groups." They rest content with an established system and will be unwilling to have it changed. For example, the practice of to each according to his work, and the more you work the more you receive is to their advantage, so they will probably feel uncomfortable when this is changed into to each according to his need. The settling up of any new system will invariably require the destruction of the old system. We cannot have construction without destruction. But to destroy will arouse the conflict of a section of the people. Man is a queer animal. As soon as he possesses some outstanding conditions, he will give himself airs.... Not to give heed to this is very dangerous.

XXVI. Allegedly "China Has No Need to Adopt the Form of Acute Class Struggle"

What is said on page 419 is incorrect.

After the October Revolution, in view of the serious disruptions suffered by the Russian economy at that time, the bourgeoisie of Russia determined that the proletariat could not change this situation and did not have the strength to maintain themselves in power. They deemed that as long as they got going, they could bring down the proletarian regime. Whereupon they carried out armed resistance. This compelled the Russian proletariat to take drastic measures to expropriate the property of the bourgeoisie. Then both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat lacked experience.

To say that class struggle in China is not acute is out of keeping with reality. How acute was the Chinese revolution! We fought continuously for 22 years. Through war we broke down the bourgeois rule of the Kuomintang. We confiscated bureaucratic capital which constituted 80 percent of the overall capitalist economy. This in turn enabled us to adopt peaceful means in transforming national capital which constituted the balance of 20 percent of the overall capitalist economy. And during the course of transformation, we went through such fierce struggles as the "3-anti" and "5-anti" campaigns.

On page 420, the description of the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is not correct. After liberation, the national bourgeoisie had been compelled to step onto the road of socialist transformation. We brought down Chiang Kai-shek, expropriated bureaucratic capital, achieved land reform, carried out the "3-anti" and "5-anti" campaigns, and put cooperativization into effect. Right from the beginning we were in complete control of the market. This series of changes gradually forced the national bourgeoisie so that they could not but step onto the road of accepting transformation. On the other hand, the Common Program set forth the policy of allowing all kinds of economic elements to each take their proper place, enabling the capitalists to reap some profit. And the Constitution guarantees them a ballot and a rice bowl. These made them realize that acceptance of remolding would make it possible for them to maintain a definite position and to play a certain role in the economy and culture of the country.

In the joint state-private enterprises, the capitalists do not possess any real administrative power. It is not that production is being jointly administered by government representatives and capitalists. It cannot be said that "capital has been restricted in exploiting labor." In fact, it has been vastly restricted. Nowhere in the textbook has it accepted the idea expressed by us that state-private enterprises are three-fourths socialism. Of course, they are now not three-fourths any more, but nine-tenths or even more.

The transformation of capitalist industry and commerce has been completed in the main. However, if they have the opportunity, they will still launch a savage onslaught on us. In 1957, the rightist attack was repulsed by us. In 1959, they staged another attack on us through their representatives in the Party.

The book quotes Lenin as saying (page 421) that state capitalism is "a continuation of another form of class struggle." This is correct.

XXVII. Concerning the Time Limit for Building Socialism

It says on page 423 that in 1957 we "accomplished" a socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. We will not say so. We will instead say that we won a decisive victory.

On the same page it is said that it can be agreed that it will take 10 or 15 years to turn China into a big and strong socialist country. This is to say that after the Second Five-Year Plan, we must go through two more five-year plans to bring us to 1972, or strive for moving everything up two or three

years to bring us to 1969, in order to streamline our national defense as well as realize the modernization of our industry, agriculture, science and culture. In a country such as ours, accomplishing socialist construction is a formidable task, to say nothing about an early accomplishment of social construction.

XXVIII. More on the Relationship Between Industrialization and Socialist Transformation

It says on page 423 that winning a victory in the reformation of ownership prior to the realization of industrialization was a situation created under China's peculiar conditions. This is a misstatement. The countries in East Europe are the same as ours. They all have these two conditions, "the existence of a big and strong socialist camp and the assistance of such a highly developed industrialized nation such as the Soviet Union." Why can they not achieve socialist transformation in the ownership sector (including agriculture) before industrialization is realized? As to the question of relationship between industrialization and socialist transformation, the Soviet Union also resolved the question of ownership first and then carried out industrialization.

From the viewpoint of world history, the bourgeoisie launched their revolution and founded their own countries not after the industrial revolution, but before it. They also brought about a change in the superstructure and acquired the state apparatus first and then conducted propaganda, gained strength and pressed vigorously for a change in production relationship. The organization of production relationship and its smooth operation paved the way for the development of productive forces. The revolution in production relationship is, of course, touched off by a definite development of productive forces, but the rapid development of productive forces invariably takes place after production relationship is changed. In terms of the history of development of capitalism, first it was a simple form of coordination and cooperation. Then this was developed into handicraft workshops. By this time it had already shaped up as a capitalist production relationship, but production in the handicraft workshops was still not by machine. This kind of capitalist production relationship gave rise to a need for improving technology and created the condition for using machinery. In England it was after the bourgeois revolution (post-17th century) that the industrial revolution (from the closing days of the 18th century to the early stage of the 19th century) got under way. Germany, France, the U.S. and Japan also went through different forms of transformation of the superstructure and production relationship before their capitalist industries were developed on a large scale.

First and foremost, create public opinion and seize power. Then resolve the question of ownership. Later, develop productive forces to a large extent. This in general is the rule. Although on this problem there is a difference between a proletarian revolution and a bourgeois revolution (Socialist production relationship does not exist prior to a proletarian revolution, while bourgeois production relationship has grown up in a preliminary way in a feudal society), they are fundamentally identical.

XXIX. Concerning Contradictions Between Socialist Production Relationship and Productive Forces

On page 433 the book discusses only the "mutual function" of production relationship and productive forces, but not the contradictions between production relationship and productive forces under the socialist system. Production relationship consists of three sectors, namely: ownership of means of production, relationship between individuals in the midst of work, and distribution system. Revolution in the sector of ownership is a certainty. For example: After the transition from collective ownership to ownership by all the people and the entire national economy becomes a single ownership by all the people, within a fairly extended period it will still be ownership by all the people. Yet in enterprises which are similarly owned by all the people, whether the division of power between the central and local authorities will be exercised or not, and which will administer what enterprises, will remain as crucial questions. In 1958, some capital construction units followed the system of free public care and thereby brought their great initiative into play. The central authorities could not rely on their own initiative and must give free scope to the initiative of the enterprises and the local authorities. To obstruct this kind of initiative will be harmful to production. Thus it can be seen that within the production relationship under ownership by all the people there are contradictions to be resolved. As to the mutual relationship between individuals in the midst of work and the relationship of distribution, there is need for steady improvement all the more. In this respect, it is difficult to say what we can be sure of. On the question of relationship between individuals in the course of labor, for example, the leading cadres have adopted an attitude of equality and changed certain codes and conventions. Much could be written about "two participations" and "three-in-one combination." Public ownership under the primitive communes remained in existence for a long time, but the mutual relationship of people in the course of labor underwent many changes.

XXX. Collective Ownership Will Certainly Shift to Ownership by All the People

On page 435 it states that the existence of two forms of public ownership is an objective necessity. It did not say that the transition from collective ownership to ownership by all the people also is an objective necessity. The shift from collective ownership to ownership by all the people is an unavoidable objective process. Today, this already can be seen clearly in some areas of our country. Some data on Ch'eng-an County, Hopeh Province, says that communes in certain areas planted to industrial crops have now become very prosperous, their accumulation having been raised to 45 percent, and the living standard of the peasants is very high. If such conditions continue to develop and we do not convert collective ownership into ownership by all the people in order to solve this contradiction, the living standard of the peasants will be higher than that of the workers. This is harmful to the development of both industry and agriculture.

It says on page 438: "The difference between a state enterprise and a cooperative is not a difference of fundamental character.... Public ownership having two forms... is sacred and inviolable."

Compared with capitalism, the difference between collective ownership and ownership by all the people is not a difference of fundamental character. So far as the internal socialist economy is concerned, the difference between the two also is a difference of fundamental character. The textbook describes these two forms of public ownership as "sacred and inviolable." In the case of hostile efforts it is permissible; in terms of its own course of development, it is incorrect. Nothing can be considered as constant. The coexistence of two kinds of ownership cannot be constant. Ownership by all the people also has its own course of change.

After a number of years when commune ownership of the People's Communes has been changed into ownership by all the people, there will emerge throughout the country a single ownership by all the people. This will accelerate to a large extent the development of productive forces. For a time it will remain as ownership by all the people of a socialist nature. After a definite length of time, it will go a step further and become a single communist ownership by all the people. Therefore, ownership by all the people also has a course of change from to each according to his work to to each according to his need.

XXXI. Concerning Personal Property

On page 439 it reads: "Another portion is consumer goods.... which have become the personal property of the working people." Such an interpretation makes people believe that among the products of society what originally belonged to the consumer goods portion will soon be distributed to the working people as their personal property. This is incorrect. Part of the consumer goods is personal property and part is public property. This latter part includes cultural and educational facilities, public medical establishments, sport facilities, parks, etc., and this will increase with time. Of course, this part is also for the enjoyment of every worker, but it is not personal property.

On page 440, work income, savings, housing, household goods, private consumer goods, and other ordinary equipment are listed side by side. This is no good. The reason is that savings and housing are converted from the income of the working people.

In many places in this book, only private consumption is dealt with, but not social consumption, such as public culture, welfare services, and public health. This is a kind of one-sidedness. Houses in our rural areas are still in a very poor state. We must change living conditions in the countryside methodically. The construction of residential quarters, particularly those in the cities, should primarily be undertaken by collective social forces, and not by individual forces. If a socialist society does not promote social collective causes, what socialism is still left? Some people say that socialism pays more attention to material incentive than capitalism. This kind of interpretation is absolutely outrageous!

In the same paragraph the textbook says that the property created by collective farms includes personal property and individual subsidiary occupations. In regard to these individual sidelines, if the question of socialization is not raised, such peasants will forever be peasants. It is necessary to consolidate a definite social system within a definite period of time. But there must be a limit to such consolidation. We cannot go on consolidating for all time. Otherwise, we will make inflexible the ideology reflecting this system and render people incapable of adjusting their thought to new changes.

On the same page, the question of integration of personal interests and collective interests is discussed. It says: "Such integration is implemented on the basis of methods of settling labor wages according to the quantity and quality of work of members of society as well as on the principle of carrying through the material well-being of the individual." Here, no mention is made of any necessary retention. Besides, it puts personal interests first in such integration. This is rendering one-sided the material well-being of the individual.

Continuing on page 441 it says that contradictions between public and personal interests are not antagonistic and can be resolved gradually. This kind of talk is devoid of content and cannot solve problems. In a country such as ours, if we do not carry out a rectification campaign every one or two years, we will never be able to resolve the contradictions among the people.

XXXII. Contradictions Are the Motivating Force in the Development of a Socialist Society

On page 443, in the fifth paragraph, the book acknowledges the existence of contradictions between productive forces and production relationship in a socialist society, and talks about getting rid of these contradictions. However, it does not acknowledge that contradictions are a motivating force.

This is argued very well in the next paragraph, but under the socialist system, not only certain aspects of the relationship between individuals and certain forms of the leadership in the economy hinder the development of productive forces, but problems also exist in the ownership sector (for example, two kinds of ownership) which hamper the development of productive forces.

The allegation in the next paragraph is very problematical. It says that contradictions under the socialist system are not irreconcilable contradictions. This is not in conformity with dialectics. All contradictions are irreconcilable. Where are the contradictions that are reconcilable? Some contradictions are antagonistic and some non-antagonistic. But it cannot be said that there are irreconcilable contradictions and reconcilable contradictions.

Although under the socialist system there is no war, there still is struggle -- struggle between factions among the people. Although under the socialist system there is no revolution in which one class overthrows another, there still is revolution. The transition from socialism to communism is a

revolution. The transition from one stage of communism to another also is a revolution. Furthermore, there are technical revolutions and cultural revolutions. Communism is bound to go through many stages. It certainly will have many revolutions.

Here, it speaks of relying on the "positive action" of the masses to cope with contradictions (page 444 [445]). The so-called "positive action" should include complex struggle.

"Under the socialist system, there is no class which is making every effort to maintain outdated economic relations." This interpretation is correct. However, in a socialist society there still are conservative strata and something resembling "vested interest groups." There still remain differences between brain work and manual labor, between urban and rural areas, and between workers and peasants. Although these are non-antagonistic contradictions, they have to go through struggle before they can be resolved.

The children of our cadres are a source of deep concern to us. They have no experience in life and in society. Yet they put on airs and think highly of themselves. We must educate them not to rely on their parents and on martyrs, but entirely on themselves.

In a socialist society there still are the advanced and the backward, people who have faith in collective undertakings, are diligent and earnest, full of vigor and vitality, and people who strive for fame and fortune, look out for themselves, and are gloomy and moody. In the course of socialist development, there will be some people in every stage who would like to preserve backward production relationship and social institutions. In the rural areas, the well-to-do middle peasants have their own viewpoints on many questions. They cannot adapt themselves to new changes. Besides, among these people there are some who put up resistance against such changes. Proof of this is the debate on the "eight-character code" [for agricultural development] being conducted with well-to-do middle peasants in the rural areas of Kwangtung Province.

It says on page 453 in the last paragraph: "Criticism and self-criticism... are a powerful motivating force in the development of a socialist society." This statement is inept. Contradictions are the motivating force. Criticism and self-criticism are methods to resolve contradictions.

XXXIII. Concerning the Dialectical Course of Understanding

On page 446, the second paragraph, it says that following complete socialization, "the people become masters of the economic relations of their own society" who "can be fully conscious of grasping and utilizing these laws." It should be noted here that this must go through a process. Invariably, at the beginning, only a limited number of people understand the laws. Then most people understand them. From non-understanding to understanding one must go through the process of practice and the process of study. Invariably, no one

will understand at the beginning. There never were men of foresight and vision. People have to go through practice to gain achievement or meet with failure when troubles arise. Only in such a process can they boost understanding step by step. To understand the objective laws of development of events, one must go through practice and adopt a Marxist attitude. He must also make a comparison between success and failure, practice over and over again, and study over and over again. He must experience triumph and failure time and again, and conduct serious research before he can gradually make his understanding conform with the laws. If he experiences victory and no defeat, it will not be possible for him to understand these laws.

Being "fully conscious of grasping and utilizing these laws" is not easy. Without going through a definite process, this cannot materialize. On page 446, the book quotes Engels as saying: "It is only at this time that one begins to be fully conscious of creating one's own history. The social cause being propelled by the people will in a very great degree and to an increasingly larger extent yield the expected result." It says "begins." But it would be more accurate to say "more and more."

The textbook does not recognize the contradictions between appearance and essence. Essence always hides behind appearance and only through appearance can we bring essence to light. The textbook did not say that there must be a process to understanding laws. Even vanguard forces cannot be expected.

XXXIV. On Trade Unions and the System of Single Leadership

On page 452, in talking about the mission of a trade union, the book did not say that the principal task of a trade union is to develop production and did not discuss ways and means to strengthen political education. It puts too much weight on dealing with welfare.

Throughout the book mention is made of "managing production in accordance with the system of single leadership." All enterprises in capitalist countries enforce the system of single leadership. The principle of managing socialist enterprises should be basically different from that of capitalist enterprises. The system of charging the director with the responsibility of directing his factory under the leadership of the Party committee as practiced by us makes a strict distinction between us and the system of administration of capitalist enterprises.

XXXV. Starting From Principles and Tenets is Not a Marxist Approach

From Chapter 20 onward many laws are cited.

"Das Kapital" starts from the superficial in analyzing capitalist economy and then picks out the essence and uses it to explain the appearance. Therefore, it can bring out the important points. The textbook however does not make an analysis. The writing is incoherent. It always starts from laws,

principles, tenets and definitions, an approach which has all along been opposed by Marxism. The results of principles and tenets can be obtained only through analysis and research. Man's understanding invariably comes in contact with appearance first and starting from appearance, picks out the principles and tenets. The textbook is contrary to this. The method it uses is not the method of analysis, but the deductive method. Formal logic would say: "All men must die. Chang San is a man. Therefore, Chang San must die." This is the conclusion to be drawn from the major premise that all men must die. This is the deductive method. In regard to every problem, the textbook always gives a definition first and then makes this definition serve as a major premise for its reasoning. They do not understand that a major premise should be the outcome of studying a problem. One must go through concrete analysis before he can discover and verify the principles and tenets involved.

XXXVI. Can Advanced Experiences be Carried Out Without Hindrance?

On page 461, it says in the third paragraph: "In a socialist national economy, the latest achievements in science, technical inventions and advanced experiences all can be popularized in all enterprises without the least hindrance." This is not necessarily so. In a socialist society, there are still "academic lords" who are in control of scientific and research institutions and suppress newborn forces. For this reason, the latest achievements in science cannot find popularization without the least hindrance. To say otherwise is not to recognize the contradictions in a socialist society. When any new things emerge, they will encounter obstruction probably as a result of people not being accustomed to them or not understanding them, or their being in conflict with the interests of a segment of the people. For example, our close planting and deep plowing methods themselves have no class nature, but they are opposed and resisted by a segment of the people. Of course, the circumstances under which new things are hampered in a socialist society are basically different from those in a capitalist society.

XXXVII. Concerning Planning Work

On page 465 it quotes Engels as saying that under the socialist system, "to carry on social production in accordance with a predetermined plan will immediately become a possibility." This is correct. In a capitalist society, the balanced development of the national economy has been achieved through economic crises. There is a possibility of realizing balanced growth in a socialist society through planning. However, because of this possibility, we cannot deny that we must go through a process in order to have an understanding of the required proportion. On this point, the textbook says: "Spontaneity and the laissez-faire spirit are incompatible with the existence of public ownership of the means of production." However, we cannot take the view that spontaneity and the laissez-faire spirit do not exist in a socialist society. Our understanding of the laws has not been all perfect right from the beginning. Practical work tells us that within a period of time we can plan in a way that we can have the plans of these persons and also the plans of those persons. We cannot say that the plans of these persons are in conformity with the laws. It is certain that some plans conform with the laws or basically conform with the laws, while some plans do not conform with the laws or basically do not conform with the laws.

It is a metaphysical view if one deems that it is not necessary to go through a process in order to obtain an understanding of the relationship of proportions, or to make a comparison between success and failure, or to go through a circuitous course of development. Freedom is a recognition of inevitability. But inevitability is not something one can see through at a glance. In this world there is no inborn saint. When a socialist society is attained, not all people will become "men of foresight and vision." Why was the text-book not published earlier? Why is it that after publication it has time and again required revision? Is it not because its understanding was not clear previously and still is not perfect at present? Speaking of our own experience, at the beginning we also did not understand socialism. Later, through practice we acquired understanding little by little. We understand some, but not enough. If we say it is enough, then there will be nothing for us to do.

On page 466 it says that the salient features of socialism are that we can "regularly and consciously maintain a proportion." This is a task as well as a demand, and fulfilling this task is not easy. Stalin once said that the plans of the Soviet Union could not be said to have fully reflected the requirements of the laws.

To regularly maintain a proportion is to say that at the same time imbalance regularly manifests itself. This is because only a lack of balance in proportion can set forth a task to develop in proportion. In the course of socialist economic development, there regularly appear conditions of uneven growth and disproportionate development which call for our developing in proportion and evening out progress comprehensively. For example, the economy forges ahead and everywhere a shortage in technicians and cadres is felt. Hence, a contradiction between a need for cadres and the distribution of cadres manifests itself. This gives us the impetus to run more schools to train more cadres in order to resolve this contradiction. When an imbalance or a disproportionate development emerges, people will further understand the objective laws.

On planning work, if we do not keep any accounts and if we adopt a laissez-faire policy or play safe and steady in every way and demand that few or no loopholes exist, we will end up disrupting the proportion, because these two work-methods are incorrect.

A plan is an ideology, while consciousness is a reflection of actuality and creates the opposite effect on actuality. In the past, our plans stipulated that we not build any new industries along the coastal areas. Prior to 1957, no construction was undertaken. Seven years were wasted. After 1958, construction was begun on a large scale. In two years' time great progress was made. This precisely explains that ideological things like plans have a great effect on the progress, or lack of progress, of the economy as well as on the rate of economic development.

XXXVIII. On Means of Production, Priority of Growth in Production, and Simultaneous Development of Industry and Agriculture

On page 466, the two questions concerning the means of production and priority of growth in production are discussed.

The means of production and priority of growth in production are the common economic law governing every kind of social expanded reproduction. Were it not for the means of production and priority of growth in production, a capitalist society could not expand its reproduction. In the time of Stalin, owing to the special stress on giving priority to the development of heavy industry, agriculture was neglected in the plans. For the past several years, East Europe has also had the same problem. Our method is, on condition that priority is given to the development of heavy industry, to enforce the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture and at the same time several other simultaneous developments. Furthermore, within every simultaneous development there is the guiding principle aspect. If agriculture does not turn up, many problems cannot be solved. We have put forward the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture for four years already. Actually, we did not put it into effect until 1960. The importance we attach to agriculture is being symbolized by the quantity of steel products which we are allocating to agriculture. In 1959, steel products allocated to agriculture were only 590,000 tons. This year, including allocations for water conservancy construction, they amounted to 1.3 million tons. This should be considered as truly simultaneous development of industry and agriculture.

Here, the book refers to the following statistics: Between the years 1925 and 1958, growth in the production of capital goods was 103 times and growth in the production of consumer goods was 15.6 times. The question is whether these ratios of 103 and 15.6 times were beneficial to industrial development. If we want heavy industry to develop rapidly, we must make everybody happy and enthusiastic in his work. And if we want this to happen, we must promote industry and agriculture, and light and heavy industries simultaneously.

As long as we make agriculture, light industry and heavy industry forge ahead simultaneously and rapidly, we will be able to guarantee the adequate improvement of the livelihood of the people simultaneously with the rapid development of heavy industry. The experiences of the Soviet Union and of our country show that if agriculture and light industry are not developed, it will be harmful to the development of heavy industry.

XXXIX. Erroneous Viewpoint of Distribution Determinism

In Chapter 20 it says: "Bringing into play the concern of workers for personal material interests in the development of socialist production is an indispensable prerequisite to an upsurge in stateowned industry." [page 474] In Chapter 21 it says: "We must fully carry out economic accounting and utilize the economic principle of to each according to his work by integrating the personal material interests of the workers and the interests of socialist production, so as to make it play an important part in the struggle for the

industrialization of the country." [page 457] In Chapter 25 it follows this up by saying: "The goal of socialist production... is to compel the working people to be closely concerned with vigorously increasing production and cause the working personnel to be concerned, from a material interest, about the fruits of their labor. This is the powerful motivating force to be developed by the socialist productive forces" (page 456). Rendering absolute "the concern for personal material interests" in this way is courting the danger of developing individualism.

On page 452 it further states that the principle of to each according to his work which "compels the worker to be concerned, from material interests, with implementing plans for raising labor productivity is one of the decisive motivating forces of socialist production." People cannot but ask: "Inasmuch as socialist basic economic laws have decided the direction of development of socialist production, how is it that personal material interests are described as a decisive motivating force of production?" To treat the question of distribution of consumer goods as a decisive motivating force is the erroneous viewpoint of distribution determinism. According to Karl Marx in his criticism contained in the Gotha Program, "Distribution in the first place should be distribution of means of production. A decisive question is in whose hands the means of production lie. Distribution of means of production determines distribution of consumer goods." To consider the distribution of consumer goods as a decisive motivating factor is a revision of Marx's correct viewpoint stated above. This is a theoretical error.

XL. Politics in Command and Material Incentive

On page 452 [445] (second paragraph), the Party organization is placed behind local economic organs. Local economic organs become the head and are directly administered by the Central Government. The local Party organization thus cannot be in command locally. When the Party organization is not in command, it will not do to mobilize to the fullest extent all positive forces locally. On page 457, although it acknowledges the creative activity of the masses, it says: "The active participation of the masses in the struggle for fulfilling and overfulfilling the plans for development of the national economy is one of the most important prerequisites for speeding up the tempo of communist construction." It also says on page 447: "The initiative of the villagers is one of the determining factors in developing agriculture." Such interpretation which considers mass struggle as "one of the important prerequisites" is at variance with the principle that the masses are the creators of history. In any case, it cannot be argued that history is being created by the planners, and not by the masses.

Immediately afterward it states: "First of all, we must bring material incentive into play." It talks as if the creative activity of the masses has been dependent on material interests for inspiration. Whenever an opportunity arises, this book will talk about personal material interests as if it always wants to utilize this thing to tempt people. This reflects the state of mind of a considerable number of economic staff and leading personnel. It also reflects a state of affairs wherein no particular significance is attached to political-ideological work. Under such circumstances, there will be no other

way if material incentive is not relied upon. "From each according to his ability, and to each according to his work." The first half of the sentence refers to the necessity of exerting one's utmost to produce. Why must they break up the sentence and talk one-sidedly about material incentive? If they publicize material interests like this, capitalism will become invincible.

XLI. Concerning Balance and Imbalance

Page 432 (last paragraph) is incorrectly written. The development of capitalist technology has an unbalanced side and also a balanced side. The question is that its balance and imbalance are different in nature from the balanced and unbalanced development of technology under the socialist system. For example, during the early stages of liberation, our geological workers numbered only a little over 200. The conditions of geological prospecting and the requirements for developing the national economy were extremely out of balance. After several years of building up, this imbalance has headed toward balance. But a new imbalance in technological development again emerges. At present, manual labor in our country still constitutes a very high, very high proportion. It is out of balance with the requirements for developing production and raising labor productivity. For this reason, it is necessary to launch a technical revolution in order to resolve this imbalance. Every time a new technical department makes its appearance, conditions of an imbalance in technical development will again become especially noticeable. For example, we are now scaling the pinnacle of technology and we immediately feel that many things are not in the proper proportion. This paragraph of the book repudiates not only a certain balance under capitalism, but also a certain imbalance under the socialist system.

Technical development is like this; economic development is also like this. This textbook is out of touch with the wave-like advances in the development of socialist production. It is unthinkable that it should say not even a wave is created in the development of socialist economy. Any development is not on a straight line, but in the shape of a wave or a spiral. We also study in the fashion of a wave. Before we study we do other things. After studying for a few hours we have to take a rest. We cannot go on studying day and night. Today we may study more, tomorrow we may study less. These are all in the fashion of a wave, which has its ups and downs. Balance is spoken of in regard to imbalance. Without imbalance, there is no balance. The development of things is always out of balance. Hence, the demand for balance. The contradictions between balance and imbalance exist in all fields and in all sectors of every department. They arise without interruption and they are resolved without interruption. When there is a plan for the first year, there has to be a plan for the second year. When there is an annual plan, there has to be a quarterly plan. When there is a quarterly plan, there has to be a monthly plan. Of the 12 months in a year, every month it is necessary to resolve the contradictions between balance and imbalance, and frequently it is necessary to revise a plan owing to the emergence of conditions of a new imbalance.

The textbook did not put dialectics to use to the fullest. It did not apply dialectics to the study of every problem. The chapter concerning the principle of developing the national economy according to plan in proper proportion is very long, but no mention is made of the contradictions between balance and imbalance.

In a socialist society, the state-owned economy can be developed according to plan in proper proportion so as to make it possible to regulate imbalance. However, imbalance does not disappear. "Things are out of balance, that is the aspect of things." By virtue of the abolition of private ownership, it is possible to organize economy in a planned way. Accordingly, it is also possible to consciously master and utilize the objective laws of imbalance so as to set up many relative and temporary balances.

If productive forces run too fast, it creates a situation in which production relationship does not conform with productive forces and the superstructure does not conform with production relationship. Consequently, it is necessary to change production relationship and the superstructure in order to seek accommodation. The superstructure adapts itself to production relationship, and production relationship adapts itself to productive forces. Perhaps it can be said that the balance attained between them is relative. Productive forces invariably must make steady progress. Hence, they are always out of balance. Balance and imbalance are two aspects of contradiction. Between them, imbalance is absolute and balance is relative. Otherwise, productive forces, production relationship, and the superstructure cannot be developed, but will be fixed. Balance is relative and imbalance is absolute. This is a universal law. Can it be said that this universal law does not apply to a socialist society? It should be said that this law likewise holds good in a socialist society. Contradictions and struggle are absolute. Unity, unanimity and solidarity are transitional, and therefore relative. The various balances in planning work are also transient, transitional and conditional, and therefore relative. It cannot be assumed that there is one kind of balance which is unconditional and therefore constant.

We should make the balance and imbalance between productive forces and production relationship, and the balance and imbalance between production relationship and the superstructure, serve as the key to the study of the economic problems of socialism.

The chief object of studies in political economies is production relationship. But to make a study of production relationship clearly, we have to link it with the study of productive forces on the one hand, and on the other hand link it with the study of the positive and negative roles the superstructure plays in production relationship. This book mentions the state, but it did not make a study of it. This is one of the shortcomings of the book. Of course, in the study of political economics, studies on the two aspects cannot be too well developed. If studies on productive forces are too well developed, then they become technical sciences or natural sciences; if studies on the superstructure are too well developed, then they become a theory of the state or a theory of class struggle. One of the three component parts of Marxism is the part on socialism, which makes a study of the theory of class struggle,

the theory of the state, the theory of revolution, the theory of party, strategy, tactics, etc.

There is nothing in this world that cannot be analyzed. It is only that 1) conditions are different; and 2) characteristics are not the same. Many basic categories and laws, such as the law of unity of contradictions, are all applicable. To study, or to look at, a problem in this way will result in a definite and comprehensive world outlook and methodology.

XLII. Concerning So-called "Material Incentive"

On page 486 it says that in the socialist stage, labor has not yet become the first requirement in the livelihood of all members of society and therefore material incentive is of immense significance to labor. "All members" is spoken of in this paragraph in much too general terms. Lenin was a member of society. Can it be said that his labor did not become the first requirement of his life?

Also on page 486 the point is raised that there are two sections of people in a socialist society: the overwhelming majority perform their duties faithfully and a certain number of workers are not honest in dealing with their obligations. This analysis is very correct. However, to convert that section of people who are not honest in dealing with their obligations, we cannot depend on material incentive alone. We must criticize and educate them in order to raise their consciousness.

In the same paragraph it is said that under the same circumstances, these people who are more industrious and more positive in their work will turn out an even larger quantity of goods. Obviously, whether or not a man is industrious and positive is contingent upon his political consciousness, and not upon a high or low cultural level or technical level. Some people have high cultural and technical levels, but they are neither industrious nor positive. Other people have relatively low cultural and technical levels, but they are very industrious and very positive. The reason is that the former kind of people have a lower level of consciousness, while the latter kind of people have a higher level of consciousness.

It says in the book that material incentive to labor "promotes an increase in production" (page 486) and "is one of the deciding factors for stimulating the development of production" (page 487). However, material incentive does not necessarily have to be changed every year. People do not necessarily require material incentive every day, every month or every year. In difficult times, when some material incentive is reduced, people will continue to work, and work very well too. The textbook deals with material incentive one-sidedly and absolutely. It does not place raising one's level of political consciousness in an important position. They cannot explain why the labor of people in the same pay grade yields several different kinds of conditions. For example: They are all Grade 5 workers. However, some of them perform well, some very poorly, and some more or less well. The material incentive is the same. Why is it that there is this difference? According to their reasoning, no clear explanation can be made.

Even if one acknowledges that material incentive is an important principle, it absolutely cannot be the only principle. There must be another principle -- the principle of spiritual encouragement in the sphere of political ideology. At the same time, material incentive cannot be discussed in terms of personal interests alone, but should be discussed in terms of collective interests, in terms of subordinating personal interests to collective interests, transient interests to long-term interests, and local interests to interests of the whole.

In the section concerning emulation (page 501) -- "Material Incentive to Labor -- Socialist Emulation Drive" -- some passages were well written. The defect is that there is no mention of politics.

One, no one dies. Two, the body is not debilitated but gains strength little by little. These two items are basic. If we have these two items, it is all right to have the other things and it is equally all right not to have them. We must make the people have some consciousness. The textbook never stresses for the sake of the future or for the sake of succeeding generations. It stresses only personal material interests. It frequently switches all at once from the principle of material interests to the principle of personal material interests. This smacks a little of unscrupulous distortion of the facts.

They do not say that when the interests of all the people are resolved, personal interests will also be resolved. The personal material interests stressed by them are in reality shortsighted individualism. This kind of tendency is economism from the period of struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie manifested in the period of socialist construction. During the period of bourgeois revolution, a large number of bourgeois revolutionaries sacrificed themselves heroically, not for the personal interests before their eyes, but for the interests of their own class and the interests of descendants of this class.

When we were in the base areas, we enforced a free supply system. People were a little healthier then. They did not quarrel on account of their going after wages. After liberation, we instituted a wage system and arranged all personnel in order of rank. On the contrary, more troubles arose. Many people frequently quarreled in their fight for a higher rank. As a result, this necessitated a lot of persuading.

Ours is a party which had engaged in more than 20 years of continuous war. We had enforced a free supply system over a long period. Of course, at that time in the base areas the whole society did not practice the free supply system. However, personnel who followed the system numbered several hundreds of thousands at a high point and several tens of thousands at a low point during the Civil War, and increased from over a million to several millions during the War of Resistance against Japan. Right up to the early stages of liberation, people on the whole lived an equalitarian life, they worked hard and fought bravely on the battlefield. They absolutely did not rely on material incentive for encouragement, but on revolutionary spirit. During the latter stages of the Second Civil War, we suffered a defeat in battle. Prior to this, we scored victories. After this, we won another victory. The defeat

was not due to a lack, or the presence, of material incentive. It was due to incorrectness, or correctness, in political line and military line. These historical experiences are of great significance to us in solving problems of socialist construction.

In Chapter 26 it is said: "Workers in socialist enterprises, who are concerned, from material interests, about their own fruits, are the motivating force for developing socialist production" (page 482).

In Chapter 27 it says that the remuneration of skilled workers is relatively high.... This has spurred workers to raise their cultural and technical levels, and gradually eroded the essential distinction between mental labor and manual labor. (pages 501 and 503).

It says in the same section that the relatively high remuneration of skilled workers has stimulated unskilled workers to advance steadily so as to enter the ranks of skilled workers. This means that one learns culture and technology in order to earn more money. In a socialist society, anybody who is going to school to learn technology and culture, should, above all, regard it as for the sake of socialist construction, industrialization, service to the people, and collective interests. He should not, above all, regard it as for the sake of high wages.

In Chapter 28 it further says: "To each according to his work is the greatest force to motivate the development of production" (page 526). And in the last paragraph on page 526, after explaining that under the socialist system, wages are raised continuously, the unrevised third edition of the book contains this statement: "This is where socialism is fundamentally superior to capitalism." To say that raising wages continuously is where socialism is fundamentally superior to capitalism is most incorrect. Wages are the distribution of consumer goods. If there is no distribution of capital goods, there will be no distribution of products and consumer goods. The latter are decided by the former.

XLIII. On Man vs Man Relationships in Socialist Enterprises

It says on page 500: "Under the socialist system, the prestige of leading cadres in the economy is contingent on the degree of contact with the masses and on the confidence of the people in them." This is well spoken. But to attain this objective, work must be done. Our experience is that if cadres do not discard their haughty airs and identify themselves with workers, the workers will frequently look upon the factory not as their own, but as the cadres'. The lordly behavior of the cadres makes the workers unwilling to consciously observe and implement labor discipline. We cannot presume that under the socialist system, without any work being done, the creative cooperation between the workers and the leading personnel of enterprises will emerge naturally.

Inasmuch as manual workers and leading personnel of enterprises are members of a unified production collective, "why is it that socialist enterprises must enforce a system of single leadership and cannot follow a system of one head under the collective leadership," i.e., the plant manager's responsibility system under the leadership of the Party committee?

When politics is weak, the best thing would be to talk about material incentive. Thus, immediately afterward, it adds: "Carrying out fully the principle of causing workers to be concerned, from personal material interests, about the fruits of their own labor... is to go a step further in grasping the principal source of increasing socialist production."

XLIV. Regarding Shock Tasks and Catch-up Tasks

On page 505 it says: "Eliminate the phenomenon of having to catch up. Proceed with production evenly according to the charts." In the unrevised third edition, this sentence reads: "We must struggle against the phenomenon of performing a shock task. We must work evenly according to prearranged schedules." It essentially repudiates shock tasks and catch-up tasks. It speaks in too absolute terms.

We cannot completely repudiate shock tasks. To have shock tasks or not to have shock tasks is a unity of opposites. In nature, there are gentle breezes and mild rain, and there are strong winds and violent storms. Performing shock tasks or not performing shock tasks is also a series of ups and downs in the manner of a wave. In the technical revolution within the sphere of production, situations often arise in which shock tasks are required to be performed. We must rush against the seasons in agricultural production. In singing an opera, we must have a climax. To negate performing a shock task is practically to deny a climax. The Soviet Union wants to catch up with the United States. We think we do not need as much time as the Soviet Union in reaching such a level as the Soviet Union's. All this is also performing a shock task.

Socialist emulation is for the backward to catch up with the advanced. This is to say that the backward can only realize this through performing shock tasks. Between individuals, or groups, or enterprises, or states, there must be emulation and catching up with the advanced. Then there are shock tasks to be performed. Employing compulsory administrative methods in organizing construction or a revolution, like relying upon administrative decrees to carry out land reform and cooperativization, will result in decreased production. This is because the masses are not mobilized, and not because shock tasks are undertaken.

XLV. On the Law of Value and Planned Work

On page 521, the paragraph set in small print is correct. There is criticism and there is discussion.

To make the law of value serve as an instrument of planned work is good. However, we cannot make the law of value serve as an important basis of planned work. We organized the Great Leap Forward not in accordance with the requirements of the law of value, but in the light of socialist basic economic laws and our requirements for expanding production. If one looks at it from the viewpoint of the law of value alone, the conclusion that he will inevitably draw is that we lost more than we gained in the Great Leap Forward. He will inevitably describe last year's all-out campaign for smelting steel and iron as ineffectual labor, low-quality steel produced by indigenous methods, big country and many subsidies, indifferent economic results, etc. From the partial, short-term viewpoint, the all-out campaign for smelting steel and iron seems like it has cost us dear. However, viewing the situation as a whole in the long term, it is worthwhile because the all-out campaign for smelting steel and iron has opened up a new phase in the overall economic construction of our country. The establishment of a large number of new steel and iron bases and other industrial points throughout the country will make it possible for us to go a long way to speed up our tempo.

In the winter of 1959, more than 75 million people all over the country took part in the water conservancy campaign. If we use the method of organizing two large-scale campaigns such as this one, we will obtain a solution in the main to our water conservancy problem. From the viewpoint of a year, two years or three years, of course, the value of output of grain units was very high since we expended so much labor in the campaign. But from the long-term viewpoint, grains can be increased even more and at a more rapid pace, and agricultural production can be more stabilized. Thus, the value of output of each unit will be even cheaper. This can all the more satisfy the people's requirements for more staple foods.

Further developing agriculture and light industry and building up some accumulation for heavy industry are in the long run to the advantage of the people. So long as the peasants and the people of the country understand what "the money earned or lost" by the state is used for, they will approve, and not object. The peasants themselves have already put forward the slogan of supporting industry. This is proof of it. Both Lenin and Stalin said: "In the period of socialist construction, peasants should send tributes to the state." The overwhelming majority of the peasants in our country are enthusiastically "sending tributes." Only 15 percent of the well-to-do middle peasants are not happy. They oppose such things as the Great Leap Forward and the People's Communes.

At any rate, with us plans are primary and price is secondary. Of course, the question of price is something we should head. Several years ago we raised the buying price of live pigs and this played a positive part in developing pig breeding. But raising pigs as universally and on a scale as large as it is today will still principally rely on plans.

On page 521, reference is made to the question of prices in the markets of collective farms. The markets of their collective farms have too much freedom. It is not enough to use only the economic strength of the state to regulate the prices in this kind of market. What is still needed are leadership and

control. Definite limits were prescribed by the state for prices in the early stage cooperatives of our country. We did not allow small freedoms to become big freedoms.

On page 522, it says that owing to the control over the law of value, the function of the law in the socialist economy does not bring on those phenomena which under capitalism have yielded anarchy and given rise to waste of social labor power. This kind of interpretation has exaggerated the function of the law of value. If crises do not arise in a socialist society, primarily it is not that we control the law of value. It is by virtue of socialist ownership, socialist basic economic laws, production and distribution being carried on throughout the country in a planned way, free competition and anarchy being non-existent, and so forth. The economic crises of capitalism, of course, are decided by its ownership.

XLVI. Concerning Forms of Wages

On page 530, in discussing forms of wages, it maintains that the piece-work wage system should be primary and the time-rate wage system should be supplementary. We hold that the time-rate wage system should be primary and the piece-work wage system should be supplementary. To emphasize one-sidedly the piece-work wage system will provoke contradictions between new and old workers and between strong and weak laborers. It will promote the psychology of a section of workers "to struggle for the purpose of scrambling for big pieces of work." They will not be concerned first for the collective enterprises, but rather for personal income. Some of the data explain that the piece-work wage system obstructs the introduction of technical revolution and mechanization.

The book acknowledges that under conditions of automation of production, it is not suitable to enforce the piece-work wage system. On the one hand it says that automation of production should be developed extensively and on the other hand it says that the piece-work wage form should be adopted far and wide. This is contradicting oneself.

We carry out a reward system on a time-rate basis. The year-end leap forward bonus in the past two years is such a reward. Apart from state functionaries and educational workers, all staff and workers universally receive year-end leap forward bonuses. As to who should be given more and who should be given less, this is something to be evaluated by the staff and workers of each unit concerned.

XLVII. Concerning Two Questions on Prices

There are two questions that are worthy of study.

One is the question on the prices of consumer goods. The book says: "Socialism has consistently pursued a policy of lowering the prices of the people's consumer goods." Our method is to stabilize prices, and ordinarily we neither raise nor lower prices. Although the wage levels are comparatively

low in our country, thanks to universal employment, low prices and low rents, the living standard of the staff and workers is not bad at all. Whether it is better to lower the prices continuously or neither raise nor lower the prices is a question worthy of study.

The other question concerns heavy industrial goods and light industrial products. Relatively speaking, the prices of their heavy industrial goods are low and the prices of their light industrial products are high. In our case, the prices of heavy industrial goods are high and those of light industrial products are low. Why is it like this? After all, in what way is it good? This also deserves our study.

Part Three (Chapters 30-34)

XLVIII. On Simultaneous Development of Native and Foreign Methods, and Large, Medium and Small Enterprises

On page 547, it says that in the midst of construction it opposes decentralizing the use of construction funds. If it is speaking about large construction units and at the same time there are so many of them that work cannot be completed on time, this of course should be opposed. If however the objection is against medium and small enterprises, then it is not right. Our new industrial bases were mainly established on the basis of development in 1958 of a large number of medium and small enterprises. According to preliminary arrangements, in the coming eight years the steel and iron industry will complete work on 29 large, nearly 100 medium, and several hundred small-sized steel and iron bases. Medium and small-sized enterprises have already played a big part in the development of the steel and iron industry. Take, for instance, the year 1959. Of the more than 20 million tons of pig iron produced in the whole year, one-half was turned out by medium and small mills. Henceforth, medium and small mills will still play a big part in the development of steel and iron production. Many of the small mills will become medium mills and many of the medium mills will become large mills. Backward mills will become advanced mills and mills using native methods will become mills using foreign methods. This is the objective law of development.

We will adopt advanced technology. But we cannot, because of this, negate the inevitability of backward technology in a certain period of time. Since the beginning of history, in revolutionary wars, it has always been people armed with inferior weapons who defeated those armed with superior weapons. During the civil wars, the anti-Japanese war, and the War of Liberation, we did not exercise power over the whole country and we did not have modernized arsenals. If we must have the newest weapons before we fight, then this is tantamount to disarming ourselves.

If we are to achieve overall mechanization as described in the book (page 420), it appears it still won't do in the second decade. Perhaps it will do in the middle of the third decade. In the coming period, due to a shortage of machinery, we will still be advocating semi-mechanization and

reform of tools. At present, we are still not advocating universal automation. We should discuss mechanization, but we should not do it excessively. Excessive discussion of mechanization and automation will make people have contempt for semi-mechanization and production by native methods. There have been such tendencies in the past. Everybody one-sidedly went in for new technology and new machinery, massive scales and high standards. They looked down upon native methods and medium and small-sized enterprises. After we put forth the simultaneous development of native and foreign methods and the simultaneous development of large, medium and small-sized enterprises, these tendencies were overcome.

In agriculture we at present do not advocate wide use of chemicals. Firstly, because for years we still will not be able to produce a lot of chemical fertilizers. We already have some chemical fertilizers, but we can only concentrate on using them on industrial crops. Secondly, because if we advocate wide use of chemicals, everybody will set their eyes on this and will not pay attention to raising pigs. We must also have inorganic fertilizer, but if we depend only on it and do not combine it with organic fertilizer, it will harden the soil.

The textbook says that new technology will be introduced in all departments. However, this is not easy to do. Invariably, there will be a stage in which development will be gradual. Besides, simultaneously with the introduction of certain types of new machinery, there will be a large number of old machines. The textbook mentions that on the one hand they will build new enterprises and on the other hand they will carry out renovation of equipment in existing plants. And at the same time, they will make maximum use and rational utilization of available machines and machinery (page 427). Such an interpretation is correct. It will be so in the future and for all time.

As to large scale and foreign ways, we also must do it by relying on our own efforts. In 1958, we proposed the slogans of exposing outworn myths and doing everything by ourselves. Facts prove that we still can do it by ourselves. In the past, backward capitalist countries, relying on the application of new technology, caught up in production with advanced capitalist countries. The Soviet Union also relied on the application of advanced technology in catching up with capitalist countries. To be sure, we also will, and can, do the same.

XLIX. Tractors First or Cooperativization First?

On page 563, it reads: "On the eve of overall collectivization in 1928, wooden plows and horse-drawn plows were still used in 99 percent of the tillage work in spring crop areas." This fact explodes the viewpoint expressed in many places in the textbook that "there must be tractors before cooperativization can take place." The statement on the same page to the effect that "socialist relations of production have opened up wide vistas for the development of agricultural productive forces and for the advancement of agricultural technology" is correct.

We must first alter the relations of production before we can possibly develop social productive forces on a grand scale. This is a universal law. Some East European countries were very slow in organizing agricultural cooperation and by now still have not accomplished their task. Chiefly, it is not because they have no tractors (relatively speaking, they have far more tractors than we). Chiefly, it is because of previous favors bestowed by the enforcement of land reform from top to bottom. They expropriated land according to quotas (some of the countries confiscated only land in excess of 100 hectares) and carried out expropriation by administrative decrees. After land reform they did not strike while the iron was hot. In the interval they paused for five or six solid years. We did exactly the reverse of what they did. We carried out the mass line, mobilized the poor peasants, unfolded a class struggle among the lower-middle peasants, seized all the land of the landlord class, distributed the surplus land of the rich peasants, and divided the land equally on a per capita basis. (This was a tremendous revolution in the rural areas). Following land reform, we immediately developed a widespread mutual aid and cooperation movement. From this point we steadily pressed ahead step by step in guiding the peasants onto the road of socialism. We had a great Party and a formidable army. When our army advanced southward, every province was staffed with a whole set of companies of cadres to perform local work in areas ranging from province and region to county and district. As soon as they reached a destination they would plunge into the rural areas to visit the poor peasants and ask after their grievances, strike root in the countryside and exchange experiences, and organize activists among the poor and lower-middle peasants.

L. On Large in Size and a High Degree of Public Ownership

The collective farm of the Soviet Union has twice undergone merger. The original 250,000 plus farms were merged first into over 93,000 farms, and then into about 70,000. In the future, this number will necessarily be expanded. It says in the textbook that it is imperative to "strengthen and develop the production relationship of the various collective farms and organize public production enterprises between collective farms" (page 568). As a matter of fact, there are some places which are analogous to our approach. But they do not use our version, that is all. As to the future of the collective farm, even if their method is the same as ours, it looks like they will not use the designation of commune. The difference in version and in designation embraces a question of substance. It is a question of whether to carry out the mass line or not.

Of course, it is possible that the collective farms of the Soviet Union, after enlargement in size, will not be as big as ours in number of households and in number of people. This is because their rural population is sparse and their land area is large. However, because of this, can anyone say that the present collective farms do not require further expansion? Our Sinkiang and Tsinghai, though they have few people and much land, need to enlarge with communes now as before. Some counties in several of our southern provinces, like certain counties in the northern part of Fukien, have organized larged communes under the conditions of having a small population scattered over a large area of land.

Enlarging a commune is a major problem. When quantity changes, it definitely will give rise to, or give impetus to, a change in quality. Our people's commune is "larger in size and has a higher degree of public ownership." First, it is big. Immediately afterward, it will certainly raise the level of being "public." This is to say that a quantitative change is bound to bring about a partial qualitative change.

LI. What Is the Origin of Putting Special Emphasis on Material Interests?

In the chapter on the collective farm system, personal material interests are discussed again and again, like on pages 565 [567], 571, and so forth. There must be a reason for putting special emphasis on material interests nowadays. In the Stalin period, they placed far too much emphasis on collective interests and paid little or no attention to personal income, placed far too much emphasis on public interests and paid little or no attention to private interests. Today, they have gone to opposites. They overemphasize material (personal?) interests and pay little attention to collective interests. If they keep on emphasizing in this way, they are certain to go to opposites.

Public interests are in apposition to private interests. Private interests are in apposition to public interests. Public and private interests are the unity of opposites. There can be no public interests without private interests. Likewise, there can be no private interests without public interests. We have at all times talked about giving due consideration to both public and private interests. We have already said that there is no such thing as being just and selfless. We have also said public interests come first and private interests come later. The individual is an element of the collective. When collective interests are increased, personal interests will subsequently be improved.

Everything has, and always will have, a dual nature. Of course, this dual nature manifests itself in different concrete forms. Hence, each of these forms is different in character. For example, heredity and mutation are the dual nature of the unity of opposites. If there is only the mutation aspect and not the heredity aspect, then the later generation of living things will be entirely different from the earlier generation. Rice grain will no longer be rice grain, dog will no longer be dog, and human being will no longer be human being. The conservation aspect can play a good, active role in causing ever-changing living things to crystallize into definite forms or to stabilize themselves. So rice grain after improvement will still be rice grain. However, if there is only the heredity aspect and not the mutation aspect, then there will be no improvement or progress. Things will forever be at a standstill.

LII. Man is the Determining Factor in Doing Things

It says in the book: "Collective farms have the economic and natural conditions for charging rent according to land quality. (page 577). Charging rent according to land quality is not entirely decided by objective conditions.

In fact, it is man who is the determining factor. For instance, in Hopeh Province, there are many mechanized wells along the Peking-Hankow Railway, but very few along the Tientsin-Pukow Railway. The natural conditions are the same and transportation is equally convenient, but each area has its own way of land reform. Possibly it is due to the fact that the land involved may or may not be conducive to reform or to the fact that the areas have diverse histories. However, the most important is still that "man is the determining factor in doing things."

At the same time, in the suburbs of Shanghai, some people are doing well in raising pigs and some are not. In Ch'ung-ming County, Shanghai, it was said originally that all its natural conditions, like the many lakes, were detrimental to pig raising. But after discarding feelings of fearing hardships and adopting a positive attitude toward pig breeding, the people there saw that all these natural conditions not only did not hamper pig raising, but on the contrary were conducive to pig raising. As a matter of fact, man is also the determining factor in such things as deep plowing and careful cultivation, mechanization, and collectivization. Ch'ang-p'ing County in Peking formerly had to endure frequent floods and droughts. After the Ming Tombs Reservoir was built, the conditions were changed. In this case, isn't "man the determining factor in doing things?" Honan Province has planned to spend another three years, after the 1959-1960 period, to harness the Yellow River by completing the construction of several large conduits. This also attests to "man being the determining factor in doing things."

LIII. On Transportation and Commerce

Transportation and packaging do not increase the use value of a thing. But they increase its value. The labor used in transportation and packaging is part of socially essential work. If there is no transportation and packaging, the process of production will not be complete and therefore cannot be switched to the process of consumption. Although the use value is produced, it cannot be said that it has been realized. Take coal for example. After it is produced in a coal mine, if it is left lying there and not transported by rail, ship or truck into the hands of consumers, the use value of the coal cannot be realized completely.

On page 585, it is said that there are two systems in their commerce. They are state-operated commerce and cooperative commerce. In addition, there are the so-called "unorganized markets," or collective farm markets. We have one system. We have merged cooperative commerce into state-operated commerce. It looks like our single system is easy to manage. Besides, it is much more economical in all aspects.

Public supervision of commerce is touched upon on page 587. Our supervision of commerce depends predominantly upon Party leadership, putting politics in command, and supervision by the masses. The labor of commercial workers is socially essential work. Without it, production cannot be transformed into consumption (including the consumption of production and the consumption of livelihood).

LIV. On Simultaneous Development of Industry and Agriculture

In discussing on page 623 the principle of giving priority to the development of means of production, the unrevised third edition especially presents this point of view: "Giving priority to the development of means of production signifies that the rate of development of industry will be faster than that of agriculture."

The proposal to develop industry faster than agriculture should be put forward properly. We cannot emphasize industry to the extent of placing it in an inappropriate position, lest troubles will arise. Take our Liaoning Province as an example. This province boasts many industries. City dwellers constitute one-third of the population of the whole province. In the past they invariably placed industry in the first place and did not at the same time pay attention to develop agriculture energetically. As a result, the agriculture of the province cannot guarantee the cities grain, meat and vegetable supplies. These must be shipped in from other provinces. The overriding problem is that the agricultural labor force is critical and the necessary agricultural machinery is lacking. These put restrictions on the development of agricultural production in the province and cause it to proceed at a slow pace. We did not understand this in the past. Precisely, in such a territory as Northeast China, and particularly in such a province as Liaoning, we should grasp agriculture well. We cannot only stress grasping industry.

The way we put forward the proposal is to promote industry and agriculture simultaneously under the conditions of giving priority to the development of heavy industry. By simultaneous development, we do not deny giving priority to the development of heavy industry nor do we deny developing industry faster than agriculture. At the same time, simultaneous development does not mean the equal application of our efforts. For example, this year we estimate we can produce about 14 million tons of steel. We will use 10 percent of this steel to carry out technical transformation in agriculture and water conservancy construction. The remaining 90 percent in the main will still be used for construction in heavy industry and in communications and transportation. Under the conditions of this year, this is simultaneous development of our industry and agriculture. This way of doing it, of course, does not prevent our giving priority to the development of heavy industry and speeding up the development of industry.

Poland has a population of 30 million and only 450,000 pigs. The supply of meat is extremely critical today. It looks as if Poland still has not placed agricultural development on its daily agenda.

On page 624 it states that at separate times the development of a lagging agriculture, light industry and food industry must be stepped up. This is good. However, the maladjustment in proportion created by a lagging agriculture and light industry cannot be termed as only a "partial maladjustment in proportion." Such a maladjustment is not a local question.

It says on page 625: "It is necessary to distribute investments rationally so as to maintain a correct proportional relationship between heavy industry and light industry at all times." In this paragraph it deals only with heavy industry and light industry, but not with industry and agriculture.

LV. On the Question of Level of Accumulation

In Poland, this has now become a very big question. Initially, Wladyslaw Gomulka, stressing material incentive, increased the wages of workers and neglected to raise their level of consciousness. The result was that workers wanted only more money and refused to do a good job. The raise in wages exceeded the increase in labor productivity, thus giving rise to a situation in which their capital was being eaten up by wages. Now, they have been compelled to come out rejecting material incentives and advocating spiritual encouragement. Gomulka also said: "Money cannot buy the heart of man."

It seems unavoidable that laying special stress on material incentives will head toward the opposite of incentive itself. The high salaried strata will of course, be satisfied with the many checks being drawn, but when the broad masses of workers and peasants want to cash theirs and find that they cannot be cashed, then they will be forced to head toward the opposite of material incentives.

According to what is said on page 631, the accumulated capital of the Soviet Union constituted approximately one-fourth of the national income. The ratio of our country's accumulated capital to national income was 27 percent in 1957, 36 percent in 1958, and 42 percent in 1959. It appears likely that the ratio of our accumulated capital to national income henceforth can be maintained constantly at over 36 percent or even higher. The most important question is the rapid development of production. As long as production is increased and the ratio of accumulated capital rises a little higher, we can still improve the livelihood of the people.

To practice economy and to accumulate a great deal of material and financial resources is a regular task. If one thinks this should be done only under very difficult circumstances, then he is wrong. Can it be that when there are few difficulties, one need not practice economy or accumulate?

Part Four (Chapters 35 to Conclusion)

LVI. On the Question of the State Under Communism

On page 639 [695] it reads: "In a higher phase of communism.... the state will become an unnecessary thing and gradually wither away." However, one more international condition is required before the state can die out. It is dangerous for others to have a state apparatus while you don't. On page 640 it states that even after the establishment of communism, so long as imperialist countries still exist, the state is still required. This presentation is correct. Immediately afterward it adds: "However, the nature and form of the state will hinge on the salient features of the communist system." This sentence is not easy to understand. The nature of the state is to oppress

the apparatus of hostile forces. Even if at home there are no more hostile forces which need to be oppressed, the nature of the state to oppress hostile forces abroad still has not changed. The so-called form of the state is nothing more than its army, its prisons, arresting people, putting people to death, etc. As long as imperialist countries continue to exist, what differences will there be in this form of the state when communism is attained?

LVII. On the Transition to Communism

On page 641 it says that "in a socialist society there are no hostile classes," but "there still are remnants of hostile classes," and that it is not necessary to realize the transition from socialist to communism through a social revolution. We can only say that it is not necessary to stage a social revolution for one class to overthrow another. But there still is a social revolution for a new production relationship to supersede the old production relationship and for a new social system to replace the old social system.

The book continues by stating: "This is not to say that in advancing along the road to communism society does not need to overcome inner contradictions." This is merely an appended statement. In some places the book acknowledges contradictions, but it mentions them only in passing. One of the defects of this book is that it does not seek to explain problems by starting from an analysis of contradictions. One should start from an analysis of contradictions if he takes it as a science.

When a communist society is attained, due to a high level of automation of production and an even more precise demand on the labor and movement of the people, labor discipline will be even stricter than today.

Nowadays, we say that a communist society is divided into two stages — elementary stage and higher stage. This was what Karl Marx and his contemporaries foresaw in the light of conditions of social development then obtaining. After the higher stage is reached, a new stage in the development of communist society is bound to emerge. To be sure, new goals and new tasks will be put forward.

LVIII. Prospects for the Development of Collective Ownership

On page 650 it says: "The form of the production relationship of co-operatives of the collective farms is entirely in keeping with the level and requirements of development of the productive forces in the rural areas at present." After all, is it like this or not?

An article published in the Soviet Union has this to say in introducing conditions on the Red December Collective Farm: "On several farms before they were merged, many businesses were difficult to manage. After the merger, these things became easy to handle." It adds that there are altogether 10,000 people in the collective farm and they are planning to build in the center a housing project for 3,000 people. This bit of information points to the fact that the present form of the collective farm already does not fit in with the development of productive forces.

The same paragraph goes on to say: "It is imperative to make every effort to strengthen and continue to develop the ownership system of the cooperatives and collective farms." Since development and transition are called for, why should every effort be made to strengthen it? We should talk about consolidating socialist production relationship and the social system, but we cannot go too far in doing so. After discussing the vague future of collective ownership, the book becomes indistinct the moment it dwells on measures. Looking at their problems from certain aspects (mainly the production aspect), we feel that they have not ceased to progress, but in the production relationship aspect it can be said they have in the main come to a standstill.

It says in the book that it is necessary to shift from collective ownership to a sole ownership by all the people. However, it seems to us that first of all they must convert collective ownership into socialist ownership by all the people. By this we mean to convert all agricultural means of production into state-owned, turn all peasants into workers and let the state take over and pay them wages. At present, the average annual income of each of the peasants throughout the country is 85 yuan.² By the time this income reaches 150 yuan for each peasant and the majority of them are paid by the communes, we can by and large carry out ownership by the commune. This way, we can go a step further and change it into state ownership. Then everything should be easy.

LIX. On Eliminating Differences Between Urban and Rural Areas

The assumptions on rural construction as stated in the last paragraph on page 651 are very good.

Since it is necessary to do away with the differences ("basic differences," according to the book) between the urban and rural areas, why does it specifically state that this is not to "reduce the role of big cities." The cities of the future cannot be so big. We should disperse the residents of the big cities in the countryside and build many small cities. Under the conditions of an atomic war, this may be more advantageous.

LX. On the Question of Various Socialist Countries Setting Up An Economic System

On page 659 it reads: "Every nation can concentrate its manpower and financial resources on the development of its most favorable natural and economic conditions, and departments with experience in production and cadres. Moreover, it is possible that there is no need for individual nations to turn out products which they can depend upon other nations to supply to meet their needs."

2. Note: This figure is 65 yuan in the 1967 volume of this work.

This is not a good proposition. We will not even go so far as to propose it to our provinces. We advocate overall development. We will not say that there is no need for each province to produce goods which it can depend on other provinces to supply to meet its needs. We want all provinces to do as much as possible in developing all kinds of production, so long as they do not militate against the overall situation. One good thing about Europe is that all its countries are independent. Each of them does its own thing and makes it possible for the economy of Europe to develop at a fast pace. Since the Ch'in Dynasty, our country has taken shape as a big nation. Over a long period of time, the whole country has more or less kept a unified appearance. One of its defects was bureaucratism. It kept the country under very tight control. Each locality could not develop independently. Procrastination was rampant and economic development was at a slow pace. Today, conditions are completely different. We want to attain unification for the whole country and independence for the different provinces. It will be relative unification and relative independence.

All provinces abide by the resolutions of the central authorities, accept the control of the central authorities, and solve their own problems independently. On the other hand, with regard to resolutions on important issues, the central authorities consult with the different provinces and act jointly with them. An example is the resolution of the Lu-shan conference. It is in conformity not only with the requirements of the whole country, but also with those of the different provinces. Can it be argued that only the central authorities need to oppose right opportunism, but not the provinces? We are advocating that under a plan of unification for the whole country, each province does its own thing as much as possible. As long as the raw materials are there and the market conditions are there, as long as they can obtain raw materials locally and sell their products locally, they can do as much as possible what they are able to do. Previously, we were afraid that after the various provinces developed all kinds of industry, industrial products would find no buyers, like in such cities as Shanghai. Now, it does not appear to be the case. Shanghai has already come out with a general policy of developing top-quality, large, and precision products. The people of Shanghai will still have a lot to do.

Why does the textbook not advocate that every nation do as much as possible, instead of advocating that it is possible there is no need for each nation to produce goods which it can rely upon other countries to supply to meet its needs? The correct method is that every country should develop its industry to the fullest extent so as to strive for regeneration through one's own efforts, and do it independently as much as possible so that it will not depend upon others as a matter of principle. It will not handle what it actually cannot do. Particularly in agriculture we should do everything possible in order to develop production well. It is very dangerous to depend upon foreign countries or other provinces for the things that you eat.

Some countries are very small and their conditions are exactly like what the book says, "To develop all industrial departments is economically unwarranted and will prove that they are not equal to the task." In that case, they of course should not force themselves to do it. In our country, it is

very hard for some provinces with a small population, like Tsinghai and Ninghsia, to develop everything themselves.

LXI. Can We "Even Up" the Development of Various Socialist Countries?

On page 660, it reads in the third paragraph: "The general levels of economic and cultural progress in the various socialist countries should be evened up gradually." The populations of the different countries are not the same, their resources are not the same, and their historical conditions are not the same. Moreover, in a revolution there is a distinction between the advanced and the backward. How can they be evened up? A father has a dozen or so children. Some are tall, some short, some big, some small, some smarter, some more stupid. How can you even them up? "Evening up" is the theory of balance of Bukharin. The economic progress of the different socialist countries is out of balance. The various provinces in a country and the various counties in a province are all out of balance. Take public health in Kwangtung Province for example. In Fo-shan City and in Ch'i-lo Commune, public health is well organized. Because of this, Fo-shan and Canton are out of balance. So are Ch'i-lo Commune and Shao-kuan. To reject imbalance is erroneous.

LXII. The Fundamental Question is the Question of Systems

It says on page 668 [557] that loans in the socialist countries are different from those in the imperialist countries. This statement is justified by fact. Socialist countries invariably are better than imperialist countries. We understand this principle. The fundamental question is a question of systems. Systems determine in which direction a country is going. The socialist system determines that the socialist countries will stand opposite the imperialist countries, and that compromises are only temporary.

LXIII. On the Relationship Between Two World Economic Systems

On page 658 it says: "The competition between the two world systems." Stalin in his book, "The Economic Problems of Socialism in the Soviet Union," set forth his views on the two world markets. The textbook, in discussing here the peaceful competition between the two world systems, puts emphasis on the establishment of economic relationship for "peaceful development" between the two world systems. This is changing two de facto world markets into two economic systems inside a unified world market. It is a retrogression from the views of Stalin.

In actual fact, between the two economic systems, not only is there competition, but there is also sharp, widespread struggle. The textbook steers clear of this struggle.

LXIV. Concerning the Criticism of Stalin

Like his other works, Stalin's "The Economic Problems of Socialism in the Soviet Union," as stated on page 680, contains some erroneous assertions.

The two crimes attributable to Stalin on that page are unconvincing for lack of evidence.

One of the crimes accuses Stalin of entertaining this viewpoint: "The circulation of commodities seems to have become an impediment to the development of productive forces. The time is ripe to shift gradually to the inevitability of industry and agriculture directly carrying out production for exchange."

In his book, Stalin said that when there are two kinds of ownership there will be commodity production. He also said that in the undertakings of the collective farms, although the means of production (land and machinery) also belong to the state, products are assets of individual collective farms. This is because the labor of the collective farms, like seeds, is owned by them. Besides, the land which the state has turned over to the collective farms for permanent use, has under the control of the latter, served as their property. Under these conditions, "the collective farms are only willing to let go their products in the form of commodities. They are willing to exchange their products for the commodities that they need. Nowadays, aside from going through the exchange form of buying and selling, the collective farms will not accept any other form of economic relations with the cities."

Stalin had criticized the viewpoint of the Soviet Union at that time in calling for the cancellation of commodity production. He had maintained that commodity production at that time was as indispensable as 30 years ago, when Lenin announced that it was necessary to make every effort to develop the circulation of commodities.

The textbook says that Stalin appeared to advocate the immediate abolition of commodities. It is very difficult to make this charge stand up. As to the question of exchange of products, it was only an assumption on the part of Stalin. Moreover, he had said: "It is not necessary to be in a special hurry to push through this kind of system. It should be decided according to the degree of accumulation of manufactured goods in the cities."

The other crime accuses Stalin of minimizing the law of value in the realm of production, particularly in regard to the role of means of production. "In the realm of socialist production, the law of value does not play the part of regulating. This part is played by laws governing planned and proportionate development and the state's planned economy." The textbook advances the above viewpoint, which was in fact Stalin's viewpoint. Although the book says that means of production are commodities, firstly, it cannot but add that within the framework of ownership by all the people, the buying and selling of means of production do not change ownership. And secondly, it cannot but acknowledge that the part being played by the law of value in the realm of production is different from that it plays in the process of circulation. These viewpoints are virtually consistent with the viewpoints of Stalin. One real difference between Stalin and Khrushchev is that the former objected to selling means of production, such as tractors, to collective farms and the latter sold these things to them.

LXV. A General View of the Textbook

It cannot be said that there is a total lack of Marxism in this book, because many viewpoints in the book are Marxist. However, it also cannot be said that this book is completely Marxist, because many viewpoints in the book have deviated from Marxism. We still cannot form the conclusion to negate this book in the main.

The book stresses that socialist economy is an economy to serve the whole people and not an economy to make a profit for a handful of exploiters. It cannot be said that the basic economic laws of socialism, as referred to in the book, are wholly incorrect. This is what the fundamental viewpoints of this book are about. The book has also offered explanations on planned and proportionate development, high rate of industrialization, and so forth. Judging by these aspects, this book is still regarded as socialist and Marxist. As to how to carry out proportionate development, after planned and proportionate development is acknowledged, that is another question. After all, everybody has his own method.

However, some of the fundamental viewpoints in this book are erroneous. The book does not lay emphasis on putting politics in command and the mass line. Nor does it talk about walking on two legs. It one-sidedly stresses personal material interests, advocates material incentives, and promotes individualism.

The book does not start from contradictions in its study of socialist economy. Actually, it does not recognize the universality of contradictions or the fact that social contradictions are the motivating force of social development. In reality, there is still a class struggle going on in their society. This is the struggle between socialism and remnants of capitalism. But they do not acknowledge that. In their society there are still three kinds of ownership: ownership by all the people, collective ownership, and individual private ownership. Of course, this kind of individual private ownership is different from that prior to collectivization. Then the livelihood of the peasants was entirely based on individual private ownership. Now it is straddling the fence. It relies mainly on the collective and at the same time on the individual. When three kinds of ownership are in existence, there is bound to be a struggle of contradictions. The textbook does not talk about this kind of struggle of contradictions and does not encourage mass movement. The book does not acknowledge it is necessary for socialist collective ownership to shift first to socialist ownership by all the people, so as to turn the entire society into single socialist ownership by all the people, and then to communism.

The book uses such vague versions as "rapprochement" and "harmony" to supersede the viewpoints of changing from one kind of ownership to another, and from one kind of production relationship to another. In terms of these aspects, this book contains serious defects and also serious mistakes, and has partially deviated from Marxism-Leninism.

The writing in this book is very bad. It lacks persuasiveness and makes dull reading. It does not start from making a specific analysis of the contradictions between productive forces and production relationship and the contradictions between the economic basis and the superstructure, nor does it raise questions and make a study of these questions. Invariably, it starts from a concept or a definition, or gives a definition without a logical explanation. In truth, definition should be a result of analysis and not a starting point of analysis. The book raises from the void a series of laws, which are not laws that have been discovered and proven in specific analysis during the historical process. Laws cannot explain themselves. Laws cannot be defined clearly if one does not start from specific analysis in the historical process.

This book was not written in an irresistible, powerful style. The questions do not stand out and the articles lack the power of persuasion. Indeed, it makes dull reading. The articles do not deal in logic, not even in formal logic. It appears this book was written, chapter by chapter, by several authors. There is division of work, but no unity. It has no system to shape it up as a textbook. All this, plus the method used in starting from definitions, makes people feel that this is a dictionary of economics. The writers were rather passive. They contradict themselves in many places. The back portion of the book disputes the front portion. Although collective writing, or division of work and sharing of responsibility, is a method, the best method is to have a person play the leading role and several others assist him. Karl Marx authored several books, using this method, and his works are what you might call complete, compact, systematic and scientific writings.

To make a book lively, it must have a target of criticism. Although this textbook makes some correct pronouncements, it has not developed a criticism of erroneous viewpoints. Therefore, the reading of it becomes a very tedious job.

Many places in the book give people the feeling that it speaks the language of a scholar, and not of a revolutionary. An economist cannot be considered as a true expert if he does not understand economic practice. This book seems to reflect this kind of condition. Those people who did the actual work do not have the capacity to sum it up and are unfamiliar with concepts and laws, while those who did the theoretical work do not have practical experience and are not familiar with economic practice. These two kinds of people have not been integrated. This is to say that theory has not been integrated with practice.

This book shows that the author(s) does not possess dialectics. To write a textbook on economics, one also needs a philosophical mind or the participation of a philosopher in the work. Without the participation of writers with a philosophical mind, it is impossible to turn out a good textbook on economics.

The first edition of this textbook was published in early 1955. But it appears that the principal form of the book had been determined prior to 1955. It seems that Stalin was not very wise in determining its form at that time.

In the Soviet Union today, there are also people who take issue with the writing of this book. G. Kozlov, in his criticism of the book in an article, "On the Scientific Course of Socialist Political Economy," brings up views of a fundamental character. He points out the methodological defects of the book and calls for explanation of the laws through analyzing the process of socialist production. He also makes suggestions regarding structure.

Judging from the criticism of the book by Kozlov and others, it is possible that another textbook will be produced in the Soviet Union in apposition to this textbook. It is good to have opposites.

A preliminary reading of this book will enable one to understand their writing style and viewpoints. But this still cannot be considered as having made a study of the book. In the future, it is best to make a careful study, with questions and viewpoints as the center, gather some information, and read other published articles, books and periodicals with different viewpoints from those in this book. One may be able to understand what different opinions there are on a controversial subject. If a question is to be cleared up, one needs at least to comprehend the opinions of both sides.

We must criticize and reject erroneous views. But we also must defend all correct things. We must be bold and yet cautious.

In any event, it is a great achievement to have written a book on socialist political economics. No matter how many questions it contains, this book has at least provided us with a basis for discussion, and from this it has prompted us to go a step further in studying the whole problem.

LXVI. On Writing a Textbook on Political Economics

The writing of the Soviet textbook started from ownership. In principle, this is permissible. But it could have been written even better. When Karl Marx studied the capitalist economy, he mainly explored ownership of capitalist means of production. He examined as to how the distribution of means of production determined the distribution of products. In a capitalist society, the social nature of production and the private nature of possession are basic contradictions. Marx started from commodities to lay bare the relationship between individuals concealed behind this kind of relationship between commodities. Although commodities still retain their dual nature in a socialist society, the dual nature of socialist commodities is no longer the same as that of capitalist commodities, thanks to the establishment of public ownership of means of production and the labor force being no longer a commodity. The relationship between individuals is no longer concealed by this kind of relationship between commodities. Hence, if one still imitates Karl Marx's method of

starting from commodities, or the dual nature of commodities, in examining socialist economy, it is possible to obscure the problems and make it hard for people to understand them.

The target of research in political economics is production relationship. According to the interpretation of Stalin, production relationship consists of three aspects, namely: ownership, relationship between individuals in the course of labor, and distribution of products. In writing about political economics, we can also start from ownership. We will first write about the conversion of private ownership of means of production into public ownership of means of production, private ownership and capitalist private ownership of bureaucratic capital into socialist ownership by all the people, and private ownership of landlord-held land into private ownership by a peasant working on his own and again into socialist collective ownership. Then we will write about the contradictions between the two kinds of socialist public ownership, and how socialist collective ownership can shift to socialist ownership by all the people. At the same time, we will also write about the reformation of ownership by the whole people itself, such as the system of transferring cadres to lower levels, level-to-level administration, and the right of an enterprise to administer itself, and so forth. In our country, although they are enterprises under the ownership by all the people at the same time, some are directly administered by Central Government departments, some by provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, some by local special districts, and some by counties. Of the enterprises being administered by communes, some are of the nature of semi-ownership by all the people and semi-collective ownership. Whether they are administered by the Central Government or locally, the enterprises are under unified leadership. Besides, they possess a definite right to administer themselves.

Concerning the question of relationship between individuals in the midst of production or labor, aside from saying something about "comradely relations of cooperation and mutual assistance," the book did not touch on any questions of substance at all. It did not conduct any analysis or research on this aspect at all. After the question of ownership is resolved, the most important question is that of management. This is a question of how to manage an enterprise under ownership by all the people or an enterprise under the collective ownership. It also is a question of relationship between individuals under a certain ownership. Many articles can be written about this aspect. There is a limit to changes in ownership within a given period, but within the same given period it is possible for the relationship between individuals in the midst of production or labor to reform without interruption. In regard to the management of enterprises under ownership by all the people, we have adopted such measures as the combining of centralized leadership with mass movements, leadership by the Party, the integration of workers and technicians, participation of cadres in manual labor, participation of workers in management, and continuous change of unreasonable codes and conventions.

Concerning the distribution of products, the textbook must be rewritten. It should change to another style of writing. It should put stress on hard and bitter struggles, expanded reproduction, and the future of communism. It cannot emphasize personal material interests, and lead people onto a road for one's own interests and not for the good of society, a road such as of "one wife, one dacha, one car, one piano, and one television set." "A journey of a thousand li begins with one step forward." But if one just looks at that one step and does not think of the future and the prospects, then what revolutionary interests and zeal does he still have?

LXVII. On the Method of Study from Appearance to Essence

In studying a problem, we must start from appearance that people see and feel in order to explore the essence hidden behind appearance and thereupon expose the essence and contradictions of objective things.

During the civil wars and the anti-Japanese war, we also started from appearance in studying the question of war. The appearances which existed in the largest quantity and which could be seen by anybody were that the enemy was big and we were small, the enemy was strong and we were weak. We started from appearance such as these in studying and solving problems, in studying how to triumph over a big and strong enemy under circumstances of our being small and weak. We pointed out then that although we were small and weak, we had the support of the masses and that although the enemy was big and strong, it had weaknesses to exploit. Now, take the civil war for instance. The enemy numbered several hundred thousand. We numbered but several tens of thousand. Strategically, the enemy was strong and we were weak, the enemy was on the offensive and we on the defensive. However, when they wanted to attack us, they had to split into several routes and each route in turn had to split into several echelons. Frequently, one echelon would advance to a stronghold while the other echelons were still maneuvering. We would then concentrate several tens of thousand men to attack one route of the enemy. Moreover, we would concentrate the greater number of our men to chew up one strongpoint of this one route while deploying a section of our forces to tie down those enemy troops maneuvering for positions. In this way we would gain supremacy at that strongpoint so that the enemy would become small and weak and we would become big and strong. This, plus the fact that he would not be familiar with the conditions of the place he found himself in and that the masses would not support him, made it entirely possible for us to annihilate this portion of the enemy.

The transformation of ideology into a system invariably occurs at the end of the movement of things in general, because ideological understanding is a reflection of the movement of matters. Laws are something which manifests itself repeatedly in the movement of things in general, and not something which emerges accidentally. Things have to appear again and again before they become laws and can be recognized as such by the people. For example, crises of capitalism have in the past occurred once every 10 years. If this happens over and over again, it will be possible for us to recognize the law of economic crises in capitalist society. In land reform, it is necessary to

distribute land according to population. Land cannot be distributed according to physical labor. We obtained a clear understanding of this after it had manifested itself again and again. During the latter stages of the Second Civil War, comrades of the "left" adventurist line called for the distribution of land according to physical labor. In protesting against the equal distribution of land according to population, they argued that to do so would mean that one's class standpoint was not precise and his mass point of view inadequate. Their slogan was: Landlords do not divide their arable land, rich peasants divide their poor land, others receive their share of land according to physical labor. Facts have proved this method wrong: How land should be distributed was made clear to us after things made their appearance over and over again.

Marxism requires the unity of logic and history. Ideas are the reflection of the existence of objectiveness. Logic is derived from history. Although the book is crammed full of materials, if they are not analyzed, there is no logic and you cannot recognize the laws. This is no good. However, it is likewise no good not to have materials. Then people will read about logic only, but not history. Moreover, this kind of logic will be merely subjective logic. This is where the defects of this textbook lie.

There is great need to write a book on the history of the development of capitalism in China. If students of history do not study individual societies or individual periods of history, they cannot compile a good general history. To study an individual society is to seek out the peculiar laws of that individual society. After the peculiar laws of an individual society are made clear, then it will be easy to recognize the universal laws of that society. One must be able to pick out the universal laws from among the many peculiar laws he is studying. If he does not understand the peculiar laws clearly, he will not be able to understand the universal laws either. For example, if one wants to make a study of the general laws of zoology, he must separately examine the peculiar laws of vertebrates and invertebrates.

LXVIII. Philosophy Must Serve Present-Day Politics

Any philosophy must serve present-day politics.

Bourgeois philosophy also serves present-day politics. Moreover, in every country there are at all times theoreticians who develop new theories to serve present-day politics. In Great Britain there emerged such bourgeois materialists as Francis Bacon and Thomas Hobbes; in France in the 18th century there appeared such materialists as the Encyclopaedists; in Germany and Russia the bourgeoisie also had their materialists. They were all bourgeois materialists and in the service of bourgeois politics of that time. Therefore, it was definitely not because she had her own bourgeois materialism that Great Britain did not want France's. And it was definitely not because there was Britain's materialism that France did not want the materialism of Germany and Russia.

Proletarian Marxist philosophy, of course, must all the more closely serve present-day politics. So far as our country is concerned, the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin must be read. This is first of all. But Communist Party members and proletarian thinkers of every country must create new theories, publish new works, and produce their own ideologues to serve present-day politics.

It will not do for any country to rely on old things alone at any time. If we had Marx and Engels alone, and not the writings of Lenin, such as his "Two Strategies," we could not have resolved the new problems which have appeared since 1950. If we had the 1907-published "On Materialism and Empirical Criticism" alone, it would not have sufficed to deal with the new problems which cropped up before and after the October Revolution. To conform with the needs at that time, Lenin wrote "On Imperialism," "The State and the Revolution," etc. After the death of Lenin, it became necessary for Stalin to write "The Basis of Leninism" and "The Question of Leninism" to cope with reactionaries in defense of Leninism. We wrote "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" during the closing stage of the Second Civil War and the early days of the anti-Japanese war. These were writings we had to turn out in order to meet the needs of that time.

Now that we have entered the socialist period, a series of new problems has emerged. If we do not produce new writings and form new theories to conform with new needs, it also will not do.

Addenda

I. On the Problem of Industrialization of Our Country

After the completion of the first First-Year Plan in the Soviet Union, the value of output of its big industries constituted 70 percent of the total value of its industrial and agricultural output. The Soviet Union immediately proclaimed the realization of industrialization. Very soon our country will be able to attain this standard. But even if this happens, we will still not announce the implementation of industrialization, because we have yet over 500 million peasants who are engaged in agricultural production. If we proclaim the realization of industrialization when the value of industrial output reaches 70 percent of the total value of output, not only will we be unable to reflect correctly the actual conditions of our national economy, but also we will possibly engender from this a feeling of slackness.

At the First Plenary Session of the Eighth National Congress, we said that we would lay a solid foundation for socialist industrialization in the Second Five-Year Plan. We also said that we would build a complete industrial system within 15 years or an even longer period. There is a slight contradiction between the two statements. Without a complete industrial system, how could we say that we would lay a solid foundation for socialist industrialization? It now looks as if in three more years we can overtake and surpass

Great Britain in the output of major industrial products and then in another five years we will be able to accomplish the task of building an industrial system.

Within a long period, a country such as ours should be called an industrial-agricultural nation. It will still be this way even if our steel production is in excess of 100 million tons. If we overtake and surpass Great Britain in per capita output, then our steel production should be at least 350 million tons.

This method of looking for a country to emulate is very interesting. We always mention catching up with Great Britain. The first step is to overtake her in the output of principal products. The next step is to catch up with her in per capita output. In the shipbuilding and motor vehicle industries, we are lagging behind her by far. We have to strive for overtaking her in everything. Even a small nation like Japan has 4 million tons of merchant shipping. We will be unable to talk this one out if a big country like ours does not have these many merchant ships to carry her own goods.

In 1949, our country had more than 90,000 machine tools. In 1959, this number was increased to over 490,000. Japan had 600,000 machine tools in 1957. The number of machine tools in a country is an important gauge of the level of industrial development in that country.

The degree of mechanization in our country is still very low. This can be seen from Shanghai. According to the most recent survey data, mechanized labor, semimechanized labor, and manual labor each constitutes one-third in modernized enterprises there.

The Soviet Union still has not surpassed the United States in industrial labor productivity. We are even farther behind. Although we have a large population, our labor productivity is inferior to others by far. From 1960 on, we must labor intensely for 13 years.

II. On Man's Position and Capacity

On page 488 it says that in a socialist society, the position of man is only contingent upon labor and individual capacity. This is not necessarily so. The clever and the bright often arise from people who occupy low position, are despised by others, have suffered indignities, and are young. There is no exception to this in a socialist society. According to the laws of the old society, the oppressed had a low culture, but they were more clever. On the other hand, the oppressors had a high culture, but they were more stupid. There is some danger of this in the high-salaried stratum of socialist society. People in this stratum have more culture and wider knowledge, but compared with people in the low-salaried stratum, they are more stupid. Precisely, the children of our cadres are different from those of non-cadres.

Many creations and discoveries have come from small plants. In large plants the equipment is good and the technology new. For this reason, they frequently put on airs, rest content with the status quo, and do not strive to move forward. Their creativity often is not equal to that of small plants. Recently, a textile mill in Ch'ang-chou created a technical installation capable of raising the efficiency of looms, and this serves to enable cotton spinning, textile weaving, and printing and dyeing to attain a balanced capability. This new technology was developed not in Shanghai or Tien-tsin, but in a small place like Ch'ang-chou.

Knowledge is gained through difficulties. If Ch'u Yuan had stayed on as a government official, his writings would not have existed. However, because he lost his post and was "sent down to perform manual labor," he was able to come close to life in society and produce good literature, such as "Li sao" (The Lament). Because he met with setbacks in many states, Confucius turned to managing knowledge. He rallied a group of "unemployed people" round him in an attempt to sell labor force everywhere. But people would have none of this. Confucius had been downhearted all along. When he was at his wit's end, there was nothing for it but to compile folk songs ("The Book of Songs") and arrange historical materials ("The Spring and Autumn Annals").

In history, many advanced things did not originate from advanced countries, but from relatively backward countries. It was not without reason that Karl Marx did not emerge in a country that was capitalistically more developed at that time -- Great Britain or France -- but in Germany, which had attained merely an intermediate level of development capitalistically.

Also, scientific inventions do not necessarily come from highly educated people. At present, many university professors do not have inventions. On the contrary, many ordinary workers have them. We, of course, are not negating the difference between an engineer and a worker. We are not trying to do away with engineers. But there really is a problem here. In history it is always people with a low level of culture who triumphed over people with a high level of culture. During our civil wars, our commanders at the different levels were culturally inferior to Kuomintang officers, who were graduated from military schools at home or abroad. But we defeated them.

Man has one defect. It is despising people. People with a little achievement will look down on people with no achievement. Nations which are rich or powerful will turn up their noses at nations which are small or weak. Hitherto, the Western nations scorned Russia. China at present still finds itself in a position of being despised. There is reason for people to despise us. It is because we are nobody. Such a big country and we have only this much steel, but so many illiterates. To have people despise us is a good thing for use. It compels us to redouble our efforts. It forces us to get ahead.

III. Concerning the Question of Relying on the Masses

Lenin's saying, "socialism is vigorous and creative; it is the creation of the masses themselves," is good. Our mass line is like this, but does it conform with Leninism? After quoting the above from Lenin, the textbook goes

on to say: "More and more, the broad masses of laboring people are directly and actively taking part in the management of production, in the work of state organs, and in the leadership of all departments in the life of society all over the country" (page 332). This is well said. But to talk about it is one thing and to do it is another thing. And it is not an easy thing to do.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in a 1928 resolution said: "Only when the Party and the broad masses of workers and peasants do their utmost to mobilize themselves can we resolve the task of overtaking and surpassing the capitalist countries technically and economically" (page 377). This is also well spoken. At present, this is what we are doing. At the time of Stalin, they had nothing to rely on other than the masses. That was why they urged the Party and the broad masses of workers and peasants to do their utmost to mobilize themselves. Afterward, when they had a little something, they did not rely on the masses that much any more.

Lenin said: "Truly democratic centralism requires that local creativeness and spirit of initiative of every variety reach the path of our general goal and in every form and shape develop smoothly to the fullest" (page 454). Well said, indeed. The masses can create this path. The soviet of Russia was created by the masses. Our People's Communes were also created by the masses.

IV. On Some Comparisons Between the Processes of Development of the Soviet Union and of Our Country

On page 422, the textbook quotes from Lenin: "If state power is in the hands of the working class, we also can shift to communism through state capitalism." Well said again. Lenin was an energetic worker. After the October Revolution, because he noticed that the proletariat lacked the experience to manage the economy, he attempted to train the proletariat to acquire competence in economic management through the methods of state capitalism. At that time the Russian bourgeoisie miscalculated the strength of the proletariat. They refused to accept the conditions of Lenin and staged slow-down strikes to sabotage the revolution. The workers were compelled to confiscate the property of the bourgeoisie. Thus, state capitalism was not able to develop as planned.

During the civil war period, Russia's difficulties were truly great. Agriculture was destroyed, commercial ties were broken, and communications and the transport trade were dislocated. Raw materials were hard to come by, and though many factories were confiscated, they could not start operation. Because there really was no way out, they could not but enforce the system of collecting surplus grains from the peasants. This in reality was a method of seizing the products of labor from the peasants without compensation. The imposition of such a method would force the peasants to overturn boxes and jars and empty out their contents. It was really an ill-advised method. At the end of the civil war, they substituted a grain tax for the surplus grain collection system.

Our civil war period was far longer than theirs. Throughout the 22 years that it lasted, we followed in the base areas the method of collecting public grain and purchasing surplus grains. We adopted the correct policy in regard to the peasants. During the war we relied heavily on the peasants.

We performed political work in our base areas for 22 years. We accumulated experience in economic management in the base areas, trained cadres in the management of the economy, and established an alliance with the peasants. Hence, after the liberation of the whole country, we swiftly carried out and completed the work of rehabilitating the economy. Immediately following, we put forth the General Line of the transition period to place our main strength on the socialist revolution and at the same time to commence construction under the First Five-Year Plan. In the midst of conducting socialist transformation, we joined hands with the peasants to cope with the capitalists. However, Lenin once said that he would rather deal with the capitalists in the hope of turning capitalism into state capitalism than to cope with the spontaneous trend of the petty bourgeoisie. These different policies were decided by different historical conditions.

In the period of the new economic policy, owing to its need to rely on the rich peasants for grains, the restrictive policy of the Soviet Union toward the rich peasants was somewhat similar to our policy toward the national capitalists during the early stages of liberation. Only when the collective farms and state farms were producing altogether 400 million pood of grains did they lay hold of the rich peasants, raising slogans such as: Liquidate the rich peasants and Implement overall collectivization.* What about us? To all intents and purposes, we did away with the economy of rich peasants during land reform.

* Stalin, in his "Several Questions on the Land Policy of the Soviet Union" of December 1929, said: "In 1927, the rich peasants produced over 600 million pood of grains. Of this, about 130 pood were disposed of through barter in the rural areas. This is a quite serious force which cannot be overlooked. How much were our collective farms and state farms producing at that time? About 80 million pood. Of this, some 30 million pood were (commodity) grains." Therefore, Stalin stated with conviction that "under such circumstances, it will not be possible for us to carry out a resolute onslaught against the rich peasants." He added: "Now we have an ample material basis to strike at the rich peasants." This was because in 1929 the grain output of the collective farms and state farms was not less than 400 million pood, of which 130 million pood were (commodity) grains. (Complete Works of Stalin, Vol. 12, page 142)

In the cooperative movement in the Soviet Union, "at the beginning, agriculture paid a very high price" (page 397). This raised many misgivings on the part of several East European countries regarding the question of putting cooperativization into effect. They dared not organize cooperatives on a large scale and were very slow in getting started. Our cooperative movement did not reduce output, but on the contrary increased production substantially. At the beginning many people did not believe us. Now the number of people who believe us has grown gradually.

V. On the Process of Forming and Consolidating the General Line

In the past two years we conducted a big experiment.

In the early stages of nation-wide liberation, we lacked the experience to administer the economy of the entire country. Therefore, during the First Five-Year Plan, we could only imitate the methods of the Soviet Union, though we always had a feeling of dissatisfaction with them. Toward the end of 1955, when we basically completed the 3-transformations and in the spring of 1956, we held a series of talks with over 30 cadres. As a result of these meetings, we came out with "Ten Great Relationships" and "To achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." At that time, we read in Stalin's 1949 election speech that in Czarist Russia over 4 million tons of steel were produced annually and that in 1940 steel production had climbed to 18 million tons. If we reckon from 1921, production was increased by only 14 million tons in 20 years' time. Then we thought that since our country was also socialist, could we not achieve greater and faster results. Afterward, we put forth the question of two methods and at the same time drafted a 40-article outline for agricultural development. No other measures were undertaken at that time.

After the leap forward of 1956, an anti-venturesome advance [movement] emerged. Pouncing upon a weakness of ours, bourgeois rightists launched a frenzied attack to negate our achievements in socialist construction. In June 1957, in a report before the National People's Congress, Premier Chou administered a rebuff to the bourgeois rightists. In September of the same year, the third plenary session of the Central Committee revived the slogans, such as "achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism," "40-article outline," and "association for the promotion of progress." In November, while in Moscow, we revised an editorial in Jen-min Jih-pao on "achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results." That winter, a mass movement was developed all over the country to carry out water conservancy construction on a large scale.

In 1958, we conducted meetings, one after the other, in Nanning and Ch'eng-tu. We ripped apart problems and criticized the anti-venturesome advance [movement]. We affirmed that henceforth anti-venturesome advance [movements] would be prohibited. We also put forth a General Line in socialist construction. Were it not for the Nanning conference, we could not have

drafted the General Line. In May, XX made a report to the second session of the Eighth National Party Congress. The meeting formally approved the General Line, but the General Line was not consolidated. Next, we worked on concrete measures, principally on the division of authority between the central and local authorities. In Pei-tai-ho we submitted the proposal to double the output of steel by organizing vigorously a mass movement to produce what Western newspapers have since termed as backyard steel and iron. At the same time, we inaugurated the People's Communes. Immediately following was the shelling of Quemoy. In these matters, we incurred the anger of some people and gave offense to others. Some flaws also appeared in our work. Our meals did not cost us any money, but our grain and nonstaple food situation became critical. The communist wind [of excesses] blew. The supply of daily necessities fell short by a certain percentage. As to the 1959 steel output, the Pei-tai-ho conference set it at 30 million tons, the Wu-ch'ang Conference pared it down to 20 million tons, and the Shanghai Conference reduced it further to 16.5 million tons. In 1959, it was again cut, down to 13 million tons. All this was pounced upon by people who disagreed with us. However, they did not present any opinions when the "left" was opposed at the Central Committee sessions. They did not do so at the two meetings at Cheng-chow or at the Wu-ch'ang, Peking and Shanghai Conferences. They waited until the "left" was eliminated and targets were fixed. To oppose the "left" it was necessary to oppose the right. When it became necessary to oppose the right at the Lu-shan conference, opposition to the "left" emerged.

All this illustrates that all was not peaceful under the sky and that the General Line was positively not consolidated. After twice going through twists and turns and after the Lu-shan conference, the General Line is now relatively consolidated. As the saying goes, things will not exceed three. Perhaps we should prepare for a third round of twists and turns. If there is another round, the General Line will be consolidated even more firmly. According to data developed by the Chekiang Provincial Committee, conditions of equalization and requisitioning without payment have recently appeared in some communes. It is still possible that the communist wind [of excesses] will rise again.

During the twists and turns of the 1956 anti-venturesome advance [movement], the Polish and Hungarian incidents occurred internationally and the whole world turned against the Soviet Union. During the twists and turns in 1959, the whole world turned against China.

In 1957 and during the Lu-shan conference, we twice carried out a rectification campaign against rightists. During these campaigns we criticized with relative thoroughness the survivals of bourgeois ideology and remnant influence of the bourgeoisie so as to liberate the masses from their menace. At the same time, we exposed all sorts of outworn myths, including the so-called myth of the "Ma-an-shan Iron and Steel Constitution" [which points out the completely authoritarian steel refining process of a large Soviet steel mill.]

In the past, we did not know how to organize a socialist revolution. We thought that after cooperativization, and after joint public-private management everything would be resolved. The frenzied attack of the bourgeois right-ists caused us to put forth a socialist revolution on the political front and the ideological front. The Lu-shan conference virtually conducted such a revolution. Moreover, it was a very sharp revolution. We had to beat down that right opportunist line at that conference.

VI. On Contradictions Between Various Imperialist Countries and Other Things

We should look upon the mutual struggle between the imperialists as a big thing. Lenin considered it that way and so did Stalin. This was precisely what they had described as the indirect reserves of the revolution. China also benefited from this when she was organizing her revolutionary bases. In the past in our country there were contradictions between various factions of the landlord-comprador class. Behind these contradictions were the contradictions between the different imperialist countries. Because they had these inner contradictions, as long as we were good at taking advantage of such contradictions, then, instead of the entire enemy, only a portion of the enemy would be directly engaging us in battle at a time. Moreover, we frequently could gain time to rest and to regroup.

One of the important reasons the victory of the October Revolution could be consolidated was that the inner contradictions of the imperialist powers were many. At that time 14 nations intervened with a show of force. But the troops dispatched by each of the 14 nations were small in number. Besides, the 14 nations were not acting in concert. They actually were engaged in a battle of wits among themselves. In the Korean war, the U.S. and her allies were not of one mind either. The war was not expanded. Not only could the U.S. not make up her mind, but Britain and France were unwilling to go on fighting.

At present, the international bourgeoisie are feeling very uneasy. Whenever the wind blows and the grass bends, they will become nervous. They are in a high degree of alertness, but everything with them is in an awful mess.

The economic crises of the capitalist society since the Second World War are no longer the same as in the time of Karl Marx. They have undergone a change. Previously, a crisis occurred roughly every seven, eight or 10 years. In the 14 years between the end of the Second World War and 1959, three crises occurred.

The international situation today is far more tense than it was after the First World War. Then there was a period of relative stability for the capitalist nations. With the exception of the Soviet Union, revolutions in the other countries were all defeated. Britain and France were full of spirit. The bourgeoisie of the different countries were not as afraid of the Soviet Union as expected. Aside from the colonies taken away from Germany, the entire colonial system of the imperialists remained intact. After the Second

World War, three defeated imperialist powers collapsed. Britain and France were weakened and were on the wane. Socialist revolutions triumphed in more than 10 countries. The colonial system disintegrated. The capitalist world can no longer enjoy relative stability as after the First World War.

VII. Why China's Industrial Revolution Can be the Most Rapid

In Western bourgeois public opinion circles there now are people who a knowledge that "China is one of the nations whose industrial revolution is the most rapid" (This point is mentioned in a report prepared by the K'ang-lun [Conlon?] Corporation of the United States concerning American foreign policy).

Many countries in the world have carried on an industrial revolution. It appears that China's industrial revolution will be one of the most rapid, compared with all past national industrial revolutions.

Why is it that our country's industrial revolution can be the most rapid? One of the major reasons is that our socialist revolution has been waged with relative thoroughness.

We have conducted a thorough revolution against the bourgeoisie, spared no effort in wiping out all bourgeois influence, abolished superstition, and made every effort to enable the masses to gain complete liberation in all aspects.

VIII. Question of Population³

The population of the rural areas is a big problem, if we are to do away with an excess of population. To solve this problem, we must develop production rapidly. China has a population of 500 million who are engaged in agricultural production. Year in and year out they labor without getting enough to eat. This is a most irrational phenomenon. American farmers constitute only 13 percent of the population. On the average they each consume 2,000 catties of staple foods annually. We don't have as much as they. What would we do if the rural population were reduced? Don't crowd into the cities. Vigorously develop industry in the countryside and turn peasants into workers on the spot. This way there is a very important question of policy. This is that rural living standards must not be lower than in the cities. They can be more or less the same or slightly higher than in the cities. Every commune must have its own economic center and its own institutions of higher learning to bring up its own intellectuals. Only in this way can we truly resolve the question of an excess of population in the rural areas.

3. Note: This section is omitted from the addenda to Soviet "Political Economics" in the 1967 volume of this work.

INSTRUCTION ON THE COMMUNE EDUCATION MOVEMENT

(May 1963)

First of all read the 20 materials in order to inspire discussion by everybody; first of all read these for three days. The various central bureaus and the provincial meetings should also be like this. You should not transmit central committee documents having only a framework. Don't be hasty. In any case prepare to handle it for a year, two years, and if in two years it hasn't been handled to completion then handle it for three years. This kind of big movement needs time, don't be hasty.

This revolutionary movement is the first great struggle since land reform. There has not been this sort of scope, breadth, or pervasiveness for several years. This time it is from within the Party to the outside, from the top to the bottom. The 3-anti and 5-anti campaigns were handled in the cities, the anti-rightist campaign in 1957 was carried out on the ideological line, and the anti-Kao, anti-Jao campaign was waged within the Party. This kind of class struggle involving all, both within the Party and outside the Party, has not been waged for over ten years. This time it is from within the Party to outside the Party, from top to bottom, and from the cadres to the masses. This kind of understanding is beneficial. This is the first great struggle since land reform. First of all we must train the cadres at the county level and above, retrain the cadres at the production brigade level and above, and train the cadres in production teams and the positive elements among the poor and lower-middle peasants.

In areas where there are no ants we must not insist on going to find ants. For example, there was one category of communes and brigades which in the past advanced class struggle and advanced socialist education by initiating a movement to "by all means you must go and find landlords and rich peasants, there must be no exceptions"; this is also bad.

Among the people there are many contradictions of practically every kind, big and small. The Honan materials speak of a party branch which is very good; other material states that after a certain commune party branch underwent

cleansing, there were only two persons who truly had not been reformed. You cannot say that this branch is bad, it was still better than 95 percent. Looking at our cadre today there are those who have not reformed, but we cannot say the number is very large. There are a few who are not at all tainted with extravagance and waste, with the idea of eating more and enjoying more benefits; the majority is imbued with this. The cleansing method of handling is very good! During this four clean-ups and 5-anti campaign everybody sweated a little and took a steam bath. Only when you are relaxed and happy can you lightly make ready for the front and unite against the enemy. Why can you unite against the enemy when you are relaxed and happy? When our bodies are dirty we have no strength, but after we become clean we are able to unite against the enemy. There are some cadres who eat more and take more advantages, and there are some who illicitly cohabit with the daughters of landlords and rich peasants. If you are not clean you are unable to face the enemy. There are some persons who are very energetic in struggling against the enemy but who are not very positive and are hesitant about confronting contradictions among the people.

In resolving contradictions among the people, eating more and taking more advantages may be resolved by merely running out yourself and returning the bribes; having done this you will no longer be considered a corrupt element. In the future, organizations, factories, and enterprises can also handle things in this manner. Announce on the spot that they will not be considered corrupt elements and that their names will not be publicized. In the Northeast Bureau there were several who were corrupted by 100 or 200 yuan. They spoke out themselves. A meeting was convened and they were not regarded as corrupt. In handling cases where the corruption is great, meaning over 10,000 yuan, if the person himself handles the matter and returns the money, the punishment may be mild. There must be both strictness and a policy. There must certainly be the four clean-ups and the five antis; without the antis it won't do. We certainly must handle the matter clearly. Not returning the bribes and the plunder won't do. But we must return in accord with the situation and in accord with reason. When there is a case of eating more and enjoying more benefits, we don't want to refund with excessive humiliation; it would be bad to make it impossible for the cadre to continue to make a living. There are those who have already eaten or used what they took. In such cases educate them to undergo examination by the masses and return a portion and participate in labor. In this way the masses will not be able to demand again that there be a return and there will be a return by stages and by groups so that it will be possible to continue to make a living. It is also possible to adopt the method of self-assessment and public discussion, but this policy is complicated. One perceives himself as good.

In the course of this campaign those requiring criticism and those requiring removal from positions constitute a minority. Those requiring punishment are also a minority. Those cadres needing punishment possibly do not constitute even one percent. We don't want too many. We must instead do more education work and strengthen leadership over the campaign. Sometimes we need to rely on the broad masses of cadres of the communes and brigades of various regions. Those who have gone to the top should not monopolize all undertakings but should mobilize the broad masses of cadres and should rely on the broad

masses of cadres to handle it. When we use this sort of method -- the method of self-education and the method of mobilizing the broad masses of cadres -- the resulting strength is great.

One resolutely grasps the campaign, and one is afraid of stirring up trouble.

(Comrade X X says: I understand the Chairman's mood -- first of all handle, and second handle well. When we regularly reflect the situation to the Chairman and receive instructions from the Chairman, we must not create Trouble.)

In the three great revolutionary struggles it won't do if we don't grasp well; we must grasp well.

Pay attention to summing up experience. Return to the central bureaus and hold ten days of meetings, handle a month of work. In July hold a central bureau meeting to sum up experiences, handle the situation for a whole, and then at the end of July and in August the central committee [sic] will convene a meeting. Besides this, you must still handle other things.

Only with strong leadership is it possible to mobilize a campaign, by stages and by groups, to criticize and handle without being considered backward. This campaign must raise high the self-awareness of various regions. The central bureau, province, municipality, and county persons must go down and campaign together.

The four clean-ups campaign has been waged, but class struggle is still unpolished. We must enhance self-awareness; we must loyally and sincerely help the communes and brigades handle work well, help the cadres bathe in warm water, and help handle well the four clean-ups. Except for those cases where it would be impractical, in cases which are rotten, which are degenerate and cannot be helped, or which are too decayed, we must send a work team to handle it in their stead; otherwise we must honestly and sincerely help them to handle their work.

I am not clear as to how you have been approaching cadres. Now it seems that you must educate cadres by persuasion, and you must especially employ concrete evidence to educate by persuasion. You can speak according to reason and say that something is so or you can take concrete evidence and speak; there is concrete evidence of class struggle. The concrete evidence of Hsi-yang County, Chekiang's participation in labor, and the four good documents are concrete evidence. Examine for a while whether or not we have spoken more according to reason and spoken comparatively less according to evidence.

Have you had an opportunity to go to a region and handle affairs for ten days or so? (We said no.) Have you gone down to see whether or not the cadres are very anxious? Once familiar one is not so anxious. Respect people more, don't find fault; the "three don'ts" are correct. We must link up with the cadres, we must wash our hands and bathe, and we must grasp for a while.

This campaign must manifest killing without leaving any traces.

Mobilizing the masses to handle the four clean-ups is a serious matter. The Hopeh experience shows that some public security organs were perplexed in handling the mobilization of the masses in the four clean-ups. Some people said that the public security department handles class struggle while the control commission handles problems among the people. Of course we must handle, but besides this we still must thoroughly mobilize the masses and rely on the masses.

Once the program is grasped this campaign is easy to manage. Handle it by groups and by stages, handle the second and the third groups and don't think that there is no honor; there is still honor.

(The mass opinion: there are places where we have gone on the spot and the rain has moistened our skin.) After going on the spot then handle some more, just don't harm people, don't act as though it is enemy against enemy, no...

(Everybody's opinion: If the rascals don't come out, it won't do. Does the Chairman agree with our viewpoint? On the 19th there were people murdered at the big building. In Heilungkiang a landlord-rich peasant element killed 38 people and last year 13 counterrevolutionaries were executed and buried. In Shanghai a man was killed, he was hanged in a lavatory. But he had been long absent from home, a "transient gentleman." Speaking correctly, he wanted to redress a grievance; there was basically no question of struggling against him, so he died.)

We must resolutely conduct education by persuasion, undertake experiments on-the-spot by groups and by stages, draw a clear line of demarcation, and unite more than 95 percent of the masses and cadres. When there is a strong leadership, it is only necessary to handle things well and few trouble-makers will emerge.

Don't fight an unprepared war. If materials haven't been prepared and the troops haven't been trained well, don't go and handle it. This war is a nationwide revolutionary movement and we must make war as we did during the War of Liberation, during the Liao-Shen campaign, and during the Chinchou, Huai-Hai, and crossing the Yangtze campaigns. We don't want to fight a great battle of 100 regiments, we don't want to use the method of fighting employed during the southern Anhwei incident.

Secondly, during the War of Liberation several campaigns achieved a nationwide victory. In this war if we fight it well there will be a nationwide revolutionary victory, and there will be an even greater contribution to world revolution.

SPEECH AT THE HANGCHOW CONFERENCE

(May 1963)

(Based on discussions held on 7, 8, and 11 May; the following is a condensed summation of the four great problems.)

(1) The problem of the state of affairs. The condition of production is better and better each year. The state of class struggle is grave and sharp. (Following are examples of the situation of class struggle in the countryside.) Why has such a grave situation appeared in the countryside? There are three reasons: a class reason, a historical reason, and the reason of understanding.

The class reason. The main reason is that the socialist society still is a class society with classes and class struggle existing. Correctly understanding and handling class contradictions and class struggle, correctly handling the contradictions between the enemy and us and the contradictions among the people are the guarantees of leading and uniting the whole party, leading and uniting all the masses, and smoothly advancing socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The historical reason. On one hand there are regions where the task of democratic revolution has still not been completed. There are areas where feudal landlords have not been overturned. This is a problem of renewed revolution. On the other hand there is the reason of the history of work. After land reform we did not handle class struggle again. We handled for a while the 3-antis, the 5-antis, and the anti-rightist struggle of 1957, but we didn't use this sort of method. After 1932 the Soviet Union waged two purges in 1937 and 1938. Following these 16 years passed in which there was no class struggle. Their collectivization relied upon whom? If class struggle is not waged, the dictatorship of the proletariat has no reliable social foundation.

The North China Bureau organs handled the 5-anti campaign well. One can say that it is a "Ch'ing-shui [Clear Water] Yamen," but after purging it purged again and many special cases arose.

The reason of understanding: class struggle objectively exists, but it is not understood. How should class struggle be led?

(2) The problem of understanding. After the Tenth Plenum, [they] ran to 11 provinces, and only Tzu-hou and Yen-ch'un talked fluently and unceasingly about socialist education while the others did not speak. After the February meeting the situation again changed. For five months Honan had not grasped class struggle, but after the February meeting it grasped it very well. There was a change, but it was not an all-encompassing one. There were some regional committee secretaries who after the February meeting did not understand thoroughly, and only after going down to conduct on-the-spot experiments did they understand thoroughly.

I looked at Hunan's second material. Only now do I understand a little, and that is that there is a two-road struggle between planning and production management.

I have asked a good many people where thought comes from. All were unable to respond. It is a common phenomenon of life that the material changes the mental and the mental changes the material. Illiterate peasants even understand this point. For example, you ask a peasant if he knows that Chang San is a landlord who oppresses us. Once you have the concept of "Chang San" and "landlord," one can reason out: a landlord is a person who oppresses people. The peasants' understanding is derived from life, and an illiterate can also understand philosophy. Genghis Khan was an illiterate.

A single word may rejuvenate a country, a single word may bring disaster to a country. This is the mental changing the material. Marx is one word which says there must be proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship; isn't this a case of a single word rejuvenating? Khrushchev is also one word, one which does not want class struggle and does not want revolution. Isn't this a case of a single word bringing disaster?

Philosophy must be discussed in the course of practical work, it must be discussed at meetings. You must tell your comrade by your side that philosophy is not at all difficult. Military studies are also not difficult. Among the marshals and generals of our People's Liberation Army only a few like Lin Piao and Liu Po-ch'eng arose from military academies. Turning the pages of a book on military studies and reading the history of European wars are not relevant to the Chinese situation. It wasn't the Whampoa Academy "foreigners" who defeated the "locals," but rather the "locals" who defeated the "foreigners." Comrade Lin Piao was enrolled at the Whampoa Academy for half a year... when he was sent out to command a company he was basically unable to fight. He had to listen to his squad leaders and fight according to how they said to fight. Military affairs are learned from practice. Therefore we must not look at Marxism as something so mysterious, nor must we regard philosophy as so mysterious. I looked at a portion of Hsueh-feng's diary and this person understood a little philosophy.

If university students study for five years, can they learn philosophy well? I don't believe it. A good many philosophers did not study in universities. Of China's philosophers, including Wang Ch'ung, Fan Chen, Fu Hsuan, Liu Tsung-yuan, Wang Ch'uan-shan, Li Chih, Tai Tung-yuan, and Wei Yuan, none were specialists in philosophy. Hegel also was not a specialist in philosophy and his learning was very profound. Kant was an astronomer, and his theory of heavenly bodies is still valuable today. Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin also were not specialists in philosophy.

Philosophy comes out of the mountains and valleys. A report as good as Ling-ling's did not emerge in Hsiang-t'an nor did it emerge in Ch'ang-te, it emerged in Ling-ling. Philosophy is only able to emerge amidst adversity and struggle. Philosophy arises from an adverse situation. Is philosophy able to arise from a propitious situation? Huang Kai-hsiung of the Three Kingdoms was a man of Ling-ling; Ch'eng I and Ch'eng Hao's teacher Chou Lien-hsi, great legalists of the Sung Dynasty and of the same school as Chu Hsi, were also men of Ling-ling -- from Tao-hsien of the Ling-ling special district. Chang Tsai was from Shensi, of a different school. Huai Su, the great calligrapher of the T'ang Dynasty, was also from there. Liu Tsung-yuan lived a full ten years from age 30 to age 40 in Ling-ling. At that time it was named Yung-chou. His article on landscapes and his article on debates with Han Yu were written there.

Therefore we must smash superstition. However, we must pay attention so that we don't act as we did during the past few years, smashing even that which shouldn't be smashed.

A thing has both an appearance and an essence; we must penetrate the superficial to see the essence. The superficial and the essence are the unity of opposites. The essence cannot be seen, so we must penetrate the superficial and grasp the essence. For example, if cadres do not participate in labor this will certainly give rise to revisionism. To cite another example, when we ordinarily walk along the road we do not see the ants and when we take great strides we see even less. We must squat down, and only then can we see many things. Otherwise it is not only the fresh sprouting things which we cannot see, it is also the majority of ordinary, existing things which we don't see. For example, class struggle and cadres not participating in labor exist in large quantities, but there are people who nonetheless cannot see this. We must employ the scientific method and advance investigation and study. Some people subjectively and boldly hypothesize, subjectively and cautiously seek evidence. In Hopeh various regional party committees went down to investigate and study; only the Pao-ting area party committee was scientific; the others were all subjective. At first the Pao-ting area party committee did not go down to handle the four clean-ups; it went down to handle distribution. The masses did not agree and raised the handling of the four clean-ups. When the Pao-ting area party committee heard the opinion of the masses, it changed its plan and handled the four clean-ups. This then is genuine investigation and study.

In discussing philosophy we shouldn't exceed one hour. Finish discussing it within one-half hour; if we discuss more we become muddled.

At the Moscow Conference I discussed philosophy and the Moscow Declaration incorporated it but within the country no one discussed it.

(3) Main points.

What are the main points of the campaign? There are ten problems. Among these a portion are problems of understanding which require resolution by high-ranking leading cadres and by leading cadres. There are also some problems which can be resolved in ordinary work. In the course of ordinary work there are the following five main points:

(a) Class and class struggle. What methods should be employed to advance class struggle? We certainly must use the class viewpoint to analyze problems. The first to write the four great families was Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in (Dream of the Red Chamber), who wrote the four great families of Chia, Chih, Wang, and Pi. They were slavelords numbering 32 persons. Writing of slaves like Yuan-yang, Ch'ing-sha, Hsiao-hung, and so on is very good; these were the persons who were harmed. Lin Tai-yu did not belong to the four great families.

(b) Socialist education. There are two great methods of socialist education: the first is to take the spirit of the central committee and meet with the cadres and masses, discuss and understand clearly, link up with the concrete actions, concrete work, and concrete actuality of the region, and allow the masses to open the lid.

The second is to urge the older generation to recollect again the history of oppression and exploitation, inspire a class sentiment, urge the younger generation to recognize that the fruits of the revolutionary struggle were not easy to acquire, and made them read the family history of the proletarian class.

(c) Rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants. For 10,000 years there has been the question of whom to rely on. In the future there will still be idealism and materialism, the advanced and the backward, and contradictions between the left, the center, and the right. Who should we rely on today? There must always be a class. Rely on the whole people? To say rely on the whole people actually is to rely on a minority of the people. Some people say the landlords and rich peasants are obedient, the middle peasants are troublesome, and the poor peasants are muddled. How can the landlords and rich peasants not be obedient? After giving presents and giving women, they want you to listen to them.

What is "peace of mind?" When the poor and lower-middle peasants suffered oppression and were unable to lift up their heads how could there be peace of mind? If the poor and lower-middle peasants cannot be at ease, how can the cadres be at ease?

The bourgeoisie say that they will have no successors. How can they say that they will have no successors? The successor of Hegel was Marx, and the successor of the bourgeoisie is the proletariat. The bourgeoisie grasped "three freedoms and one contract" and thought about rolling up land again. We must attack them in this aspect, strike them down at their foundation, don't allow them to have successors like them.

(d) The four clean-ups.

What is corruption? 50 yuan? 100 yuan? 200 yuan? It is necessary only to return the plunder forthrightly and it will not be considered corruption.

Plunder must be returned, and it must be in accord with the situation and with reason. It must be returned so that the hands and feet are clean, but the cadres also must be able to live after it is returned. To handle it in this manner requires the return of how much? Should the method of self-assessment and public discussion be adopted or not?

Those punished must be limited to one percent.

This year we will not prohibit killing, but next year we will discuss it some more. When the crime is extremely great proceed slowly. Handle counter-revolutionaries according to regulations. If the masses demand nothing less than death, and it is reasonable, your leadership can wait a bit!

(e) Cadre participation in collective productive labor. The problems of corruption and enjoying more benefits can be resolved only when there is participation in labor. Hence it is possible to understand the situation of production, not simply float on the surface. If cadres do not participate in labor they inevitably must become divorced from the laboring masses and revisionism must inevitably arise.

The cadres of Hsi-yang have labored very well. Hsi-yang is on a mountain and is very poor, very poor, so there was a revolution.

We must take the basic-level organizations of the party in the countryside and place them in the hands of the advanced workers and the positive elements among the workers. (Some people say that there are labor models who do not participate in labor.)

If labor models do not participate in labor, what kind of models are they? Do away with them. There are some who because of too many meetings are too busy to make inquiries. This problem must be resolved. You can go down to the fields to make inquiries!

County cadres also must participate in labor.

If basic-level cadres do not participate in labor, aren't they indistinguishable from the Kuomintang's pao-chia leaders. There are big officials and little officials among you. Even the authority of a little official is great. In the past an organization leader received a good deal of pay for his work. Now as for our basic-level cadres one is participating in labor and one in the four clean-ups; if you are unwilling to do this return home and become one of the common folk.

Cadres participating in labor who are corrupt, steal, and speculate are few. There has always been corruption, theft, and speculation; for 10,000 years this has been so. Otherwise dialectics would be extinguished and there would be no opposites to unify.

The more corruption is exposed the happier I will be. Have you caught lice or not? When there are many on your body, the more that you catch the happier you are.

(4) Method.

We must adopt a positive attitude.

(a) We must pay attention to training and educating cadres.

(b) Don't be anxious. If we don't finish this year, then next year; if we don't finish next year, then the year after that. Wasn't land reform handled for three or four years? Some people do not believe. Don't admonish them. As soon as you surround them, they become anxious and confusion results. You must slowly persuade. Why should you be anxious? Wasn't our revolutionary victory more than 30 years later than the Soviet Union's?

(c) We must have on-the-spot experience, grasp deeply and grasp penetratingly while striding firmly and securely, we must guard against acting in a perfunctory manner while carrying out work, and we certainly must grasp on-the-spot experience.

(d) We must distinguish between dissimilar situation, we must not handle national minority regions and border regions in the same manner. (Told the story of Ch'en P'ing of the Western Han Dynasty.) (To X X X) Your Szechwan is such a large province, can you handle it all at once?

(e) Simplification. We must simplify and have some cadre go down to be tempered in labor, to be tempered in class struggle. I originally had by my side 20 or 30 people, while now there remain only some ten-odd persons. I said to Chiang Wei-ch'ing that Kiangsu has a population of more than 40 million and the 5,000 workers of the provincial party organs can be reduced to 1,500 or 2,000 persons. This is an old problem which for a long period of time has not been resolved.

(f) We must grasp the key point. "Don't sing of heaven and don't sing of earth, just sing the volume "Hsiang-shan-chi."" The volume "Hsiang-shan-chi" tells the story of the return to King Chuang by a young girl (namely Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva). There are seven characters to a line, and the first two lines are these. Heaven and earth can be parted, don't sing of heaven and earth, only sing the "Hsiang-shan-chi." This is grasping class struggle.

TALK ON HEALTH SERVICES

(24 January 1964)

China's health service emulates that of the Soviet Union, and I cannot completely accept what health doctors say. I have a gentlemen's agreement with my doctor: When I have a fever I will call you, and when I do not have one I will not bother you and you will not bother me. I said that if I did not have to call on him for an entire year, that would be testimony of his great merit. If I had to bother him every month, this would be proof that he had failed in his work. I only follow half of what the doctor says and expect him to follow me in the other half. If we abide by everything the doctor says sickness will multiply and life will be impossible. I have never before heard of so much high blood pressure and liver infections. If a person doesn't exercise but only eats well, dresses well, lives comfortably, and drives wherever he goes, he will be beset with a lot of illnesses. Excessive attention to food, clothing, housing, and means of transportation are the four underlying causes of illness among high-level cadres. Our health service emulates the Soviet Union. It makes specialists out of general practitioners. They must treat all types of illnesses and improve themselves.

MINUTES OF SPRING FESTIVAL TALK

(13 February 1964)

Chairman Mao: Today is the Spring Festival. Let us hold a symposium to talk about international and domestic problems....

Do you think our nation will collapse or not? Imperialism and revisionism have joined hands and are beating at our borders. Do democratic people fear the Atomic Bomb? If an atomic bomb explodes we will have to return once again to Yenan. The entire Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Area has a population of 1.5 million, and Yenan city has 30,000 people. People always have to be cursed before they will give an open answer. The Kuomintang was, at one time, quite clever. They did not vilify publicly, but just issued a document restricting the methods [i.e., activities] of other political parties and restricting the communist party. Did you know that?

Chang Shih-chao [4545 1102 6856]: I did not know.

Chairman Mao: You are not well informed. In January 1941 the Kuomintang initiated the Southern Anhwei Incident in which we lost over 17,000 men. Later, they whipped up several high tides of anti-communism, and these were lessons to the party. Chiang Kai-shek is not a good man; he attacks us at every opportunity. After the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chiang talked of peace and called me to Chungking for negotiations. We were at each other's throat there, too. During the talks the Shang-tang [Shansi] Battle occurred in which Kao Shu-chu's three divisions were wiped out.

X X X: Kao had already joined the party. People can change.

K'ang Sheng: Emperor Hsuan-t'ung [last Ch'ing emperor] has come to pay his New Year respects (at the Political Consultative Conference).

Chairman Mao: We should maintain good solidarity with Emperor Hsuan-t'ung. Kuang-hsu and Hsuan-t'ung are both my superiors. Hsuan-t'ung's salary of 100-odd yuan is too small. He is, after all, an emperor.

Chang Shih-chao: Life is hard for Hsuan-t'ung's uncle, Tsai-t'ao [6528 3447].

Chairman Mao: Tsai-t'ao was a high military official; he studied in France. I knew him, but not very well. Is it not true that you [Chang] have been giving him assistance and that his life has improved to the point where he has practically everything he needs and asks for? We might as well let him go on improving his living conditions.

It is not easy to be a running dog. Nehru was too ineffective. Imperialism and revisionism are all washed up. Revisionism has encountered trouble everywhere. It met with trouble in Romania; it was unheeded in Poland; in Cuba it is half heeded and half ignored. It is half heeded because Cuba does not produce petroleum or weapons. Imperialism is also having a hard time of it. In the case of anti-Americanism in Japan, not only are the Japanese Communist Party and the Japanese people anti-American, but also the big capitalists as well. Not long ago, the North X Iron Works refused to let the U.S. investigate. DeGaulle's anti-Americanism was also at the demand of the bourgeois, and they also initiated the establishment of relations with China. As far as anti-Americanism in China is concerned, there was the case in Peking of Shen Ch'ung [3088 1504, coed raped by U.S. marine] which brought forth a movement against U.S. imperialism throughout the entire country. Khrushchev's revisionism reviled us as being sectarian and pseudo revolutionaries. We deserved it. Not long ago the Central Committee of the Soviet Union's communist party wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party setting forth four points: 1) cease public polemics; 2) send experts over again; 3) hold Sino-Soviet border talks; and 4) increase trade. The borders can be discussed, and border talks will commence on 25 February. A little business can be done but not too much as Soviet products are heavy, clumsy, expensive, and they always hold back in giving us what they have.

K'ang Sheng: The quality is poor.

Chairman Mao: What with their products being clumsy, expensive, inferior, and the way they are always holding back -- it is not as easy as working with the French bourgeoisie. At least they have some business ethics.

In the past there were errors in our work. The first is that we suffered from thoughtless leadership, and the second is that procurements were too high. These have now been corrected. Currently, it has swung in the opposite direction, from thoughtless leadership to no leadership, thereby causing apathy to set in. Therefore it is necessary to emulate the People's Liberation Army and Ta'ch'ing of the Petroleum Ministry. Some investments were made in the Ta-ch'ing oil fields and in three years an oil field with a production capacity of x x tens-of-thousands of tons and an oil refinery with a capacity of x x tens-of-thousands of tons were constructed. Capital investment was small, the time required short, but the gains were high. It would be well worth

your while to take a look at the Wen-hsueh Hai-tu [2429 1331 3189 6346: presumably a literary work in praise of Ta-ch'ing].

Every ministry should learn from the Petroleum Ministry, emulate the PLA and gain some useful experience in being a combat team against the enemy and a work team for themselves. University students must also emulate the PLA. They must play up achievements, establish pace-setters, and do more on commending virtues. At the same time they must also criticize errors, with commendations playing the principal role and criticisms a supporting one. In our affairs there are many good people and good models who should be commended.

Last year there were serious floods in Hopeh province, and the south was hit by a drought. At first the annual harvest looked good, but torrential rains damaged 20 billion catties of grain. Even so, total grain production for last year increased by over 10 billion catties, and it will be even better this year. Let us emulate the PLA, learn from the Petroleum Ministry, and study the models from urban and rural areas, from factories, schools, and organizations, and overcome errors in our work so as to do even better work this year.

Today, we are holding a symposium to discuss international problems. Domestic problems are fundamental. If domestic issues are not handled well it will be difficult to discuss foreign affairs. At present, some nations want to establish diplomatic relations with our country, such as the Congo, Lumumba's Congo has launched a guerrilla war. It does not have any modern weapons, only Kuan Kung's ornately carved saber and Chang Fei's [famous generals] long spear [i.e., primitive, home-made weaponry].

X X X: There are also Huang Chung's [famous general] arrows.

Chairman Mao: It does not matter how we describe the weapons they use, they have no modern armaments. But then, neither did we in the past. In the Nanchang Uprising we lost two divisions, and Chu Teh, Chen I, and Lin Piao took the remnants into the Chinggang mountains. I know nothing about warfare. In 1918 I was at the Peking University library receiving eight silver dollars a month and utterly disregarding the amenities of life. Chang Shih-chun was unwilling to be an official under Yuan Shih-k'ai so they let him serve as president of Peking University. He came to Peking University and ran a newspaper. Huang Yen-p'ei [7806 3508 1014], weren't you a member of the constitutional faction?

Huang Yen-pai: I was a revolutionary, not a constitutionalist. I was a member of the Tung Meng Hui.

Chang Shih-chao: He was a revolutionary.

Chairman Mao: Uncle Ch'en, you are in the research department. Chang Shih-chao was the premier in 1925, during the second revolution. Now all of you are participating in socialist construction in New China with us. We want to do an even better job this year, and this is the Central Committee's desire

as well as yours. Hsu Te-heng [2079 1795 3801], are you from the Ministry of Industries?

X X X: The prospects are excellent for his ministry.

Chairman Mao: Old Huang, members of your family can be found in various parties and factions such as the China Democratic League, the China Association for Promoting Democracy, and the Communist Youth League. The lyric piece, "Congratulating the Groom," written by your son Huang Wan-li [7806 5502 6849] is excellent, I enjoyed it. There is also another member of your family in the Chin-san society who writes poetry well. I also enjoy his works. You have more than ten grandchildren, but I don't know them well. You are another Kuo Tse-yi [6753 1311 0308: National Savior in the T'ang Dynasty].

Chairman Mao: All departments must emulate the PLA and set up political departments to intensify their political work. Play up achievements, set up pace-setting examples, commend more, and at the same time, errors must be criticized, with commendations playing the principal role and criticism a supporting one. There are countless numbers of good men and good deeds in our affairs, and there are many good models that should be commended.

Today I would like to discuss education. Industry has shown improvements now and I think that educational work should also be reformed. As of this moment things are not going very well. I think the line and direction of education are correct, but the method is wrong, and it must be changed. Here today, we have comrades from the Central Committee, from within the party and from without, as well as comrades from the Academy of Sciences. Let us hear from Comrade X X X.

XXX: A pressing problem facing education today is the school system [i.e. term]. It is presently too long. At present, a student starts school at the age of seven, spending six years in primary school, six years in middle school, and generally five, but in some cases six, years in college, a total of 17 or 18 years. He is 24 or 25 by the time he graduates from college, and, following that, there is a year of labor and a year of practical experience. When they finally emerge they are already 26 or 27 years old. In comparison with the Soviet Union, it is two or three years more. In the Soviet Union, it is ten years for primary and middle schools, four or five years for college, and at the age of 23 or 24 they take up their work posts. The knowledge of those who may be a bit older is not so much of a problem, but the time involved for those studying the natural sciences is clearly too long. Especially for those studying atomic energy and for those working in the highly developed sciences, the graduation age is too high. According to the experiences of various nations in the world, those studying the natural sciences are ready to make contributions at an age of 24 or 25. For example, in the U.S. and the Soviet Union, those who have made achievements in the natural sciences such as atomic energy, are generally 24 or 25 years old. At this age, the brain is at its functional best. As for our students in this age bracket, they are still in college and have not yet taken up their work posts. They do not begin working until they are 26 or 27 years old, and this is not beneficial to the development of science. The school term is especially long. This problem should be given further consideration.

Chairman Mao: It can be shortened a little.

X X X: Recently, Comrade XX made a suggestion. He called for five years of primary school, 4 years of middle school, and graduating from middle school at the age of 16. If the primary school is six years, then graduation will be at the age of 17. The problem is that the facilities are not suitable. The colleges admit only 120,000, 130,000 or at most 150,000 students. The rest can go to work at the age of 16. After graduating from middle school they are given two years of vocational education and then at 18 they go to the factories and the rural areas to work. Timewise, this is a lot closer to the ideal. Or [instead of going to the factories or farms] they can take two years of preparatory courses, thus enabling them to make a smoother transition into college, and then, at the age of 24 or 25, they can begin work. In short, the school term must be shortened somewhat. The Central Committee is currently making a special study of the school term. A study group has been formed and Comrade X X is in charge. The adoption of such a suggestion for the completion of national education will enable most students to graduate at the age of 15 or 16. However, there is a problem of military service for which they will be underage, but they can be reservists.

Chairman Mao: This is not a serious problem. Even if they are underage for military service they still can live a military life. This is true not only for boys, but girl students, too, can serve in the military service, forming red detachments of women. Girls of 16 and 17 can spend six months to a year in the military, and 17-year-olds can also serve as soldiers.

X X X: This would not be too much of a problem for liberal arts schools, but it does pose a problem for those schools teaching physics and engineering. If the colleges offer one to two-year preparatory course, students can be admitted into colleges to take such preparatory courses after graduating from middle school, or further their educating in a vocational school and, after two years, go to factories and rural areas to participate in production when they reach the age of 18. This would be closer to the ideal. This would also be better for those in physics and engineering, for they will have to take up their work posts upon graduation at the age of 23 or 24.

Chairman Mao: Today, too much schooling is harmful. There are too many courses at the present time and the work load is too heavy, placing middle school and college students in a state of tension every day. Myopia has increased many fold among primary and middle school students. This definitely has to be corrected.

X X X: The courses are many and difficult. The teachers assign so much homework that the students are unable to cope with it, thus creating a great deal of tension day after day. They just do not have the time for extracurricular activities, nor for reading.

Chairman Mao: The courses can be cut in half. The students should have recreation, such as swimming, ball games, and time for reading in their spare time. Confucius had only six courses in his curriculum for his students: manners, music, archery, chariotry, the classics, and mathematics. In this way he educated the great men of virtues -- Yen Hui, Tseng Tse, ... and Mencius. It will not do for students to be studying all day long without some cultural recreation, sports, swimming, physical activities, and spare-time reading.

X X X: The students are extremely tense. When I am home my children tell me that it is useless for them to knock themselves out trying to get perfect marks in every subject.

Chairman Mao: In recorded history, very few of those who attained the Chuang-yuan degree [highest Chin-shih rating] ever amounted to anything. Li Po and Tu Fu, the famous poets of the T'ang Dynasty, attained neither the Chin-shih degree [third highest degree] nor were they made members of the Han-lin Academy [old Academia Sinica]. Han Yu [7281 1937] and Liu Tsung-yuan [2692 1350 0337] were only second degree Chin-shih. Nor were Wang Shih-fu [3769 1395 3940], Kuan Han-ch'ing [3352 7070 0615], Le Kuan-chung [5012 6306 1022], P'u Sung-ling [3184 2646 0109], and Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in [2580 7185 5367] Chin-shih or members of the Han-lin Academy. P'u Sung-ling made it to the Hsiu-ts'ai [second] degree, but he never made the next higher degree, the Chujen. None of those who attained the Chin-shih degree or were made members of the Han-lin Academy were really very successful. The only emperors who ever achieved anything during the Ming Dynasty were Ming T'ai Tzu and Ming Ch'eng Tzu. One was illiterate and the other semi-literate. Afterwards, during the Chia-ch'ing period [1522-1567] when the intelligentsia came to power, the situation, on the contrary, worsened and internal turmoil broke out. Because of too much culture, Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty and Emperor Li Hou-chu [ruler of one of the Five Dynasties; 10th century A.D.] lost their empires. From these it can be seen that too much education is harmful to a person. Liu Hsiu [founder of the Eastern Han Dynasty] was a big student and Liu Pang [founder of the Western Han Dynasty] was a country bumpkin.

X X X: When there are too many courses and too much homework, the students are unable to think for themselves. The current method of examinations....

Chairman Mao: Current methods used in examinations are methods which should be used in dealing with the enemy and not for handling our own people. Surprise attacks are launched with one-sided questions and exotic themes. I do not approve of methods such as the eight-legged exercise in testing. They must be thoroughly reformed. I am for open examinations, announcing the questions to the students beforehand and letting them read and research on their own and answer from the books. For example, if 20 questions are given in a test on "Dream of the Red Chamber," and if some students only answer half of these questions, but their answers to some of the questions are outstanding and creative, they should be given perfect scores. If the other students

answer all of 20 questions in the form of verbatim quotes from the book which they had memorized or based on the lectures of their teachers, and if their answers show no creativity, they should be given scores of only 50 or 60. Students should be allowed to substitute another's work for their own. Such substitution is nothing less than copying from others but if I don't know and you have answered the question I can copy yours and gain some insight and understanding as a result. This approach should at least be given a try. Desist from being too rigid, and be more flexible. Some teachers' lectures are long and rambling. In such cases allow the students to catnap. If your lecture is delivered poorly and you still force others to listen, and if you bore them to the point that they doze off, it would be just as well to let them sleep. If they are allowed to take it easy, and not be forced to listen, they can at least rest their minds a bit and rekindle their spirits.

X X X: Time could be made available for labor or for military service when the school term is shortened. Also, consideration could be given to allowing outstanding students to skip grades. They should not be forced to remain in the same grade. My child has a classmate in the same grade as himself. He had been an outstanding student, and after skipping a grade, he continued to be an outstanding student. From this it is obvious that it is feasible to skip grades. I would like to ask Comrade X X to form a special small group to study the matter of (shortening) the school term.

Chairman Mao: Let both X X and X X X join this small group. We have been too rigid. There are too many courses and the examinations are too stiltifying. I do not approve of this. The current method of education destroys talents and youth. I do not approve of reading so many books. The methods used in the examinations are those we would use in dealing with the enemy and they are very harmful. It must be stopped.

X X X: The head of the provincial department of education is just now attending a meeting in which they are looking into two problems: the first is that the workload of the students is too heavy, and every subject requires homework. The second is the three methods in pedagogy: the Confucian method, the method of the Soviet Union, and the Dewey method.

Chairman Mao: Confucius certainly did not do things this way. We have lost the main trend of Confucius. He had only six courses: manners, music, archery, chariotry, history, and mathematics. (Chairman Mao asked X X X whether the Shu [2579] mentioned here refers to calligraphy or history).

X X X: I think it is calligraphy.

Chairman Mao: It is history, I believe, such as the SHU-CHUNG [Book of History] and the HAN-SHU [History of the Western Han Dynasty].

X X X: Admittance to a higher level school is the only objective of primary and secondary school students today. After graduation they are unwilling to participate in labor. This has become a grave problem and needs attending to. We must implement an integration of education and production labor

and, besides, we must also walk on two legs. Last year there were floods in Hopei Province. The department of education was in a very tense state as many buildings had collapsed. Racking their brains they came up with the idea of running simplified schools. As a result, there was an increase in the number of students attending primary and middle schools.

Chairman Mao: The flood waters washed away dogmatism. Both foreign and indigenous dogmatisms must be done away with.

X X X: In other areas they are standardizing teaching by using a single teaching method and refusing to adopt the multi-form method. This has caused a decrease in number of students, a decrease in the number of poor and lower-middle peasant students. There are many poor and lower-middle peasants who are unable to attend school. Hopeh province has had a very useful experience. Investigations were made into over a dozen general and agricultural middle schools in Hsin-hui [2450 2585] County in Kwangtung Province. The country spends 120 yuan a year to support a student attending a general middle school, but only 6.8 yuan for an agricultural middle school student. Graduates from agricultural middle schools have no problems when they go to work, but, if a graduate from a general middle school does not pass the college entrance examination, he has a lot of trouble finding work. Therefore, both primary and middle schools must walk on two legs and, at the same time, they must give proper attention to improving quality. Previously, the Soviet method was used exclusively, but in 1958, under the impact [of the Great Leap Forward], the students had to perform a bit more labor, to the detriment of their studies. Once [this temporary imbalance] was corrected, it was all right. It was the same with literature and the arts. Present standards are higher. If it were not for 1958, there would not be the [high] standards we have today.

Chairman Mao: Actors, poets, writers, and dramatists must be driven out of the cities and down to the rural areas. All of them must go down to the factories and the rural areas in separate groups and at different periods. Don't let writers reside in organizations. If they do not go down to the rural areas they won't have anything to write about. Don't feed anybody who refuses to go down. Give them food only when they go down to the rural areas.

X X X: Something over 2 percent of the teachers of primary and middle schools are bad elements. The primary and middle schools still harbor notorious bad elements.

Chairman Mao: We don't have to worry about that. They can be made to change professions.

X X X: The worst students are presently attending the normal schools, while the good students attend physics and engineering colleges. Henceforth, we must consider having no direct enrollment of high school graduates in the liberal arts colleges and normal schools. They can enroll high school graduates who have completed one to two years of labor. Students of the natural sciences should also go down to the rural areas. The experience of x x school in Harbin shows that after one to two years of staying down in the rural areas, those teachers who were originally bad became quite good after coming back from their labor stint. They became the hardcore cadres.

Chairman Mao: They should go down. Today, there are those who do not pay attention to going down to the rural areas and participating in labor. Li Shih-chen [2621 2514 3791 : famous herbalist] of the Ming Dynasty was always running around and going up into the mountains to gather medicinal herbs. Tzu Ch'ung-chih [4371 0394 0037; mathematician and inventor] never attended middle school or college, either. Confucius had a poor peasant background and was once a sheep herder, and he never attended a middle school or college. He was a piper and drummer. He had all sorts of experience. When somebody died he would play the drum or blow the horn (at his funeral). He might have been an accountant. He could play the lute, drive a chariot, ride horseback and shoot arrows. The "Yu" [one of his six courses] means driving a chariot, that is, being an automobile driver. His teaching produced the 72 worthy men, such as Yen Hui, and Tseng Tse, and he had 3000 disciples. He was raised among the masses and he understood their sufferings. Eventually, he became a not very high-ranking official in the state of Lu. The population of the state of Lu was about one million. For a long time people held him in contempt. While he was travelling through the various states the people castigated him, saying that he was fond of speaking honestly. They reviled him as being unable to withstand hardships and bear the vilifications of people. Later Tsu Lu [1311 6424 - one of his disciples] became his bodyguard, and he would not permit others to speak evil of Confucius, and he pounced upon anyone who did so. Thenceforth, no bad things entered Confucius's ear, and the masses were afraid to have any dealings with him. Do not discard the tradition of Confucius. Our guideline is correct, but our method is wrong. There are many problems in the school term, the courses, the teaching methods, and our testing methods. All of these must be reformed, as they are all harmful.

X X X: A five-year primary school will be successful.

Chairman Mao: Primary schools should not be too long either. Gorky had only two years of primary schooling. He was a self-educated man. [Benjamin] Franklin of the U.S. came from a background of newspaper peddling, and he invented electricity. [James] Watt was a worker, and he invented the steam engine. Many scientists, in China and abroad, from ancient times to the present, taught themselves through practice.

X X X: After undergoing educational reform, the future school term will enable students to take up their work posts when they reach the age of 23 or 24. It is a little late to begin school at the age of seven. It should be moved up to age six. Construction of school buildings poses a problem, but changing primary schools to a five-year course will help solve this problem. There should be a four-year course for middle schools and one or two years for preparatory courses. There can be a wide variety in the length of college courses, since the nature of the departments is so varied. With an annual enrollment of from 140,000 to 150,000 students, the colleges can offer one or two-year preparatory courses.

X X X: Before entering college, a period of time should be set aside for going to the factories and rural areas to do a stint of labor.

Chairman Mao: They can also join the armed forces for tempering.

X X: This is all right with the liberal arts colleges. But with the college of physics there is the question of mathematics, physics, and chemistry. It is feared that after two years of labor these subjects could be forgotten.

X X: In the Soviet Union, they enroll in physics and chemistry colleges after completing two years of labor upon graduation from high school. It is disjointed.

X X: Except for some special cases, colleges will have three kinds of school terms: the six-year school term principally for medicine, the five-year term for physics and engineering, and the four-year term for liberal arts. The four-year term will do for the majority of colleges. In the future, school terms will be more varied in form. Two kinds of middle schools will be operated in the urban areas; one kind will be for college preparation and the other [to prepare students] for vocational schools after two years of study.

Chairman Mao: That's it, we have got to take a varied approach.

X X: Primarily, the problem of courses is that they not be centralized, and there is also the problem that we just studied. Many of the courses are taken over and over again. Every semester, there are eight or nine courses in the middle schools. There are so many exams that it is very tense.

Chairman Mao: Currently, there are, first of all, too many profoundnesses, and, secondly, too many books. These are overpoweringly heavy. Some of the courses do not necessarily have to be studied. For instance, the logic and grammar courses in high school need not have examinations. True understanding of these subjects can be had only through slow comprehension in the course of work. Merely knowing what grammar is, what logic is, is all that is necessary [as far as high school is concerned].

X X: Currently they are doing nothing more than inculcating, taking notes mechanically, and memorizing.

X X X: There are currently two factions of opinion: one advocates immediate and thorough coverage of the subject in depth, while the other faction stresses the ability to immediately understand, to master, and to cover less. Quite a few schools are currently following the first faction. It is not impossible to achieve in-depth coverage and thoroughness, but if it is done as has been suggested, it will ossify the students' ability to think.

Chairman Mao: This is vexatious philosophy. The commentaries to the four books and five classics are very complicated and vexatious, and they are not digestable. Vexatious philosophy will inevitably perish, just as the study of the classics with its many commentaries has now perished completely. I think that all students who have been taught by such a method, regardless of whether they are in China, the U.S. or the Soviet Union, will all be wiped out, for they will all be doing themselves in. For instance, there are so many different Buddhist Sutras, but the Diamond Sutra which was interpreted by T'ang Hsuan-tsang [0781 3763 1155: first Chinese Buddhist monk] is a relatively simplified version. It has only over a thousand characters, and it is still extant today. Another sutra interpreted by Kumarajiva [Famous 5th century Buddhist monk and translator] had too many words, and it perished. The five classics and the 13 cannons never really caught on, did they? So many commentaries were made that, as a result, nobody reads them. Vexatious philosophy rose in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it was only in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries that we entered the age of enlightenment during which the literary renaissance emerged. We should not read too many books. The books on Marxism should be read, but still, not too many of them. Only a dozen or so books will be sufficient. If too many of them are read, we are liable to do ourselves in and become book-worms, dogmatists, and revisionists. The books of Confucius do not contain knowledge on agriculture, and because of this his students never lifted a hand or leg [performing labor] and they could not even distinguish between the five types of grain. We must think up ways to correct this.

X X X: There is another problem, a political one, and this is the problem of the students' meals. They need to be improved. A monthly food bill of 12.5 yuan means an expenditure of 40 million more yuan.

Chairman Mao: Spending an additional 40 million yuan will be alright.

X X X: This means an increase of from two to four more yuan.

Chairman Mao: It is counterproductive to study too much. Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty [6th century] did alright while he was young, but later, after he had studied to excess, he faired quite poorly, and ended up starving to death in T'ai-cheng.

TALK AT THE HANTAN FORUM ON FOUR CLEAN-UPS WORK

(28 March 1964)

1. Forty or fifty years ago I read a book, Record of Hsiang Shan (Hsiang Shan Chi). The two opening lines were "I do not sing of heavens nor of earth, I only sing of the book Record of Hsiang Shan." When you sing of this, you can sing of no other.

2. We have not had a class struggle for 10 years. We had one in '52 and one in '57, but those were just in the administration organs and in the schools. This time we must do the socialist education campaign in the countryside well, for at least three or four years. I say at least three or four years; otherwise, five or six years. Some places plan to complete 60 percent this year. We must not hurry. Haste makes waste. Of course this is not to say that we can nibble away at it slowly. The problem is that the campaign has already begun. Honan is in too much of a hurry. It would be reasonable to say this is a second land reform.

3. (Some people report that the work teams use contracts to claim the blue skies as theirs)

Does not contracting for the public assist the local despots and evil gentry?

(Some people report that some work teams strike at people)

Contracting for the public is to strike at people.

4. It is not strange that the test points [experiments] failed. We must still have them even though they failed. We must pay special attention to summing up the lessons of failure.

5. (Some people say that some people advocate replacing the "Four Clean-ups" with a study of Ta-ch'ing and the Liberation Army)

This represents the faction which does not carry out class struggle. Is it possible that Ta-ch'ing does not oppose corruption and waste? That it does not oppose thievery?

6. The Five Antis directives of the Central Committee did not speak of class struggle.

7. We should let the monsters and freaks come out. Halfway will not do; if they are halfway out they can still slip back in.

8. With regard to the downward transfer of the four rights of authority, it proves that the opinion of the deputy director of the Rural Work Department of the Shantung Provincial Committee is correct. Chou Hsing did not agree with him and said that we could not transfer downward to the team. In actuality it was a minority opinion representing the opinion of the majority.

9. (Some say that university professors who have gone to the countryside for the four clean-ups say they do not understand anything themselves)

Intellectuals are really the most ignorant. Now they have acknowledged defeat. The professors are not like the students and the students are not like the peasants.

10. They have turned over all the machineguns and do not want to arrest him again. Arrest is to hand contradictions to those above. The higher levels in turn do not understand the situation, but would do well to transfer the supervision to the masses.

11. Everyone must read documents, except for those who are old and ill, whose cultural level is so low they cannot read documents, and those whose political prestige is very low, such as P'eng Te-huai.

12. "On the Current Situation and Our Tasks" was spoken by me in 1947. Someone transcribed it and it was revised by me. At that time I had contracted a disease whereby I could not write. Now when I want something written, it is all done by a secretary, not by my hand. Of course, some things may be written for me by other people. For instance, the speeches delivered by the premier when he leaves the country are done by Juang Chen and Ch'iao Kuan-hua. When you are ill, you may have someone write down what you say. But if you never take the initiative and rely on a secretary, it is just like having a secretary assume your responsibility for leadership work.

13. My 1933 investigation at Ku-t'ien reflected the opinions of the peasants, and was the opinions of the peasants issuing from my lips.

Opinions do not come from Peking. If a factory has no materials to work with it does not produce anything. We rely on your raw materials to do our processing.

REMARKS AT A BRIEFING

(March 1964)

I have read your letter asking to have a talk with me. Recently I have been occupied with the struggle against revisionism and the like, so it has taken me some time to come and talk with you.

As you can see, we are struggling against Khrushchev. Can we win? We have struggled against enemies for a generation. We dared to struggle against imperialism, and defeated it. Who says we cannot defeat Khrushchev?!

We are now principally in a struggle against imperialism and revisionism. As for reactionaries like Nehru they don't amount to too much!

(On the high targets for grain production proposed by some at the 1960 Shanghai meeting)

Truth, all truth, is ever in the hands of a minority in the beginning. They will always have some compulsion exerted on them by the majority. Four hundred years ago Copernicus, a great Polish astronomer, discovered that the earth moves. They theory that the heavens revolve about the earth had ruled astronomy for over 1,000 years. The greatest achievement of Copernicus in his lifetime was to replace this theory with the scientific theory that the earth revolves about the sun. The religious circles of that time rallied together to attack him, to oppose him and accuse him of heresy. He was oppressed on all sides. His De Revolutionibus was not published until he was on his deathbed (1543). He rejoiced in it. In Italy during that period the brilliant physicist and astronomer Galileo (1564-1642) subscribed to Copernicus' "heliocentric theory." Beginning in 1609 he observed the heavens with a homemade telescope to see whether the stars moved, but he was persecuted by the religious circles of that time and convicted by the reactionary Roman court. Another person was burned to death. Burning an individual is nothing! Truth does not lie in his hands! Burn someone to death and the earth still moves. A German invented sleeping potions. He was an apothecary in a drug-gist's shop. The several men did their experiments in the shop. At first

their aim was to alleviate the pain of women during childbirth. They carried out several experiments. Once eight people were poisoned and almost died, but finally they discovered a sleeping potion. But the Germans did not allow them to manufacture it or promote its sale. The French purchased their patent rights and invited the apothecary to France and held a meeting to welcome him. Only then was it disseminated. And most curiously, it did not thrive in one place, but did elsewhere. This kind of thing happens very frequently. For instance, Buddhism was born in India, but it was not so tolerated in India; however, it thrived when it reached China and other places. As another example, at present Marxism-Leninism is not thriving in Europe or the Soviet Union, but it is in China. Darwin personally believed in religion. When his Origin of Species was published, he was persecuted by religious circles which opposed him.

(On socialist education)

Recently we held a discussion to ratify two documents from the members of the Central Committee to the members of county committees. These documents are being read to the masses. It will take one or two years to finish this reading. I have recommended that whoever is not old and inform (such as Hsu or Wu), whoever is not illiterate, and whoever has prestige among the masses (of course this does not mean rightists; for instance, P'eng Teh-huai must not go) should take part in this reading. The generals have all gone among the troops to read -- they say it can be done! Why don't others do it?

In actuality, reading documents to the masses means to learn from the masses. If you want to go to a region to read, you must first carry out investigation and study.

The "Four Clean-ups" and Five Antis" were taught to us by the masses. Nothing was engendered in our brains. The "Four Clean-ups" was proposed by the Pao-t'ing Special District Party Committee. Of the eight special district committees in Hopeh Province, only Pao-t'ing presented it. At the beginning even the Pao-t'ing Special District Party Committee did not understand how to carry out the "Four Clean-ups." Afterwards the masses submitted to them that it would not do to leave out the "Four Clean-ups," so they accepted it. Cadre participation in labor was taught to us by Hsi-yang County, Shansi. Later there were also some materials on this from Chekiang Province.

(On the current nationwide launching of a high tide in studying the works of Chairman Mao)

The Selected Works of Mao, how much of it is mine! It is a work of blood. The struggle in the soviets was very acute. Because of the errors of the Wang Ming line we had to embark on the 25,000 li Long March. These things in Selected Works of Mao were taught to us by the masses and paid for with blood sacrifices.

Some articles should be rewritten, with new things included. The "Two On's" ["On Contradiction," "On Practice"] were written several decades ago. By now everything has developed and the contents have become richer. They should be revised.

(On the lessons of experience during the three years of great development from 1958-1960)

It was most beneficial. We could not have escaped the experience, for we would not have been able to learn how to engage in construction. We had no experience in nationwide construction. During the revolution we gained some experience in economic construction in the base areas. At that time the problems most urgently requiring solution were three: we needed food, we needed clothing, and we needed salt. Thus we had to develop production. These were the reasons for our engaging in economic construction at that time.

I spent 10 years before and after the land reform program (documents of 1933). I could not have done it without the 10 years. During the great revolution I held two lecture and study sessions on the peasant movement, one in Canton and one in Wuhan, and did some investigation and study, but still did not have a solution. Only later, when I carried out eight investigations in Hsing-kuo and other regions and investigated Ch'ang-kang Township and Ts'ai-chi Township, could I solve the problem. The masses taught it to me; they told me how to do it.

We spent 25 years studying revolution, from 1921 to the Seventh Party Congress in 1945. During the Yen-an rectification, we had come to know the rightist opportunism of Ch'en Tu-hsiu and the three "left" deviationist lines, especially that of Wang Ming. We summed up these experiences. We were thereby able to develop into an army of 1.2 million, not counting the militia, by the close of the War of Resistance against Japan. The Seventh Congress was excellent; it unified our thoughts and united the entire party. Of course, there were still some problems, such as Kao Kang and P'eng Teh-huai, but we still had faith in them. P'eng Teh-huai later served as commander of the Northwest Field Army. In 1946 he had skirmishes with the Kuomintang, in July 1947 he began to counterattack -- every month he exterminated eight brigades. What bravado! By 1948 he had successively taken Shihchiachuang and Tsinan and later waged three great battles.

It took me 15 years to learn how to fight a war. In the beginning I did not know how to fight and did not even consider fighting. When the great revolution was defeated, we had 50,000 party members divided into several groups, one of which was killed, another capitulated, and still another did not venture to do anything and ran away. Only 1,000-2,000 people were left. According to statistics, there were still 800 at the time of the Seventh Congress. In the several years since, some have died of age, so that only 600 are left, only 30 of them from Ching-kang Shan. At that time we had our backs to the wall and were compelled to pick up guns and learn to wage war.

We had not entered any military academy. Only a minority had been to a military academy. The study of waging war was mainly taught to us by "teacher" Chiang Kai-shek. He smashed the soviets and caused us to undertake the 25,000 li Long March, 300,000 troops, of whom there remained only 20,000 when we reached north Shensi. And not all of these 20,000 people came on the Long March. They advanced through Yun-yang and Tung-cheng in Ch'ing-yang and Kuan-chung in the Shensi-Kansu border areas. At that time I said that the 20,000 people were as strong as 300,000, not weaker. They traveled 25,000 li, their legs did the "talking," made their speeches. In this way our brains had to think a bit. Only after the Ts'un-i Conference did we change our ways and learn how to fight. Everything was forced upon us.

(On the necessity to learn their revolutionary spirit in learning from the Liberation Army and the Ministry of Petroleum, and to fight a war of annihilation)

We cannot be hasty. The socialist education campaign in the countryside must fight a war of annihilation. It is not enough time without these X or X years. At least four years: last year, this year, next year, the year after that are needed. We cannot be hasty. It will probably take X or X years or X or X years to completely master learning from the Liberation Army and the Ministry of Petroleum. We cannot be hasty with that either. Some provinces want to finish socialist education this year. That's too fast. It is a construction of X years or X years (indicates that a coal mine producing over X X tens of thousands metric tons per year in the past required X years to construct). To speed this up or hurry it too much will not do. If you press it excessively it will be done in a phoney manner.

(On what it means to support the General Line, the Great Leap Forward, and the people's communes)

Class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experimentation must be linked up. Only carrying out the struggle for production and scientific experimentation but not grasping class struggle cannot kindle the spirit and enthusiasm of the people, nor can the struggle for production or scientific experimentation be done well. Will it do to only carry out the struggle for production and not scientific experimentation? To only carry out class struggle but not the struggle for production or scientific experimentation, and to say "support the General line," are meaningless. I say that the Ministry of Petroleum has made great achievements; it kindled the revolutionary spirit of the people and also built a X X tens of thousands metric ton oil field. Moreover, it is not just a X X tens of thousands ton oil field, but also a X X ton refinery, of very high quality and up to international standards. This is the only way to convince people!

(On the decline in revolutionary will of some comrades and the necessity to promote young cadres)

In the final analysis, are some people ill or is their revolutionary will declining? Or did they go dancing six times a week? Or is it love of beauty but not country? Some say they are so sick that they cannot do their work. Can an illness be that bad?!... Like certain comrades, in the final analysis, do they love beauty or country? In my view, when we ask them to do X X, they may not necessarily be able to do it well. We should give them a "prime minister."

For many years we have advocated going out to do investigation and study. But they did not go out. They have been engaging in industry for so many years yet they do not know what industry is. They do not understand machinery or equipment: what can they do?!

At present we must promote young cadres. At the time of the Ch'ih-pi War and the Ch'un-ying-hui, Chuko Liang was 27 years old, as was Sun Ch'uan. Sun Tse was doing things when he was only 17 or 18 years old. When Chou Yu died he was not over 36 years old; at that time he was about 30. Ts'ao Ts'ao was 53. In fact, young people beat the old. "In the Yangtze River the rear waves push those in front; in the world new people chase after the old."

(On Ch'en Yung-kuei of Tachai Production Team)

But we should not look down on the under educated? During the National People's Congress, X X X, a comrade of mine who is now a lieutenant governor of Hupeh Province, asked to speak with me. He said that he has now come to understand that intellectuals have the least knowledge. Throughout history, many emperors were intellectuals but were unsuccessful: Sui Yang-ti could write essays and poetry; Ch'en Hou-chu and Li Hou-chu could write poetry and were good at narrative verse; Sung Hui Tsung could write poetry and paint. Some of the under educated can do great things: Genghis Khan was an illiterate. Liu Pang too could not read a dozen characters, and was under educated. Chu Yuan-chang was also illiterate, a cattle herder. In our military ranks there are many under educated, but only a few intellectuals. Hsu Shih-yu studied for a few days! X X X has never had any formal education, nor have Han Hsien-chu or Ch'en Hsi-lien. X X went to senior primary school, as did Liu Ya-lou. Of course, we cannot do without several intellectuals. We consider Lin Piao, Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien, X X X, X X X, to be middle grade intellectuals. My conclusion is that the under educated can defeat the students of Whampoa.

(On how current practices are all right, wherein everyone wants to engage in criticism and self-criticism and to learn from others)

Everything is one divided into two. I personally am also one divided into two. I was a primary school teacher, and when I was young, I also believed in the spirits. I went with my mother to distant temples to burn incense. Before the October Revolution, I did not even know there was a Marx, or anything which occurred after Marx.

Is there anyone who has not committed a mistake? Some of our comrades enjoy metaphysics. What is metaphysics? It is one-sidedness, allowing only the good to be said and not the bad and being fond of only hearing the good and not the bad. Like X X X, a good comrade, but he does not want to let people see their bad points, only their good; they are mortally afraid they will touch a sore point.

Marx was also one divided into two. Marx' philosophy was learned from Hegel and Feuerbach, his economics from England's Ricardo and others, and from France he studied utopian socialism. All this was bourgeois. From this, one divided into two and produced Marxism. Let me ask you, when Marx was young did he ever read Marx's works?

This party of ours is also one divided into two.

Before opposing an encirclement and suppression, some people said that one could not run an army without beating people; how could one lead the troops without beatings? At that time warlordism was really vicious! The soldiers said, "Cherish the soldiers, cherish the soldiers, the company commander rides the horse." This phrase was incorrect, the company commander should ride the horse.

P'eng has always carried out splittism. During the time of the central soviet-controlled areas, Li-san's line emerged. They were so "left"! They wanted to strike against the large cities, against Chiu-chiang, Wuhan, and Changsha. I said it would not work; they said we had to strike. At that time there was a Chi-an area party committee secretary, Li Wen-lin, who wrote a letter to the Central Committee stating emphatically that it was the consciousness of the peasants to divide the land and develop and consolidate the land reform and that to first attack Chi-an and then Chiu-chiang would definitely throw away the revolution. That is to say that we had to attack Chiu-chiang was quite "left"! We have had 10 years of civil war. The intraparty struggle is very serious.

The Fifth Plenum elected Chang Weng-t'ien to the Political Bureau when he was not even a member of the Central Committee. If we now investigate whether or not Chang was a party member, when he entered the party, or who introduced him, we will not be able to find the answer. Nonetheless he was elected to the Political Bureau, while I, a member of the Political Bureau, was not allowed to participate in the congress.

By the Tsun-i Conference on the Long March, the situation had had some changes. There should be a differentiation made in the Wang Ming line. It was different before and after the Tsun-i Conference.

In parleying with the Fourth Front Army, we spoke honestly and told Chang Kuo-t'ao that we began with 80,000 men, but then only had 30,000 left. We did speak honestly! At that time the Fourth Front Army still had 80,000 men. Chang Kuo-t'ao demanded the power of leadership from us, but we did not give it. Chang Kuo-t'ao's errors were errors of line.

Afterwards we arrived in north Shensi. The War of Resistance was also not without problems. There was the Wang Ming line and things like P'eng Teh-huai's Hundred Regiments Battle. Before the Seventh Party Congress, we held a conference to struggle against P'eng Teh-huai. Did he not say at the Lushan Conference. "You curse me for 40 days, so I curse you for 20 days." You participated at the Yen-an struggle meeting! He did not disperse (indicating the Hundred Regiments Battle); he insisted on concentrating his forces. In actuality, at that time a platoon could have developed into a regiment or a division.

Was it still one divides into two after liberation? The Kao-Jao anti-party clique in 1953 was a great revelation. At the finance conference they said X X and X X were sectarians. I said that the Chinese revolution has scaled many peaks. Without peaks, where is there revolution? At that time we also did not have a common program.

P'eng and Kao Kang united together in north Shensi. I had not thought that Teng Hua would also work with them. Teng Hua told me that he felt that Ching-kang Shan had no peak and was very unattractive. Afterward he sought out P'eng. The late Ch'en Kuang also felt there were no peaks and was dissatisfied.

In 1962 they were again unable to speak of classes and class struggle -- how unsteady would each department be! Teng Tzu-hui wanted to "contract to the households." In the past Wang Chia-hsiang had always been ill. For that half a year he was healthy and wanted to have "three reconciliations and one reduction," with such activism! What we must now do is "three struggles and one increase." The United Front Department wants the political parties of the bourgeoisie to become socialist political parties and drew up a five-year plan. They softly, softly fell; it was a surrender to the bourgeoisie. At that time they wanted to carry out "three reconciliations and one reduction" internationally and "three freedoms and one contract" domestically. P'eng Teh-huai's letter of attack also came out at that time as did Hsi Chung-hsun's book Liu Chih-tan.

(On reading)

There is some truth in the foolish old man who moved the mountains. Within one or several million years a mountain may flatten. The foolish old man put it correctly: after his death would come his sons, and after them more sons. The grandsons would have sons, and sons and grandsons will continue to be produced. But the mountain will not increase in height. There must eventually come a day when it is levelled.

To talk about philosophy for half an hour is enough: if you talk longer you would not talk clearly. We also do not want to read too many books. Reading several dozens will do. The more you read, the more unclear things become.

(On grain levies, purchases and transfers in the countryside)

Some districts do not have basic food rations. I do not approve. They should have basic food rations.

DIRECTIVE ON LABOR REFORM

(28 April 1964)

Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih during a briefing said: Last year we paid close attention to grasping [labor] reform; yet it was one of the best years in production in recent years. However, the problem of the relationship between reform and production in our labor reform work has not been solved even now.

The chairman said: What is the key to reform, reform of men or labor reform in production, or put stress on both? Should we attach more importance to men, to things, or to both? Some comrades think only things, not men, are important. In fact, if we do our work on men well, we shall have things as well.

Hsieh Fu-chih: I read the double-ten articles to the prisoners of the Shou-shih production team of the First Prison of Chekiang Province. They were also read by other comrades of the working group to the Ch'iao-shih farm 5th brigade. Afterward the overwhelming majority of the prisoners who had not confessed before now admitted their guilt and many recalcitrant prisoners also changed for the better.

The chairman: In general, those people are still useful. Why do they feel interested in the double-ten articles?

Hsieh Fu-chih: Once they understood the Party's policy, they felt that they themselves, in particular their family and children, had a future in their life.

The chairman: So it is! If they have a future, they have confidence in reforming themselves. Otherwise all they see is darkness so they cannot confidently reform themselves.

Hsieh Fu-chih: At first, many cadres had objected to reading the double-ten articles to the prisoners. However, having heard them read, the prisoners became more amenable. So the attitude of the cadres also changed.

The chairman: Many cadres objected to reading the double-ten articles because they were afraid that this would make their way of doing things ineffectual. They don't believe they are capable of turning the overwhelming majority of the prisoners into new men. In the past, officers of the Red Army had relied on beating, scolding, detaining, shooting, and so forth to lead their troops. A company commander or a platoon leader could not lead his men without beating or scolding them, or showing them an air of his importance. This state of affairs had gone on for many years. Later after summing up experiences it changed gradually with the result that the soldiers became more easily led. To do work on men well is not to press them into submission but to convince them by persuasion. At present, your way of doing things has begun to take effect, but even a beginning takes so many years to take effect.

The original level of labor reform cadres has not changed.

Hsieh Fu-chih: The quality of these cadres is weak but their tasks are heavy. Their work runs the gamut of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment.

The chairman: So it is! If you are not good at anything, how can you reform anybody? (Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih: Through study at selected basic units we proposed labor reform's "four firsts," "two predominant factors," and "two leniencies and two stringencies." For handling prisoners who had served their sentence and became employed, we brought out "four retain and four do not retain," and labor reform cadres were required to have "four knows" regarding their prisoners.)

The chairman: This is quite good. What are you doing in other areas?

Hsieh Fu-chih: We are ready to carry out these measures at certain test points and extend them step by step. We have done our work well in reforming Japanese and Chinese war criminals. After their release, except in some individual cases, the overwhelming majority of them have given a good account of themselves.

The chairman: Under certain conditions, when the enemies have laid down their arms and surrendered themselves, the overwhelming majority of them can be reformed, but there must be a good policy and a good method to make them consciously reform themselves without relying exclusively on submission by compulsion.

SOME INTERJECTIONS AT A BRIEFING OF THE STATE PLANNING
COMMISSION LEADING GROUP

(11 May 1964)

1. In formulating the plan it is necessary to include certain needs of North Korea and North Vietnam. I hear North Vietnam is in need of X X thousand tons of oil.
2. It is not certain that we shall have a population of 720 millions in 1965. There will be 800 millions in 1970? This is serious.
3. Intellectuals are quite important; [we] cannot do without them. They are needed in the realm of theory; theory cannot do without them. However, they still need to sum up the things indicated below.
4. There are two fists and one rear end in the national economy. Basic industry is one fist, national defense industry is the other, and agriculture is the rear end.
5. The Soviet Union today is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the grand bourgeoisie, a fascist German dictatorship, and a Hitlerite dictatorship. They are a bunch of rascals worse than De Gaulle.
6. Class identifications should be drawn in all units, factories, streets, schools, and official organs.
7. The wage question. It is difficult to further reduce wages at the upper levels. From now on, we will stabilize wages at the upper levels and raise them gradually at the lower levels.
8. Whom is industry to serve? It should be made to serve agriculture. Of course, there is the question of interrelationship between sectors of heavy industry, but the whole spectrum of industry should be made to serve agriculture.

9. Stable-yield output and high-yield output are relative. Last year Hopeh Province had torrential rains. This downpour was willed by the Lord in Heaven! It couldn't be helped! It is hard to be Lord in Heaven. Too much rain isn't good; too little isn't good either.

10. Do as much as one's strength allows. Don't let any individual decide on this. "I am old and about to die, but before I die, I want to accomplish...?" This isn't right.

11. I want to finish reading The Twenty-four Histories. The Old Book of T'ang History is better than The New Book of T'ang History. The Southern History and The Northern History are still better than The Old Book of T'ang History. The most unsatisfactory is The History of Ming Dynasty.

12. The purpose of drawing class identifications in factories is to expose the 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 percent of the workers. Among the workers 8 to 15 percent do not have a working class origin.

INTERJECTION AT A BRIEFING BY FOUR VICE PREMIERS

(May 1964)

1. Close attention must be paid to class struggle. The four clean-ups in the rural areas is a class struggle; the five anti's in the cities is likewise a class struggle. Cities must not brag about themselves. The five anti's work cannot be concluded either this winter or next spring. It must be continued for a period of 3 to 5 years before it can be finished. Class identifications must also be drawn in the cities. As to how they should be drawn, certain criteria should be formulated when we come to do this work in the future. We should not take account of the class origin alone. Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, none of them had their origin from the working class.

2. On the Third Five-Year Plan. We must go all out and put forth the utmost effort to set aside all reserve. We cannot formulate any plan based on our age. Planning must have an objective basis. I am over 70 years old, older than you people, but we cannot rely on what we see of communism shortly before we die as the basis for planning. In the present Third Five-Year Plan I feel we must pay attention to increasing quantity without losing sight of improving quality.

The plan must not be based on subjective expectations; it must have an objective basis. It must be practical and dependable.

3. On self-reliance. Self-reliance is very important. It should be practiced not only by a state, but also by a factory, a people's commune, and a production team. In managing people's communes, those which practiced self-reliance showed real achievements whereas those communes and production teams which were supported by loans did not face so well. At present, we have three truly self-reliant communes in the whole country: one is the Ch'en Yung-k'ang [7115 3057 1660] commune in Kiangsu Province; another is the Ch'en Yung-kuei [7115 3057 6311] commune in Shansi Province; and still another is the Ch'en [7115] x x commune in Ch'u-fou [2575 7079], Shantung Province. These three communes have never asked for a penny from the state as they were built up completely on the strength of their own effort.

4. On the question of cadres participating in labor. Cadres must take part in labor. At present, this question has not yet been satisfactorily resolved. Leading cadres should go and stay in selected primary units and should not solely listen to briefings and reports. Even ministers should go and stay in some primary units. Otherwise no meetings would be held.

5. This year's wheat output is estimated to have an increase of 5 billion catties over last year. It appears that there is an abundance of rain this spring. This will do more good than harm.

6. The Third Five-Year Plan calls for moving such a large number of people from the rural areas to the cities to be workers. This is not good.

TALK ON THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN

(6 June 1964)

In the past, the method of planning was essentially learned from the Soviet Union and comparatively easy to do. First you determine how much steel is needed, then on this basis estimate how much coal, electricity, transport force, and so on are needed; and then based on these assumptions estimate the expected increase in urban population and the livelihood benefits. This is the method of using the calculator. Once the output of steel is reduced, all other items are correspondingly reduced. This kind of method is impractical and unworkable. This type of calculation cannot take into account what the Lord in Heaven will do to the plan. Suppose a natural disaster comes and you just won't have such a quantity of foodgrains. Support the urban population cannot increase to the extent desired and then everything else comes to naught. Besides you cannot figure in what war will do. We are not the chief of staff of the U.S. so we don't know when they will strike against us. Furthermore, revolutions in various countries cannot be figured into the plan. Suppose in some countries the people's revolutions have succeeded and they need our economic assistance. How can this be foretold?

It is necessary to change the method of planning. This is a revolution. After we learned the Soviet method, it has become a force of habit with us and it seems hard to change.

In the last few years we have been groping our way and found some other method. Our policy is to take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. Pursuant to this policy, when we map out a plan we first see what quantity of foodgrains can be produced, then estimate how much fertilizer, pesticides, machinery, iron and steel, and so on are needed.

How do we plan for an annual harvest? It will be determined by the assumption that in 5 years there will be 1 year of good harvest, 2 years of ordinary harvest, and 2 years of poor harvest. This is more practical and dependable. It should first be ascertained what quantity of foodgrains, cotton and other economic crops can be produced under such conditions and then how much industry can be planned for on this foundation. If the harvest of the year is better, so much the better.

Moreover, we should consider war and make strategic plans. Party committees in various localities should not manage civil affairs alone and ignore the military, should not manage money alone and ignore guns. As long as imperialism exists, there is always the danger of war. We must build up the strategic rear.... This does not mean that we no longer care about the sea coast which must also be well guarded so that it can play the role of supporting the construction of new bases.

Two fists and one rear end. Agriculture is one fist [sic], and national defense is another fist. To make the fist strong, the rear end must be seated securely. The rear end is basic industry [sic].

At present, the main problem of basic industry is one of variety and quality which must be solved. Last year although the output of steel was less, it had more variety and better quality and consequently more uses than in the past. The key does not lie in the quantity of output. The Soviet Union takes quantity as the criterion. If they fail to fulfill the quantity target of steel output, it looks as if their total socialist construction is lost. They have kept on raising their quantity target every year and they have been making empty boasts every year. As a matter of fact, a state will not collapse simply because a planned quantity target has not been fulfilled. Given a definite quantity of output, variety will increase, and thus the foundation will be strengthened.

In agriculture we must mainly rely on the spirit of Ta-chai and self-reliance. This is not to say that it does not need the support of industry. Water conservancy, chemical fertilizer, and pesticides all need the support of basic industry.

We should take hold of the objective relationship of proportions in mapping out any plan.

Planning should not be done merely by adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing. As soon as calculations have been completed, all departments and all localities will be fighting four figures, personnel, and money and engaged in litigation.... We must let politics take command, entertain an over-all viewpoint, and formulate a plan not in accordance with the desire of any particular locality but with the laws governing the objective existence of the things themselves.

Don't fight for money all the time. Don't spend money wastefully as soon as it comes into hand. Chou Hsin-fang [0719 0207 5364] earns 1,700 yuan in wages every month, and regardless of the number of performances, still deposits money in Hong Kong. Some young actors already have their "10-year plan," hoping to surpass Chou Hsin-fang.... Bourgeois intellectuals may be bought if necessary according to our policy. But why should we buy proletarian intellectuals? He who has plenty of money is bound to corrupt himself, his family and those around him.... In the Soviet Union the high-salaried class first came from the literature and art circles.

Strive for several years so that we no longer have to import foodgrains, and use the foreign exchange thus saved to buy more technological equipment and materials....

We must not waste money. As soon as the situation gets better, don't try to "do it in a big way" again freely. "Make some allowances." I have said this so many times in the past and no one acted accordingly. However, you have so acted in the past 2 years; don't go back again when the situation turns better.

The majority of workers in official organs can work and participate in manual labor half of the time, respectively. This is worth promoting. Laziness is one of the root causes of revisionism.

Why are there so many literature and art associations in Peking? They have nothing to do. Maybe they are doing some disorderly things. At the literature and art festivals, the performance of the army ranks first, the localities second, and Peking (Central) the worst. This association, that association, this sort of thing is also transplanted from the Soviet Union. The central literature and art organizations are still ruled by foreigners and dead men.... We must go deeply into the life of the living. If we keep on playing with dead men and foreigners, our nation will be doomed. We must serve the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. Physical culture should also be beneficial to revolutionary struggle and construction.

Among cadres in general, many are "three door" cadres (leaving family door, entering school door, and entering office door). Cadres cannot be reared and trained well through the "three doors." It is dangerous to rely on this type of cadres to take hold of the future of the state. Nor will it do to depend on those cadres who have entered the "primary school door, middle school door, and college door." It will not do to not read books, nor will it do to read too many books. Ability does not depend on books alone; it must depend on practice. Our state will chiefly rely on those cadres who have read books through practice to take hold of its future.

All provinces should manage military defense industry. We should squeeze some money from industry, agriculture, and culture and education. We don't need to establish so many regular schools. Tsinghua University has over 10,000 students and 40,000 professors, staff and family members. The spirit of leadership is going to be greatly wasted in this way.

We don't really have to make academicians and PhD's.

**TALK ON PUTTING MILITARY AFFAIRS WORK INTO FULL EFFECT
AND CULTIVATING SUCCESSORS TO THE REVOLUTION**

(16 June 1964)

I shall talk about two problems. The first is the question of local party committees paying attention to military affairs, and the second is the question of dealing with successors... it will not do to merely observe demonstrations. It is necessary to pay attention to troops, it is necessary to operate armament plants... the provinces must inquire into the matter of troop units and the militia. You first secretaries of provincial committees are also political commissars. You have not carried out your duties for a number of years, you have been political commissars in name only and have not paid attention to military affairs. When a problem arises, you become confused without help. Regardless of which direction the enemy may come, it is necessary that you be ready, then our country shall not perish. The various levels of party committees must all pay attention to military affairs work and to militia work.... How can only we rely on the several millions of liberation army troops of the central government in a country such as ours and on such a large battle-front? We cannot depend on them. You must make up your own minds. The local authorities have the responsibility.... needless to say, they will want to fight an atomic war! We shall run away when they drop the atom bombs. When they enter the city, we shall also enter the city and the enemy will not dare to use the atom bomb. We shall engage in street fighting. At any rate, we shall fight them.

It is necessary that the militia be organized a little better organizationally, politically, and militarily. Organizational improvement is to have some sort of an established organization of cadre-militiamen and ordinary militiamen, to have fighters, squad and platoon leaders, and company, battalion, regiment, and division commanders, and to become really functional. It is also necessary that political work personnel be organized so that in case something happens, they may take up their arms and go. Some people have said that their psychological outlook improved greatly after three months of service in the militia. The militia must have organization, it must have soldiers, it must have officers, and it must be put into full effect. At present, many localities

have not put it into full effect. It is necessary to carry out political work and the work of the people. To put politics into full effect, it is necessary to have a political structure, political commissars, political officers, and political instructors. To do political work is to perform the work of the people. It is necessary to distinguish between the good and the bad people in the militia and eliminate the bad ones. It is necessary to clearly explain to the militiamen that regardless of whatever important matter which may occur, they must not become flustered, for how can one win battles if one is flustered? One must not become flustered in fighting with rifles, guns, or atom bombs. One will not become flustered if one is well prepared politically. When the atom bomb is dropped, there is nothing else but to see Marx; since the days of old there has always been death. Without a belief, one cannot establish oneself. Those who are doomed to die shall die, and those who do not die shall go on. To kill all the Chinese people. I cannot see that, the imperialists will not do that, for who will they have to exploit!... in 20 years of war, have we not lost many people? Huang Kung-lueh [7806 0361 3970], Liu Hu-lan [0491 5170 5695], and Huang Chi-kuang [7806 4949 0342] ... We did not die, we are the remaining dregs. When the burden is too heavy, death is the way out. Indeed, death called on Comrade XXX, but he did not go, so he is still alive. It is necessary to be prepared militarily. It is necessary to be prepared with rifles during peacetime, it will be too late when war starts ... if one only cares about dealing with civil and not military affairs, if one only wants people and not rifles. When war begins, it will be necessary to depend upon China to hold on, it will not do to depend on the revisionists. When the enemy fight their way in, we will be able to fight our way out. In general, we must be ready to fight, we must not become flustered when the fighting starts, we also must not be flustered in fighting the atom bomb. Do not be afraid. It is nothing but a big disorder throughout the world. It is nothing but people dying. Man eventually must die, he may die standing up or lying down. Those who do not die will go on with their work, if one-half meets with death, there is still another half.... Do not be afraid of imperialism. It will not do to be afraid, the more one is afraid, the less enthusiasm one will have. Being prepared and unafraid, one will have the enthusiasm.

The second problem is to prepare for the future and to bring up successors.

The imperialists have said that our first generation presented no problem, the second generation did not unchange, and that there is hope for the third and fourth generations. Will this hope of the imperialists be realized? Will these words of the imperialists come true? I hope that it will not come true; however, it can also come true. In the Soviet Union, it was the third generation that produced the Soviet Khrushchev Revisionism. We can also possibly produce revisionism. How can we guard against revisionism? How can we cultivate successors to the revolution? As I see it, there are five requirements.

1. It is necessary to regularly observe and educate our cadres, they must have some knowledge of Marxism-Leninism; it would be best if they have a bit more knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. They must practice Marxism-Leninism, not revisionism.

2. They must serve the majority of the people and not the minority. They must serve the majority of the people of China. They must serve the majority of the people of the world and not the minority, or the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists. Without this prerequisite, one cannot serve as a party branch secretary. Moreover, one cannot serve as the central (committee) secretary or the central chairman. Khrushchev was for the minority, we are for the majority of the people.

3. They must be able to unite the majority of the people. What is meant by uniting the majority of the people includes those people who had previously and erroneously opposed ourselves. Regardless of which mountain peak they belong to, we must not seek revenge, we cannot have a new group of officials for each emperor. Our experiences have proven that we would not have been victorious in our revolution if it had not been for the correct guidelines of the 7th National Congress. As for those people who engage in intrigues, they must take note that more than 10 persons, such as Kao [7559], Jao [7437], P'eng [1756], Huang [7806], Chang [1728], Chou [0719], T'an [6223], and Chia [6328] had emerged from the [party] central. Everything is one divided into two. If some people wish to engage in intrigues, what can be done about it? Even now there are still those who wish to engage in intrigues! For example, we have Wu Tzu-li [0702 5261 4539], the Pai-yin Plant, and also the small station mentioned by Ch'en Po-ta. The various departments and the various localities all have people who engaged in intrigues. There are officials in the imperial palace and the masses under them. Without such people, it cannot be called a society. I had mentioned the last time that I was not pleased that there were such people. It was an objective existence. Otherwise, there would have been no confrontation, only metaphysics. All things are a unity of opposites. Of the five fingers of a hand, four face one direction while the thumb faces another direction. In this way, one can pick up and grasp things. If they all faced in the same direction, they would have been useless. There are no pure substances and no true vacuum in the world, this is only 99.9 percent purity. Then there is the other 0.1 percent. Many people have failed to comprehend this theory. There is no complete purity. There has to be some impurity before there can be a society, matters, and nature. If it is pure, it does not conform with the rules. Impurity is absolute. Purity is relative. This is the unity of opposites. In sweeping the floor, dust still exists even if the floor was swept 24 hours a day, from morning until night. Look, in which year have we been pure? The history of our party shows five dynasties of leadership. The first dynasty was Ch'en Tu-hsiu. The second dynasty was Chai Ch'iu-pai. The third dynasty was Hsiang Chung-fa, (actually, it was Li-san.) The fourth dynasty was Wang Ming and Po Ku. The fifth dynasty was Lo Fu (Chang Wen-t'ien.) The leadership of the five dynasties all failed to bring us down. To bring us down is not so

easy. This is a historical experience. Whether it was done by the imperialists or by ourselves, they all failed to bring us down. After liberation, there came forth Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, and P'eng Te-huai. Did they bring us down? They did not. P'eng Te-huai held the post of Minister of National Defense for seven years and he failed to bring down the liberation army. Several ranking officials were hopeless as soon as they emerged. We must let others have their say. We must not practice "what I say counts." We must unite the majority of the people. A decision was reached by democratic process. But still they said they did not approve it. X X X said: China must preserve the use of reasoning, the People's Liberation Army must preserve the use of reasoning. Because we have these qualities, P'eng Te-huai was unsuccessful.

4. They must have a democratic style of work. When something comes up, they must consult with the comrades, give full deliberation to matters, and absolutely listen to the various views. Opposite views must be presented. Do not practice "what I say counts." People can change. Didn't old X change? Oxen can be trained to plow the fields, so why can't people change? There are a few people who cannot be changed. People like Yu Hsueh-chung, Chang Po-chun, Liu Li-ming, and X X and X X X in the party can never be changed. They do nothing but curse at people. There is also Cheng Jen-san who has not changed. The various provinces have an extremely few who have not changed. Let them remain unchanged, let them curse away. It is necessary to unite the majority of the people. The way I see it, it is not necessary to expel Wu Tzu-li from the party, we must urge them to repent. We must unite 95 percent [of both groups]. We must practice democracy. We must not consider it as being enough merely because I said that it is so; we must not reverse a decision at meetings which had been passed. This is democracy in practice. To personally speak for several hours at a meeting as if all the truth is in my hands.... When I was young, I showed bad temper towards Mao Tse-t'an, and threatened him with a stick because he said that the Communist Party was not the ancestral temple of the Mao family. The way I see it, those words of his make sense. The Communist Party must deal with democratic style of work, it cannot deal with patriarchal behavior.

5. When one has committed errors, one must conduct self-criticism. One must not consider oneself as being always correct. One must have relatively less mistaken ideas. It is better to do a little less of saying the wrong things and expressing wrong ideas. It is relatively good for a commander, in fighting three battles, to lose one and win two because he can go on being a commander... do not go too far in waging struggles. One must help others to rectify their mistakes, it is only necessary that they conscientiously correct their errors. One must not always criticize them without end.

Successors must be Marxist-Leninists, they must serve the interest of the majority of the people, they must unite the majority, they must display the democratic style, and they must conduct self criticism. What I have in mind is not complete, you must make further study on your own and do a little planning. You must also bring up some successors. You must not always think

that you alone will do and that everything done by others is no good, as if without you in the world, the earth would not turn and there would be no party. Do you think that with the death of the butcher Chang, one would have to eat pork with bristles on it? There is no need to fear for the death of anyone. Whose death would be a great loss? Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, are they all not dead? The revolution must still go on. How can the death of a single person be such a tremendous loss? There is no such a thing. Man always must die, there are various ways of dying. Some were killed by the enemy, some died in airplane crashes, some drowned while swimming, some died from bacteria, and some died of old age. We must include those who may be killed by an atomic bomb. We must be prepared at all times to leave our work posts and we must be ready with successors at all times. Each person must be ready with successors. One must have three lines of successors. One must have one, two, and three pairs of hands, and one must not be fearful of heavy storms ...

CONVERSATION WITH ZANZIBAR EXPERT M. M. ALI
AND HIS WIFE

(18 June 1964)

The chairman: Let us first pose for a photograph! (Picture was taken and everyone was seated)

The chairman: You have come from Africa, from Zanzibar?

Ali: Yes.

The chairman: (to Chiang [3068] X X) What language are you speaking?

Chiang X X: English.

The chairman: (to Ali) I heard that you have been in China several years.

Ali: Yes, some 4 years.

The chairman: You have done much work for us; you have helped the Chinese people with broadcasting work.

Chin [6855] X X: He has helped us with the Swahili language broadcasts, and he helped us train cadres in Swahili.

The chairman: Good!

Ali: Radio Peking has also helped our people, helping them to understand the world situation.

The chairman: Are they able to hear us?

Ali: They are able to hear very well, not only in Zanzibar, but it is also clearly received in the entire Swahili-speaking region.

The chairman: How many countries?

Ali: There are Tanganyika, Kenya, a part of Uganda, and also the Congo.

The chairman: Which Congo? Greater Congo?

Ali: In both of the Congos.

The chairman: Ah, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and the two Congos.
(Ali lights a cigarette for the chairman)

The chairman: Thank you! (Spoken in English) Why must you go home?

Ali: My country requested it.

The chairman: Your country has asked you to return home. One of your ministers was in the delegation of your united republic which came this time, did you meet him?

Ali: That was Babu. I met him.

The chairman: I saw him for the first time, he is very tall.

Ali: Yes

The chairman: Is he now working in the capital of Tanganyika?

Ali: No, he is not. Maybe he will go there in the future.

The chairman: You were friends in the past?

Ali: Yes. As a matter of fact, he was the one who suggested that I come to China.

The chairman: When you leave, there will be no one else here.

Ali: There will, there are still six people from Zanzibar who are working here.

The chairman: After you two leave, there will still be four?

Ali: No, I am saying that there still will be six. One at the radio station, four at the Diplomatic Publications Bureau, and one in the Foreign Language Institute.

The chairman: They are all from Zanzibar, none from Tanganyika?

Ali: There is one; he is working at the China Map Publishing House translating Swahili.

The chairman: Is the climate in your country different from the climate here?

Ali: Yes, but we have become acclimated. We do not have snow in our country.

The chairman: Several winters already!

Ali: But we have become acclimated.

The chairman: Is your country in the southern or northern hemisphere, the southern or northern latitudes?

Ali: It is actually on the equator.

The chairman: Isn't it very hot along the equator?

Ali: Yes, but our country is merely a small island, and it isn't too hot.

The chairman: Maritime climate.

Ali: Yes.

The chairman: Do you have any Chinese friends?

Ali: A great many, a great many.

The chairman: Have you toured and visited other places?

Ali: We have. In 1961, we went to Harbin, Canton, Shanghai, Hangchow, as well as other localities. Recently, we were fortunate enough to go to Ching-kang-shan once.

The chairman: Ah, you climbed the mountain.

Ali: We have also been to Jui-chin.

The chairman: Ah.

Ali: We saw the site of the first soviet administration. We chatted with the people of Ching-kang-shan, we chatted with the old cadres and the people in the old area. They provided us with much information on the situation.

The chairman: We were there from 1927 to 1928, that is 37 years ago! We later shifted to Jui-chin. The district of Jui-chin was relatively large, it had a population of several million -- not only the one county of Jui-chin, there were several tens of counties, and we won many victories in battles there.

Later, we made the Long March to the north. From 1934 to 1935, I went to the northern part of Shensi. I have also been to Kansu. I have also been to Shansi. We crossed the Yellow River in the vicinity of T'ai-yuan. Shansi is next to Hopeh. Later on, we fought the Japanese mainly in the various provinces north of the Yangtze River, with Yen-an as the center. Afterwards, the fighting spread to Manchuria. After the Japanese had gone, Chiang Kai-shek came again. Chiang Kai-shek fought us, so we fought against him; we fought for 3.5 years and defeated most of Chiang Kai-shek's troops, 90 percent of his troops. The remainder all fled to Taiwan. He has always depended on the U.S. for protection, and he is still depending on their (the U.S.) Seventh Fleet. That is why the U.S. is still not at peace with us. U.S. imperialism is a very ferocious imperialism. It is also the greatest of imperialism. It has an influence on you people, too.

Ali: Yes, the U.S. is devising all ways and means to infiltrate into Zanzibar.

The chairman: Were Tanganyika and Zanzibar formerly colonies or semi-colonies of Britain?

Ali: Britain colonized Zanzibar and called it a "protectorate."

The chairman: There was a king, called a sultan.

Ali: It was because there was a sultan that it was called a "protectorate."

The chairman: What about Tanganyika?

Ali: It was called a "territory."

The chairman: Then it didn't have any king? Was it under the direct control of the British?

Ali: Yes.

The chairman: There are also Kenya and Uganda?

Ali: Kenya is a colony, Uganda still has kings and is also called a "protectorate."

The chairman: How about Northern and Southern Rhodesia?

Ali: There are no kings, they are colonies.

The chairman: Are there still quite a number of white people there?

Ali: Yes, there are immigrants in Tanganyika and Kenya. Because of the relatively cooler climate in Kenya, there are many settlers.

The chairman: How many are there? It is said that there are several hundreds of thousands.

Ali: Yes, there are several hundreds of thousands.

The chairman: It is said that there are 300,000.

Ali: Yes.

The chairman: What is the population of Kenya? Three million?

Ali: Eight and one-half million.

The chairman: It has that many people?

Ali: Yes, and the population of Tanganyika is larger, with some 9 million people.

The chairman: There are 10 million.

Ali: That is possible. My figures came from a census taken a long time ago.

The chairman: Have you ever been in Tanganyika?

Ali: I only passed through it.

The chairman: Have you ever been in Kenya?

Ali: I passed through it when I went to Uganda.

The chairman: Which route will you be taking when you return home?

Ali: I shall pass through Pakistan and Kenya, and maybe through Tanganyika and then to Zanzibar. There are two routes, one is a direct route from Kenya to Zanzibar, and the other is from Kenya to Zanzibar via Tanganyika.

The chairman: It seems to me that your skin complexion is slightly different from that of the people of Tanganyika.

Ali: Yes, the people of Tanganyika are a bit darker.

The chairman: There is also Madagascar. The skin of the people there is also different from the other localities in Africa.

Ali: Ahem.

The chairman: I hope you will have the opportunity to come back to China again sometime.

Ali: China has already become our home.

The chairman: Come for a trip, tour the country. Shall we end our chat here? Do you still have any questions?

Ali: I have; I would like to ask you several question. The struggle of the peoples of Africa at the present time is developing by leaps and bounds, and as the struggle develops, our blows against imperialism become heavier. However, this struggle still has a long way to go. Although I have read quite a number of documents, I still would like to have you digress on whatever views you may have regarding the outlook of the struggle of the peoples of Africa.

The chairman: I am not very familiar with the situation in Africa. However, according to the way I see it, in the past 10 or 11 years, starting with 1952 when Egypt overthrew the regime of King Farouk, the changes in Africa have been tremendous. The British and the French were unwilling to admit their defeat and carried out attacks against the Suez movement. Another place is Algeria, where war was waged for 8 years. Algeria resisted several hundreds of thousands of French troops with a few troops. As a result, French imperialism was defeated and Algeria was victorious. Recently, there were changes in your country; your country merely has a population of 300,000, and dared to overthrow the lackey of imperialism, and the imperialists did not dare to do anything. Tanganyika also became independent and the British troops have gone. What about Kenya?

Ali: Kenya has become independent, but after the military coup, the British troops are still there.

The chairman: They are? I heard the troops in the African countries had left.

Ali: That was in Tanganyika.

The chairman: Oh, in Tanganyika.

Ali: In Kenya, the situation is a bit different. Kenya has an agreement with Britain; the British have bases in Kenya. The British troops will be withdrawn by the end of the year.

The chairman: Eventually, they will leave.

Ali: Correct!

The chairman: In the Congo, I speak of Greater Congo, there was a Lumumba, a national hero, who was put to death, but the struggle is still developing. In the recent greater part of the year, there has been development in the struggle. In Southwest Africa and Angola, the Portuguese colony,

struggle is still underway. Although I am not familiar with Africa, as I see it, according to the circumstances of the past 10 years, it can be said that there will be still greater changes in the next 10 years. Maybe you also see it that way. We must look at it from the standpoint of history and development! South Africa is a bit more difficult. That area has more than 3 million white people, and they are unwilling to leave. That place must be liberated, but I'm afraid that it will take a little longer.

Asia, Africa, and Latin America, these three continents all have the conditions for revolution at the present time, and these three continents make up the vast majority of the world's population. This is a fact. They constitute the vast majority of the world; Europe, New Zealand, Australia, and North America the minority.

(Ali offers a cigarette to the chairman)

Ali: Africa does not have a communist party at present. Do you believe that the time is ripe for the establishment of a communist party in Africa? Do you have any views regarding a united front in Africa?

The chairman: The question of establishing a communist party must rest on whether there are any industrial workers. I see that there are industries in Africa. Many of the countries have industries, some have been established by the imperialists and some have been established by the Africans themselves; there are mines, railroads, highways, and other industries. Although there is no communist party at present, there will be one of these days. It isn't that there is no communist party at the present time, because there are communist parties in Algeria, Morocco, and South Africa. The Communist Party of Algeria is not a revolutionary party, it is a revisionist party. Revisionist parties, such as the party in Algeria, are not like a national liberation front which conducts a war for national liberation; the communist party in Algeria is against a war for liberation, it follows the dictates of the French communist party. The communist party in Algeria is against us, it opposes China; the Algerian Government and the Algerian National Liberation Front cooperate with us. I do not know why they oppose us. They might be opposing us for some reason that we don't understand.

There is still another example. The Iraqi communist party in Asia also opposes China. It only pays attention to opposing the Communist Party of China and does not pay any attention to the dangers of coups which it faces. Even during the past year a coup took place and Kassem was executed and the secretary general of the party was also killed. Do you know of this incident?

Ali: I know about it. I read about it in the newspapers.

The chairman: Many in the communist party were killed, many of the revisionists were killed, and many progressive persons were killed. You tell me, why does the communist party of Iraq oppose us?

Ali: They follow the conductor's baton.

The chairman: Follow the conductor's baton and carry on peaceful transition.

Then there is Brazil, which is also not in favor of us because we do not agree with peaceful transition. Several months ago, a coup took place and its president was kicked out. The leader of the revisionist party was sentenced to 8 years imprisonment. The leader of this party had been to China. His name is [Luiz Carlos] Prestes. He was a noted member of the communist party who later became a revisionist. The U.S. imperialists and their lackey did not care whether one was a revisionist or not. Nine Chinese were arrested, of which six were traders and three were newsmen.

This is to say that revisionists do not oppose imperialists; they compromise with the imperialists and reactionaries. The working class of Africa will learn their lesson. It is possible that some revisionist parties will make their appearance, and it is also possible that some Marxist parties will make their appearance.

The question of a united front is a question of opposing imperialism or not opposing imperialism. Those who oppose imperialism must unite. Speaking of the categories of bourgeois democratic revolution, they determine whether one opposes imperialism or does not oppose imperialism. As for establishing a genuine socialist state (not one in name only), establishing an economy with systems of ownership by all the people and collective ownership under proletarian leadership, that is another thing. This not only stimulates the interests of the imperialists, but it will stimulate the interests of the bourgeoisie. Let us say, for example, that at the present time, it is possible for Algeria to go socialist. The older group of people will not be able to keep pace, including Premier [sic] [Ferhat] Abbas of the provisional government and Belkacem. They will be unable to keep pace with the others.

Class struggle. Genuine Marxist-Leninists preach class struggle; there is class struggle in society. On two occasions we had a united front with the Kuomintang. One was the Northern Expedition, in 1927. The second was during the war against Japan. During the first united front, the Northern Expedition fought to the Yangtze River Valley, and when the Kuomintang held the power and opposed us, we could only fight with them. We went up to Ching-kang-shan, and later came to Jui-chin.

After that, the Japanese fought their way in. Chiang Kai-shek felt that it would not do to continue his fight with us. The second united front was then established. This united front lasted for a period of 8 years. On the one hand, the Kuomintang united with the Communist Party to oppose Japan; on the other hand, the Kuomintang also opposed us each day. What could we do? On one side, there was Japan; on the other side, there was also the Kuomintang, so we adopted the policy of uniting while waging struggle, with unity as the main factor. In this way, we endured with the Kuomintang for 8 years. With

the surrender of Japan, the Kuomintang fought against us, and the united front disintegrated. If it was smashed, it was smashed! We won and they were defeated. We did not have any large cities. We did not have the assistance of foreign powers, our troops were few in numbers, we had no air force, we had no navy, we had no airplanes, and we had no artillery. We only had light weapons. They were not made by us; they had been seized by us.

Thus, it is not so that there is no united front? We drove them to Taiwan, but there still is a united front. In reality, our united front is more widespread. Our China has eight democratic parties. When the Kuomintang existed, the contacts between the intellectuals, university professors, middle and primary school teachers, and us were not very extensive. After liberation, they did not run away. We united with them. The university professors in Peking, such as the professors at Peking and Tsing-hua universities, and the university professors in Shanghai and Canton did not all run away. They felt that there was no future in following the Kuomintang.

The fundamental united front is the united front with the workers and the peasants. It was also after liberation that the Workers and Peasants' Alliance was realized on a national scale.

The Kuomintang represents the big bourgeoisie, the comprador class, and the feudalist landlord class. I am talking about its later period. The Kuomintang had represented the national bourgeoisie and the broad masses of people. At that time, with Mr Sun Yat-sen as its representative, it was China's only and most progressive political party. There was no Communist Party at that time. The Communist Party only came into being afterwards; it was 1921 before there was a Communist Party. Afterwards, the Communist Party and the Kuomintang set up the first united front.

Later on, the Kuomintang opposed the Communist Party. They fought each other for 10 years. It turned into an agent of imperialism -- U.S. and British imperialism. Why were we still able to form the second united front with it when it turned into an agent of big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class? It was because Japan was fighting its way into our country.

When Japan invaded the Northeast, the Kuomintang was still battling us. It was only when the Japanese had fought their way down through the pass and were advancing toward the mainland that it felt it would have to make peace with the Communist Party. It was then that the second united front of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang was formed.

Chiang Kai-shek stood on the side of the U.S., Britain, and France in opposing Japan, Hitler, and Mussolini; it was one faction of imperialism fighting another faction of imperialism. The three countries of Germany, Italy, and Japan became vanquished nations. It is necessary to look at certain conditions; at the time, the U.S., Britain, France, and we were also able

to cooperate with them. Changes took place after the war; the U.S. wanted to dominate the world. Japan had been defeated; Italy and Germany had been defeated; Britain and France had been weakened. Why did Africa rise up? It was because imperialism had been weakened. Britain and France had been weakened.

In general, Africa ..., as far as the broad masses of people are concerned, none have any good feelings toward Britain, the U.S., Belgium, Portugal, or Spain. Why is it that we are on speaking terms with you Africans and the black people? We have things in common.

Ali: We people of Africa carried on a protracted struggle with imperialism. We saw that China had been liberated and the struggle of the Chinese people greatly inspired us. After the liberation of China, we had a much better understanding of China.

Our struggle continued to develop because China provided us with a great deal of experience; China provided the people of Africa with a tremendous amount of support and encouragement for which we are extremely grateful. China issued many statements expressing support for us. In recent years, we have been able to come to China and visit many places, and this has been a great help to us.

The Soviet revisionists told us that we must coexist peacefully and carry out disarmament; they told us that this was our main task and said that they would use the money saved through disarmament to give us aid. However, our struggle must depend on our own efforts.

The chairman: Right!

Ali: In this aspect, the revisionists are colluding more and more with the imperialists. According to your way of thinking, how far will their collusion go?

The chairman: They might carry their collusion a step further. The imperialists and the revisionists have their collusions and they also have contradictions. Revisionists and revisionists also have contradictions. The revisionists have several tens of parties, but they are not very united. The imperialists are also not very united among themselves. You see, France and Britain are not very united either. The Japanese monopolistic capitalists and the Japanese Government first struck the U.S. at Pearl Harbor; afterwards, they occupied the Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaya, and Indonesia; they fought on to the eastern part of India and occupied the greater part of China. As for Korea, it goes without saying that it was originally its colony. Now these places have all gained their independence, and some are still under U.S. control. Among those controlled by the U.S. are: South Korea, South Vietnam, and the Philippines. Japan is also partially controlled by the U.S. You can say that Japan, but you must not say the people, is big bourgeoisie. Can they feel comfortable? I don't think so. I do not believe that there are no contradictions between the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese monopolistic capitalists.

We have said that there are two buffer zones. Asia, Africa, and Latin America are the first buffer zone. Europe, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan are the second buffer zone. The Japanese monopolistic capitalists were deceived [on this] by the U.S., and we oppose [this] deception. There are other people who subscribe to [this] interpretation of going into the buffer zone.

This is not the first time I am saying this; I said it in 1946. At the time I said nothing about a first and second zone, but only one buffer zone, the buffer zone between the Soviet Union and the U.S., which included China. 1946, 1956, 1964, ... that's 18 years. I said that 18 years ago. At that time, we were in Yenan; I said it to the American correspondent, her name is Strong.

Ali: I know who she is.

The chairman: She is already more than 70 years old!

At that time, the U.S. had taken the place of Germany, Italy, and Japan, and it wanted to dominate the world; its objective was to invade the buffer zone and not to fight the Soviet Union. The anti-Soviet slogan was a smoke-screen. Like the anti-China characteristics, its objective was to manipulate the buffer zone with an anti-China slogan.

Ali: I deeply appreciate the time the chairman has given me. May I be permitted to express my feelings to you? Ever since my arrival in China. I have looked forward to this day. There are no words which can express my feelings.

The chairman: Have you read any Marxism-Leninism works?

Ali: I have, and I have also read your works.

The chairman: I have learned from Marx and Lenin.

Ali: You have developed Marxism-Leninism. Your works are much easier to understand than those of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

The chairman: They are somewhat easier to understand.

Ali: That is my feeling, your works are very readable.

The chairman: I do not have many writings.

Ali: No, you have a great many.

The chairman: Good, let us end our conversation here!

Ali and Mrs Ali: Till we meet again!

The chairman: Till we meet again!

COMMENT ON REPORT BY COMRADE WANG TUNG-HSING

(July 1964)

Decorations of potted flowers are things which have been handed down from the old society. This is a plaything of the feudalist official class, the bourgeoisie, and those young gentlemen who carry cages with roosting birds. Those people who have nothing to do after eating a meal have the ability to cultivate and dabble in flowers.

It has already been more than 10 years since the liberation of the country. But growing flowers has not been reduced. Instead, it has become more developed than ever before. Now it must be changed. I do not like the display of flowers in the room; during the day, there seems to be some good points. But at night, there are bad points. Long ago, I had them remove the flower from my room. Henceforth, let them also dispose of the flowers in the courtyard. Wouldn't it be satisfying and fine if you were to plant some trees in the courtyard? They can still be planted. Your flower cellars must be abolished. The majority of the flowers must be reduced and taken away; it is only necessary that a few people take charge of the yards and gardens. Henceforth, more trees must be planted in the yards and gardens and more fruit trees must be planted; some foodgrains, vegetables, and oil-bearing crops may also be planted. The public parks and Hsiang-shan in the metropolitan area of the city of Peking must gradually change to planting some fruit trees and oil-bearing crops; thus, while they are pleasant to look at, they will also be practical and beneficial and will be advantageous to the future generations.

LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS ON QUESTION OF AGRICULTURAL MECHANIZATION

(12 March 1966)

The letter of 11 March has been received. The district planning committee sent personnel to Hupeh to jointly study the five-year, seven-year, and 10-year programs on agricultural mechanization with the Hupeh Party Committee, and also to visit the experimental sites there for the implementation of mechanization through self-reliance. This idea is very good. It is proposed that the various central government bureaus, the party committees of the various provinces, municipalities, and districts respectively dispatch their own personnel to Hupeh to carry out joint studies. It can be done in 7-10 days. Upon their return, they should prepare preliminary drafts of five-, seven-, and 10-year plans, and then wait for several months. By then there will be something to discuss at the work conference to be held around August or September of this year. If no preparations are made in advance, then I fear that when the time comes, the discussions may be meaningless. In this matter, with the self-reliance of the various provinces, municipalities, and districts as the main factor, the central government can be of assistance in providing raw materials to the areas which they lack. However, the local areas must pay for their purchases. It is also necessary that the central authorities really have materials in stock that may be sold; it will not do for everyone to rise up with their hands extended at the first clamor. Otherwise, this will be delayed and it will take several years before it can be considered. For this reason, raw materials (steel and iron), machine tools, and farming machinery should be administered by the state. Local manufacture which far exceeds state plants (for example, those which exceed more than one fold) or exceed the norm, should be given permission to retain 30-50 percent and allow the local authorities to purchase them for their use. If this system is not established, the initiative of the local authorities cannot be stimulated. In order to mechanize agriculture and produce more products in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations, and fishery, it is necessary to wrangle rights for a portion of the manufacture of machinery for the local authorities. What is known as the rights for a portion of the manufacture of machinery is the right to share in the manufacture of machinery which is far above norm, not included in the slightly above-norm manufacture. To have

all things united under the central government and strictly controlled is not a good method. In addition, this matter should be linked to preparedness against war, preparedness against natural calamities, and the task of doing everything for the people. Otherwise, even if the local authorities have the favorable conditions, it would not do it with eagerness. First is the preparedness against war. The people and the troops must first have food to eat and clothing to wear before they can fight. Otherwise, even with rifles and guns, they would be useless. Second is the preparedness against natural calamities. Without such reserve stock as foodgrains, cotton, and edible oil during a calamity year, the reliance upon other provinces for relief is not the long-range plan for the local areas; in the event of war, the difficulties become greater; famine in local areas, regardless of which province, are often unavoidable and looking at several provinces together, it is all the more unavoidable. Third is that the state cannot accumulate too much. It is first necessary to consider those people who, up to now, do not have enough to eat and have very little clothing and bedclothes. Next, it is necessary to consider ways to spread reserves for use in preparedness against war and preparedness against natural calamities by all the people. Third, it is all the more necessary to consider the accumulation of funds by local areas to be used for expanded reproduction. Therefore agricultural mechanization has to be further linked with these several aspects before the masses can be mobilized to strive for the relatively rapid but steady realization of this kind of plan. The agricultural policy of the Soviet Union has been erroneous since the old days. It is like emptying the pond to catch fish. It is divorced from the masses, and has created the current difficult situation. It has been basically, mired in the pit of reproduction for a long time, and when a calamity year is encountered, even absolute reproduction becomes uncertain. We have also had several years of experience in emptying the pond to catch fish (high government purchases) and uncertain absolute reproduction in calamity years in many areas, and they should serve as warnings. Now, although I have only brought forth the watchword of preparedness against war, preparedness against natural calamities, and doing everything for the people (this is the method of simultaneously serving the state in the best way, still the old saying "the people are satisfied, what ruler can be dissatisfied.") Whether or not it can be carried out protractedly and conscientiously, I think is still another question which must await the future before we can see if it can be answered. Wasn't agriculture in the Soviet Union basically mechanized? What is the reason that it has fallen into a difficult situation up to the present? This matter is worthy of much thought.

Whether the aforementioned several points of view may be carried out, please reflect upon them and decide. As for which members of the (? Small Plans) Committee should go to Hupeh, it would be best to plan on sending the two comrades, Yu Ch'iu-li and Lin X X. If we are to allow the various central bureaus, and the party committees of the various provinces, municipalities, and districts to also send personnel, then it would be best that the various provinces plan on sending one secretary in charge of agriculture and one person from the planning committee, have a total of about 70 persons to go there and hold an on-the-spot conference for 7-10 days; whether this is feasible, please think it over.

TALK AT ENLARGED MEETING OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU

(20 March 1966)

1. On Not Attending the 23d Congress of the CPSU

We shall not be attending the "23d Congress" of the Soviet Union. The convening of this congress by the Soviet Union is under a situation of difficulties both at home and abroad. We shall rely on self-reliance. We shall not depend on the Soviet Union. We shall not become befuddled. If we wish people to stand firm, we ourselves must first be unwavering. We shall not go. The leftist faction has stiffened its back, the middle faction is leaning towards us. If we do not attend the "23d congress," then the most they can do is to threaten us with their troops. If they don't, then it would just lead to a battle on paper. We can write a letter to say that we shall not attend. We have said that traitors, scabs, and the Soviet Union oppose China. Once they opposed us, we shall have essays to write. Traitors and scabs have always opposed China. Our banners must be new and fresh in color, they must not be bedraggled. Castro is nothing more than a bad man in an important position. (Someone asked: This time we do not attend, but when the revisionists convene in the future, do we send a congratulatory message?) We will still have to send a congratulatory message, but it will be sent to the Soviet people.

2. An Academic Question, An Educational Question

We have been hiding inside a drum and there are many things which we do not know about, in reality, the academic and educational circles are in the hands of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. In the past, our policy towards the intellectuals of the national bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie was to discriminate against comprador bourgeoisie. They should be discriminated against and the discrimination policy is very effective. It is improper to equate them all together. At present, the greater part of the universities, middle schools, and primary schools have been monopolized by intellectuals who have emerged from the ranks of the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, and the landlord and rich peasant class. We took care of these people after the

liberation. At the time, it was the right thing to do. Now when we are conducting academic critiques, we must also protect some of them, such as Old Kuo [6753] and Old Fan (Wen-lan) [5400 2429 3482] of the emperor-king group. At present, all medium-sized or large cities and towns have established research departments on literature and art, history, philosophy, law, and economics. In the study of history, there are various kinds of histories. Every academic department has a history. There is history and general history. Philosophy, literature, and natural science all have histories, and there is not a single department that does not have a history. With regard to the natural science department, we have not set anything into motion. From now on, we should do a bit of criticizing of the work done in each 5- or 10-year periods, discuss the pros and cons, and train successors. Otherwise, everything will fall into their hands. With regard to natural sciences, the views of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are not the same. Idealism and materialism are also involved in natural sciences. Old Fan is very fond of emperors, kings, generals, and prime ministers. People like him, including persons of the emperor-king school are very fond of emperors, kings, generals, and prime ministers and they opposed the 1958 method of studying history. (Lin Piao: This is class struggle.) When criticizing, one must not shoot off clank cannons, one must study historical data. This is a serious class struggle. Otherwise, revisionism shall emerge. It is this group of people who will be the ones to come up with revisionism in the future. For example, Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan were all opposed to Marxism-Leninism. They were members of the Communist Party; Communist Party members who nevertheless opposed the Communist Party, and opposed materialism. (Lin Piao: This is socialist ideological construction.) This is a widespread class struggle. At present, 15 out of 28 provinces and municipalities in the whole country have launched this struggle and there are 13 which have not taken any action.

There are advantages and also disadvantages in our taking care of the intellectuals. Under our care, they earned fixed income, and became teachers and school principals. They were really Kuomintang people. (Lin Piao: We must pay attention to the newspapers, for the newspapers are an important matter. They are the everyday means for transmitting central committee orders.) There is also that Peking periodical Ch'ien-hsien [Frontlines], which is, in reality, the frontlines of Wu Han, Teng T'o [6772 2148], and Liao Mo-sha [1675 3106 3097]. "San-chia-ts'un [0005 1367 2625]" (Three-family Village) is their work. Liao had previously given moral support to "Li Hui-niang [2621 1979 1224]" and advocated the "theory of devils without harm." The class struggle is very sharp and very widespread. The various major bureaus and provincial committees must pay a bit of attention to this. For example they must administer academic work, newspapers, publications, literature and art, motion pictures, and the plays.

The essay by X X has been made public. It is well-written. X X. is the head of the history office, he is the younger brother of Chao [6392] X X. His essay was written in 1964 but was suppressed for one-and-a-half years before it was made public. Essays written by young people must not be suppressed, whether they are good or bad. Do not be afraid of running into matter if it does not deprive them of their bread and butter? One must not be afraid of running into "authority."

(X X: The literary and art circles and the medical circles have all organized work teams to go into the countryside.)

They have all gone into the countryside, the half-work and half-study students of the middle, vocational, and technical schools have all gone into the countryside. It will not do to study books of classical literature alone; it is necessary to come into contact with reality. X X X was unable to write anything good. One must not begin learning by studying old writings first. This includes the writings of Lu Hsun and myself: One must learn to write. In the department of literature, students must write prose and novels, they must not study the history of literature. How can you accomplish anything if you do not start with writing? It will be fine if one is able to write. Henceforth, with writing the main factor, it will be the same as learning to hear and speak being the main factors in the study of foreign languages. Writing is the equalivalent of composing essays. To learn to write essays is to use writing as the main factor. As for learning history, that can wait until the work period. The people in our troop units, those generals and division commanders did not know anything about the kings, Yao and Shun [1031 and 5392]. They had never studied the military tactics of Sun-tzu. Yet, did they not do battle just the same? Not a single person fought any battles in accordance with Sun-tzu on the Art of War. (Lin Piao: There are so many items in the book, when the time came, one was unable to locate the proper item; there is not a single battle, large or small, which is identical, so it was a bit more simpler to do things according to the actual circumstances.)

There are two kinds of methods. One is to initiate criticism. The other is to engage in half-work and half-study and carry on the four clean-ups campaign. The young people must not be suppressed, let them come forward. Lo Erh-kang was criticized by X X X. X was one of the workers in the mail and visitors' section of the central committee's General Office. Lo was a professor. Do not be afraid of provoking Lo Erh-kang and Chien Po-tsan. Do not suppress either the bad or the good. On Khrushchev, we issued a complete collection of essays! (Lin Piao: We carried out material construction, they carried out the building of the bourgeois spirit.) (P'eng [1756] X: Actually, it is their dictatorship. The power of leadership is in their hands. If you oppose them, they would reduce your work points.) Students, lecturers, and a part of the professors were all liberated, it was fine if the remainder of the people were able to reform; if they were unable to reform, they were dragged down. (P'eng X: Promoting a doctrine does not produce cooperation.) (Lin Piao: This is class struggle, they must talk about it.) Nevertheless X X said it properly. X X said that those who were younger and had less education overthrew those who were older and had more education. (Chu [2612] X: Overthrow those in authority.) (Ch'en Po-ta: Overthrow the bourgeois authority, bring up newborn strength, establish proletarian authority, and train successors.) Who is the authority at the present time? It is Yao Wen-yuan, X X X, and X X. As to who is able to destroy whom, there is no solution at the present time. (Ch'en Po-ta: The successors must develop naturally. Stalin produced a Malenkov who was not the right man. The former did not wait for him to die. Malenkov met with premature death. Such successors are not wanted.) What is

needed are determined people who are young, have little education, a firm attitude, and the political experience to take over the work. This problem is very big.

3. On the Industrial System

There are some questions you do not comprehend. Can you handle so much? (P'eng X: The central and local authorities must be like field armies and territorial armies.) In Nanking, I talked with Chiang [3068] X X. When war breaks out, first, the central authorities will not send troops; second, it will not send generals, third, the food it has is not enough. It cannot be delivered; four, there is no clothing; and five, it has some rifles and guns, but not too many. The various administrative areas and provinces must do their own [battles]. The people must fight their own battles. Each province must fight its own battle. The local areas cannot have their own naval and air forces. These forces must be put under the unified control of the central government. When war breaks out, it is best to rely on the local areas. You cannot depend on the central government. The local areas will take charge of the guerrillas and rely on armed struggle.

There are two methods of managing industry in East China. The method practiced in Kiangsu is good. That is, the province has no control in managing industry. This was carried out in Nanking and Soochow; Soochow had 100,000 workers with an output value of 800 million yuan. The method practiced in Tsinan is another. The large industries are managed by the province and the small industries by the municipalities, but the breakdown is unclear.

(Liu [0491] X X: How can we trial implement the general labor system and the general participation in work and participation in voluntary labor. At present, there are too many people who are not taking part in production work; the number of workers and staff members is 800,000 while the number of dependents is also 800,000.) It is necessary to carry out general propaganda now, break down the old ways, and gradually implement [the new] step by step.

This country of ours is made up of 28 "countries." There are large "countries" as well as small "countries." Such "countries" as Tibet and Tsinghai are small "countries," they do not have many people. (Premier Chou: It is necessary to implement mechanization.) You people of the central bureaus, provinces, regions, and municipalities, carry out blooming and contending when you return to your posts; such places as provinces, regions, and municipalities must all carry out free expression of opinions during the months of April, May, June, and July. The free expression of opinions must be connected with "preparedness against war, preparedness against natural calamities, and everything for the people," otherwise they will be afraid to express opinions freely. (Premier Chou: I'm afraid to say that they are for de-centralization). The local areas must pay attention to wealth accumulation, now everything belongs to the state treasury. Shanghai has some accumulation. First, it has capital; second, it has raw materials; and third, it has equipment. It will not do to have everything concentrated at the central level. It will not do to drain the pond to catch the fish. It is said that the Soviet Union is the one which

drain the pond to catch fish. (P'eng X: Shanghai used machinery to support agriculture and changed from unlawful to lawful.) It is unlawful, but it must be recognized as being lawful. In history, everything changed from unlawful to lawful. Sun Yat-sen was unlawful in the beginning and became lawful afterwards. The Communist Party also changed from unlawful to lawful. Yuan Shih-k'ai changed from lawful to unlawful. Being lawful is reactionary. Being unlawful is revolutionary. At the present time, being reactionary is not to permit people to have positiveness: it is to limit the people's role in making revolution. The central government still is in favor of a figure-head republic, the Queen of England and the Emperor of Japan are all figure-heads of republics. The central government is still in favor of a figure-head republic, caring only for major administrative policies. But these policies also came from local blooming and contending. So the central government opened up a processing plant to produce them. The province, municipalities, districts, and counties have to release them before the central government can produce them. It is fine to let the central government exercise control in name, but not in fact or only to a slight degree in fact. When the central government takes in too many factories, all those who take over the factories should be told to get out of the central government and go over to the local areas, lock, stock, and barrel. (P'eng X: When we operate a trust and have the trust take over the work of the party, we are in fact running an industrial party.) The four clean-ups campaign belongs to you. The central government is only taking care of the Twenty-three Articles. What experience do you of the X X political department have? Troop units still depend on the local military units before they can develop into regular troops. I do not have any experience. The summations of the past three months and the summations for the past half-year were not based on the report below. The operation of arsenals were all dependent on the local areas. The central government provided the spirit. The central government did not even have a single bullet or a single grain of food. They only put forth a bit of spirit. At present, grain is being shipped from the south to the north and coal from the north to the south. This will not do. (Premier Chou, the national defense industry should also be returned to the local areas. In general, this industry should be given to the lower levels and not to the upper levels. The central government should handle only important matters). The aircraft factories still have not been relocated. In time of war, even rifles cannot be supplied. Every province must have a small iron and steel plant. There are several hundred thousand people in a province. A hundred thousand tons of steel is not enough. A province must therefore operate several dozen steel plants.

(Yu Ch'iu-li [0151 4428 6849]: It is necessary that three veterans take three novices under their wings, that veteran plants lead the way for new plants, and that old bases lead the way for new bases) (Lin: For the old to lead the new is the Chinese way.) This is similar to the guerrillas during the war of resistance. It is necessary to practice socialism and not individualism. (P'eng X: There are X X small iron and steel plants which have all been controlled by the central government.) Why do you discriminate against what others do? Return them all. (P'eng X: Let's figure out a method next year.) Why wait until next year? You should hold a meeting upon your

return. For those who want to take over other people, tell them to become deputy plant directors. (Premier Chou: At present, to promote agricultural mechanization is still like borrowing the east wind [borrowing without any return]. The Eighth Ministry of Machine Building operated a trust and took over quite a number of plants.) Then tell X X X of the Eighth Ministry of Machine Building to go and become the plant director!

Some of them actually imposed hardship on the peasants. In Kiangsi one tan of grain was assessed (delivered) three times. I think that they should be punished. A meeting of all civil and military departments should be called to punish those who levied excessive taxes and sought excessive contributions.

The plans of the central government must be coordinated with those of the local areas. The central government cannot administer to everything firmly and the provinces cannot embrace everything firmly. (Liu X X: Allocate a part of the plans to the local areas.) You can frighten them with war, at the sound of the explosion of an atom bomb, individualism will no longer be practiced. When war starts, will it be possible to issue Jen-min Jih-pao? It is necessary to pay attention to the division of power. Do not empty the pond to catch fish. At present, there is no one to administer things at the top. At the lower levels there is no one who has the authority to administer things. (T'ao X: The central government also has no authority!) At present, fighting for one's independence is permitted. There must be independence against bureaucracy. It must be like X X X. The students must also fight, they must bloom and contend on the academic question. There was a manuscript of a lecture delivered by a professor of chemistry which his students failed to understand after studying it for several months. The University students asked him about it but he did not have the answer. The students wanted to uproot his foundations. Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan relied on history for their bread and butter. Yu Po-p'ing [0358 0130 1627] is also unlearned. (Lin Piao: He still had to study Chairman Mao's works.) One must not emulate Chien Po-tsan. One must not emulate me. If one wishes to learn, one must excel in learning. One must not be subjected to limitations, one must not solely interpret and merely compile records. One must not be restricted. Lenin refused to be restricted by Marx. (Lin Piao: Lenin was also excellent. We must now advocate the study of Chairman Mao's works. We must sow the seeds of Mao Tse-tung thought.) One might also say that, but one must not be superstitious. One must not be restricted. One must have new interpretations, new viewpoints, and creativity.

That is, it is necessary that the professors be overthrown by the students. (Lin Piao: These people only think of dictatorship.) A culture and education secretary in Kirin wrote an essay criticizing conceptional imagery. It was well-written. The Kwang-ming Jih-pao criticized Revelations of Officialdom. This was the clarification of the basic dispute. The Revelations of Officialdom is reformism. In a word, the so-called "reprimanding novels" are reactionary, anti-Sun Yat-sen, monarchist, and bring on landlord dictatorship. They must be revised a bit, improved a bit, they are heading towards perdition.

TALK AT ENLARGED STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU

(17 March 1966)

Our policy of taking care of the intellectuals after liberation had advantages as well as disadvantages. At present, the bourgeois intellectuals are holding the real power in the academic and the educational circles. The more penetrating the socialist revolution, the more they resist us, and the more they reveal their opposition to the party and socialism. Such people as Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan are Communist Party members, but they also oppose Communism. They are, in reality, Kuomintang people. At present, this problem is still not properly understood in many places. Academic criticism still has not been unfolded. The various localities must note which hands are grasping the schools, newspapers, periodicals, and publishing houses, and they must carry out sincere criticism against the bourgeois academic authority. We must cultivate our own academic authority among our youths. We must not be afraid that the young people will violate the "law of the land." We must not confiscate and suppress their manuscripts. The Central Ministry of Propaganda must not become a rural work department. (Note: The Central Ministry of Rural Work was abolished in 1962.)

Ch'ien-hsien also belongs to Wu Han, Liao Mo-sha, and Teng T'o. It is also antiparty and antisocialist.

Literature and art, history, philosophy, law, and economics must carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they must resolutely carry out criticism. After all, how much Marxism is there?

**DOWN WITH THE PRINCE OF HELL, LIBERATE THE LITTLE
DEVIL -- A TALK WITH SUCH COMRADES AS K'ANG SHENG**

(28 February 1966)

Wu Han has made public so many essays. They never had to be made known. They never had to be approved. So why do the essays of Yau Wen-yuan have to be made known? Do you mean to say that the decisions of the central government are of no consequence? People who confiscate and suppress the manuscripts of the leftists and protect the rightists are of the university clique. The Central Ministry of Propaganda is the palace of the Prince of Hell. It is necessary to overthrow the palace of the Prince of Hell and liberate the Little Devil. I have always advocated that whenever the central organs do something wrong, it is necessary to call upon the local authorities to rebel and attack the central government. The local areas must produce several more Sun Wu-k'ung [1327 1889 4500] to vigorously create a disturbance at the palace of the King of heaven. If P'eng Chen, the Peking Municipal Party Committee, and the Central Ministry of Propaganda again protect the bad people, then it will be necessary to dissolve the Peking Municipal Committee, and it will be necessary to dissolve the Five-Man Group. Last September, I asked some of the comrades what should be done if revisionism emerged in the central government? This is very possible, and it is also the most dangerous situation. To protect the rightists, cultivate the ranks of the rightists in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

CRITICIZE P'ENG CHEN

(28 April 1966)

Even a silver needle cannot penetrate into Peking, even a single drop of water cannot fall into Peking. P'eng Chen wants to transform the party according to his world outlook. Things in general are developing towards his negative side and he has set the conditions for his defeat. This is inevitable. It has emerged from inadvertant disclosures and development deeply step by step. Historical lessons are not accepted by everyone as warnings. This is the law of class struggle. It can not be altered by the will of man. Whenever there are people in the central government carrying on tricks and deception, I call upon the local areas to rise up and attack them, I call upon Sun Wu-k'ung to vigorously create a disturbance at the palace of the King of Heaven. It is also necessary to deal with those people who protect the "The Supreme Diety." P'eng Chen was a tiny personality who sneaked into the party, this is not so very astonishing for he can be brought down with one finger. "The West Wind Scatters Leaves Over Changan" tells our comrades that it is not necessary to worry endlessly. "Where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself; without struggle, the class enemies will not fall."

I am in favor of the opinions expressed by Lu Hsun. One cannot do without reading books. But one must not read too much. If you do not read books, others may deceive you.

Appearance can be seen, but not essence. Essence can manifest itself through appearance. P'eng Chen's essence has been hidden for 30 years.

Is it necessary to tell our Albanian comrades? There is nothing we can't tell people.

TALK ON PROBLEMS OF PHILOSOPHY

(18 August 1964)

It is only with class struggle that there is philosophy (it being useless to discuss the theory of knowledge apart from practice). It behooves comrades who study philosophy to go to the countryside. They should go this winter or next spring to take part in the class struggle. One should go even though one's health is poor. People won't die by going down to the countryside. There may be some flu, but it will be all right when they put on more clothes.

The way the liberal arts are presently being handled in colleges is no good. They go from book to book, and from concept to concept. How can philosophy emerge from books? The three components of Marxism are scientific socialism, philosophy, and political economics. They are based on sociology and class struggle: the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The Marxists found out that it would be futile for wishful thinking socialists to persuade the bourgeoisie to change their heart, and that they must depend on the class struggle of the proletariat. There had already been many strikes by that time. According to investigations of the English Parliament, it was found that a 12-hour work system was not as profitable to capitalists as an 8-hour work system. It was on this premise that Marxism evolved. It is only with class struggle as a basis that one can study philosophy. Whose philosophy? Bourgeois philosophy or proletarian philosophy? Proletarian philosophy is Marxist philosophy. There is also the economics of the proletariat which transformed classical economics. Those who study philosophy feel that philosophy comes first. This is wrong, for the first thing is class struggle. It is only when the oppressed begin to resist and search for a way out that they manage to find philosophy. Only by proceeding from this premise have we come to have Marxism-Leninism and to find philosophy. We have all come this way. It is because others wanted my head and Chiang Kai-shek wanted to kill me that I began to engage in class struggle and philosophy.

College students, those in the liberal arts, should begin to go down to the countryside this winter. Those who are studying the sciences need not move now, though they may move once or twice. But all liberal arts students,

students of history, political economics, literature, and law, must go. Everybody should go: Professors, instructors, administrative workers, and students, for a period of five months at a time. They should spend five months in the rural areas and five months in factories to acquire some perceptual knowledge. They should take a look at horses, cows, sheep, chickens, dogs and pigs, as well as rice, kaoliang, legumes, wheat, and millet. In winter, one may not see crops, but at least one can see land, and people. Wherever they engage in class struggle can be considered to be a university where they can learn many things. What is Peking University and what is a university of the people? Which is better! I myself studied in the school of hard knocks [trans: "Green Forest Univ," school of the brigands where the law of the jungle prevails], where I managed to learn something. I read Confucius, the Four Books, and the Five Classics, and, after reading them for six years, I could recite them even though I couldn't understand them. I believed then in Confucius and even wrote some articles. Later I attended bourgeois schools for seven years. Six years plus seven years make a total of 13 years. I studied the whole bag of bourgeois natural sciences and social sciences. I also studied education. I spent five years in normal school and two years in middle school, including my time in the library. At that time I believed in Kant's dualism, especially idealism. I was originally a feudalist and a bourgeois democrat. Society made me turn to revolution. For several years I served as teacher and principal of a 4-year grammar school. I also taught history and Chinese literature in a 6-year school. Then I taught for a short while in a middle school, though I knew almost nothing. I joined the Communist party, joined the revolution, and I knew only that I wanted to make revolution. But revolt against what and how? Of course, it was to revolt against imperialism and against the old society. What is imperialism? I did not understand it too well. I understood even less about how to make revolution. What I learned in 13 years was useless for making revolution. I could use only the tool -- language. Writing articles is a tool. As for the reasons they are basically useless.

Confucius said that "the benevolent person is humane and loves people." But which people did he love? All the people? Not on your life! Did he love the exploiters? Not completely, since he loved only some of them. Otherwise, why was it that Confucius failed to attain high office? [Trans.: i.e., Confucius was neither a full-fledged support of the exploiting class nor a man of the people. He was an ambivalent opportunist.] They did not want him, even though he loved them and sought to unify them. However, he almost starved, and was moved to declare that "the true gentleman remains firm in misfortune," and still he came close to losing his life when the people of K'uang wanted to kill him. There were those who criticized him for not going as far as the state of Ch'in when he journeyed to the west, when in fact the poem in the Book of Odes entitled, "Ch'i-yueh Liu-huo," refers to events that took place in Shensi [i.e., location of former state of Ch'in], and the poem entitled "Huang-niao" refers to the killing of three ministers as a sacrifice to the death of Duke Mu of Ch'in. [Trans., tradition has it that the Book of Odes was compiled by Confucius when he travelled about the land in search of songs and poems he deemed to be suitable. That he would include the two poems referred to above shows that he did travel as far as Ch'in in the far west. Why Mao pushes this point is unclear, and the following discussion

is equally disjunctive.] Ssu-ma Ch'ien [noted historian] had a high regard for the Book of Odes, saying that its 300 odes were all the products of the ancient worthies and sages being roused to action. The greater part of the Book of Odes is made up of popular songs and folk songs from among the common people, and the common people were also worthy and sagacious. Whenever they were roused to action by the anger or resentment in their hearts, they would write odes! [In these pieces they said such things as], "Neither sowing or reaping, how do you come to have so much grain; neither trapping or hunting, how is it that you come have those pelts hanging in your home? You gentlemen should not be eating what you have not earned!" The expression, "performing no work in office while taking the emoluments," is derived from this. This poem is an expression of resentment to Heaven and opposition to the rulers. Confucius was fairly democratic, and he collected some poems expressing love between men and women. Chu Hsi [Sung Dynasty scholar] wrote commentaries to them in which he deemed them to be licentious. In point of fact, some of them were and some of them were not, the latter being poems in which the relationship between the ruler and his ministers was described [allegorically] in terms of male-female relations. From the state of Shu [synonymous with Ch'in] of the ten states during the Five Dynasties Period [907 - 959 A.D.] there is a poem entitled, "A Ch'in Woman's Poem on Winter," written by Wei Chuang during his youth, and in which he expresses his longing for his sovereign.

As for the business of going down, it will begin this winter and next spring. You should go down by stages and in batches, to take part in class struggle. It is only thus that you can learn something and learn how to make revolution. You intellectuals live every day in your offices; you eat well, dress well, you never walk, and so you get sick. Clothing, food, housing and transportation are the four great essentials of life. By changing your living conditions from good to bad, by going down to take part in class struggle, and by steeling yourselves through the "four clean-ups" and "five antis," you intellectuals will change your appearance.

What kind of philosophy would you learn if you didn't engage in class struggle!

Go down and give it a try. You can come back if you become really sick, since it wouldn't do for you to die. If you become so sick as to approach death, then come back. Once you go down, you will be enthusiastic. (Comrade K'ang Sheng remarked: The Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences of the Chinese Academy of Sciences should also go down, since it is fast becoming an institute of antiquities, a sort of fairyland where they no longer eat the food of human beings. Those in the Institute of Philosophy won't even read the Kuang-ming Jih-pao.) I read only the Kuang-ming Jih-pao and Wen Hui Pao, but not the Jen-min Jih-pao because it won't publish any articles of a theoretical nature. After my suggestion, they began to publish them. The Chieh-fang-chun Pao is very lively and readable. (Comrade K'ang Sheng: The Institute of Literature shows no concern for the problems of Chou Ku-ch'eng [0719 6253 1007], while Sun Yeh-fang of the Economic Institute has been fooling around with Liberman's works and with capitalism.)

It is all right to engage in some capitalism. Society being so complex, wouldn't it be too monotonous to engage only in socialism to the exclusion of capitalism? Wouldn't that be too one-sided an approach, without any unity of opposites? Let them engage in it. It would support them, whether it was a frantic attack, demonstrations in the streets, or an armed revolt with rifles. Society is so complex that there is not a single commune, a single county, or a single Central Committee that doesn't have the need to implement the policy of one dividing into two. Look, hasn't the rural work department been abolished? It was engaged exclusively in contracting production to the peasant family, the "four great freedoms," credit loans, trade, labor hiring, and land transactions. It issued notices in the past. Teng Tzu-hui used to argue with me, and at the Central Committee meeting, he suggested that we launch the four great freedoms. To permanently consolidate the New Democracy would be tantamount to engaging in capitalism. The New Democracy is a bourgeois democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. It should affect only the landlords and the compradore bourgeoisie, but not the national bourgeoisie. To distribute land to the peasants is to transform feudal landlord ownership into the ownership of individual peasants, which is still under the domain of bourgeois revolution. It is by no means strange to distribute land, since MacArthur has distributed land in Japan and Napoleon also distributed land. Land reform cannot eliminate capitalism, and thus will never enable us to reach socialism.

In our nation now, about one-third of the power is controlled by the enemy or by those who sympathize with the enemy. We have been here for 15 years and have two-thirds of the domain. Today a party branch secretary can be bribed with a few packs of cigarettes and there's no telling what one could achieve by marrying his daughter off to such a person. In some areas land reform has been peaceful, and the land reform teams are rather weak. From the looks of things, there are more than a few problems at the present time.

I have received the materials on philosophical problems. (This refers to materials on the problem of contradictions -- note of the recorder). I have seen the outlines (referring to outlines of articles on criticizing the theory of combining two into one -- recorder's note). I haven't found time to read the others yet. I saw also the materials on analysis and synthesis.

In gathering materials in this way, it seems that those on the laws of the unity of opposites, on the interpretations of the bourgeoisie, of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and of revisionism are all good. The views of the bourgeoisie, Yang Hsien-chen, and the late Hegel have been around a long time, but they are even more nefarious today. There are also the preachings of [A.A.] Bogdanov [1873-1928] and [Anatoliy] Lunacharskiy [1875-1933]. I have read Bogdanov's economics, Lenin also read it, and I seem to recall that he praised his section on original accumulation. (K'ang Sheng: Bogdanov's economics are quite possibly superior to anything coming out of modern revisionsm. Kautsky's is superior to Khrushchev's, and Yugoslavia's is superior to that

of the Soviet Union. [M.] Djilas [former aid to Tito, now out of favor there] had a few complimentary things to say about Lenin, namely that he engaged in some self-criticism on the China problem).

Stalin realized that he had made some mistakes on the China problem, and they were by no means small mistakes. We are a great nation of several hundred million people. He opposed our revolution and our seizure of political power. In order to seize political power throughout the entire nation, we had prepared for many years, and the entire war of resistance was preparation. If you read the documents of the Central Committee in that period including On New Democracy, you would have understood this. This is to say that it was impossible for us to set up a bourgeois dictatorship, and we could only establish a new democracy under proletarian leadership wherein we had a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat. For some 80 years in China, all democratic revolutions under bourgeois leadership have failed. The democratic revolution which we led was bound to triumph. This was the only road, there was no other. This was the first step, and the second step was socialism. On New Democracy was the only comprehensive program. It dealt with politics, economics and culture, but not with military affairs. (K'ang Sheng: On New Democracy has had great significance on the world communist movement. I asked some Spanish comrades who said that their problem was that they undertook only bourgeois democracy, but not new democracy. They did not undertake these three things: the army, rural villages, and political power. They subjected their work entirely to the needs of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, with the result that nothing was accomplished.)

That is precisely what Ch'en Tu-hsiu did.

(Comrade K'ang Sheng: They [the Spanish] wanted the Communist party to organize the army and hand it over to others. This would have been useless.)

(Comrade K'ang Sheng: They did not want political power and did not mobilize the peasants. The Soviet Union told them that if they set up a dictatorship of the proletariat, England and France might oppose them and this would be bad for the Soviet Union.)

How about Cuba? Cuba sought both political power and an army, and she also mobilized her peasants. For this reason she succeeded.

(Comrade K'ang Sheng: When they fought, they also fought conventional battles, just like the bourgeoisie, and they made a last ditch stand in Madrid. They did everything they could to comply with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.)

The Third International had not yet been dissolved, and we did not go along with it. The Tsun-i Conference did not go along with it. It was only after a decade of rectifications, at the time of the "Seventh [Party] Congress," that a decision was made ("The Decision on Certain Historical Problems") and the "leftists" were rectified. Those who were dogmatic basically

failed to study China's special characteristics. Although they had spent more than ten years in the rural areas, they did not study the agrarian land [issue], the productive relations or the class relations. One cannot gain an understanding of the rural villages by simply going there. One must study the relations between various classes and strata in the rural villages. It took more than ten years before I was able to understand them. I went to tea houses and gambling joints to meet everyone and investigate them. In 1925 I set up the Institute of the Peasant Movement to conduct rural investigations. I sought out poor peasants in my native village for investigation. They had no rice to eat, and their lives were dismal. There was a peasant whom I invited to play Chinese dominos (the cards consisting of T'ien, Ti, Jen, Ho, Mei-ch'ien, Ch'ang-san, and Pan-teng). Afterward I invited him to dinner. Before, after and during the dinner, I talked with him, and learned how violent class struggle was in the rural villages. He was willing to talk to me because, first, I treated him like a person; secondly I invited him to eat, and thirdly he could win some money from me. I would lose to him, losing one or two silver dollars, and he was quite satisfied. There was a time when he was so desperate that he came to me to borrow one dollar. I gave him three dollars without expecting any repayment. It was impossible in those days to get any assistance which did not require repayment. My father used to feel that if a man did not look after himself, he would be damned by heaven and earth. My mother disagreed with him. When my father died, very few people came to his funeral, though many came to my mother's funeral. One time, some members of the Koolao Society [a secret brotherhood] burglarized our home. I thought it was a good thing because they stole things which they did not have, but my mother could not accept my view.

There occurred in Changsha a riot of rice looting and they even beat up the provincial governor. There were some peddlers, all natives of Hsiang-hsiang, who sold toasted beans in Changsha and were returning to their native villages. I stopped them to ask them what had happened. The green and Red Brotherhood in the countryside also held rallies and went out to raid the homes of some rich families. This was reported in the Shun Pao of Shanghai and troops were sent from Changsha to suppress them. Their discipline was poor; they robbed some middle peasants, thereby isolating themselves. One of the leaders went into hiding in the mountains, but he was captured and executed. Later, the village gentry held a meeting and killed several poor peasants. There was then no Communist party, and it was a sort of spontaneous class struggle.

Society pushed men like us onto the political stage. Who would have thought of promoting Marxism? We had never heard of it. What he have heard and read about were Confucius, Napoleon, Washington, Peter the Great, and Meiji Reformation, the three heroes of Italy, all of whom were part and parcel of capitalism. We read also about Franklin. He was born into a poor family, but later became a writer, and experimented with electricity (Ch'en Po-ta: Franklin was the first to advance the thesis that man is the animal that makes tools.)

He did mention that man is the animal that makes tools. Before it was said that man is the thinking animal, and that "The function of the mind is to think," [trans. "Mancius"] thus saying that man is superior to all things. Who elected him to this post? He was self-appointed. All these theses evolved during the feudal age. Later, Marx suggested that because man can make tools, he is a social animal. Actually, it took mankind at least a million years to develop his brain and hands. Animals will develop further. I don't believe that it is only man that can have two hands, and that horses, cows and sheep won't advance anymore. Can it be that only apes can progress? Moreover, is it only one kind of ape that can progress, while others are all incapable of evolution? Will the horses, cows and sheep of a million or ten million years from now remain the same as they are now? I think they will change. All horses, cows and sheep and insects will change. Animals have evolved from plants, such as seaweed. Even Chang T'ai-yen [4545 1132 3508] knew about it. In his book about K'ang Yu-wei's views on revolution, [entitled: "Po K'ang Yu-wei Lun Ke-ming Shu," ("A Criticism of K'ang Yu wei's Views on Revolution")], he reasoned as follows. The earth was originally a dead earth, without plants, without water, and without air. It took tens of millions of years to produce water, and this water was not formed randomly from hydrogen and oxygen. Water also has had its own history. Long ago, even the two gases, hydrogen and oxygen, did not exist. It was only with the emergence of hydrogen and oxygen that it became possible for these two elements to combine to form water.

We must study the history of natural sciences. We should read books. To read for the needs of struggle is greatly different from reading aimlessly. Fu Ying [0265 7751 a physical chemist] said that it takes millions of combinations before hydrogen and oxygen can form into water, and it is not simply a process of combining two into one. His words seem to be reasonable, and I want to talk with him about it. You must not reject everything about Fu Ying (speaking to XX).

In the past we did not deal very clearly with analysis and synthesis. We understand analysis a little better, but not much has been said about synthesis. I have asked Ai Ssu-ch'i [5337 1835 1142] about it, and he said that now we speak only about conceptual analysis and synthesis, not objective and practical synthesis and analysis. How should we have analyzed and synthesized the Communist party and the Kuomintang? The proletariat and the bourgeoisie? Landlords and peasants? The Chinese people and imperialism? In the case of the Communist party and the Kuomintang, how should we have analyzed and synthesized them? Our analysis involved nothing more than how much strength, how much land, how many people, how many party members, how many troops, and how many base areas, such as Yen-an, we had. What were our weaknesses? We had no large cities, our army had only 1.2 million troops, and we had no outside help while the Kuomintang had enormous foreign aid. Comparing Yen-an with Shanghai, Yen-an had only a population of 7,000. Adding the [party] organs and the [military] units, there were some 20,000 people, and

it had only handicraft industry and agriculture. So how could it be compared with any large city? Our advantage was that we had the support of the people, while the Kuomintang had alienated them. Although they had more land, more armed forces and more arms, nevertheless, their soldiers had been conscripted forcibly, and these officers and soldiers were antagonistic. Of course, they also had some troops of considerable combat strength, and weren't easily routed. Their weakness lay in that they had been separated from the people. Whereas we aligned ourselves with the masses, they alienated them.

They spread the word that the Communist party shares property and wives, and they spread it even into the primary schools. They issued a song: "There are Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung, who engage in slaughter and arson, and what would you do?" They taught school children to sing it. Having sung the song, they would question their parents and brothers, and this resulted in their making propaganda for us. There was a child who heard the song and went to ask his father about it and the latter replied: You need not ask me; you will see for yourself once you have grown up. This was a middle-of-the-roader. He then went to ask his uncle who scolded him saying: "What do you mean, killing and arson? I'd beat you if you insist on asking me again." It so happened that his uncle had been a member of the Communist Youth League. All the newspapers and radio stations scolded us. There were many newspapers, with a score or more in each city. Each party or faction had a paper, and they were all anti-Communist. Did the common people listen to them? Not on your life! All that has happened in China, we have experienced. China is a "sparrow." Even in foreign countries, there are bound to be rich people and poor people, counter-revolutionary and revolutionary and Marxist-Leninists and revisionists. Don't you dare believe that everybody will believe the counter-revolutionary propaganda and rise up against us. We read the newspapers, do we not, and yet we haven't been influenced by them.

I have read Dream of the Red Chamber five times, but haven't been influenced by it because I regarded it as history. In the beginning, I read it as a story, and later as history. In reading Dream of The Red Chamber, nobody seems to have paid any attention to its 4th chapter which, in fact, is a general outline of the entire book. There was Leng Tzu-hsing who told stories in the home of the Jung-kuo family, setting them to verse and adding his own commentary. The fourth chapter, entitled "The Gourd Monk Decides the Case of the Gourd," makes mention of official protection, with specific references being made to the four affluent [Lit., big] families. There was Chia Pu-chia whose home was made of white jade and decorated with horses made of gold. The Shih family of Chin-ling [Nanking] was so large that they needed more than their A-fang Palace, which itself extended for hundreds of miles. If the dragon king of the East Sea needed a white jade bed, he would request it from the Wang family of Chin-ling. In bountiful years much snow (Hsueh) [the fourth family] would fall, and precious gems and gold were as plentiful as earth and iron. [Trans. note: this elliptical passage is structured around a primitive rhyme scheme, and it contains several puns which defy translation]. Dream of the Red Chamber mentions each of the four affluent families. The class struggle seen in Dream of the Red Chamber is very violent, and many scores of

people lost their lives, of which only 20 or 30 (someone has counted 33) were from the ruling class, the rest, some 300 in number, being slaves, such as Yuan-yang, Ssu-ch'i, Yu Erh-chieh and Yu San-chieh, etc. If one does not discuss history from the point of view of class struggle, his perceptions of history will not be very clear. It is only by using class analysis that it [history] can be analyzed clearly. Although Dream of the Red Chamber was written more than 200 years ago, those who have studied it have not yet understood it, thus showing how difficult is the problem. Both Yu P'ing-po [0205 1627 0130] and Wang K'un-lun [3769 1507 1510] were specialists, while Ho Ch'i-fang [0149 0366 5364] has also written a preface. There is also Wu Shih-ch'ang [0702 0013 2490]. These are new experts on Dream of the Red Chamber, discounting the old ones. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei's [5591 0337 1014] views on Dream of the Red Chamber are incorrect, and Hu Shih's [5170 6624] approach is better.

How does one synthesize? The Kuomintang and the Communist party being two opposites, you have seen how they have been synthesized on the mainland, and it went like this: When their troops came, we swallowed them up, piece by piece. This is not Yang Hsien-chen's theory of combining two into one; nor is it a synthesis of peaceful coexistence. They do not want peaceful coexistence, they want to eat us up. Otherwise, why would they have attacked Yen-an? Their troops ran all over Northern Shensi, except for three counties on the three borders. You have your freedom and we have ours. You had 250,000 men and we had 25,000 just a few brigades, and some 20,000 soldiers. Let's analyse how it was synthesized. Wherever you wanted to go, you went, and we ate up your army one bite at a time. If we could win, we fought; if not, we ran. There was a whole army which was completely wiped out between March 1947 and March 1948, after we eliminated tens of thousands of their troops. I-ch'uan was surrounded by us, and when Liu K'an [0491 0522] an army commander, came to reinforce their troops, he was killed. Two of his division commanders were killed, the third was captured, and his entire army was routed. This was a case of synthesis. All his rifles, artillery and troops were synthesized i.e., absorbed by our side. Those who wanted to stay with us did so, while those who were unwilling to stay were given traveling expenses. After eliminating Liu K'an, a brigade in the city of I-ch'uan surrendered without fighting. What was the synthesis in the three great battles of Liao-Shen, P'ing-chin and Huai-Hai? Fu Tso-i had thus been synthesized, and all of his 400,000 troops surrendered their arms without firing a shot.

One eats one and the big fish devours the smaller; this is synthesis. This has never been written in the books; it is not written in my books. Yang Hsien-chen came out with his combining two into one, saying that synthesis is the linking together of two inseparable things. What kind of link is there in the world that cannot be separated? There are links, but they can always be separated. There is nothing that is inseparable. We have worked for more than two decades, and many of us have been swallowed by the enemy. When the 300,000 troops of the Red Army reached the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border region, only 25,000 remained, all others had been eaten, routed, killed or wounded.

It is necessary to discuss unity of opposites on the basis of life. (Comrade K'ang Sheng: It won't do to merely discuss concepts.)

There should be synthesis when one analyzes; there should be analysis when one synthesizes.

When man eats animals and vegetables he first makes some analysis. Why doesn't he eat sand? If there is sand in rice, then it is not good to eat. Why won't man eat the grass which horses, cows and sheep consume, and eats only such vegetables as cabbages, etc. Such decisions are based on analysis. Shen Nung [4377 6593, legendary founder of Chinese agriculture and medicine]; tasted a hundred kinds of herbs, thereby making medicinal prescriptions. After many thousands of years, we have analyzed what can be eaten, and what cannot. Grasshoppers, snakes and turtles are edible; so are crabs, dogs and eels. Some foreigners won't eat them. People of North Shensi won't eat eels or fish; nor do they eat cats. There was a big flood along the Yellow River one year, and tens of thousands catties of fish were flushed onto the river banks, all of which were eventually made into fertilizer.

Mine is a native philosophy, and yours is foreign philosophy.

(Comrade K'ang Sheng: Chairman would you please talk about the problem of the three categories?)

Engels spoke about the three categories, but I don't believe two of them (unity of opposites is the most basic law; transmutation between quality and quantity is the unity of opposites between quality and quantity, but there is basically no negation of negation.) To take the laws of transmutation between quality and quantity, negation of negation, and unity of opposites together is the trinomial, not the monistic theory [of origin]. What is most basic is the unity of opposites. Transmutation between quality and quantity is unity of opposites between quality and quantity. There is no such thing as the negation of negation. Affirmation, negation, affirmation, negation... in the development of things, there is in each phase both affirmation and negation. When slave society negated primitive society, it was affirmation in regard to feudal society. Feudal society was a negation of slave society, and affirmation of capitalist society. Capitalist society was a negation of feudal society, and also an affirmation of socialist society.

How does one synthesize? Could it have been that primitive society and slave society coexisted? There was coexistence, but only to a limited degree. In the last analysis, primitive society had to be eliminated. There were also stages of social development, primitive society being divided into several stages. There were then still no sacrifices of women at burials, but they had to obey the men. At first, it was the men who obeyed the women, but it was then reversed and women obeyed men. There were a million or more years during which this stage of history was confused. Class society has been in existence less than 5,000 years. There were the so-called Lung-shan and Yuan-shao cultures, the last stage of primitive society which featured pottery.

In short, one ate another, one overthrew another, one class was eliminated, another class arose, one society was eliminated, and another society arose. Of course, the process of development was not completely pure. The slave system was still maintained in feudal society, but it was primarily a feudal system. There were some serfs, as well as industrial slaves, such as those engaged in handicrafts. Even capitalist society is not so pure and no matter how advanced capitalist society may be, there are also some backward portions, like the slavery in the southern part of the United States. Although Lincoln eliminated slavery, there are still Negro slaves and the struggle is rather violent. Some 20 million people are taking part in it, by no means a small number.

One eliminates another, growing, developing, and eliminating, this is true for all things. If one does not eliminate others, one will be eliminated himself. Why must man die? Even the nobility must also die. This is a natural law. The life of a forest is longer than human life, but it does not exceed a few thousand years. It won't do for there to be no death. If we could still see Confucius today, the earth would not be able to contain all mankind. I go along with Chuang-tzu's way of beating a basin and singing when his wife passed away. When someone dies, a celebration rally should be held to celebrate the victory of dialectics and the elimination of old things. Even socialism must die, for if it does not, there will be no communism. Communism will also last many millions of years. I don't believe that there won't be qualitative change in communism and that it won't pass through stages of qualitative change! I won't believe it! Quantity changes to quality, and quality changes to quantity. I can not believe that a specific characteristic can go on for a millions of years without undergoing some change. According to dialectics, this is inconceivable. Take one principle for example: "From each according to his ability and to each according to his needs." After one million years, this would become a kind of economics. Do you believe this and have you thought about it? When that day comes, you won't need economists, since a textbook would do, and even dialectics would then be dead.

The life of dialectics is that it continues to head toward its opposite. Mankind will eventually reach its doomsday. When theologians talk about doomsday, it is pessimism used to scare people. When we speak about the destruction of mankind, we are saying that something more advanced than mankind will be produced. Man as we know him is very unsophisticated. Engels says that one must proceed from the kingdom of inevitability to the kingdom of freedom, freedom being understood in comparison with inevitability. This sentence is not complete in that he has only mentioned half of it, without telling what comes next. Can one be free by merely understanding what is meant by freedom? Freedom is the understanding as well as the transformation of inevitability. One has to work at it. It won't do to merely understand what is meant by freedom. After one has found the rules, one must be able to apply them, by doing pioneer work, by breaking the earth, building houses, opening mines, and developing industries. When the population grows in the future and food becomes insufficient, it will be necessary to extract food from minerals, and this is the sort of transformation which will bring freedom. Will it be so free in the future? Lenin has said that in the future there will be as

many airplanes in the sky as flies, and what will happen if they become so rampant that they crash into each other? How will they be regulated and will there be that much freedom if they are so regulated. There are now about 10,000 buses in Peking, while in Tokyo there are some 100,000 (or is it 800,000?), and so they have plenty of automobile accidents. We have fewer vehicles, and moreover we educate our drivers and the people, and so we have fewer accidents. What will Peking be like 10,000 years from now? Will there be only 10,000 buses? New things will be invented. These tools of communication won't be needed, and men will be able to fly about by means of some sort of simple apparatus. One would be able to fly anywhere and land anywhere. Thus, it is not enough to simply understand inevitability, but one must be able to transform it.

I don't believe that there will be no division of stages in a communist society, and that there will be no qualitative changes. Lenin said that everything can be divided. Citing the atom as an example, he said that not only atoms are divisible, but electrons can also be divided. Nonetheless, it was deemed as indivisible before. The science of the fission of the nucleus is still relatively young, being only 20 or 30 years old. In the last few decades, scientists have analyzed the nucleus of atoms in which were found neutrons, antineutrons, mesotrons and antimesotrons. These are heavy, and there are also lighter ones. They were discovered primarily during and after World War II. The fissionability of electrons and atomic nuclei, was known long ago. In electric wire, copper and aluminum are used to separate external electrons. In the air at about 300 li above the earth, the ionosphere has been discovered where electrons and atomic nuclei are separated. There is as yet no fission of electrons, but the day will certainly come when there will be. Chuang Tzu said: "If one takes away half of a foot-long hammer every day, there will be no end to it even after ten thousand generations." (Chuang Tzu: T'ien-hsia Pien, quoting Kung-sun and Lung-tzu) This is true. If you don't believe it, you can try, and if it is exhaustible, then it is not science. Things are always developing, and this process goes on endlessly. Time and space are infinite. In space, both macrocosms and microcosms are infinite and indivisible. This is why scientists will always have work to do, even after one million years. I really enjoyed Sakata Soichi's [1911- , Japanese physicist] article on basic particles in the Natural Sciences Research Bulletin. I have never before seen such an article. He is a dialectical materialist and has quoted from Lenin: "The shortcoming of philosophers is that they do not engage in practical philosophy, and what they do is bookish philosophy."

We must bring out new things; otherwise, what would we do? And what would those that follow us do? New things exist in practical things, and so it is necessary to grasp practical things. Is Jen Chi-yu [0177 4949 1937] really a Marxist? I really enjoyed his articles on Buddhism. He seems to be very learned and was T'ang Yung-t'ung's [3282 3938 4592] student. He discussed only the Buddhism of the T'ang Dynasty, but not later Buddhism. The rational philosophy of the Sung Dynasty developed from the Ch'an (Zen) school of Buddhism of the T'ang Dynasty, and this represents a move from subjective idealism to objective idealism. It will not do to delve into such matters

as Buddhism and Taoism without acquiring an appreciation of all that is entailed. How can we disregard him [Jen]? Han Yu [T'ang poet] would not talk of reason. His slogan was "one should learn only the meaning, not the words." He borrowed this idea from the writings of others. He did not talk of reason, and what little he talked about was based primarily on what the ancients had said. Other of his writings, such as the Shih Shuo [A Discussion of Teachers], had something new to offer. Liu Tzu-hou [Liu Tsung-yuan, Tang Dynasty poet] was different, because he steeped himself in Buddhism, the teachings of Lao Tzu, and Taoism as well as materialism. Nonetheless, his Heaven's Answers (T'ien-tui) was too brief. His Heaven's Answers was developed from Ch'u Yuan's Questions Put To Heaven (T'ien-wen). During the past several thousand years, he has been the only person who wrote such a piece as Heaven's Answers. What was said in Questions Put to Heaven and Heaven's Answers? It was not explained clearly and they are impossible to comprehend, and I have only a general idea as to what they are supposed to be about. Questions Put to Heaven is remarkable in that it raised all kinds of questions concerning the universe, nature, and history as early as several thousand years ago.

(In regard to the discussion of the question of combining two into one), the Red Flag may reprint some better articles and write a report.

TALK ON SAKATA'S ARTICLE

(24 August 1964)

Chairman: I have asked you to come here today because I want to look into the article by Sakata [Shoichi]. Sakata says that basic particles are indivisible while electrons are divisible. In saying this, he is taking the stand of dialectical materialism.

The world is infinite. In both time and space, the world is boundless and inexhaustible. Beyond our solar system are numerous stars which together form the Milky Way. Beyond this galaxy are numerous other galaxies. Regarded broadly the universe is infinite: regarded narrowly, the universe is also infinite. Not only is the atom divisible, but so too is the atomic nucleus and it can be split ad infinitum. Chuang Tzu said: "One can take away half of a hammer measuring one foot long daily, but there will still be no end to it even after ten thousand generations." This is true. Thus, our cognition of the world is also infinite and inexhaustible. Otherwise, the science of physics would not develop any further. If our cognition were finite, we would already have recognized everything, and what would there be left for us to do?

Chairman: Man's cognition of things must undergo a great many repetitions, and there must be a process of accumulation. A large amount of emotional data must be accumulated in order to induce the jump from emotional cognition to rational cognition. As to the reasons for the leaps from practice to emotion, and from emotion to reasoning, neither Marx nor Engels discussed it very clearly. Nor did Lenin discuss it very clearly. In his Materialism and Empirical Criticism, Lenin elaborated only on materialism, without elaborating upon the theory of cognition. Recently, Ati Ssu-ch'i [5337 1835 1142] discussed this point at the Higher Party School and he was correct in doing so. Even the men of the ancient past in China, including Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, did not explain it clearly. Mo Tzu did discuss some things concerning the theory of cognition, but not very clearly. Others like Chang Tsai, Li Chuo-wu, Wang Ch'uan-shan and T'an Ssu-t'ung also did not explain it clearly. What is philosophy? Philosophy is the theory of cognition, nothing else. I wrote the first ten articles of the Double-Ten Articles

[Shuang-shih T'iao]. I discussed how substance changes into spirit and spirit into substance. I also said that the time devoted to teaching philosophy must not be too long, one hour at most. The more one talks about it, the more confused one becomes. I also said that philosophy ought to be liberated from classrooms and studies. My words touched the soft spots of some people who thereupon came out with "combining two into one" to oppose me.

Chairman: At present our cognition of many things is still rather unclear. Cognition is always developing. With a large telescope, we will be able to see more stars. In regard to the solar system and the earth, we have not as yet overthrown Kant's nebular hypothesis that both the earth and the sun were formed by the contraction of extremely hot gases. Our earth is most probably still in its youth, and it is growing larger steadily because many things such as meteorites and sunlight, are falling on it every day. The sun has most probably reached its middle age, and it is no longer as hot as before. If the sunshine on the earth's surface is so strong as to reach 100 degrees, how can human beings withstand it? The temperature of the sun's surface is 5,000 or 6,000 degrees, and there is a layer on the surface with a temperature of some 1,000-3,000 degrees. If we say that we do not understand the sun too well, it goes without saying that we also are none too clear about the enormous space between the sun and the earth. Now, with the satellites, our understanding in this field has been considerably enhanced. We are not too clear about climatic changes on the earth, and we must study them. In regard to the glacial problem, scientists are still arguing it out. Li Szu-kuang [2621 0934 0342] maintains that there is a glacial period every one-million years. Whenever this happens, drastic changes occur in the biological world. Ancient dinosaurs became extinct because they could not withstand the frigid cold of the glacial age. Man was produced in between the two recent glacial periods. When it comes to a later glacial age, it would become a problem to mankind, and one must be prepared to cope with the advent of the next glacial period.

X X X: Chairman just mentioned something about telescope which reminds me of a question: Can't we generally categorize such things as telescopes and satellites as being "tools of cognition?"

Chairman: What you say about the concept of "tools of cognition" seems very plausible. The tools of cognition should comprise such things as the axe, machinery, etc. Man's cognition stems from practice. We use the axe and machinery to transform the world, and our cognition is thus deepened. Tools are extensions of human organs. The axe is an extension of our arms while the telescope is an extension of our eyes. The human body and its organs can all be extended. Franklin said that man is the animal that creates tools. The Chinese say that the human being is the wisest of all creatures. Animals have their own pecking order, but the ape does not know how to fashion sticks to knock fruit off the trees. There are no concepts in the brains of animals.

XXX: Philosophical works usually only take the individual as the subject of cognition, but in practical life, the subject of cognition is often not an individual, but a collective. Are we right to regard our party as the subject of cognition?

Chairman: A class is the subject of cognition. In the beginning, the working class was a class in and of itself, and it had no knowledge of capitalism. Later, it developed from a class in and of itself into a class that existed for itself, and by that time, it began to understand capitalism. This was a case of the development of cognition based on class as the subject.

Chairman: There was no water on the earth in the beginning. In earliest times, the earth's temperature was so high that it was impossible to have water, for it would have exploded to become hydrogen and oxygen. There was an article two days ago in the Kuang-ming Daily which says that it took millions of years for hydrogen and oxygen to combine and form water. Fu Ying said that it would take tens of millions of years. I don't know if the author of that article has discussed it with Fu Ying. Only after there was water was it possible for living things to emerge from the water. Man evolved from fish, and there was a developmental stage in which the human embryo resembled fish.

Chairman: All individual and all specific things have their births, development, and deaths. Every person must die, because he was born. Man must die, and Chang San [i.e., any Tom, Dick or Harry] being a man, Chang San must die. No one can see Confucius who lived 2,000 years ago, because he had to die. Mankind is born, and therefore mankind must also die. The earth was born, and so the earth must also die. Nonetheless, when we say that mankind will die and the earth will die, it is different from what Christians say about the end of the world. When we talk about the death of mankind and the death of the earth, we mean that something more advanced than mankind will come to replace it, and this is a higher stage in the development of things. I saw that Marxism also has its birth, its development and its death. This may seem to be absurd. But since Marx said that all things which happen have their death, how can we say that this is not applicable to Marxism itself? To say that it won't die is metaphysics. Naturally, the death of Marxism means that something higher than Marxism will come to replace it.

Chairman: Things are continually in motion. Concerning the theory that the earth revolves around the sun, thus forming a day by self-orbit and a year by complete orbit, there were only three persons in the time of Copernicus in Europe who believed it, namely: Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler. There was not a single person in China. However, there was a Hsin Ch'i-chi of the Sung dynasty who said in his poem that when the moon went down from us here, it would be shining somewhere else.* Chang Hua (courtesy name: Chang Mou-hsuan) of the Chin Dynasty wrote in one of his poems: "When T'ai-i [a constellation] moves in its orbit, heaven will return and earth will travel." That poem is found in the Sources of Ancient Poems (Ku-shih Yuan).

Chairman: All things are both constant and inconstant. The universe was constant, but later, the Chinese scientists Li Ch'eng-tao [2621 2398 6670] and Yang Ch'en-ning [2799 2182 1380] who live in the United States said it is not constant. Does this also apply to the constancy of mass and energy?

There is nothing in the world that absolutely does not change. Changing and unchanging, then changing and unchanging combine to form the universe. Constancy and inconstancy, this is both equilibrium and disequilibrium. There is also the case where the equilibrium is completely disrupted. A generator is a good example to illustrate movement and transformation. What kind of movement is there when the coal is burning?

X X X: It is the energy emitted by the outer layer of electrons of the atoms of the compound when they change their orbit of motion.

Chairman: The transformation of its form in which the water expands and becomes steam is what produces the movement.

X X X: The movement of the molecules produces energy.

Chairman: But this also causes the rotor of the generator to turn. This is mechanical movement which eventually generates electricity which flows into the copper and lead wires.

Everything in the world is changing; physics is changing; Newton's laws of physics are changing. The world has evolved from one in which there was no Newtonian theory to one in which there was, and thereafter, from Newton's theory to the theory of relativity. This is dialectics in itself.

Things are always happening in unexpected ways. Sun Yat-sen originally studied medicine, but he later became involved in politics. Kuo Mo-jo also started out studying medicine, but he later became a historian. Lu Hsun also studied medicine, but he later became a great writer. I myself have engaged in politics step by step. I studied the Confucian classics for six years, attended seven years of school, became a primary school teacher, and later taught middle school. I did not even know then what Marxism was; nor had I heard of Marx or Engels. I knew only about Napoleon and Washington. It was also like this when I found myself involved with military affairs. I served as director of the propaganda department in the Political Department of the National Revolutionary Army, and I also stressed the importance of fighting at the Institute of the Peasant [Movement], but I never thought that I myself would ever undertake military affairs and fight in battle. Later, I led my own men to fight and went to Ching-kang-shan. While at Ching-kang-shan, I had a small victory at first, but this was followed by two disastrous defeats. I then summed up my experiences and summarized them into a set of guerrilla war tactics: "When the enemy advances we retreat; when the enemy rests we harass; when the enemy is tired we fight; when the enemy retreats we pursue." Thanks to Generalissimo Chiang who gave us these lessons; thanks to some of those in the party who said that I did not even have a modicum of Marxism and that they were 100 percent Bolsheviks. Nonetheless, it was also these 100 percent Bolsheviks who caused the party in the White area to suffer 100 percent losses, and the party in the Soviet area to suffer 90 percent losses.

Chairman: We produce neither food grains nor machinery, but what we produce are lines and policies. Line and policy are not produced from within a vacuum. For instance, we did not invent the "four clean-ups" or the "five antis," but it was the common people who told us about them. We must thank a counter-revolutionary in Kwangtung for the emergence of the "four clean-ups" and the "five antis." He wrote to X X and X X to get me to abdicate political power and hand over the armed forces.

The scientists should align themselves with the masses; it behooves them to form close links with the young workers and the veteran workers. Our brain is a processing factory. Factory equipment must be renovated, and so our brains must also be renovated. The various cells of our body are being renewed continuously. The cells in our skin are no longer those with which we were born, but have been changed innumerable times.

There are several types of Chinese intellectuals. Engineering and technical personnel have accepted socialism more satisfactorily. Next come those who study science, while those who study liberal arts are the worst. I can see that this Feng Ting [7458 1353] of yours must be a revisionist, because what he wrote in his books is all Khrushchev's stuff.

Chairman: Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in's Dream of the Red Chamber was intended to patch up the heaven -- the heaven of feudalism. Nonetheless, what Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in wrote was about the decline of feudal families, and this may be regarded as a contradiction between Ts'ao's world outlook and his creation. Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in's family fortune declined during the reign of Emperor Yung-cheng [1723 1735]. Emperor K'ang-hsi had a number of children among whom Yung-cheng was one. Yung-cheng used his secret service operation to oppress his adversaries, and dubbed two other sons of K'ang-hsi, possibly it was the 9th and 10th, as pig and dog.

Chairman: Dissection is rather important. It is like the cook butchering a cow ["Chuang Tzu" parable; very skillfully done]. When Engels mentioned medicine, he paid special attention to dissection. Medicine is built upon the foundation of dissection.

We should study the origins of cells. The cell has its nucleus, a mass of protoplasm, and a membrane. The cell is organic, and so there must have been noncellular norms [cytooes] before there was the cell. What was there before the cell was formed? How was the noncellular form changed into the cell? There is a woman scientist in the Soviet Union who has been sutying this problem, but no result has been reported.

X X X: After China reported to the International Surgical Conference in Rome about the rejoining of a severed hand, Americans said that they could not assess the ability of China's science and technology, and they were a little scared of us.

Chairman: It is good that they were scared; it would be bad if they were not. We are afraid of America because America is our enemy. When America is afraid of us, it means that we are her enemy, and also a formidable enemy. In science and technology, we should pay attention to security so that they won't be able to assess our secret capability.

* [A lyric piece, written to the tune]

"Mu-lan-hua Man:" At a party with wine drinking close to dawn, some guest stated that among the poems written by men of old, there were some which spoke about waiting for the moon to arise, but none about bidding farewell to the moon. Thus, this poem is about the direction taken by the moon: Pity the moon of tonight, wither does it go, and will it be gone forever? Is there another world which will see it, with its bright shadow in the east? Out beyond the vastness of heaven are there long winds to send off the midautumn moon? Who can fasten the rootless mirror flying, and if the Moon Goddess never marries, who can tie her down?

TALK ON METHODS OF SOLIDARITY

(August 1964)

On the question of solidarity, I wish to say something about the problem of method. I have said that in dealing with comrades, whoever they may be, if they are not antagonists or saboteurs, then we must take the attitude of solidarity toward them and adopt the method of dialectics, instead of resorting to some metaphysical method. What is the dialectical method? It means we must analyze everything. We must recognize that one will commit errors. We cannot negate everything if one should commit errors. Mao Tse-tung said there is no person who does not commit errors. I have committed errors myself. These errors have been very useful to me and have educated me. A Chinese adage states that everyone needs someone to support him. A good person needs three buddies. A fence needs three stakes for support. There is another Chinese adage which states that although the lotus is pretty, it must be supported by green leaves. Though your lotus may be good, it must be supported by green leaves. Though my lotus may be bad, it all the more needs the support of green leaves. There is still another adage in China: Three poor cobblers could combine their wisdom to become a Chuko Liang. This is in keeping with the slogan of our Comrade X X -- collective leadership. One Chuko Liang alone will always be incomplete, and will always have some defects. You see that there have been four drafts of the statement by our X X, and the revisions of its text have not yet been completed. I think that the idea of regarding oneself as being as wise and omnipotent as god is rather improper. Consequently, in dealing with errant comrades, what kind of attitude should we take? We should be analytical and adopt a dialectical method instead of a metaphysical method. Our party has at one time become bogged down with metaphysics -- dogmatism, and has gradually learned some dialectics. The basic concept of dialectics is the unity of opposites. Recognizing this viewpoint, how should we deal with errant comrades? First, in dealing with a comrade who has erred, we must struggle against him in order to thoroughly extirpate his wrong ideology. Second, we should proceed with good intention to help him rectify his errors so that he will have a way out.

It will be different in dealing with people like Trotsky. Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Chang Kuo-t'ao, and Kao Kang for whom it would be impossible for us to take the attitude of helping them because they are incurable. People like Hitler, the Czars, and Chiang Kai-shek are also incurable. We could only overthrow them, because insofar as we are concerned, they would be absolutely incompatible with us. In this context, they have no duality of character, and are one and the same. Eventually, this would apply also to imperialism and capitalism which finally must be replaced by socialism. This is also true of ideology. Speaking from strategic objective, we must use dialectical materialism to replace idealism, and atheism to replace theism. But it would be different tactically speaking. There should be compromises. Did we not compromise with the Americans at the 38th parallel in Korea? Did we not compromise with France in Vietnam?

At every tactical stage, one must be adept in struggling and also in compromising. Let me now return to the relationship between comrades. I suggest that there should be negotiations whenever misunderstanding arises among comrades. Some people seem to believe that after admission into the Communist Party, people would become sages, and there would be no differences or misunderstandings among them and that they no longer need to be analyzed. This is to say that a piece of steel must be neat and uniform, and that further negotiations are not needed. They seem to believe that after one becomes a member of the Communist Party, one has to be a 100 percent Marxist. The fact is that there are diverse types of Marxists: some being perfect Marxists, others being 90 percent Marxists, 80 percent Marxists, 70 percent Marxists, 60 percent Marxists, 50 percent Marxists, and some may be only 10 or 20 percent Marxists. Can we not negotiate with two or more persons in a room? Can we not proceed from the desire for solidarity and apply the spirit of helping others to conduct negotiations? This does not mean negotiation with imperialism (although in regard to imperialists it is also necessary to negotiate with them). It is intra-party negotiation. Let me give an example. Did we not negotiate with these 42 nations and with some 60 parties? These were in fact negotiations, this is to say that where the principles of Marxism-Leninism are not impaired, we will accept views that are generally acceptable and abandon some of the views that we can give up. Thus, we will have two hands. In dealing with errant comrades, one hand will struggle against them, while the other hand will solidify with them. The aim of struggle is to uphold the principles of Marxism, which is a matter of principle, and this is only one hand. The other hand deals with solidarity whose purpose is to leave some leeway for others. When we talk about compromises with them we are talking about flexibility. Both principle and flexibility are the same as a Marxist principle, which is a unity of opposites.

No matter what kind of world it is, and in a class society especially, there are many contradictions. It is possible to find contradictions in socialism. I think this is not the proper way to approach the problem. It is not whether we can find contradictions, the world is full of contradictions.

The world is full of contradictions. There is no place without contradictions; and there is no one who can't be analyzed. If we believe that there is someone who can't be analyzed, we are believing in metaphysics. You can see that in atoms there is the unity of contradictions; there is the unity of opposites between atoms and electrons; there are neutrons and antineutrons in neutrons [sic]. In short, unity of opposites exists everywhere. With regard to the concept of unity of opposites and with regard to dialectics, it is necessary to carry out extensive propaganda. It is my view that dialectics should be taken out of the realm of the philosophers and placed among the broad masses of people. I suggest that this problem should be discussed at the meetings of the party's Political Bureau and at Central Committee meetings; it should also be discussed at the meetings of local party committees at all levels. In fact, the secretary of the branch headquarters of our party is versed in dialectics, and when he prepares to make a report at the branch party meeting, he will often jot down two points in his notebook: first, the good points, and second, the shortcomings. This is to divide one into two, which is a common phenomenon, and is also dialectics.

INTERJECTIONS AT AN ANTI-REVISIONIST REPORTS MEETING

(4 September 1964)

Is it easier to beat the snake by luring it to come out or by crawling into the dark snake hole? (We supported the release of Suslov's report. It was not released, but it came out after eight commentaries were made.)

Ever since 1956, the Soviet Union has denounced Stalin. After we have published our first and second comments, they lost their own initiatives.

Not only have our two families taken this stand, but Eastern Europe has also begun to follow suit. (The Soviet Union criticized Romania for its self reliance. Romania fought back, using our own criticisms against the Soviet Union.) This is no longer an internal affair, but has become publicly announced in radio broadcasts.

China is not the first to be involved in the conflict between control and anti-control; it is the countries of Eastern Europe. (Romania has already made preparations to sever her economic relations with the Soviet Union. She cannot make her own armaments, and has asked China to send someone to visit Romania. We won't have to talk to make people scared; we don't have to talk there. It would be very important if we only shake hands with them.)

We must get prepared, prepared for the break, and try to let the situation drag. If anything should happen, it must not catch us by surprise. What happens in the world is that after a long union, there will be division, and after a long division, there will be union. (Sino-Soviet relations)

The Nanchang Uprising was a tremendous event, and in the wake of it, there were left only a few persons, growing later into an outfit of 300,000 men. After the Long March, a few thousand troops were left, and they were developed later. A mountain does not have to go very high. (The old Communist party of Brazil had 40,000 members, and a new party has been formed with only 6,000 members. Which is more reliable: 40,000 or 6,000 members?)

It is only with revisionism that there can be long live Leninism!

If one does not pay attention, there is bound to be revisionism. If one pays attention to it, it may appear or may not appear. When one is prepared for its appearance, it may not appear at all.

HIGHLIGHTS OF FORUM ON CENTRAL COMMITTEE WORK

(20 December 1964)

Chairman: The Premier reported that you did not even dare to mention the words of "catching up." I added for you "not only catching up but also surpassing." I also added the passage that "Sun Yat-sen said in 1905 that it could be surpassed." Since I have said this, there is no need to publish it in the newspaper. You should read some modern history. Articles written by men like Wang Ching-wei, Hu Han-min and Chang T'ai-yen are not included in the Complete Works of Sun Yat-sen. You should also read the New People's Miscellaneous Journal, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's Collected Essays of Yin-ping-shih, and especially Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles. There is not much substance in the Three People's Principles, it has no substance. In his later years, Sun Yat-sen's knowledges declined. He was an orator and an instigator, speaking very eloquently and earning huge applauses. I had listened to his speeches and talked with him. He would not allow others to argue with him or to present their own views. In fact, his words were full of water, but had very little oil, and he was rather undemocratic. I think he could make himself a good emperor for 60 years, without any democracy. When he entered the hall, everybody was supposed to rise and say Mr Sun. He was so undemocratic and so ignorant that when he was defining communism for the rightists, he would draw a T'ai-chi diagram first, and then draw a smaller circle inside it, and write the word communism. On the outside, he would draw still another circle, which he would call socialism. Finally, he would draw a large circle, and write the words "Principle of People's Livelihood." He would say that both socialism and communism are included in "my Three People's Principles." Commander-in-Chief, you never thought highly of him.

Premier [Chou En-lai]: When Sukarno speaks of the "five foundations," he also includes socialism in his "five foundations."

Chairman: Do you know a Hunanese by the name of Mien Yun-shan [4884 7189 1472]: He said at first that Sun Yat-sen was unlearned, being dubbed Big Cannon [loudmouth] Sun. But Huang K'o-ch'iang was better and more erudite because Huang was a Hsiu-ts'ai scholar [holding a degree] and could write in

Su Tung-po's calligraphic style. Later, he went to Kwangtung, met with Sun Yat-sen, and his attitude changed completely. He said: "Mr Sun is really most remarkable!"

Why can't Yu Ch'iu-li serve as deputy director of planning? Isn't he brave and enterprising? There is also planning work in the Ministry of Petroleum. He must bring with him some new working style.

Premier: Go there to stir up a pool of stagnant water.

Chairman: Do you (pointing toward Ho) endorse it? We have now some people who would never do summing ups, and are concerned only with small matters, not big ones. Four letters are published in today's People's Daily (Note: this refers to the four letters published in page 2 of this column: "From Where Comes Correct Planning?"). Was this organized by Ku Mu?

XX: No. This was done by Hu Chi-wei and others.

Chairman: I have read all of them. Who wrote the remarks?

X X: The remarks were written by Hu Chi-wei.

Chairman: Not written by Ku Mu? Before I would never read Jen-min Jih-pao. I learned this from Chiang Kai-shek who would not read the Chung-yang Jih-pao. There are now in the Jen-min Jih-pao fewer things like how cabbages are grown, and there are some discourses. Let Hu Chi-wei consult Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien and Chieh-fang-chun Pao where there are considerable materials of an ideological nature. Some children read only Jen-min Jih-pao. I asked them if they read Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien and Chih-fang-chun Pao any more.

(X X has come.)

Chairman: You speak up first, and be the commander. If you don't speak up, we will adjourn the meeting.

X X: We have had meetings for several days. Some comrades have talked about a number of problems. We raised many problems, and our basic concept is unanimous. We have all stationed at local points which is a very good thing. Let's have some discussions.

Chairman: Let us discuss what contradictions we have.

X X: We have all been stationed at selected basic units. Our understanding has been unified.

Chairman: The time is short.

X X. It's still the preliminary stage and the first time. We haven't seen the mobilization of the masses, matured experience. We haven't seen what it's like after the masses have been mobilized and must wait until after the mobilization.

Chairman: It will be possible only when the provinces, counties, communes, brigades and teams have mobilized the masses and formed poor peasants associations.

X X: I know something about the rural villages, but understand very little about the urban areas. I have seen more data on rural areas. I have been trying to read the data on urban factories. But this is still only a preliminary experience for me.

Chairman: The experiences of Pai-yin-ch'ang [Silver Plant] seem to be more mature.

X X: It has been two years since Pai-yin-ch'ang was established. I have also seen Kao Yang-wen's report which seems to require some further explanation. He could write something more of a summary nature. In short, our experiences of stationing at basic units are still in their preliminary stage and consequently there are many problems which we cannot explain. After you have experienced this for the second and third times, you will have a better idea of where to start and some basis for comparison. After you have acquired some understanding of the rural areas, you will be able to make additional comparison and understand the situation. We have now seen the seriousness of rural problems. In some units, it would take two years to undertake this task, and the methods may vary. You will understand it when you engage in it later. In a county, it may take two years, but in the large factories of the urban areas, it may also take two years.

Chairman: It should take two years! If it is extended, it may take even three years, since we must thoroughly resolve the problems. The time may also be shortened somewhat.

X X: This is true in Hsiang-t'an and Shantung. Ch'en Cheng-jen suggested that the Loyang Tractor Factory should also take two years to do it.

Chairman: We must solve the problem.

X X: After one has become adept, it won't take such a long time. There is a problem, that is, what is the principal contradiction in the rural villages? X X said that a well-to-do stratum and a special stratum have formed in the rural areas. The main contradiction, he said, is that between the broad masses of poor and lower middle peasants and the well-to-do and special stratum. X X X said that this is the contradiction between the masses and a coalition of landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and bad cadres. Is this true? (XX: Yes, it is.)

Chairman: Landlords and rich peasants are the masters backstage. On the stage are the four unclean cadres. Power is held by the four unclean cadres. The poor and lower middle peasants won't be satisfied if you struggle against the landlords and rich peasants only. What is more urgent is what to do with the cadres. The landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements are not in power yet, and moreover, they have been struggled against before. The masses do not care too much for them, but the main thing is that these bad cadres have been riding over their head, and they are so dismally poor. These landlords and rich peasants have already engaged in the distribution of land, and have thus become odious. But the power holders haven't been struggled against, and haven't become odious. He is a power holder; the upper echelons listen to him; he is also given fixed wage points; he is moreover a member of the Communist party.

X X: This is the first round. In the back of the power holders are landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements, or elements of the four categories who have wormed their ways into our ranks. Some bad cadres do not have close relations with landlords and rich peasants. Among landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements who have wormed their ways into the organization are included landlords and rich peasants who have escaped class demarcation and become poor peasants and Communist party members. They are also power holders, though not belonging to the former landlords and rich peasants. The latter have become odious, but not this group of people.

Chairman: In the case of Huang-chung County which was mentioned by X X X, it was Ma Pu-fang's [7456 2975 5364] chief of staff.

X X: Such cases are in the minority even in the Northwest.

Chairman: They are in the minority in the Northwest and also throughout the country.

X X: We should hold discussions on how to draw a line of demarcation and how to unify our language. How should we discuss principal contradictions?

Chairman: Let's talk about power holders. They want to have more wage points: "The five great leaders?" Aren't the "five great leaders" power holders?

X X: T'ao X has raised this question, and reactions have come from various quarters. Some endorsed him: others did not. I have heard that some one in the Central organs did not endorse him. There are three kinds of people: landlords who have escaped demarcation, the nascent bourgeoisie, and the rotten ... The status of most of them is that they come from laboring people, and are not clean in their political, economic, ideological, and organizational stands. They connive with landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements, and some of them have been manipulated by the latter. There are also some landlords and rich peasants who have escaped class demarcation and become power holders. Some landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements have rid themselves of these labels and become power holders.

Chairman: Which is more in the latter two categories?

X X: Those who have escaped class demarcation are more numerous.

Chairman: We need not concern ourselves with class or stratum, but with these power holders, Communist power holders, and the "five great leaders" who follow the power holders. Since you are the power holders now, the purpose of mobilizing the masses is to rectify our party.

X X: Some of the production team cadres have also become bad.

Chairman: The majority of production team cadres aren't party members, which is unreasonable. There are several, a dozen or a score of party members in a brigade which is too few. This is a dead situation that has been going on for a long time and it seems to suit someone's taste. The crucial problem is party rectification; otherwise it would be impossible. There can be no hope if the party is not rectified.

Premier: This is also true in government offices. Aren't you Liu Hsiufeng of the Ministry of Building Industry, Li Wei-han of the United Front Department and Chang Chih-i of the Political Consultative Conference all party members who must be removed? We have announced it among the democratic personages, and they were very shocked.

Chairman: The Communist party is a prestigious party. Let's not mention strata which involve too many people who have been scared and offended. Let's discuss party committees only! The local committee is a party committee; so are county committees, commune committees, brigade committees, as well as party branches. They belong to the left, center or right. I believe the rightists are a minority, and those who are ultraright constitute only a small portion. The left is also a minority. The middle-of-the-roaders are more numerous and they must be won over. You should single out these people. X X X has said: Utilize contradictions, strive to secure the majority, oppose the minority, and break them up one by one. It is necessary to rally and to fight, to fight while rallying, and vice versa. We should develop progressive forces, strive to win over middle-of-the-road forces, and isolate the stubborn forces. We haven't discussed these tactics for many years.

X X: This is the tactic of the united front.

Chairman: I think this is still useful; there is Nationalist-Communist coalition even in this party now. There is also a united front.

X X: This is practically so, but we mustn't mention it outside.

Chairman: A few have become rotten, and some provincial committees have also become rotten, such as your committee in Anhwei, yours in Kweichow, yours in Tsinghai and yours in Kansu! (Some said Yunnan also.) Yunnan is an "individual" case, and has not reached this point, yet. Wu Chih-fu of Honan is so extremely "leftist!"

X X: We need not mention the rich class, but call them new exploitative and oppressive elements, or mention them only as the so-called corrupt and theft elements, or speculative and profiteering elements. If they should form into an entity, they may also be called a clique.

Chairman: Don't mention strata; it suffices to call them elements or cliques. You should study them. Elements may also have cliques, or cliques elements.

X X: Their contradiction with the broad masses is that these few people oppressed and exploited the majority. It is the majority who are oppressed and who want to make revolution. This minority of oppressors in the world will be isolated as their oppression is intensified. Here lies our faith.

Chairman: Exploited and oppressed, many people are disaffected and so they want to make revolution.

X X: There are certain conditions which must be cleared up. One is that landlords and rich peasants are standing on the forefront. They should be overthrown. The other consists of landlord and rich peasant elements who have escaped class demarcation. This kind of people will never do anything good. After the data on them have been cleared up, it would be easy to deal with them. All landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, and bad elements who have wormed their ways into the party should be dealt with like the four category elements. There are also some poor and lower middle peasants who, during the land reform, engaged in revolution. Later, they were won over by landlords and rich peasants, and they have been riding over the heads of the masses to repress them. A severe struggle should be conducted against these people. They should be asked to thoroughly reimburse [the masses].

Chairman: The third group is the principal one, and they form the majority.

X X. Since there were many areas where land reform was peaceful, many have escaped class demarcation.

X X. Landlords could change their personal status after undertaking five years of labor, and rich peasants could change their personal status after undertaking three years of labor. Some people who have rid themselves of their labels have later become bad. This stipulation is no longer practical and it must be changed.

X X. That's easy, we can give them another label.

X X. During the land reform, we suggested the policy of neutralizing the rich peasants.

Chairman: We made some mistakes because of our lack of understanding. At that time, with a view to stabilizing middle peasants, we only took away from the rich peasants that portion of land they had gotten by feudal exploitation. No data were reflected on their infringement against middle peasants, and after the poor and lower middle peasants have been mobilized, they would invade the middle peasants. Are there cases where middle peasants were classified as rich peasants? You have waged struggles against middle peasants in northwestern Shansi.

X X: In Northwest Shansi, there was the mistake of checking the past three generations, and grain was confiscated for the purpose of tiding over the famine.

X X: One group has been given labels; one group has escaped class demarcation; there was another group which used to be poor and lower middle peasants, but they have become powerful and bad. Among the original poor and lower middle peasants (Chairman: even middle peasants), most of them can be won over and can enhance their class consciousness. But you must not take away their property, watches, bicycles and new houses. The masses are disaffected. It is necessary to ask for reimbursement and compensation.

Chairman: You may speak about the third group.

X X: If they do not reimburse or make compensation, it is also not conducive to educating the cadres.

X X: By taking away these things, it would educate the new cadres. It is no longer possible to serve as cadres. We must win over the majority, and give labels to the few, and this policy should be fixed.

Chairman: As for a few of the vicious elements, we should give them the label of new bourgeoisie.

X X: In my view, these people, after all, are not Communists. However, the important thing is to rectify the Communist party, regardless of whether you come from among the laboring people or are escaped landlords and rich peasants... In short, as a result of the struggle, the number of families given labels should not exceed 7 percent - 8 percent, and the number of persons should not exceed 10 percent.

Hsueh-feng [7185 1496]: Does this include those who are there now?

Chairman: What do you think? Otherwise, too many people would be offended. You must know that they are not a sheet of iron and they change: some rich and some poor, some up and some down, some good and some bad, and some powerful and some not in power. On this question I am somewhat on the right. There are so many landlords and rich peasants, Kuomintang elements, and counter-revolutionaries that they might constitute 20 percent of the people in a peaceful evolution. How many people would there be if 20 percent were marked out in a population of 700 million? I am afraid there will be a tide towards the "left."

Hsueh-feng: We must patiently win over those cadres that can be won over. Otherwise, the proportion of poor and lower middle peasants will be diminished drastically.

Chairman: If the masses should do the demarcating, it would affect your taking the mass line. The masses would demand that more should be demarcated, and the cadres also wanted the same. The result is that this would be inimical to the people as well as to the poor and lower middle peasants. Among the four-unclean cadres, the majority are those who committed 40, 50 or 100 yuan of corruption or graft. When this batch is liberated first, we will then be the majority! After we have explained the reasons to them, those who have committed errors will continue to make revolution. The plant directors, work section chiefs, and group leaders mentioned in that report are all veteran workers. After they admitted their mistakes, they should be allowed to continue their work!

X X: There is well-to-do class with the so-called "three great pieces."

Chairman: They have become well to do first and used the methods of deducting wage points. They bought bicycles and woolen clothes. There are also poor and lower middle peasants who became prosperous afterwards.

Chairman: The original "Four clean-ups" is called "one clean-up" in economic matters. This was started in Hopeh.

(General discussion: The context of "four clean-ups" was positively presented in the First Ten Articles. It was added by the Chairman, and has been reported by X X X later. The Hopeh provincial party committee has also elaborated on it from the opposite viewpoint.)

X X. In North China they consider communes and educational institutions generally as "four cleans."

Hsueh-feng: We spoke first about the four unclean of economic matters and the four unclean of politics. Later we added organizational unclean, and Comrade X X X reported that coupled with ideology, there are four unclean.

Chairman: I did not have this impression. I won't endorse your way of denigrating X X X. The earliest I have seen this mention was X X X's.

K'ang Sheng: X X's presentation of the four unclean is very good. I enjoyed his report.

X X: You attributed this to Hopeh, but X X X is also a native of Hopeh Province. All landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements who have come into power are bad, and there won't be any good ones. The question is when the poor and lower middle peasants come into power.

Chairman: What we have to do is to liberate those who have committed grafts of 100 to 150 yuan.

X X: That may not be so. There are many with corruptions amounting to hundreds of yuan, and those who committed graft and corruption involving several thousand yuan or 1,000 catties of grain are also numerous. Perhaps we should liberate those who have committed graft amounting to 1,000 yuan, and ask them to pay back the money.

Chairman: What can you do since you cannot squeeze out all the toothpaste? It may be possible to keep some. How can you squeeze it so clean? Let's be lenient!

X X: We must squeeze as much as possible. One exploits the masses, while the other exploits the state. They should pay back, and the reimbursement must be stringent and thorough. Where it is especially vicious, and if one should stubbornly resist to the end, there must be confiscation.

Chairman: The state also belongs to the people. We have nothing ourselves. It is correct to seriously exact repayment. And it should be proper and reasonable. We need not talk about "thoroughness."

X X: To what extent should this be carried out? It may be well to do it on a percentage basis. There are some honest persons among landlords and rich peasants whose labels could be removed, though the number is extremely small. Conditions of the children of landlords and rich peasants vary. There are some whose family properties have been divided, and some whose family properties have not been divided. Some have behaved well, and some haven't

X X: What is that percentage? From the outset, it would be necessary to divide up the four unclean cadres. There are some landlords and rich peasants whose performance has been good, and they should not have labels. Among poor and lower middle peasants, it may be advisable to put labels on a very few, such as the label of new despot elements. Nonetheless, in regard to the majority, we must divide them and win over them. They can not serve as cadres or party members; they aren't targets to strike at, but are objects to win over.

X X: This is not yet the time, but in future the new exploitation elements will eat more and possess more.

Chairman: Eat more and possess more, this is rather complex! It is primarily people like us who have cars, houses and steam heat, and chauffeurs. I have only 430 yuan. I can't afford to hire secretaries, but I must.

X X: How much should be returned and repaid?

X X: It will be all right after this has been carried out to some extent.

Chairman: The masses know that when it gets to a certain extent, it'd be all right. The toothpaste can't be squeezed clean. There are only 18 families in some places, and how can you catch lice if there is none?

X X: Is it possible to set up one or two such elements in each brigade? Some must be given labels, and after the label of certain elements has been worn, it will be easy to handle them. The labels can be removed later.

Chairman: Just call them some elements, and leave some way out for them! Don't involve their families, and the labels can be removed at some point. Among those whose labor is good, no label for corrupt elements should be given.

X X: Where the transformation is good and voluntary, they should not be made to wear any kind of label.

Chairman: Ch'en P'ing was famous for his ability to cut meat evenly. When he became prime minister, he was corrupt. Chou P'u and others charged that whoever bribed him more would get higher offices, and whoever gave him less money would be made a lesser bureaucrat... Liu Pang therefore asked Ch'en for a talk, telling him that people have charged him for corruption. He said: I have to support many people and I have no money myself! Liu Pang said, I will give you 40,000 ounces of gold to engage in the united front. With 40,000 ounces of gold, you would no longer have to commit corruption. This drama entitled "Banquet at Hung-men" is no longer performed. Ma X X used to play the role eloquently and exuberantly. People would refer to him (Ch'en P'ing) in citing cases of corruption, especially Ts'ao Ts'ao. This is in a crucial stage now, and I am afraid that I am pouring cold water!

X X: If the masses are fully mobilized, they will be understanding and reasonable.

Chairman: Sometimes this isn't so. Once the masses are aroused, they become blind, and we have our own blindness too. In the past during the Wu-han epoch, the masses mobilized factory strikes and reduction of wages. There was unemployment and blindness.

X X: I had suspected it then.

Chairman: Now what I fear is the pouring of cold water. It is still in the anti-rightist stage. Not counting December, during January, February and March next year... at least we must work for another five months. The first thing is that the area in which to hit at must not be too wide, and secondly don't pour cold water. Don't announce it to the lower echelons that the toothpaste shouldn't be squeezed too clean and that corrupt elements could also serve as prime ministers.

Hsueh-feng: Among antagonists should be included the serious four unclean cadres, nascent bourgeois elements, and the old bourgeois elements and landlords and rich peasants in the society. (The former) should be called corrupt elements and speculators.

X X: It's all right. In regard to the four unclean cadres, we must ask them to reimburse and make compensations. We have not yet clarified...

Chairman: Where no four clean-ups have been undertaken, it may be possible to first lend some money to the state to relieve the poor. When the movement is launched later and when corruption and graft are found, no repayment would be needed.

X X: How much can be reimbursed in general? Can the repayment and reimbursement reach 70 or 80 percent? If it can only reach 50 percent, it won't pass the hurdle.

Chairman: The question now is whether there are still real goods on hand. If there are no such things, then they cannot be squeezed, and if there are, they can be squeezed all right. They consist usually of the "four big items," gold and silver, houses, and what is buried underground.

(Hsueh-feng: In serious four unclean cases, it is generally followed by speculation and profiteering.)

X X: It is even more different in urban areas. In the "three original policy" of joint operation, the United Front Department has never attacked the bourgeoisie. Whenever there was a movement, it would first issue a notice to protect the capitalists and their representatives. The new and the old stay together. This is very serious at the top echelon and in factories and companies. Consequently, the first target should be clear, and we must concentrate our strength, to rectify the department, the factory and the party. For instance, in a department, members of the party group should be rectified first; in a factory, the secretary of party committee and the factory director should be rectified first. It is necessary to make this stipulation clearly, for otherwise the cadres in power would slip away.

Chairman: By catching wolves first and foxes later, we have thus found the problem. It'd be impossible if we don't start with the power holders.

[Li] Hsien-nien: If we don't rectify the power holders, we will eventually rectify poor and lower middle peasants.

Chairman: The basic problem lies here.

X X: Strike at the wolf first and catch the fox later. We must not talk about strata. Otherwise, if you emphasize the bourgeois engineering and technical personnel, or the petty thieves and pickpockets, or students who come from uninfluential capitalist families, the cadres would be very enthusiastic. The consequence is that the cadres might slip away easily, and it will

be impossible to strike at them. For instance, the root of the trouble of Pai-yin plant lies in the provincial committee and the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry. Unless this is cleared up, it will be impossible to improve Pai-yin Plant.

Chairman: Who is the root of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry?

X X: I have not heard who is the root of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry. (X X: Wang Hao-shou)

X X: The principal contradictions at the present stage and the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat center around the four unclean, principally four unclean cadres and the power holders.

X X: If they are not cleared up now, they will recur later.

Chairman: It will recur with the lapse of two or three years. This does not depend on the will of man. One will escape class demarcation, one will be born anew, and one will disintegrate. That's the power holders' group, and the principal target. Of Tu Fu's nine poems on "Leaving the Great Wall" (Ch'ien Ch'u-sai), people remember only these four lines: "One often chooses the stronger bow, and one uses the longer arrow in shooting: and when shooting the enemy one shoots the horse first, and one captures the king first when one is out to catch the thieves," but not the other verses. After catching the big ones, we can clear up the foxes later! In regard to the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, we also must catch the king before the thieves are caught, and catch Wang Hao-shou! He shouldn't be minister, and should be demoted to a manager. We will reform him after we have caught him from his horse.

X X: The focal point is the party.

Chairman: The focal point is the party. In the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry it is the party committee and so it is in Pai-yin Plant. It is also the party committee in provincial committees, local committees, hsien committees, and commune committees. When one grasps them, it will then be possible to cope with the situation. When you Kao Yang-wen first went to Pai-yin Factory, you also harbored him, but once you have stayed at the point, you changed. Have you Wang Hao-shou changed?

X X: When Lu P'ing [7120 1627] was being rectified at Peking University, bourgeois professors came out to protect him. Wasn't Comrade X X X considered a rightist at Yen-an? It was done well at Tsing Hua University where the masses were mobilized.

Chairman: You of the Lu family name, when X X X was rectifying X X, I had stood on your side. Can X X still be the president of the university? Of course not, X X X X X! It seems that Tsing Hua is better. (Someone asked: are the four cleans and four unclean the principal contradictions in rural villages? No.) (Someone asked: What's the character of these affluent strata?)

Chairman: What character? Antisocialist capitalist character. Plus feudalism and imperialism?! This is because what we are undertaking is a democratic revolution which has opened the way for capitalism and also for socialism. By staying at a point, you are opening the way... Anyway, we cannot do everything, and we will leave something for the next generation. Don't take the ages of people like us as a criterion.

X X: Two kinds of contradictions interweave together and that is where the complexity of the problem lies.

Chairman: Others engage in corruption and theft. What socialism is there?

X X: Some of them have no lice, and some lice are very small. There is a tactical problem and bad cadres are responsible for it.

Chairman: If you rectify him will he still be responsible for it?

X X: The four-unclean cadres have created many rumors, alleging that "masses will be rectified first and cadres later." It should be explained clearly that cadres will be rectified.

Chairman: What does this matter? Cadres will be rectified first.

X X: Cadres who ate more and took more than their shares must make reimbursements. What belongs to the commune members need not be returned. It does not mean that only the poor and lower middle peasants are exempted from this. In this way, the misgivings of the masses will be dispelled. Next, liberate those cadres who have taken more than their share. If the things were shared between cadres and commune members, only the excessive portion taken by cadres will be returned.

Chairman: Divide one into two! One for the masses and one for the cadres.

X X: Then concentrate your efforts to deal with a few of the most serious cases.

Chairman: There are so many steps. I won't endorse what has been done in An-yuan in beginning to make connections with small staff members. In An-yuan, you had Hsiao Chih-yuan, Chu Chin-t'ang, and Chu Shao-chien. The latter had two wives, but we maintained contact with him. When a trade union of the Canton-Hankow Railway was being set up, we did not know a single person there. We found a foreman who also had two wives and was later executed.

X X: Strive to win over the majority and isolate the minority. We must not be deceived. What Comrade Hsueh-feng said about planting the roots in veteran bona fide poor peasants is correct. But what roots laid in the beginning might not be necessarily good, and we could utilize some of the brave elements.

Chairman: Let's utilize some brave elements! When we started to fight battles, we depended on vagrants because they dared to die. There was a time when the army wanted to weed out the vagrant elements, but I opposed it.

X X: It may not be easy to find honest roots as soon as the work team begins to operate. What roots we discover may not be necessarily good, and they will emerge only when the time is ripe. Don't tell a root that he is such.

Chairman: Let's leave the question of roots alone, we are committed to socialism anyway.

X X: One batch of active elements follows another. After undergoing struggle, they would also have gained seniority and how can you say they are not qualified?

Chairman: Wasn't Li Li-san senior in qualification? It was only at the time of emergency when he could no longer cope with the situation that he invited our state chairman to go there.

X X: Not only Li Li-san, but Chiang Hsien-yun [5592 0341 0051] also ran away. There were more people who knew Li Li-san because he proclaimed the victory. At that time, nobody was allowed to kill, and if you should kill, we would strike.

Chairman: When that mine suspends work, it will be filled with water in three days.

X X: People may not support us if we try to look into the history of exploitation. In seeking out active elements among the poor and lower middle peasants, one may not get the right ones from the outset. In X X X's place, they have changed some 30 percent of them! It seems better for us to discover them in the process of struggle.

Chairman: You are engrossed with honest people which shows you don't know how to work...

X X: It is better to work on both cadres and the poor and lower middle peasants simultaneously. Back to back, he won't know it. When one cadres exposes another and the masses also expose him, the news will leak out.

Chairman: Are these well informed people? Why then did Chao Tzu-yang live in a poor old peasant's house to feed dogs? He was afraid others might get him.

X X: First, they are back to back, and then they sit on the presidium. Let these poor peasants participate in a cadres' "bath" meeting first, they cannot be chairman at once.

Chairman: He has not read Sun Yat-sen's First Step of Democracy (Min-ch'uan Ch'u-pu). Won't it be possible to get a brave element to the chairman? In short, we shouldn't describe that vagrant proletariat so badly.

X X: We still do not have sufficient experiences of the five antis. The number of bad cores in factories may not be too small. There are problems in both the basic and middle strata. In order to rectify the leadership core, we must rectify both the basic level cadres and middle level cadres.

Chairman: Has Wang Hao-shou changed?

X X: He has made progress.

Chairman: I am glad that he has improved. This man has had some relation with me. I don't know whether he has emulated the Liberation Army and the Ta-ch'ing oilfields.

X X: In short, once one becomes separated from physical labor, he will go astray. It is a must to take part in labor.

X X: Whether one can practice "three togethernesses" is the principal key to whether one can stay at the point and align himself with the masses. It's especially important to participate in labor. Once there is participation, any problems can be resolved. Jen Pai-ko [0117 4101 2047] went to stay at the Chungking Steel Mill where the "three fixes and one replacement" was implemented successfully. Some cadres there have learned only the skills of making steel.

X X: These people have technology and they should not be kept away from production. To do the work, it suffices to give them some time.

Chairman: How many hours will be required each day?

X X: It's sufficient for a small group leader to have half an hour to an hour, and the plant director to have 1-2 hours.

Chairman: All staff members of sections and offices have gone down. There are tens of thousands of people at Ta-ch'ing and all kinds of public opinions, but they all labored under strict orders. X X scolded this time! He wanted everybody to stay at selected primary units. I scolded my mother in vain. After X X scolded them they went.

X X: The majority of cadres were veteran workers who should be criticized and won over.

Chairman: This is why we must issue strict orders. There must be a Ch'in Shih-huang. Who is China's Ch'in Shih-huang? It is X X X. I am his aide.

[Hsieh] Fu-chih: There is the question of how to deal with so many people. There is also the question of how to handle bonuses which form a part of the workers' wages.

X X: There are many good people in the factory. The cadres there are not any weaker than those we have sent down. If we take them out for training, they won't be able to carry out their tasks! You recruit 20 percent from them and when you have gained some experience, we will reap the benefit. All cadres engaged in the five antis should be recruited from the factory concerned. There are more people in the factory who can be trained into backbone elements. This is what Hsieh Fu-chih did, and Ch'en Cheng-jen has also trained 400 people.

Chairman: It should be undertaken throughout the country. You (referring to Hsieh) will recruit half of the personnel from your factory to develop another factory. Thus, with one factory, we can have two.

X X: The technicians and engineers of the factory should also take part in class struggle, and pay attention to the movement before they can become both red and expert.

Chairman: They are not that expert. They won't unite with the masses, or participate in labor. They won't listen for other people's views. Or they would look and see, but won't make any real effort... Yu Ch'iu-li's method is to issue strict orders. There are 7,000 people like him among an outfit of 60,000. There were all kinds of opinions.

X X: There are all kinds and shades of opinions. "Participation in labor would affect research," "I have just been promoted and they want me to do labor work now..."

Chairman: It would be better to issue a strict order to ask everybody to do down.

(Someone suggested: We should set up revolutionary committees. There is so much corruption in the trade unions which won't work now.)

X X: The Loyang Tractors Factory is launching a five antis representatives conference.

X X: It seems the trade union system is no longer feasible. We must reorganize it. Whenever there is a good one, it can be reorganized under whatever new name, but it must be revolutionary, and we should begin with organizing 20-8- percent of the active elements.

Chairman: It will be wonderful if we can have 30 percent.

X X: Moreover, how should we deal with the surplus personnel from factories and offices? What do we do when they come to us?

X X: They shouldn't be sent up. It should be, as Hsueh-feng said, handled by themselves with one lazybone sandwiched between three diligent persons.

Chairman: It would be better to have three diligent workers mixed with one lazybone in the factory, as Comrade Li Hsueh-feng said! I didn't say it! It won't be good to use one's neighbor as a dumping ground. We can divide one into two in this factory, with three diligent ones and a lazybone! Do not be afraid! Disperse them properly.

X X: We might just as well give some labels to these bad people, and send them to the countryside to labor.

X X: If one has a home to go back to, can he do that?

Chairman: Who has a home to return to? How many tens of thousands of you have gone to Kiangsi and have returned to it? The factory can be moved. To concentrate on a few thousand, it would take only a few tens of cadres to control them. How can you say there is no way to handle 40 percent of them? If everybody must be sent up, I want to see where to send them. Maybe we can send them to him (referring to the Premier).

X X: I also believe the future is very bright indeed. There are tens of thousands of people in each township, and in each factory... Regarding Comrade Li Hsueh-feng's talk yesterday on the theory of cognition, where do people get their correct ideology? If the leadership is good and Marxism-Leninism is truly practiced, with the enhancement of culture, of the theory of cognition, and of Mao Tse-tung thought, there will be both centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, a united will and a pleasant individual mood, as well as a vivid and active political situation. But if the methods of thinking and working in a large factory, a county or big city are not sound, then they will change their color. So many cadres have emerged from Hsing-kuo and Shang-hang in Kiangsi.

Chairman: There is also Yung-hsin.

X X: There is the Kirov Factory in the Soviet Union which used to be known as the Hammer and Sickle Factory, and after the October Revolution, its cadres were found throughout the USSR. After setting up a large factory, a large hsien or a large city will have cadres to transform the entire nation and even the entire world, thus bringing about a change in people's spiritual outlook. A large factory can influence an entire city, nation and world. If the present work teams continue their efforts, it will have an effect on our new type of personages...

Chairman: Lenin paid great attention to the peasants and founded a worker-peasant alliance. (Communist Manifesto) He was afraid of the petty bourgeoisie, over emphasized their weaknesses. The petty bourgeoisie has a dual character, and it depends on which side you emphasize. How many petty bourgeoisie are there in China? There are even more vagrants and proletarians.

He was even more harsh towards vagrant proletarians by stressing their negative aspect. But they also have their positive aspect and according to our experience, are also amenable to transformation.

X X: It is also true of the offices which are very bright. The basic problem is that there must be a strong leadership core, Marxism-Leninism, the proletarian ideological system, 3-8 workstyle, and the 4 firsts which, when implemented and persisted in, will greatly change nature and man's outlook. After the passage of years, the world will also change. This will be a tremendous contribution to the world proletarian revolution. The October Revolution was brisk and lively. Stalin built socialism. Later, it became dismal with stagnation. Then Khrushchev tried something... The world has not had any experience in freely mobilizing the masses under socialism to engage in revolutionary struggles. A Communist reporter of Iceland asked me what conditions would bring about a capitalist restoration.

Chairman: Two probabilities: One is restoration, and the other is no restoration.

X X: My answer for them is that we should mobilize the masses to engage in the four clean-ups, five antis. Wages should not be too high, and half work and half study should be introduced to gradually eliminate the gap between brain labor and manual labor. Chairman Mao has spoken about the three great revolutions, namely: class struggle, production struggle and scientific experiment, and urged us to avoid revisionism and insure the construction of a powerful socialist state. When we go into action, this will be our working style. As of now, China's population constitutes one-third of the entire world population. After this one-third has done the work, the other two-thirds will come over to us.

Chairman: We hope we can develop and build a very respectable nation, which is one probability. The other probability that we may not succeed. Then what do we do? It does not matter. Don't be impatient; don't hope that it will be consummated during our lifetime. If one-third of a province does its work well, it may not have to work in the other two-thirds, because when this one-third moves, the other two-thirds will also move. You have in Hupeh 71 counties. One-third of this is about 24 counties, which is just well.

X X: But it would be impossible to do well in one county and one factory... unless labor is provided and unless one has Marxism-Leninism and Chairman's Mao's theory of cognition...

Chairman: In teaching the theory of cognition, it has been customary to neglect its link with practical work. But apart from practical work, what's the use of teaching theory of cognition and teaching philosophy!

X X: With it one can create....

Chairman: It does not mean that everybody will feel fine; there is bound to be some who won't feel good. Landlords, rich peasants, bad elements and undesirable elements won't feel good, and during a specific stage the four-unclean cadres won't feel good. Otherwise why should they block it?

X X: Should it be necessary to kill people? I think it would be better to kill individually... mass killing would be harmful. Once there is killing, there would be a panic. But this does not mean that no one will be killed, and what time to kill must also be considered.

Chairman: It may be necessary to shock the people. Too many may be killed. What is the harm? First, if we try to use him later, there would not be any living material. Second, it would embitter his family -- the vengeance of a father killed. We may incarcerate first the one who must be executed. It is impossible for us not to kill, but we must not kill too many. Kill a few to shock them. Why should we be afraid of shocking them? We must shock them. There is another aspect, that is, the one killed by mistake won't resurrect.

X X: In a case like Tientsin's Li Hui-liang where no material is available, if she was not killed, it would antagonize the broad mass of people.

Chairman: This has caused problems in the Peking drama circles.

X X: How many children of the landlords and rich peasants should engage in labor?

Chairman: If they are commune members, they of course are peasants! How can you not allow the people to participate in socialism and monopolize it for your family only?

Hsueh-feng: Poor and lower middle peasants are also called commune members, and so this cannot resolve the problem.

Premier: They are all peasants! Let's call them peasants.

Chairman: You better argue some more!

INTERJECTIONS AT A CENTRAL WORK CONFERENCE

(27 December 1964)

(Note: Remarks in brackets were made by Comrade Ch'en Po-ta.)

[What is the principal contradiction? The Chairman has summed up everyone's view. The principal contradiction is the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. Four cleans and four unclean do not explain the nature of the problem. The feudal society is the problem of clean officials and corrupt officials. The drama Four Imperial Scholars (Ssu Chin-shih) is one which is opposed to corrupt officials!]

When the viceroy of the province made an inspection tour, the earth would shake and mountains would tremble. It was so formidable!

[Clean officials during the feudal era were fictitious in substance. "Serving three years as a clean perfect official, one can earn 100,000 ounces of silver." The word clean has different class meaning in different societies. There are also so-called clean officials in capitalist society, but these clean officials are plutocrats.]

In Lao-ts'an's Travels (Lao-ts'an Yu-chi) by Liu O of the Ch'ing dynasty, it is stated that clean officials were even more pernicious than corrupt ones. Later, I discovered that they held the same view in the Wei History (Wei Shih) of the history of Southern and Northern dynasties.

[Which epoch had no internal contradictions? Contradictions intertwine both inside and outside the party, and there are parties within the party. The Kuomintang also has had this problem.]

There are at least two factions in our party: one is the socialist faction, and the other the capitalist faction.

[The Chairman has stressed that we must listen to the words of all quarters; Good words, bad words, especially words of opposition. We must listen patiently. This determines whether or not work is done well.]

What if one has talked too long? As Comrade Li Hsueh-feng has said, one will be given zero for a grade if one is long-winded. Let him ramble on, and anyway, nobody would listen to him!

[Many people have forgotten whence they have come. One should not forget one's origin! If I myself did not join the revolution, I'd be at best a primary school or a middle school teacher.]

Big officials came from small officials, and small officials came from the people. We have all come from the people, and are still common people! "Generalissimo Chiang" was not named Chiang, but his family name was Cheng [6774], and was called Cheng San Fa-tzu [6774 0005 4099 1311]. He was a native of Honan. He knows only his mother but not his father. Didn't he also come from the people?

[The Chairman has often said that one must not consider one's self as being right. When a village cadres reaches a position of authority, he'd consider his own opinion as the correct one.]

One must not consider that his own opinion is right when he gains power. When one believes he is always in the right, he would never believe he is. Why then should there be meetings? Because opinions are divided. If they are unanimous, why should they meet?

[One isn't afraid of officials; one is afraid of control!]

Small officials are afraid of big officials; big officials are afraid of foreigners.

SPEECH AT THE CENTRAL WORK CONFERENCE

(28 December 1964)

I don't have much to say. Is this document (referring to the 23 Articles) all right?

Article one, regarding the nature of the problem, is such a provision feasible?

There are three kinds of presentation. Are the first two better or is the third one better?

I have discussed it with members of the Standing Committee and also with several local comrades, deeming that the third method of presentation is better.

This is because the name of the movement is the socialist education movement, not a four clean-up education movement, nor an educational movement on intertwining contradictions.

At the Pei-tai-ho conference in 1962, the 10th plenary session of the Central Committee issued a communique, stating that we should undertake socialism, not capitalism.

During the first half of 1962, there was blown the "wind of individual farming." There were also "three conciliations and one reduction" and "three freedoms and one contract" which blew with terrific force. Teng Tzu-hui [6772 1311 1863] was one of those in the "wind of individual farming," there being several others beside him. Some comrades were persuaded; others listened, but would not reply or answer questions.

We have undertaken socialism for so many years, yet some comrades would not respond or answer questions.

In April and May there was not a single local comrade who said that the situation was fine, and only army comrades said it was all right. I heard this directly from Hsu Shih-yu, X X X, and indirectly from Yang Te-chih and Han Hsien-ch'u. It was then in May, and they would say only that the situation was bad, and that there was such a general atmosphere.

When I went to Tsinan in June, several comrades told me that the situation was good. Why was there this change? They did not reap wheat in May, but in June they did.

Why should I talk about the situation at Pei-tai-ho? It is because someone said then that if "production was not contracted to each household, it would take some eight to ten years to recover." Should we undertake socialism, or capitalism? This was a kind of class struggle. Consequently, it was asked "whether class, class struggle and class contradiction exist?"

Thus, it was felt by the standing members of the Political Bureau and through public discussions that the third method of presentation was more appropriate because it envisaged the nature of the problem.

The focus was to rectify the power holders within the party taking the capitalist road. Comrade Ch'en I said that he was also a power holder, and if you wouldn't take the capitalist road, you could still be the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Article 16, regarding working attitude; this means that democracy must be stressed.

When you say every day there must be democracy, this is undemocratic. When you ask others to be democratic, you are not democratic yourself.

There have always been three great democracies in the army. When you cannot capture a fortress, you will summon the soldiers, fighters and squad leaders to hold a meeting and discuss strategy. You will then find the way. This is military democracy.

Political democracy -- the three great disciplines.

Economic democracy -- the mess should be managed by fighters. Do they still manage it now? This cannot be left entirely to the care of the quartermaster. There are two officers in each company: a sergeant clerk and a quartermaster. The sergeant clerk is in charge of copying work, which is to write reports. It seems terrific, because he knows a few characters.

One should listen to both good words and bad. There is no problem if you prefer to hear good words. The problem is with bad words. I once spoke at a rally of some 7,000 people, saying although "one should not touch the buttocks of a tiger, I [lao-tzu] insist on touching it." Later, I realized that expression was uncouth and changed it. In this case the I denotes the laboring people and lower echelon cadres, and people like us aren't too good to touch. If you wish to expose his scar or blister, it won't be too easy!

One should listen to both correct words and incorrect words. You should listen to what is right, but even though it's wrong, continue to listen. If others should criticize you wrongly, what does it matter? You are correct, and when someone makes a wrong criticism, the responsibility is his. What does it matter if you listen to him? But if you won't listen, it is no good. When it is correct, and when the criticism is apt, you must listen. If the criticism is wrong, it behooves you all the more to listen. Moreover, especially when they say something against you, you must listen patiently. That is rather difficult to do.

You must allow the other person to finish his talk which is also somewhat difficult to do. He may talk quite long, and there may be too much water and too little rice, resembling a bowl of congee. I have suffered from such ordeals many times. There was someone who talked for two hours, but still didn't get to the point. I asked him if I could help him, and then he got to the point. When at Yen-an, X X X once came to visit me. He rambled on for two hours without getting anywhere. I asked him what he wanted from me, and then he mentioned his purpose. There was then another comrade who would only lecture, and would refuse to answer my questions. I could only listen to his lecturing. There are many such people in the world whose purpose is to lecture others. They want to lecture people like me, copiously and ramblingly.

There is a distinction between propaganda and incitement. In propaganda many concepts are linked together; in incitement, there is only one concept or one slogan. For instance, when you conduct a strike, you present a slogan which is very simple. This is called incitement. When you write articles, make reports, and engage in lengthy discourses, this is propaganda. When you hang up posters, this is incitement (mobilization for a specific event).

X X X discovered this, and he talked about it twice, taking 50 minutes one time, and zero minutes another time because nobody wanted to listen to him! I have always advocated that in listening to speeches, one must not clap hands. If you don't like to listen, you may take a nap. When your talk is boring, it'd be better for him to take a nap to maintain his health. It is better to maintain one's health against such ordeals. Another way is to read a novel. I did this when I was attending school, and in this way I kicked out the teacher. (He related his story as a student.) This could have been my fault, or perhaps it was because what the teacher lectured on was uninteresting that I began to read novels, and later I invented napping. Don't say that I have had no inventions, because I also invented. (laughter) I used this method to punish those who, instead of engaging in some form of dialogue, would merely lecture, and to harass those teachers who were prone to giving lecture, but would not allow their students to ask questions or question their students as a way of stimulation. If there is a teaching syllabus in a class, the teacher won't have to lecture. All he has to do is to let the students read it, and raise some questions for student discussions. When the government work report was presented this time, I suggested that it need not be read. But they said there might be some illiterates, so I conceded and it was read. I also clapped. In this kind of meeting, I am also for clapping hands.

Among comrades, you must not make others afraid of you. But in the case of the enemy, you must make him afraid. One must by no means make others afraid of you among comrades! If you do so, there must be some trouble with you, for otherwise, why would you want others to be afraid of you? When you make others afraid of you, it must be because you are weak in reasoning.

In army units in old days, the squad leader would train his soldiers with these methods: beating, scolding and detention, and nothing else. He was undemocratic. Later, we said that beating and scolding should not be permitted, and now detention has also been abolished. Soldiers desert, and if they desert, let them go and why apprehend them? To capture the deserter and shoot him, why! Why would others desert? It is most probably because they could not live in your place. Let them run away. If you want to get the deserter back, you will have to admit your errors to him and invite him to eat rice and pork. You should tell him that if he still wants to run away, he could do so, but if not, he could stay. You can't use the method of beating and scolding and incarceration to deal with deserters. Let the deserter run away, because such a soldier has a rather low positiveness, and what is the use of keeping him? He could flee to some foreign country, and what does that matter? China has so many people. They might denounce us, but then so many people have denounced us, including Khrushchev and Kennedy who are not Chinese. The musician Fu Ts'ung has fled to England. I say this is good. What's the use of keeping this kind of person in the country?

I have spoken only on these two points: the nature of the problem, and the working attitude.

DIRECTIVE ON THE QUESTION OF CLASS DISTINCTION

(Date Unknown)

It is necessary to determine class status. Although bad people are in the minority, they nevertheless occupy some of the crucial departments and are in authority... There should be distinction between one's class component and one's own performance, primarily the latter. To draw class lines is to ferret out the bad elements.

It is also important to distinguish between class background and one's own performance, with emphasis on the latter. The exclusive component theory is incorrect. The question is whether you take the stand of your original class or take a changed class stand, that is, taking the side of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. Moreover, you are not supposed to engage in sectarianism, but must unite with the majority, even including some of the landlords and rich peasants, as well as their children. There are some counterrevolutionaries and saboteurs who should be transformed, and if they wish to transform, we should have them, one and all. But if we consider only the background, then even Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin would be unacceptable. For instance, Marx studied idealism first and materialism later before he developed Marxism. Both Hegel and Feuerbach were his mentors in the field of philosophy.

In undertaking class determination in factories, our purpose is mainly to find out those Kuomintang secretaries general, reactionary officers, escaped landlords, and landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements. As in Pai-yin Factory, it was to check the bad people, not everybody, and not the technical staff who came from exploitative classes. Some of them used to serve the exploitative class. If their present performance is good, we should trust them, and even though it is not too good, they must be transformed. Some of them have come from exploitative classes, and so we must see how their performance is.

In order to produce socialist theory, it behooves intellectuals to study the existing phenomena of class struggle, to enhance the results of their study theoreticially, and to proselytize them, thus changing the working class from a diffused into an organized class, and from a self-developing into a self-conscious class. The workers, because they have to work and earn their living everyday under exploitation and oppression, cannot produce Marxism by themselves. Marx was not a worker himself, but he could perceive the trend of development, and after studying analytically, succeeded in changing bourgeois philosophy into proletarian philosophy, and bourgeois political economy into proletarian political economy, thereby educating the workers. In point of fact, it is impossible for a worker to read so many books, or to read such bulky volumes, though the advanced ones could perhaps read more. The phenomenon of class struggle has existed for millenniums, and even the bourgeoisie conceded that there was class struggle. It was only Marx and Engels who made it into a theory and systemized it. We must knock down the bourgeoisie. Socialism has succeeded capitalism. I myself also learned from the landlord class by studying Confucius' books for six years and by attending bourgeois schools for seven years, spending 13 years altogether. I was then only 20-odd years of age, and was basically ignorant about Marx. It was only after the October Russian revolution that I heard of Marx and read his books.

WHY THE "FIRST TEN ARTICLES" AND "SIXTY
ARTICLES" CAN MOBILIZE MANPOWER

[1964 ?]

It is because they have resolved contradictions among the people, the relationship between leaders and those who are led, and has organized strength. Man is the foremost factor among such factors as productive forces. Man, means of labor (including animal labor, farm implements, fertilizers), and objects of labor constitute the three great elements of productive forces. By implementing the "Sixty Articles" and "Double Ten Articles," it is possible to bring about vastly different results with the same manpower, animals, farm implements, land, and so forth.

(After talking about rural socialist education, "if the poor and lower-middle peasants are righteous, landlords and rich peasants will be convinced"): This may not be necessarily so. If poor and lower-middle peasants are righteous, there may be such a possibility later, and they must also not be righteous. When you say that landlords and rich peasants will be convinced, it does not imply that they will all be convinced.

(On a spurious labor model at Hsiao-chan who did not work, but earned 15,000 wage points in a year, worth 2,000 yuan"): That makes him an exploiter, and we must dismiss him. The accounts must be cleared, and he must be made to return what he has earned.

There are also some little despots who should also be rectified.

In cases of corruption and violation of laws, there are both bourgeoisie and proletariat. Things are so complex that it would be strange if there were no such cases. It is better to have some opposite sides.

(On Ch'en Yu-mei of Ch'en-chia-chuang, Ch'u-fo, whose per-mou production dropped from 500 catties to 300 catties after she was struggled against, but last year, her per-mou yield recovered from 300 catties to 600 catties): One must still rely on self-help. Things can always change. To strike down

good people is like striking down Molotov, from 500 catties to 300 catties. When Molotov rises, it increases from 300 to 600 catties. It is possible for people like Ch'en Yu-mei, who never attended primary school, not to mention college, to do remarkable things.

The advent of revisionism, marks the ascent of the bourgeoisie onto the [political] stage. That is the dismal truth. It is like what has happened to Ch'en-chia-chuang where they chopped the trees and destroyed the vineyards. They even took away tables and chairs from the house. But good people regained power, everything changed. Khrushchev would also change the Soviet Union into such a dismal place where trees would be chopped down and the vineyards would be destroyed. Were it profitable, he would even borrow money from the devil. We won't take such a road. The devil won't give us loans, and even if he did we wouldn't accept them. We will rely on Ch'en-chia-chuang's Ch'en Yu-mei and Tachai's Wang Yung-kuei.

Don't just look at the dark side. Anything can be divided from one into two. Ten percent of the models can mobilize the majority, and rectify some 10 to 20 percent of bad elements.

Some of the party branches have been usurped by wayward veteran party members. They have a way of harassing the county committee members. They ask you how many Central Committee members you know and what are their names. If you cannot answer, they say your problems are insoluble. People at the upper echelons basically won't go down; they don't understand the situation.

TALK ON THE FOUR CLEAN-UPS MOVEMENT

(3 January 1965)

I won't visit your honorable place if there is no business, and when there is, we will hold a meeting. Some comrades ask me, "how do you fight a war of annihilation?" In a county of 280,000 people, 18,000 were assembled together, and after two months, the battle still had not been fought. It took 40 days to study the documents, and why should they be studied so long? I think this amounts to some sort of scholasticism. I don't advocate this kind of study. It's no use merely to read documents. (Liu X X: Several ten thousand people in Honan were concentrated in a few places, and they devoted some 40 days to it, which was to oppose the rightist trend. They have clarified some problems.) (Liu Tzu-hou [0491 1311 0624]: We also concentrated on anti-rightism and relieving ourselves of our burdens.) Was there any result? One could study the documents in a day, and discuss them on the ensuing day. It might take a week to discuss, and then go down to the countryside. The main thing is to study in the rural areas and learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants. One of my security guards, 21 years old, has written me saying: "After studying the documents for some 40 days, I basically did not understand them, and only began to understand something after I came down to the countryside." This means one should only study documents for one week, and then go down to the countryside in order to learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants! He said that he was afraid of a number of things: being afraid people might die, and the wrong roots would be planted. He was afraid of this and that, and how could it be possible if one was so timid? Although there are 18,000 cadres in a county of 280,000 people, they will still say it is not enough. Why should there be so many? I think it is definitely too many. Since the work teams have so many people, and you must rely on the work teams, then why don't you rely on the 280,000 people of that county? When you rely on the good people there, even though there may be a bad one in 28, you will still have 27 good people. Even though there may be two bad persons, you will still have 26 good ones. Why don't you rely on these people? Even with some 10,000-20,000 people, you still could not finish it after one or two months. You say you will take root and make contacts, but what roots and what contacts?

It was all so dreary which means that you did not rely correctly. If you had relied on the right people, it would be sufficient to have a dozen or more people for each county. In short, we did not make revolution like this before. Some 10,000-20,000 people were mobilized to undertake the movement in a small county like a torrential rain, and after several months the work still was not launched. When a trade union was launched at the An-yuan Colliery before, we did not know a single person among An-yuan's workers. As soon as we arrived there, we made speeches. We asked who would like to enroll in night school, and found out who the foreman was. He had several wives. Did we organize a club? (X X X: We didn't.) After three months, a strike was launched there.

I think that after entering a village and meeting the masses, we must first of all announce several things:

First, we should announce to commune members that we have not come for the purpose of rectifying them. Maybe we could also announce to some of the honest landlords and rich peasants that we would not rectify them. With the exception of some landlords and rich peasants that have escaped [class] de-termination and some of the counterrevolutionary elements and speculators with serious problems, all petty thieves and pickpockets could be exempt. We should announce openly that what we would rectify is the inside of the party, not the commune members. We should announce that our purpose is not to rectify you. If you have done something wrong, you should discuss it among yourselves. If there are serious cases among some members, we could discuss them individually, but this number is extremely small.

Second, we should also announce the purpose of our visit to the cadres. Cadres of teams, brigades and communes generally fall into these categories: large, medium, small, and nothing. There are some who eat more and own more, others who eat more but own very little, and still others who have nothing whatsoever. Where it involves a few tens of dollars, 100 dollars or 200 dollars, you can admit to it yourself. If you can return it, good, but if not, it can be canceled with the approval of the masses, since that is all you have done! After you have confessed, there will be no trouble, but there will be trouble if you don't.

Where the reimbursement has been made satisfactorily in the cases of corruption and theft and speculation and hoarding, no labels will be given. Where the performance is good, one can continue to serve as cadre with the approval of the masses.

After entering the village, a rally should be held within a month or so. The rally should be held with the county as the unit; each team being represented by its leader and two poor and lower-middle peasants; each brigade being represented by the branch party secretary and brigade leader; and each commune being represented by the party secretary and commune leader. Several rallies should be held, each lasting one day. First, we should tell them the purpose of the visit, It should not be long. A half-hour speech should be

sufficient, for if one should talk for an hour, they would be bored listening to it. Let them convey the message to lower echelons. In a county with a population of 280,000, there are about 3,000-odd teams. With three persons from each team, there would be some 10,000 people. It would be impossible to assemble everyone at one rally and so it should be divided into two or three rallies, each lasting one day. Then a rally of 10,000 people could be held and the people would feel pacified. What you have been doing seems so insipid. So many work teams have been set up, and after several months of endeavor, the movement still has not developed. They lack experience, and the majority consists of people who don't know how to work. Some 20,000 people went to T'ung-hsien, and after one year, the work there was not completed. Some of them did not work well, and others were bureaucratic. I think if we make revolution this way, the revolution will take 100 years. Some professors were in the work teams, and they weren't as good as their assistants, while some of the assistants weren't as good as the students. The more books one reads, the more stupid one becomes, knowing almost nothing. That is all.

You won't annihilate the enemy if you fight the battle of annihilation this way. It behooves you to rely on the masses and to mobilize them. You are lackadaisical in taking root and making contacts, and this atmosphere is too thick. This method is different from the method we used before. In order to annihilate the enemy in a matter of months, I think you must change the method. If you don't rely on the masses, the movement cannot be launched in a few months. Please think up some methods!

Your (referring to Liu Tzu-hou and Chang Ch'eng-hsien [1728 2110 0341]) local committee's secretary, Li Yueh-nung [2621 1878 6593], is the team leader, and he has not launched the movement after several months. Try to think up some remedy! Why couldn't he get the work done? (Liu: he has been too slow in stressing taking root and making contacts, and while I was in Jen-hsien, big rallies and small meetings were held simultaneously.) Cadre meetings and meetings of poor and lower-middle peasants may be held in the brigade or in the county. Last year, an all-province poor and lower-middle peasants representative conference was held in Hunan with salutary results. Hunan's grain production this year has increased some two billion catties, and so it has yielded results. If you are so afraid that you will plant the wrong roots, then where can you hide yourself? A rally must be held as soon as we enter the village, and it should be attended by all poor and lower-middle peasants, including landlords and rich peasants that have escaped [class] determination. We must promulgate a few articles, but not read the Double Ten Articles one by one.

Genuine leaders and good people stand out only in a struggle, but you can't see them by visiting and interviewing the poor and impoverished people. First they aren't relatives, and secondly, they aren't friends. Thus, I don't believe in visiting and interviewing them. I was in Changsha when a strike was being organized by the Hankow-Canton railway. Although we didn't recognize a single person there, we didn't look for the two foremen. One of them

was Chu Shao-lien [2612 4801 1670] who had two wives. He also wanted to make revolution because, as foreman, he was oppressed and his wage was too meager. This man was heroically sacrificed later. Where did we get a method to take root and make contacts like this? When you go out to develop and engage in mass movement, or to lead a mass struggle, the masses will do what they want to do in the struggle, and they will then create their own leaders in the struggle. (Liu Tzu-hou spoke about his own methods of holding struggle meetings when he was stationed at Jen-hsien.) In these struggle meetings one should also discuss last year's distribution and wage points, and pay attention to production. What they have in the south, they don't have in the north. Relieve famine where there is famine; where there is no famine, settle wage points, and engage in distribution for the current year as well as winter production. The four clean-ups can be deferred to a later stage. Four clean-ups means cleaning up cadres and cleaning up a few people. Where there is something unclean, clean it up; where it is clean, no cleaning up will be necessary. There must be some clean people! When there are no lice on a person, how can you find lice? (Liu X X: One high tide follows another, and we must not procrastinate. One cannot be thorough by procrastinating. There was a time when it took 40 days to study documents, to engage in scholasticism. My personal security guard wrote to tell me that after studying documents for 40 days, he still did not understand them. After he had gone to the countryside to stay at a selected primary unity, he began to understand. I have always opposed reading documents in this manner. It is a superstition that it takes 40 days to study documents. You should hold rallies, engage in struggle -- three levels of area and county struggle rallies.

Hsieh Fu-chih's method deserves adoption. Recruit 20 percent of the people for training. In a factory of 6,000 people, there must be 5,000 that are reliable. Why won't you rely on these 5,000 people instead of relying on your work team's 500 people? I think it is sufficient to have you alone. How could a minister fail to launch a movement with some 5,000 people to depend on? Don't be engrossed in documents and don't take so long to train. Go and get the struggle under way. When we fought wars before, we fought from the outset. We won some and lost some, and never read any books. Some people say that I brought Romance of Three Kingdoms in the fight, but who would fight a battle in accordance with the book. Commander Lin was a professional in fighting before, and X X was also a professional before. X X X is also a professional. Whether one is a professional or an amateur, you can only learn it by fighting. If you don't fight and merely learn, how can it be possible? (Asking Hsieh Fu-chih): Were you also studying the Double Ten Articles when you launched a training class of some 1,000 people or more? How did you study and for how long? (Answer: We studied some, and very soon we went to take up the struggle.) Why cannot training classes be held with the brigade or with the commune as the center? The so-called training class is tantamount to a struggle meeting whose purpose is to understand conditions and understand diverse personalities in order to engage in investigation and study. After most of the people have been struggled against, then someone can be designated to make a summing up. In short, what I mean is we must rely on the worker-peasant masses. Chang Ch'eng-hsien and Li Yueh-nung, who have served as cadres in Hsin-ch'eng County, Hopeh, and still do not understand how to launch a mass movement. With so many people [you] still failed to develop it. Li X X was

the secretary of the local committee of Pao-ting. He first suggested the four clean-ups, but when he went to the countryside, he engaged in something else. Yet when the masses insisted that four clean-ups be undertaken, he listened to them. ...This is the Li X X, secretary of Pao-ting local committee, who in 1962 launched the four clean-ups campaign. That was because at that time we were confronted with oppressions. Whether we were fighting, or engaging in a peasant movement, or launching a labor movement, there were capitalists in the factories and landlords and gentry in the countryside. The Kuomintang oppressed us both politically and militarily, and we had no alternative but to rely on the masses. We had then very few cadres who were party members. There was not a single party member in a factory of 1,000 or 10,000 people. If there were one, we could make revolution or stage a strike. There was not a single party member in the Canton-Hankow Railway, yet it launched a mammoth strike. Now that you have founded a party, entered cities, and become bureaucrats, you are no longer adept at launching mass movements.

Why is it that those who attended military academies would not consult books when they were fighting? During five months at the Whampoa Military Academy, cadets became regular officers for four months. The cadets underwent some training, did some drill, and then graduated. Comrade Lin Piao said that when he came out to be a company commander, he did not know how to fight. A squad leader was experienced, and so he listened to him. After fighting a few battles, one becomes adept. I won't believe that one will be able to fight after studying. Can an intellectual fight after a few years of reading? Not being able to fight is reasonable, and one will know how after a few years of fighting. Haven't our work teams also offered some ideas? (Liu X X: The poor and lower-middle peasants have plenty of ideas, and though we also offered some, primarily they are their ideas.) It is necessary to listen to them, to the masses, and to the poor and lower-middle peasants. What we must do is mobilize the masses to revolt against the corrupt and speculative elements. It is important to get the arch wrongdoers, the lesser ones should be left alone. (Liu: One is to mobilize the masses; the other is that after the masses have been mobilized to a certain degree, the work team should control the temperature, and be adept at observing the situation, deciding when to attack and when to retreat.) It is like in a strike: when to strike and when to resume work. The same is true in battle. You must decide whether to attack or to retreat. Won't you retreat if the situation becomes impossible? Sometimes, both sides have to retreat. When we were attacking Kao-hsing-yu, Chiang and Ts'ai retreated towards Kan-chou while we retreated into the mountainous ravines, each on his own.

(Asking Ch'en Po-ta) How big a rally was held at Tientsin? (Ch'en's answer deleted.) Impossible. Terrible! Such a waste of time. Better not to have held it! (Ch'en's rejoinder omitted) So many work teams for 1,000-odd households, and the work could not be developed because there were too many people. It is impossible to engage in a human sea tactic. Where there are some 1,000 households, you can develop the movement by relying on 700 or 800 of them, and one Ch'en Po-ta would be enough. If you feel that there aren't enough men, you can bring another fellow. What you do is nothing more

than to announce: My name is Ch'en Po-ta and I won't visit your honorable place if there is no business. If there is, a meeting should be held. Most of the people are innocent, and only a few are guilty. Let's rely on the majority!

(The Premier interjected: Ch'en I just said that Chang Hsi studied for two months before she went into the city). The more she studied the more stupid she became. Strongly anti-rightist, in the end she leaned towards the right. In what county was Chang Hsi? (X X X: In Chu-jung County). I have always opposed the study of documents. It takes only a few hours to read a document. You should bring it down with you to study. When going down to the countryside, the first thing is that you must not study documents; secondly, don't bring too many people; thirdly, don't take root and make contacts isolatedly. Meetings should not be too long: longer when there are things to say, and shorter when there is not much to talk about. It is necessary to give the masses a free hand. It is no good if you trust only work teams, but not the masses. One of my own boys spent 40 days studying documents and still was ignorant about their contents, but he began to understand them as soon as he went to the country-side. There was another one at T'ung-hsien who said that the professors did not understand, though assistants were better, and the students understood even more. I told my boys: You have studied for 10 or more years, and have become all the more ignorant, knowing almost nothing. Tell everybody that for 20-odd years I grew up by eating honeydew, being ignorant about everything. Ask your uncles and aunts for guidance. It seems that students proved to be better than assistants, and assistants better than professors. The professors have read too many books. Otherwise how could they become professors? When these people go down, they obstruct the four clean-ups. Their purpose is not to engage in the four clean-ups movement.

One is Hsieh Fu-chih's experience, in which struggle was launched through training classes. The other is the experience of Honan in which "triple alliance" struggle meetings were held. They undertook struggle for one month to 40 days. They did not read documents; rather they engaged in struggle, mobilized the masses, and understood the conditions. In short, they waged struggle. (X X X: In the brigade where I was stationed, we worked for two months, and succeeded in surfacing some 20,000 dollars [of illicit money] and 100,000 catties of grain.) There is still some oil to squeeze; we can borrow some money from them since they have plenty of money. The masses can still be hopeful, whether it is looking after the five-guarantee households or undertaking production. The meeting should not be too small. Some teams have only a dozen or more households, with a dozen or more members. It would be difficult to talk with them straightforwardly. In a brigade there are usually a dozen or more teams, and when a rally is held, a few hundred people will attend it at the most!

I could never see that so many people would be needed, and with that many people, I believe it cannot be handled well.

In short, we must rely on the masses, not the work teams. The work team either does not understand the situation or is ignorant. Some of them have become bureaucrats and obstruct the movement. Some of the persons on the work teams are not dependable. Now, a front such as this has been formed: one is T'ung-hsien, and the other is Hsin-ch'eng county. If someone says there aren't enough men, we will cut it down by one-half, and if someone still is not satisfied, we can cut the other half. One-half of T'ung-hsien's 20,000 people have been sent to other areas. Is it still impossible if a county has 5,000 people? (K'ang-sheng interjected: Taking root and making contacts was discovered by Old Teng...) True, these were invented by Old Teng! Mystifying! Don't announce the purpose of our visit. It is necessary to announce what we wish to do: Production, distribution and wage points, and devote ourselves to these matters. We may talk a little about the four clean-ups. Whether to clean-up or not must be discussed by the masses. If there is something to be cleared up, we will clean it up, but if not, let it go. What belongs to the masses won't be liquidated. There must be several hundred people to hold a rally, which should be based on the brigade as the unit. The team, with its dozen or more households, is too small. When they say that a rally is to be held in the county, news will travel fast. County committee secretaries who have serious problems should go to some other county to serve on work teams. I think the present method of doing it is too erratic. There were some 1,000 households in the area assigned to you -- Ch'en Po-ta, and at the beginning, a few persons launched the movement successfully. The number was increased to some 500 later. Why should you have so many people? (Teng X X interjects: Let us set a longer time and oppose rashness.) Wouldn't it be better if it were accomplished in five or six years, three or four years, or two or three years? Methodology is very important. It is too much to concentrate 10,000 or more people in one county. It was developed by the peasants themselves, with only a few cadres. There were then seven or eight departments: agriculture department, finance department, militia department.... They were all brave elements at the beginning. It was these elements who besieged the county government. Their demands were too excessive; in reality they could not be that excessive. A few of the power holders wormed their way in, which constituted a serious problem, but the majority could be won over and utilized. If it is excessive, the masses may not approve of it. We can be more liberal, and it may be faster, but not too excessive. (Liu interjects: Reliable workers must constitute a majority in factories.)

The work team is not all that clean. Won't it be necessary to dismiss all questionable persons? Not necessarily. There might be in the work team some corrupt people and speculators. They must confess. People like us have neither knowledge of nor experience with corruption and speculation, but they have, and so they are indispensable. When concentrating forces to fight a battle of annihilation, how can we fight if the problem of direction is not resolved? So many people, and yet we cannot develop the movement. It would be better to adopt Ch'en Po-ta's method. It is not possible to rely on the human sea tactic which is bound to cause problems.

Wang X raised the question of switching cadres from one county to another and from one commune to another. When there is a newcomer whose background is unknown, the masses will dare to speak out. With a new commune leader and new party secretary, they will dare to talk about their predecessors. The movement can be developed very quickly. Why should it take so long?

For now the work team should not be so pure. Taking root and making contacts is dreary without any mass movement. With some 10-20,000 people concentrated in one county, they still complain it is not enough. (Liu X X, Teng X X....)

It behooves the poor and lower-middle peasant associations to clarify the problems and talk with T'ao [and] X.

DIRECTIVES AFTER HEARING THE REPORTS OF KU MU
AND YU CH'IU-LI ON PLANNING WORK

(January 1965)

(In January 1965, Comrades Ku Mu [6253 3668] and Yu Ch'iu-li [0151 4428 6849] reported to the Chairman on planning work. They mentioned dare to think and dare to do.)

One must dare to think and dare to do, instead of being random; one must break down superstitions, not science. Don't try to spend half a day talking, with planning and with experimenting, or there will be no results in the end.

(They reported on how many X X ten thousand tons of steel can be produced this year.)

Isn't there such a report that when the British heard that we were engaged in making adjustments and consolidation, they were afraid? Don't undertake adventurism, but do concern yourself with quality, variety and specifications; then they will be afraid. Add quantity slowly. Don't be impatient.

(They mentioned three-line construction.)

We must grasp three-line construction firmly, especially during the time of struggle with imperialism and with revisionism.

(They reported that our technology must catch up with and surpass international standards?)

Yes, we must have... no matter what country, no matter what missiles, atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, we must surpass them. I have said before, when the atomic bomb is exploded, even if one-half of mankind perishes, there will still be one-half left. When Snow was talking with me, he asked me why I did not deny the rumor, and I said I did not want to. I simply said that if war breaks out and one-half of mankind dies, the other half will still be left.

There are some people who are even more terrible than me. There is an American movie which describes the situation so terribly. Khrushchev has said much, much more than I. He said there is a weapon which could wipe out mankind, a death ray. I did not refer to China, but said that one-third of the world's population will perish, and at most, one-half will die! With three-line construction, we will develop the steel industry, national defense, machinery, chemical and petroleum industries, and railway bases. By that time, we won't be afraid if war breaks out. If they are not completed, what can we do if there is war? We can fight them with conventional weapons. Before we did not have aircraft and artillery... and no TNT, and did we not win? We can continue to construct even when we are fighting: you fight your war and we do our construction.

(They mentioned that new technology must be adopted in designing.)

One must compare in designing, as to what costs less and accomplishes more, and what costs more and accomplishes less. Should the design personnel design at their own home or on-the-spot? I have seen an article on the design of a 12,000-ton hydraulic press, and some designs have failed once, twice, or even hundreds of times. There won't be success without failure.

YOU FIGHT YOUR WAY AND I'LL FIGHT MY WAY -- A CONVERSATION
WITH THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION DELEGATION

(March 1965)

Japan had capitulated, and we were again forced to fight. There were two methods: you fight your way and I'll fight my way. Whatever the military logic, it can be reduced simply to these two sentences. What is your fight your way? He seeks me out to fight, but cannot be found, thus ending abortively. What is I'll fight my way? We concentrate a few army divisions and brigades, and eat him up.

Everything is divisible. Since imperialism is a thing, it also is divisible, and can be eliminated piece by piece. Chiang Kai-shek's 8 million-man armed force is also a thing which can be eliminated piece by piece. This is known as smashing the enemy one by one which is the logic expounded in ancient books of Europe and China. It is very simple, and has no profound logic at all. Don't read books, for who would ever bring a book to read when fighting? I would never read when fighting. Read less, for it won't do any good to read a lot.

The battlefield is a school. I don't oppose military academies. They can remain open, but the school term should not be too long. It would be too long if it lasted two or three years. A few months would suffice. No army, naval or airforce academy can be all that outstanding.

There are certain modern sciences which require a longer time to learn, such as guided missiles and atomic bombs which must be researched and manufactured. It does not take long to train soldiers in the use of weapons. One month is enough to train artillery troops. Several months or at most a year is enough to train drivers and aviators. The principal thing is to train on the battlefield. During peacetime, training should be conducted at night. During wartime, learn by fighting. Haven't you said that you have read my articles? These things may not be very useful, but there are two principal lines: you fight your way and I'll fight my way. The sentence I'll fight my way may be divided into two more sentences: if I can win, I will fight; if I cannot win, I will run away. Imperialists are most afraid of this

method. If I can win, I will eat you up; if I cannot win, I will run away, making it impossible for you to find me. In the beginning, we used guerrilla warfare in both offensive and defensive operations. The basic method was guerrilla warfare. When we were fighting Chiang Kai-shek, we moved from small battles to large battles. Later, we used 300,000 troops to wipe out his 500,000 troops. We used three fingers to bite off his five fingers. We were a minority, so how could we eat them? We did it piecemeal. The result is that we swallowed them.

There are some foreigners studying military science in China. I advise them to go back, and not to study too long. A few months will do. There is only lecturing in the classroom, which is of no use. After going back, it would be most useful to take part in fighting. Some logic requires little if any explanation. One should spend most of one's time in his own country. Perhaps, there is no need to go abroad, and one will learn it all right.

INTERJECTION AT ENLARGED MEETING OF CCPCC STANDING COMMITTEE

(4 August 1966)

The Northern Warlords [early Nationalist period, 1916-1927] who came after the period of relative peace and order and the Kuomintang that followed were all repressive of students. The present Communist Party also suppresses student movements, and what difference is there between this and Lu P'ing [7120 1627] and Chiang Nan-hsiang [5592 0589 5046]? The Central Committee has ordered a suspension of classes for half a year in order to engage exclusively in the Great Cultural Revolution. But once the students arose, it again repressed them. It was not because no one advanced dissenting views, but rather because no one listened to them. There is another view which is rather interesting. To put it lightly, this is a question of orientation. Actually, the question of orientation is a central question. It is a question of line which runs counter to Marxism, and is a problem which must be resolved by Marxism. I sense danger. They themselves ordered the students to make revolution, but when everybody rose up, they wanted to suppress them. The so-called orientation and line, the so-called trust in the masses, and the so-called Marxism are all false and have been for many years already. If you run into such things, they could blow up. They clearly stand on the side of the bourgeoisie and oppose the proletariat. [You] say to oppose the new municipal committee is antiparty. The new municipal committee suppresses the student movement so why not oppose it?

I have not gone down to stay at a selected basic unit. Some people stand more and more on the side of the bourgeoisie and oppose the proletariat the longer they stay at selected basic units. To stipulate that all contacts between one class and another, one department and another and one school and another is to repress the students is madness. Some people who came from the Central Committee are disaffected with the Central Committee's comments of June 18, saying that it should not be uttered. The big character poster put out by Nieh Yuan-tzu and six others of Peking University is the Paris Commune manifesto of the 1960s -- the Peking Commune. It is a good thing to put out big-character poster; they should be announced to the people of the entire world! Nonetheless, in Hsueh-feng's report, it is said that the party

has party discipline and the state has state law, and there must be a distinction between internal and external affairs. Big-character posters should not be posted outside the gate, so that foreigners can not see them. In fact, with the exception of secret places, such as the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Public Security which should be areas proscribed to foreigners, what's so important about other places? Even under a proletarian dictatorship, the masses should be allowed to petition, demonstrate, and litigate. Moreover, freedom of speech, assembly and publication have been inscribed in the Constitution. Judging from this act of suppressing the Great Cultural Revolution of the students, I don't believe there is genuine democracy and genuine Marxism. It is a case of standing on the side of the bourgeoisie to oppose the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Central Committee of the League has not only failed to support the young student movement, but has suppressed the student movement. I think this should be dealt with properly.

DIRECTIVE ON GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN SHANGHAI¹

(12 February 1967)

From February to April is a crucial period for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. During these three months, the Great Cultural Revolution ought to start taking shape.

In general, the work in Shanghai is very good. At the time of the An-t'ing incident, isn't it true that only 1,000-2,000 workers of Shanghai went there at first? Now, the number has reached one million! This illustrates that Shanghai's workers have been mobilized rather successfully.

Our present revolution -- the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution -- is a revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and we have launched it ourselves. This is because a portion of the structure of proletarian dictatorship has been usurped and no longer belongs to the proletariat, but to the bourgeoisie. Thus, we had to make revolution. The Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group must ponder over it and write articles. This is called "Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." This is a very important theoretical problem.

There must be three-in-one combinations. The problem of Fukien is not too big; nor are the problems of Kweichow and Inner Mongolia, though there are disorders. In Shansi province now, 53 percent are revolutionary masses, 27 percent consist of army troops, and 20 percent are state organ cadres. It behooves Shanghai to emulate them. The January revolution has been victorious, but February, March and April will be more crucial and more important.

¹ This article is based on the tape-recorded draft of Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao's speech at the Shanghai People's Square on 24 February and on some pertinent handbills. Whether every word is Chairman Mao's original word is difficult to ascertain, and so this is for your reference only.

The slogan "doubt everything and down with everything" is reactionary. Those who want to doubt everything and overthrow everything are bound to head in the opposite direction, and will be overthrown in a matter of days. (We have here some units which won't even have deputy section chiefs. People who don't want to have deputy section chiefs cannot last more than a few days.)

We must trust over 95 percent of the masses, and then over 95 percent of the cadres will follow us. China has a sizable petty bourgeoisie, and the number of middle peasants is rather large. In urban areas, the number of petty bourgeoisie, small handicraftsmen, including small business owners, is considerable. If we prove to be adept in leading, they will also follow us. We must trust the vast majority.

It would be very difficult for a college student who has just graduated, or one who hasn't yet graduated, to lead a municipality or to manage Shanghai municipality. I don't think he would be qualified to be a college president either. In the case of college president, school conditions are complex, especially to one who has just graduated or hasn't yet graduated. In my estimation, he may not even qualify to be a department head. A department head must have some scholarship! Since you haven't yet completed your academic work, or have only just graduated, you have no teaching experience and no experience in administering a department. We have already trained a number of assistants and lecturers to serve as department heads. A few persons should be selected from among the original leadership cadres. We cannot completely dispense with the old personnel. [Are you] afraid Chou Ku-ch'eng [0719 6253 1004] is no longer any good? That Chou Ku-ch'eng will no longer be able to teach?

The Paris Commune, commune [sic] -- did we not all say that to institute a Paris Commune is to institute a new political power? The Paris Commune was founded in 1871, almost 96 years ago. If the Paris Commune had not failed, but had successful, then in my opinion, it would have become by now a bourgeois commune. This is because it was impossible for the French bourgeoisie to allow France's working class to have so much political power. This is the case of the Paris Commune. In regard to the form of soviet political power, as soon as it materialized, Lenin was elated, deeming it a remarkable creation by workers, peasants and soldiers, as well as a new form of proletarian dictatorship. Nonetheless, Lenin had not anticipated then that although the workers, peasants and soldiers could use this form of political power, it could also be used by the bourgeoisie, and by Khrushchev. Thus, the present soviet has been transformed from Lenin's soviet to Khrushchev's soviet.

Britain is a monarchy. Doesn't it have a king? The U.S. has a presidential system. They are both the same, being bourgeois dictatorships. The puppet regime of South Vietnam has a president, and bordering it is Sihanouk's Royal Kingdom of Cambodia. Which is better? I am afraid Sihanouk is somewhat better. India has a presidential system; its neighbor, Nepal, is a kingdom. Which country is better? It would seem that the kingdom is somewhat

better than India. This is judging by their present performances. In the case of ancient China's three kings and five emperors, they were called kings in the Chou dynasty, emperors in the Ch'in dynasty. The First Emperor of Ch'in (Ch'in-shih-huang) assumed all the titles of three kings and five emperors. It was called Heavenly King in the T'ai-p'ing Heavenly Kingdom, while T'ang T'ai-tsung also called himself Heavenly Emperor. So you see, titles have changed over and over again. What we want to see is not the changing of titles, because the problem lies not with title, but with practice; not with form, but with content.

Titles must not be changed too frequently; we don't emphasize names, but emphasize practice; not form, but content. That fellow Wang Mang of the Han dynasty was addicted to changing names. As soon as he became emperor, he changed all the titles of government offices, like many of us who have a dislike for the title "chief." He also changed the names of all counties in the country. This is like our Red Guards who have changed almost all the street names of Peking, making it impossible for us to remember them. We still remember their former names. It became difficult for Wang Mang to issue edicts and orders, because the people did not know what changes had been made. This form of popular drama can be used either by China or by foreign countries, by the proletariat or by the bourgeoisie.

The principal experiences are the Paris Commune and the soviet. We can imagine that the [name] People's Republic of China can be used by both classes. If we should be overthrown and the bourgeoisie came to power, they would have no need to change the name, but would still call it the People's Republic of China. The main thing is which class seizes political power. That is the fundamental question, not what its name is.

I think we should be more stable and should not change all the names. This is because this would give rise to the question of changing the political system, to the question of the state system, and to the question of the name of the country. Would you want to change [the name] to the Chinese People's Commune! Should the Chairman of the People's Republic of China be called director or commune leader? Not only this problem, but another problem would arise. That is, if there is a change, it will be followed by the question of recognition or nonrecognition by foreign countries. When the name of a country is changed, foreign ambassadors will lose their credentials, new ambassadors will be exchanged and recognition will be given anew. I surmise that the Soviet Union would not extend recognition. This is because she would not dare to recognize, since recognition might cause troubles for the soviet. How could there be a Chinese People's Commune? It would be rather embarrassing to them, but the bourgeois nations might recognize it.

If everything were changed into commune, then what about the party? Where would we place the party? Among commune committee members are both party members and non-party members. Where would we place the party committee? There must be a party somehow! There must be a nucleus, no matter what we call it. Be it called the Communist party, or social democratic party, or

Kuomintang, or I-kuan-tao, it must have a party. The commune must have a party, but can the commune replace the party?

I think we had better not change the name, and not call it commune. It would be better to observe the old method. We still should have the People's Congress and elect people's councils in the future. Any change in name is a change in form, and does not solve the problem of content. When we set up temporary power structures, do we not still call them revolutionary committees? Are not universities still called cultural revolution committees? The Sixteen Articles specify this.

The people of Shanghai like the people's commune very much, and like that name very much. What should we do? Shouldn't you go back and do some consultation? There are several methods that we can use: one of them is to make no change, and go on calling it the Shanghai People's Commune. The advantage of this method is that it could safeguard the enthusiasm of Shanghai's people, since they like this commune. The shortcomings of this is that yours would be the only one in the entire country, and so won't you be rather isolated? For now don't announce in Jen-min Jih-pao that everyone wants to call it People's Commune. If the Central Committee should recognize People's Commune and publish it in the Jen-min Jih-pao, then the name will be used throughout the country. Why should only Shanghai be allowed to call it so, and we cannot? This would make it rather difficult. Thus, there are both advantages and shortcomings in not changing the name. The second method is to change it throughout the country. This would necessitate a change in the political system and in the country's name. Some people might not recognize it, and much trouble might ensue. Moreover, it wouldn't have any meaning, and no practical significance. The third method is to go ahead and change it, thus conforming with the entire country. Of course, you could change it in the near future or later on, not necessarily right now. But if you people still say that you don't wish to change, then you may just as well call it this name for some time. What do you think? Does it make sense?

I have read several times Liu Shao-ch'i's On The Cultivation of Communist Party Members. It is anti-Marxist. Our method of struggle now should be more sophisticated, instead of always trying to "smash the dog's head" and "overthrow X X X." I think college students should study it more assiduously, select a few passages, and write articles to criticize them.

From now on, we should not advocate the slogan of "down with the die-hard elements who uphold the bourgeois reactionary line," but rather "down with those in power taking the capitalist road."

Generally speaking the work of Shanghai is excellent. When you went there last time, weren't there only some 100-200 persons? By now it has reached more than one million. The workers have organized nearly one million people which illustrates that Shanghai's worker masses have been more fully mobilized.

I have seen the "Urgent Directive" of the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group on dealing with the question of the Shanghai Red Revolutionary Committee. It was very well written, being imbued with the spirit of the rebels. Its last point says "necessary measures shall be taken." If the rally to lambast Chang Ch'un-chiao is to be held, we must take the necessary measures to apprehend those people.

(The Shanghai People's) Commune has been too soft on the question of suppressing counterrevolutionaries. Someone complained to me that when people were apprehended by the bureau of public security, they would enter through the front door and be released through the back door.

What about the First, Second and Third Corps? They came here to press charges against you people.

Didn't the students go to the wharf at that time? Are those students still at the wharf now? (Chang Ch'un-ch'iao answered: Still there.) Excellent. Before this, students and workers were not truly integrated, but now they are.

The Wen-hui Pao has done well. I agree with their views concerning street cadres, and I support them. There are a few accounts which can be settled later.

SPEECH TO THE ALBANIAN MILITARY DELEGATION

(1 May 1967)

I once said at a rally of 7,000 people in 1962: "In the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, it is yet uncertain as to which will win and which will be defeated, it being highly possible that revisionism will triumph and we will be defeated. We used the possibility of defeat to alert the public, and we found this to be highly conducive to heightening our vigilance against revisionism, as well as to preventing and opposing revisionism..." Actually, the struggle between the two classes and the two lines within the Communist party has always existed. Nobody can deny it, and being materialists ourselves, we of course should not deny it. Since that rally, the struggle between the two classes within our party has manifested itself in the forms of "left" in appearance but right in essence and the opposition to same, a denial of the existence of class struggle and emphasis on the existence of class struggle, and in compromises and accentuation of proletarian politics, etc. This has been discussed in pertinent documents that appeared prior to that occasion.

Today the military delegation of Albania has come here to understand our nation's Great Cultural Revolution. Let me first of all talk about my approaches to this problem.

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began with Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's criticism of "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office" in the winter of 1965. At that time, certain departments and certain localities in this country of ours were dominated by revisionism. It was so tight that even water could not seep in and pins could not penetrate. I then suggested to Comrade Chiang Ch'ing that she organize some articles to criticize "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office." But this was impossible to accomplish here in this Red metropolis, and there was no alternative but to go to Shanghai to organize it. Finally the article was written. I read it three times, and considered it basically all right, so I let Comrade Chiang Ch'ing bring it back for publication. I suggested that some of the leading comrades of the Central Committee be allowed to read it, but Comrade Chiang Ch'ing suggested: "The article can

be published as it is, and I do not think there is any need to ask Comrade [Chou] En-lai and K'ang Sheng to read it." (Comrade Lin Piao interrupted, saying: Some people say that Comrade Mao Tse-tung used one faction to fight another faction. But now all of the central leadership comrades have prestige among the revolutionary masses, and they were all briefed beforehand by Chairman Mao on the Great Cultural Revolution, and so they did not commit any errors. I think the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an examination without examination, and whoever follows closely Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is a proletarian revolutionary. So I have always said that Mao Tsetung Thought must be implemented both when we understand it and when we may temporarily not understand it.) After Yao Wen-yuan's article was published, most of the newspapers in the country published it, but it was not published in Peking and Hunan. Later I suggested that a pamphlet be issued, but it was also opposed and did not go through.

Yao Wen-yuan's article was merely the signal for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Consequently, in the Central Committee, I was especially keen on drawing up the May 16 Circular. Because the enemy was especially sensitive, once the signal was sounded here, we knew that he would take action. Of course, we also had to take action on our own. This circular had already been very precise in bringing out the question of line, and the question of the two lines. At that time, the majority did not agree with my view, and I was left alone for a time. They said that my views were outmoded, and so I had to present my views to the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee for discussion. After some debate I gained the endorsement of a little over one-half of the Comrades. There were still many people who would not agree with me, including Li Ching-ch'uan [2621 0064 3123] and Liu Lan-t'ao [0491 3482 3447]. Comrade [Ch'en] Po-ta went to talk with them, and they said: "I couldn't endorse it in Peking, and after I returned [home] I still could not endorse it." Finally I had no choice but to let practice make further examination!

After the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee, the emphasis was on the criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line that had been taking place during the three months of October, November and December 1966, and this resulted in public disclosure of contradictions within the party. Here, I would like to mention another problem and that was that the broad masses of workers and peasants, and the hardcore cadres of the party and league were deceived during the process of criticizing the reactionary line. Having studied the problem what could we do with regard to those comrades who were deceived? I have always felt that the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are good, the overwhelming majority of party members and league members are good, and that they have all been the principal forces during every stage of the proletarian revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is certainly no exception. Since the broad masses of workers and peasants are involved in actual labor, they naturally know very little about conditions in the upper echelons. Moreover, the vast number of hardcore cadres of the party and league have heart-felt devotion to the party and have boundless love for the party's cadres, while the "power holders taking the capitalist road" have

raised the red flag to oppose the red flag. For this reason, they were so deceived that for a relatively long period of time they could not get out from under their delusions, but there were historical factors behind all of this. As long as those who were deceived reformed themselves, it was all right! As the movement developed, they again became the main force. The "January Storm" was launched by the workers, and it is just as true for the democratic revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The "May 4th" Movement was launched by intellectuals, thereby fully demonstrating their foresight and awareness. However, we must depend on the masters of the time, the workers, peasants and soldiers, to serve as the main force in carrying through thoroughgoing revolutions on the order of a real Northern Expedition or Long March. In point of fact, workers, peasants and soldiers are really only workers and peasants, since soldiers are only workers and peasants dressed in army uniforms. Although it was the intellectuals and the broad masses of young students who launched the criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line, it was, nonetheless, incumbent upon the masters of the time, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, to serve as the main force in carrying the revolution through to completion, once the "January Storm" had seized power. Intellectuals have always been quick in altering their perception of things, but, because of the limitations of their instincts, and because they lack a thorough revolutionary character, they are sometime opportunistic.

From the standpoint of policy and strategy, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution may be generally divided into four stages. From the publication of Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article to the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee may be considered the first stage, and it was primarily a stage of mobilization. From the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CCP Central Committee to the "January Storm" may be considered the second stage. The third stage consisted of X X X's [Ch'i Pen-yu] "Patriotism or National Betrayal?" and "The Key Point of 'Cultivation' Is That It Betrays the Proletarian Dictatorship." The period thereafter may be considered the fourth stage. During the third and fourth stages the question of seizing power was paramount. The fourth stage was concerned with seizing the powers of revisionism and of the bourgeoisie ideologically. Consequently, this was a crucial stage in the decisive battle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, and this was the main and proper theme of the whole movement. After the "January Storm," the Central Committee repeatedly concerned itself with the problem of a great alliance, but it did not work out. Later, it was discovered that this subjective wish was not in keeping with the objective laws of the development of class struggle. This is because each class and political power wanted to exert itself stubbornly. Bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies burst forth like unbridled flood waters, thus undermining the great alliance. It was impossible to work out a great alliance, and even if it were, it would eventually be broken up. Thus, the present attitude of the Central Committee is merely to promote it, not to work it out. The method of pulling the sprout to accelerate its growth is unfeasible. This law of class struggle can not be changed by anyone's subjective will. On this question there are many examples which can be cited. In the workers' congress, the Red Guard congress, and the peasants' congress in X X municipality, it seems that with the exception of the peasants'

congress, the workers' and Red Guard congress have had many squabbles. I think the revolutionary committee of X X municipality may yet have to be reorganized.

I had originally intended to train some successors from among the intellectuals, but this would now appear to be impractical. It seems to me that the world outlook of intellectuals, including those young intellectuals who are still receiving education in schools, and those both within and outside the party, is still basically bourgeois. This is because in the more than ten years since liberation, the cultural and educational circles have been dominated by revisionism, and so bourgeois ideology has seeped into their blood. Thus, revolutionary intellectuals must carefully remold their world outlook during this crucial stage of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Otherwise, they will go contrary to the revolution. Now I would like to ask you a question: What would you say is the goal of the Great Cultural Revolution? (Someone answered on the spot: It is to struggle against power holders within the party who take the capitalist road.) To struggle against power holders who take the capitalist road is the main task, but it is by no means the goal. The goal is to solve the problem of world outlook; it is the question of eradicating the roots of revisionism.

The Central Committee has emphasized time and again that the masses must educate themselves and liberate themselves. This is because world outlook cannot be imposed on them. In order to transform ideology, it is necessary for the external causes to function through inner causes, though the latter are principal. If the world outlook is not transformed, how can the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution be called a victory? If the world outlook is not transformed, then although there are 2,000 power holders taking the capitalist road in this Great Cultural Revolution, there may be 4,000 next time. The cost of this Great Cultural Revolution has been very great, and even though the question of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads cannot be resolved by one, two, three or four Great Cultural Revolutions, still, this Great Cultural Revolution, should consolidate things for a decade at least. In the course of one century, it may be possible to launch such a revolution two or three times at most. Thus we must focus our attention on eradicating the roots of revisionism in order to strengthen our ability to guard against and oppose revisionism at any time. Here I would like to ask you another question: Who would you say are the power holders taking the capitalist road? (No response from the audience.) The so-called power holders taking the capitalist road are those power holders who take the road of capitalism! What I mean by this is that during the time of the democratic revolution, these people actively participated in opposing the three big mountains, but once the entire country was liberated, they were not so keen on opposing the bourgeoisie. Though they had actively participated in and endorsed the overthrow of local despots and the distribution of land, after the country's liberation when agricultural collectivization was to be implemented, they were not very keen on this either. He who would not take the socialist road and is now in power -- is it not he who is a power holder taking the road of capitalism! Let's just say that it is "veteran cadres encountering new problems!"

Nonetheless, those who have a proletarian world outlook will follow the road of capitalism. This means that the bourgeoisie wants to transform the world in accordance with the bourgeois world outlook, while the proletariat wants to transform the world in accordance with the proletarian world outlook. There are those who have committed errors of orientation and line in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and this has been said to be a case of "veteran cadres encountering new problems." But the fact that you have erred tells us that you veteran cadres have not yet thoroughly remolded your bourgeois world outlook. From now on, veteran cadres are bound to encounter even more new problems. To ensure that you will resolutely take the road of socialism, you will have to undergo a thorough proletarian revolutionization ideologically. Let me ask you, how can you actually proceed from socialism toward communism? This is a great event for the nation, and a great event for the world.

I say the revolutionary spirit of the revolutionary little generals is very strong, and this is excellent. But you cannot step onto the stage now, because if you step onto the stage now, you will be kicked off the stage tomorrow. But this word has been leaked out by a Vice Premier's own mouth, and this is highly inappropriate. As far as the revolutionary little generals are concerned, it is a question of nurturing and training them. At a time when they have committed certain errors, to use such words will only dampen their spirits. Some say that elections are very good and very democratic. As far as I am concerned, election is merely a fancy word, and do not feel that there is any genuine election. I have been elected by the Peking district to serve as a representative to the National People's Congress, but how many in Peking really understood me? I feel that Chou En-lai's premiership was an appointment by the Central Committee. Others say that China is profoundly peace-loving, but I cannot see how profound that love is. I think Chinese are militant.

In regard to cadres, we must establish the belief that 95 percent or more of them are good or relatively good, and we must never depart from this class viewpoint! In regard to leading cadres who are revolutionary or want to be revolutionary, one should protect them, protect them forthrightly and bravely, and liberate them from their errors. Even though they have taken the capitalist road, we must allow them to make revolution after they have undergone long-term education and their errors have been rectified. There are not many really bad persons. Among the masses, they constitute at most 5 percent; within the party and league, 1 to 2 percent; and there are only a handful of power holders who stubbornly take the capitalist road. But we must regard this handful of power holders within the party who take the capitalist road as the principal target of attack because their influence and insidious poison are deep and far-reaching. Thus, this is the principal task of this Great Cultural Revolution. As for bad elements among the masses, they number at most 5 percent, and they are scattered, without much strength. If the 35 million of them, calculated at 5 percent, should band together to form an army and oppose us in an organized manner, that would be a problem deserving serious consideration. But since they are diffused in various localities and powerless, they cannot be the principal target of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, it is necessary for us to heighten our vigilance and,

especially at this crucial stage of the struggle, prevent these bad elements from wreaking havoc. Thus, there should be two premises for the great alliance: one is to destroy self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest; the other is that there must be a struggle. Without struggle the great alliance will not be effective.

The fourth stage of this Great Cultural Revolution is the crucial stage of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Thus, a relatively longer period of time will be needed to arrange mass criticism. It is still being discussed by the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee. Some feel that the end of this year would be an appropriate time for this, and others feel that next May would be more appropriate. However, the time must conform to the laws of class struggle.

DIRECTIVE ON EXTERNAL PROPAGANDA WORK

(June 1967)

Some foreigners have offered suggestions on the external propaganda conducted by Peking Review and Hsin-hua News Agency. In the past, they did not proselytize the fact that Mao Tse-tung's thought has developed Marxism, but now after the Great Cultural Revolution, they are doing it with fanfare and there is such boasting that it is hard to swallow. Why must one say some of the words by one's self? We must be modest, especially toward outsiders. In being a little modest toward outsiders, naturally we must not lose our principles. In yesterday's communique on the hydrogen bomb, I deleted Great Leader, Great Teacher, Great Commander-in-Chief, and Great Helmsman. I also deleted "boundless flame." How could there be boundless flame in the world? There is always a "bound" and so I deleted it. I also deleted "10,000 percent" from the phrase "mood of 10,000 percent joy and excitement." It was not 10 percent, 100 percent, or 1,000 percent, but 10,000 percent! I didn't even want to have one percent, and so I deleted it entirely.

DIALOGUES DURING INSPECTION OF NORTH, CENTRAL-SOUTH AND EAST CHINA

(July - September 1967)

Dialogues in Shanghai

Within the working class, there is no basic conflict of interest. Within the working class under proletarian dictatorship, there is all the more no reason why there must be two major hostile factional organizations.

(Comments on the Report of Trade Union Headquarters)

Chang Ch'un-ch'iao: There are some organizations in Shanghai that cannot get united.

Chairman Mao: Why can't they get united?

Chang: The question as to who is going to be the nucleus has yet to be resolved.

Chairman Mao: Don't stress that point. Unity should be unconditional. Who is going to be the nucleus is a matter settled during the process of struggle. Wang Ming and Ch'en Tu-hsiu stressed that they were the nuclei. Have they not ended in failure?

Dialogues in Chekiang

Nan P'ing: We still use kneeling and dunce hat wearing as ways of punishment.

Chairman: I have always objected to this kind of practice. You cannot deal with cadres in the same way as you deal with landlords. We have a good tradition; that is, unity-criticism-unity. "One divides into two" should be applied to cadres.

Dialogues in Kiangsi

Ch'eng Shih-ch'ing [4453 0013 3237]: (Reported on the collection of weapons)

Chairman: Who issued these rifles? As I see it, both sides issued them. Who issued more?

Ch'eng: These rifles were issued to the conservatives by the military subdistrict and People's Militia Command.

Chairman: Oh!

(Referring to the Foochow problem)

Chairman: The Foochow problem deserves a little study. Why do they become so bold? They always call a meeting to size up the situation, convincing the people that both domestic and world situations are favorable to them, and then proceed. Their estimate of the situation is incorrect, I think.

(Referring to a Foochow faction which was in control of nine counties)

Chairman: Judging by this point, I think that they are trying to expand their influence by attacking Nan-ch'ang. What is the nature of this problem?

Ch'eng: According to the spirit of the directive of the Central Committee, this is military rebellion.

Chairman: Have you decided?

Ch'eng: Yes, we have decided.

Chairman: Has your decision been approved?

Ch'eng: Approved by the Premier.

Chairman: Oh! It is by nature a rebellion, an all-out surprise attack. It is said that there is no civil war in China, but I think this is a civil war, not a foreign war. This is an armed struggle, not a cultural struggle. In Kan-chou, Chi-an, I-ch'un and other places, rural control has been put into effect. From each production team one person is drafted. From each production brigade, ten or more than ten persons are drafted. Compulsory methods are used. The draftees are given labor points, and each draftee is paid 60 cents a day. Now the rural areas are encircling the cities; I think this situation should not be allowed to continue.

(Referring to the Central Committee's decision on the Kiangsi problem)

Chairman: I think we ought to use education to approach this problem. Bad people are always in the minority. In the people's militia commands good people are always in the majority. Many people in the military subdistrict are being kept in the dark. Some of them committed mistakes. They should be given an opportunity to correct their mistakes.

We should by all means persuade the masses of the rebellious faction without attack or retaliation. Killing is always bad. Being killed is bad; killing others is not good, either. Attack, retaliation, kneeling, dunce hat wearing, sign carrying, oh, yes, there is another way of punishment, the "jet plane type." All these are not good.

(Referring to some good articles in Wen Hui Pao that had some great influence)

Chang Ch'un-ch'iao: People also oppose us because we are inclining to the right, saying that we are rightists.

Chairman: This is a problem of educating the leftists, not one of our inclining to the right. For example, in the past, there were so many mountain strongholds. There were the central Soviet in Kiangsi, the Hunan-Kiangsi Soviet, the Fukien-Kiangsi Soviet, and the Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi Soviet. In addition, there were the Hupeh-Honan-Anhuei-Kiangsu Soviet, Tung-nan-pa, and Northern Shensi. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, there were even more bases of operation. We used a single principle to unite them all, regardless of what faction they belonged to. We cannot have just one mountain stronghold and no others. It does not work if there is only one faction.

I am still inclined to protect more people. Those who can be saved should be saved. As long as we can win over the majority, it is all right for a minority to persist in their stubbornness. Let us give them rice to eat without any grudge.

I learned from Huo-hsien Chan-pao (Fire Line Combat News) what is described as emergency of Nan-ch'ang, fall of Nan-kang and Lu-shan, white terror, rural control in I-ch'un, and what is known as rural areas encircling cities. Tension was at its highest point in June, July and August. In times of tension, I think, problems are unveiled, and things become easy to resolve. How can problems be resolved without tension?

Now there are people instigating the soldiers to oppose their superiors, and saying that while you are making only 6 yuan a month, the officers are making much more and enjoying the luxury of riding in automobiles. The peasants are willing to join the Liberation Army, because to be a member of the Liberation Army is glorious. They receive 6 yuan a month, and their families receive preferential treatment. The peasants are willing to be soldiers. I don't think the instigators will succeed.

(Referring to the province-wide political work conference of the rebel faction to be convened in October)

This is good. The rebel faction also needs to be lectured. They cannot sit tight, and their minds are running wild.

My assessment of the present rightist faction is not that rigid. Once they are lectured, they will turn around. There are bad people, but they are very few in number. Most of them recognize the problem. Some interpret the problem of recognition as a problem of where one stands. Once we touch upon the problem of standpoint, we get into the matter of committing ourselves to a policy from which we cannot turn around for the rest of our lives. Should one's standpoint never be changed? As far as most of the people are concerned, standpoint can be changed. There are very few bad people whose standpoint cannot be changed. In short, the scope of attack should be narrowed, and the scope of education should be broadened to include the leftists, centrists and rightists. If left uneducated, the leftists will become ultra left.

Dialogues in Hunan

(Referring to the great alliance)

Everyone should do self-criticism, and talk less about other people's shortcomings. Don't direct the spearhead toward the opposition. In the past, we had some experience concerning the relationship between the soldiers and local people. The soldiers offered to support the government and cherish the people, and the local people offered to support the soldiers and treat the soldiers' families preferentially. The soldiers took the lead in conducting self-criticism. The two sides got along very well.

Both factions are workers. One faction is rebellious, and the other is conservative. Those conservatives are hoodwinked by their superiors. You cannot suppress the masses who are being hoodwinked. The more you suppress, the more they will resist. We ourselves are the product of Chiang Kai-shek's suppression. After the great revolution, we had only several tens of thousands of men. Chiang Kai-shek's suppression gave us hope. His suppression produced at once 300,000 Red Army soldiers and 300,000 party members.

Dialogues in Hupeh

(Referring to the problem of liberating cadres)

I am a fellow who has been expelled by others five times, and then invited back. Thus, the leader of the masses is not self-appointed. He attains his stature in mass struggle. What is the long march? The long march was an outcome of fighting. It was forced on us. After the long march, the quality of the cadres improved. Among these cadres today, who was not wounded on the battlefield? Who has not committed mistakes in the revolution? Nevertheless, they still established meritorious service records during the democratic revolution. Although they committed mistakes in the great cultural revolution,

it is all right if they correct their mistakes. When the war comes, and as soon as I give the order, these old cadres will be as brave as ever on the battlefield. You cannot be skeptical about everything, or overthrow everything. To doubt everything or to overthrow everything is not good, unfavorable to the revolution.

In China's revolutions, according to my own personal experience, those who were most likely to succeed were those who thought, not those who cut prominent figures. Those who now make a lot of noise are not likely to be mentioned in history as men of consequence.

Dialogues in Honan

Chairman Mao: Are you Chi Teng-k'uei [4764 4098 1145]? Old fiend.

Liu Chien-hsun [0491 1696 8133]: Jailed for four months; suffered four months of struggle.

Chairman Mao: (To Chi Teng-k'uei) Would you say that all this was useless?

Chi Teng-k'uei: A great deal was gained.

Chairman Mao: That was done by Wen Min-sheng [2429 2404 3932], Chao Wen-fu [6392 2429 3940], and Ho Yun-hung [0149 6663 3163]. As I stopped over at Chengchow last time, I saw a big slogan: "The situation is stabilized; 7 February will definitely win!" The situation in Honan was pretty good.

Liu Chien-hsun: (Reported on the situation of cadres)

Chairman Mao: Is Ho Yun-hung that tough! This is Ho Yun-hung's work!

(Referring to the situation in the army)

Chairman Mao: They used a few slogans in the army for a short time, but now these slogans are no longer effective. They don't support the army. As soon as they do, they will have no target.

Dialogue on Train Returning to Peking

(Referring to the good news brought to the Chairman about the conclusion of a great alliance agreement by the three factions within the railway system)

Congratulations, may I present you four characters: "Tou-ssu Pi-hsiu" [Struggle against private interest; criticize revisionism].

LETTER TO LIN, CHOU AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP

(17 December 1967)

Comrades Lin, Chou and Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group:

(1) The way in which absolute authority is presented is improper. There has never been any single absolute authority. All authorities are relative. All absolute things exist in relative things just as absolute truth is the total of innumerable relative truths, and that absolute truth exists only in relative truths.

(2) The talk about "establishing in a big way" and "establishing in a special way" is also improper. Authority and prestige can only be established naturally through struggle and practice. They cannot be established artificially. Prestige established artificially will inevitably collapse.

(3) The Central Committee of the Party banned birthday celebrations a long time ago. The entire nation should be notified of the reaffirmation of this ban.

(4) Some other date should be chosen for the Hunan meeting.

(5) We don't need any scrolls with calligraphed messages.

(6) As to the name of the meeting, we may concur with Hunan's suggestion, using the first plan.

I hope that the above points will be discussed and adopted at a meeting.

Mao Tse-tung
17 December

DIALOGUES WITH RESPONSIBLE PERSONS OF CAPITAL
RED GUARDS CONGRESS

(28 July 1968)

Chairman: (Nieh Yuan-tzu, T'an Hou-lan [6223 0624 5695], Han A'i-ching and Wang Ta-ping [3769 1129 6333] walked into the room. The Chairman, standing, shook hands with each one of them) All are young!

(Shaking hands with Huang Tso-chen [7806 0155 3791]) Are you Huang Tso-chen? I haven't met you before. You were not killed?

Chiang Ch'ing: Haven't seen you for a long time. You didn't post big character posters.

Chairman: We met last time at Tien-an-men, but there was no chance to talk with you at that time. That was bad! You people don't come to see me unless you have important business. But I have read all of your reports. I understand your situation very well.

K'uai Ta-fu [5566 1129 1381] did not come. Is it because he is unable to come or unwilling to come?

Fu-chih [1381 3112]: I am afraid that he is unwilling to come.

Han A'i-ching: No. At this moment, if he knew that there was a meeting with the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group, he would cry because he missed the chance to meet the Chairman. I am sure that he is unable to come.

Chairman: K'uai Ta-fu should capture the black hand. So many workers were sent to schools to "suppress" and "oppress" the red guards. Who is the black hand? The black hand is still not captured. The black hand is nobody else but me. K'uai did not come. He should have come to grab me. It was I who sent the Central Police Guards and the workers of the Hsin-hua Printing Plant and the General Knitwear Mill. I asked them how they would deal with

the fighting in universities, and told them to go there to take a look. As a result, 30,000 of them went. Actually, they hated Peking University, but not Tsinghua. (Turned to Nieh) This was what the workers and the students did. Tens of thousands of them staged a demonstration. I heard that the reception you gave them was pretty good. Was it you, or Ching-kang-shan?

Wen Yu-ch'eng, Huang Tso-chen: Not them. With what unit did Peking University clash?

Nieh Yuan-tzu: With the Institute of Agricultural Science.

Chairman: Did you fight them?

Nieh Yuan-tzu: We even served tea in front of our gate.

Chairman: I did not know that. Peking University wants to arrest the black hand. This black hand is not me, but Hsieh Fu-chih. I didn't have such a big ambition. I suggested only that a few people be sent over to have a discussion with them. K'uai Ta-fu said that 100,000 of them went.

Fu-chih: Less than 30,000.

Chairman: How did you deal with armed fighting in universities? One way is complete withdrawal. Leave the students alone. Let everybody fight if he wants to. In the past, the revolutionary committees and the garrison commands were not afraid of the chaos caused by the fighting in universities. They refrained from control, anxiety, and suppression. In retrospect, this is right. The other way is to give them a little help. This has won the support of the workers, the peasants, and the majority of students. There are more than 50 institutions of higher learning in Peking. There are about five or six of them where the fighting was severe, and where your ability was put to the test. As to how to solve the problem, some of you live in the south, and some of you live in the north. And all of you are called new Peking University, "Ching-kang-shan," and "commune," just like the Soviet Communist party calling itself "Bolshevik." If you cannot handle the problem, we may resort to military control, and ask Lin Piao to take command. We also have Huang Yung-shen. The problem has to be solved one way or the other. You people have engaged in the Great Cultural Revolution or struggle-criticism-transformation for two years. Now, in the first place, you are not struggling; in the second place, you are not criticizing; in the third place, you are not transforming. Yes, you are struggling, but it is armed struggle. The people are not happy. The workers are not happy. The peasants are not happy. Peking residents are not happy. The students in most of the schools are not happy. Most students in your school are also not happy. Even within the faction that supports you there are people who are unhappy. Can you unite the whole country this way? You belong to the new Peking University. You "Old Buddha" are in the majority. You are a philosopher. Don't tell me that there is nobody against you in the new Peking University commune and among the cultural revolutionaries in the schools. I don't believe that! They may not say

anything in front of you, but they will say devilish words behind your back. Wang Ta-ping, is your work easier?

Wang Ta-ping: Those who opposed Hsieh Fu-chih fled.

Fu-chih: His second man in command wanted to seize power, and accused him of leaning toward the right.

Chairman: Is he that left? Marxist?

Wang Ta-ping: They are trying to sew discord in our relationship. He is a good comrade, with a good background. He suffered greatly and has deep hatred. This man is very straight forward, and full of energy for revolution, with a strong revolutionary character. His only drawback is his impatience. He is not very tactful in uniting people. His working method is a little stiff.

Chairman: Can you unite with him? He is left; you are right. It should be easy for you two to be united! Come over here, sit by my side!

Lin Piao: Come over!

Fu-chih: Go! Go! (Wang Ta-ping sat down by the side of the Chairman.)

Chairman: Sit down, sit down. We should be flexible in these matters. After all, they are all students. They did not engage in black gang activities. Recently, struggles were conducted against black gangsters in some schools, and sketches of these black gangsters were drawn. Several tens of them were dealt with in the new Peking University. Is that all the black gangsters? I think there are more. The crucial point is that the two factions are engaged in armed struggle. They were bent on armed struggle. This kind of struggle-criticism-transformation does not work. Maybe, struggle-criticism-quit will. The students are talking about struggle-criticism-quit; or struggle-criticism-disperse. Now there are so many people who are aloof and indifferent. More and more derogatory words are heard in society about Nieh Yan-tzu and K'uai Ta-fu. Nieh Yuan-tzu's cannon fodder is limited in number; so is K'uai Ta-fu's. Sometimes 300; other times 150 men. How can that be compared with the number of troops under Lin Piao and Huang Yung-sheng. This time, in one shot, I dispatched 30,000.

Lin Piao: During the development of all significant events in the world, there is unity after long disunity, and disunity after long unity. Tear down all the defense works for armed struggle. All the hot weapons, cold weapons, knives, and rifles should be put in storage. Nieh Yuan-tzu, they call you "Old Buddha," or the "Old Nest of Buddha." Moreover, we have you Comrade T'an Hou-lan, wearing two pigtails. You asked for a transfer down to lower levels. You have spent more than 10 years studying in schools. Everybody agrees that you should be transferred down. I am afraid that you cannot leave. Once you are gone, who is going to take your place?

T'an Hou-lan: Everything has been arranged.

Chairman: Your five great generals, we support you, including K'uai Ta-fu who wants to grab the black hand. We have our prejudices. The "Peking University" Ching-kang-shan and the April 14 Army Corps at Normal University may have adverse opinions about us. I'm not afraid of being overthrown by others. When the April 14 Army Corps at Tsinghua said that the April 14 thinking must win, I was unhappy. They also said that those who won the country cannot rule it, and that the proletariat which won the country cannot rule it. "April 14" has a theoretician by the name of Chou Ch'uan-ying [0719 3123 2937]. Why should we arrest a theoretician? He is a theoretician for a school of thought. He writes articles. Why should you arrest him? Release him. He has his opinion. Let him write again! Otherwise, there will be no freedom. I say, you, Old Buddha, had better be a little more generous. There are several thousand men at Peking University's Ching-kang-shan. If they were released like a torrential flood, they will wash the Dragon King's Temple away. Can you take it? Otherwise, you Old Buddha, we have to impose military control. The third method is to handle this matter according to the principles of dialectics. Don't live in one city. Separate. Either you or Ching-kang-shan move to the south. If one is in the south and the other in the north, you won't see each other. You cannot fight. Each one puts his own house in order, and then the entire world will be united. Otherwise, you will be afraid. If they launch an attack on the nest of Old Buddha, you won't be able to sleep. You'll be afraid. They will be afraid, too. It is necessary to hold back a little. Why should you be so tense? You are afraid of others attacking you. If you don't reserve some strength for the future, what are you going to do when they attack? I heard that there is a man who wants to assassinate you. Even though you know who the would-be assassin is, you don't have to arrest him. Let him go. Don't say anything even if you know exactly who he is. But from now on you should pay attention to one thing. Don't go anywhere alone.

Chiang Ch'ing: She has body guards.

Nieh Yuan-tzu: No.

Chairman: Your elder brother is no good. Neither is your elder sister. In short, the Nieh family is no good. After all, a bad elder brother is still an elder brother; a bad elder sister is still an elder sister. Why should they get the younger sister involved? (Somebody reported that he could not find K'uai Ta-fu).

Chiang Ch'ing: Is K'uai Ta-fu unwilling to come, or unable to come?

Fu-chih: We broadcast an announcement saying that K'uai Ta-fu is wanted by the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group to attend a meeting. He is just unwilling to come.

Chiang Ch'ing: Is he unwilling to come, or unable to come?

Fu-chih: I guess that he is under someone's control. It doesn't matter if he is.

Wen-yuan: Quite possible.

Chairman: I think K'uai Ta-fu is a good man. He is quite exposed. Those who control him are bad people. K'uai Ta-fu and those who are exposed are good men. I have a lot of experience in this respect. Wang Ta-ping, is there any fighting in your place?

Wang Ta-ping: No. On 23 September 1966, we had a fight with the conservative faction. It was Comrade [Ch'en] Po-ta who sent men to our rescue. Then we won.

Chairman: That's good. From then on, neither you nor Han A'i-ching have engaged in fighting. Han A'i-ching, you are very good at giving advice and are a strategist. Are you a descendant of Han Hsin [7281 0207]?

K'ang Sheng: I heard that K'uai Ta-fu is the commander, and Han A'i-ching is the political commissar.

Han A'i-ching: K'uai Ta-fu is surrounded by a group of people with complicated backgrounds. Now, people who gained their stature by writing big character posters at the beginning of the movement are very few. The number of people who engage in armed fighting has increased. They want the headquarters reorganized. K'uai Ta-fu is unable to control any more.

K'ang Sheng: The situation may not be what you have just said!

Chairman: T'an Hou-lan, the cultural revolution has been going on for two years now. The members of your 100-200 man army corps are unable to sleep peacefully at night. For the time being, you cannot leave because you are the queen. Here among the four of you attending this meeting, two are women. It is great! I think you cannot leave for the time being. You have to provide them with food and freedom of movement. They are in a sad plight, and yet they want to seize power. Other schools have also participated. You (pointing to Han) and K'uai Ta-fu have played a role.

Han A'i-ching: I also participated.

Chiang Ch'ing: Han A'i-ching wanted to topple others.

Chairman: You played a role. Our Commander, K'uai Ta-fu, also played a part. Young people should do good things, but they are also capable of doing bad things. You said that the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group did not notify you. Comrade Lin Piao and Premier Chou spoke on 23 and 27 March, respectively, and a rally of 100,000 people was held. This time both Comrades Huang Tso-chen and Wen Yu-ch'eng spoke, but fighting still went on at the lower level, as though this was done deliberately in opposition to us. First of all, we want cultural struggle, not armed struggle. If you want to fight, it is all right. The more you fight, the bigger the fighting becomes. Both sides have native guns. What kind of fighting is yours! Your fighting is nothing. Take out the carbines, rifles, native guns, and even anti-aircraft guns like in Szechwan.

Chiang Ch'ing: Disgrace to the family.

Chairman: With so much magic power, you, Old Buddha, can only activate something like 200-300 men. Where are your troops? You still have to rely on workers and demobilized soldiers as the main force. Without them you cannot succeed. Comrade Lin Piao has lots of troops. If he gives you a few thousand, or a few tens of thousand, it should be enough for you to eliminate "Ching-kang-shan" entirely. But this is not the answer. Let us have some discussion, or call a meeting to discuss this matter. But, first of all, you should get united.

Lin Piao: Unity comes first. The Chairman mentioned four plans. The first is military control. The second is one divides into two. The third is to follow the steps of "struggle-criticism-quit." The fourth is to fight on a big scale.

Chairman: One divides into two. Both sides are very tense and restless because of hatred. Moving and relocation is a problem. Quarrels will occur if both sides are in Peking. This auditorium is empty; Chung-nan-hai is a big place capable of accommodating 40,000-50,000 people. Is it not big enough for a school? Either Nieh Yuan-tzu or Hou Han-ch'ing [0186 3352 0615] (one of the leaders of Peking University's Ching-kang-shan) should move here.

You people were talking about "killing the cow, slaughtering the monkey and stewing the mutton." [Chinese character for cow is pronounced niu; Chinese character for monkey is pronounced hou; and Chinese characters for mutton are pronounced yang-jou.] The cow is Niu Hui-lin [3662 3549 2651], the monkey is Hou Han-ch'ing, and mutton is Yang K'o-ming [2799 0344 2494]. Of these three, I know only Yang K'o-ming. He is also a young man. He attended the 11th plenum of the 8th Central Committee. That big character poster was done with Yang K'o-ming's help. Your big-character poster represents two factions. This kind of social phenomenon does not change according to man's will. Nobody foresaw this kind of fighting. Suspension of classes for half a year was originally planned. It was so announced in the newspaper. Later, the suspension was extended to one year. As one year was not enough, it was extended to two years, and then, to three years. I say, if three years are still not enough, give them as many years as necessary. After all, people are growing older every year. Suppose you were a freshman three years ago, you are now a junior. The schools may be suspended for another two, four, or eight years, you get promoted all the same, so what....

Struggle-criticism-quit is also a way out. Is it true that T'an Hou-lan wanted to quit? Let everybody quit; sweep everyone out. Should we continue to run universities? Should universities continue to enroll new students? To stop enrolling new students does not work, either. I put some reservations in my remarks. I said that we should continue to run universities. I mentioned science and engineering colleges, but I did not say that all liberal arts colleges should be closed. But if liberal arts colleges are unable to show any

accomplishments, they should be closed. As far as I can see, the basic courses in junior and senior middle schools and the last two years in primary school are about the same as those offered by colleges. One should only go to school for six years, at most ten years. The courses given in senior middle school repeat those in junior middle school, and those courses given in college repeat those given in senior middle school. All basic courses are repetitious. As to courses of specialization, even the teachers don't understand. Philosophers are unable to talk philosophy. What is there to learn in school? Nieh Yuan-tzu, you are a philosopher, are you?

Nieh Yuan-tzu: No, I am not a philosopher.

Chiang Ch'ing: She is an Old Buddha.

Chairman: What is the use of studying philosophy? Can one learn philosophy in college? If one has never been a worker or a peasant and goes to study philosophy, what kind of philosophy is that?

Lin Piao: The more one studies, the narrower one's mind gets. It is called "tse-hsueh" ("narrow study"). [Philosophy is "che-hsueh," "Tse" and "Che" are almost homonyms.]

Chairman: How about studying literature? One should not study the history of literature. Instead, he should learn to write novels. Write a novel for me each week. If he is unable to produce, send him to a factory to work as an apprentice. During his apprenticeship, he should write about his experience as an apprentice. Those who study literature nowadays are unable to write. Hu Wan-ch'un [5170 5502 2504] of Shanghai used to write a lot, but after a while I saw little of his work.

Premier: There is also Kao Yu-pao [7559 3768 1405]. He also went to college. Then his brain petrified.

Chairman: Let me talk with you about Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Marx and Lenin finished their college education, but not Engels and Stalin. Lenin studied law for one year. Engels went to college for one and a half years. Before finishing high school, he was asked by his father to work as an accountant in a factory. Then the factory moved to England. It was in the factory that he came into contact with the workers. How did Engels learn natural science? He did it in a London library, where he stayed eight years. He had never gone to college. Stalin had never gone to college, either. He was a graduate of a missionary high school. Gorky had only two years of formal education in primary school, even less than Chiang Ch'ing. Chiang Ch'ing is a primary school graduate. She had six years of schooling; Gorky had only two.

Yeh Ch'un: Comrade Chiang Ch'ing studied very hard by herself....

Chairman: Don't brag for her. Knowledge is not gained in schools. When I was in school, I did not obey the rules. My principle was just to avoid getting myself dismissed. As to examinations, my marks hovered between 50 or 60 percent and 80 percent, 70 percent being my average. There were several courses that I gave up. I was unable to cope with several subjects, sometimes on purpose. During examinations in such courses, I turned in a piece of blank paper. For geometry, I drew an egg. Is it not a geometrical shape? I turned in the paper the fastest because it took only one stroke.

Lin Piao: I studied for four years in a middle school, but I left before graduation. It was a voluntary withdrawal. Without a middle school diploma, I worked as a primary school teacher. However, I liked to study by myself.

Chairman: The military schools nowadays are very harmful. Do you know how long it took one to finish at Whampoa Military Academy? Three months, six months!

Lin Piao: For the first three classes, it was three months. Starting with the fourth class, it took longer.

Chairman: All that is needed is a little training. As to knowledge, it is not much except for some military drill.

Lin Piao: The point is: as soon as you learn something, you forget. Things learned in school in several weeks can be seen clearly in the army in a few days. Hearing about something a hundred times is not as good as seeing it once.

Chairman: I have never attended any military school. Nor have I read a book on military strategy. People say I relied on "Romance of Three Kingdoms" and "Military Strategy of Sun Tzu" for my military campaigns. I said that I had never read "Military Strategy of Sun Tzu." Yes, I have read "Romance of Three Kingdoms."

Lin Piao: At one time, you asked me to get a copy [of "Military Strategy of Sun Tzu"]. I was unable to get it for you.

Chairman: During the meeting of Tsun-i, I debated with X X X. He asked me whether I had read "Military Strategy of Sun Tzu." I asked him: how many chapters are there in the "Military Strategy of Sun Tzu"? He did not know. I asked him: what is the title of Chapter One? He did not know, either. Later, when I wrote about what I called problems of strategy, I went over the "Military Strategy of Sun Tzu" roughly.

Chiang Ch'ing:

Chairman: What is military strategy? Who studied English? "Ah-te-mi-erh" is military strategy. It is good to know English. I studied foreign

languages late in my life. I suffered. One has to learn foreign languages when one is young. T'an Hou-lan, what foreign language do you study? (The Chairman asked each one present the same question. Wang Ta-ping said he is studying Russian.) One cannot study geology without a foreign language. It is good to learn English. Foreign language study should be started in primary school.

Han A'i-ching: After the cultural revolution is over, Mr Chairman, please send me to the army to be a soldier.

Chairman: It is enough to be a soldier for half a year. What is the use of being a soldier too long? Half a year is adequate. Serve as a farmer for a year, and then a worker for two years. That's real college education. The real universities are the factories and rural areas. Comrade Lin Piao may be regarded as an intellectual because he has attended middle school. What kind of intellectuals are Huang Yung-sheng and Wen Yu-ch'eng? They are country folks. Comrade Huang Yung-sheng, how many years did you attend school?

Huang Yung-sheng: One year and a half.

Chairman: What is the background of your family?

Huang Yung-sheng: Lower-middle peasant.

Chairman: Wen Yu-ch'eng, how many years did you go to school?

Wen Yu-ch'eng: Three years.

Chairman: What is the background of your family?

Wen Yu-ch'eng: Poor peasant.

Chairman: All are native folks with so little knowledge. With that little knowledge, Huang Yung-sheng can be the Chief of Staff. Can you believe it?

Lin Piao: There was an X X X from Whampoa Military Academy. Chiang Kai-shek gave him a watch as an award. Later, in Nanking, he could not give a good account of himself in fighting.

Yeh Ch'un: He was against the Chairman.

Chairman: What's good about it if you are not opposed by anybody in this world? Let them oppose me.

Lin Piao: X X X scored 5 in many subjects at the Nanking Military Academy, but he could not fight.

Chairman: Struggle-criticize-disband is also a way out. This is the way T'an Hou-lan is going to take. Isn't T'an Hou-lan thinking of quitting? I did not say that we should not run liberal arts colleges, but we have to change our methods. Those who study literature should be able to write novels, poems, and songs. Those who study philosophy should be able to write essays, and discuss the course of China's revolutionary struggle. As to law, I think it is better not to study it at all. I heard that the T'ien (sky) faction is against Hsieh Fu-chih. This matter came to an end without any conclusion. The T'ien faction is no longer against anybody. "Smash the public prosecution law, smash Hsieh Fu-chih." Actually, Hsieh Fu-chih was the first one who proposed the smashing of the public prosecution law. Out of 30,000 people, the Peking Public Security Bureau picked only several hundred or several tens of landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, and rightists. Thus, the smashing of the public prosecution law was proposed. As a consequence, out of 3,000 people, only several tens were retained, and the rest were sent to study classes. You also used the slogan that Hsieh Fu-chih belongs to the Central Committee, and therefore must be overthrown. Then you arrested people in hurried ways. The People's Congress and the Three-Red General Headquarters kept quiet, but put up big character posters agitating for the overthrow of Hsieh Fu-chih in the name of a small combat unit. When we proceeded to investigate this matter, they said: "We of the General Headquarters did not say overthrow Hsieh Fu-chih; only a small combat unit did." They want to overthrow Chao Kuei-lin [6392 2710 2651]. I don't know Chao Kuei-lin, but I have read that little information you have about him. How counterrevolutionary is he? Nieh Yuan-tzu, you haven't said that Hou Han-ching is a counterrevolutionary, have you?

Nieh Yuan-tzu: They organized a reactionary bloc, viciously attacking Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin.

Chairman: It does not matter if people like us are being accused or despised by others. The Niu Hui-lin (one of the leaders of Peking University's Ching-kang-shan) affair was not handled right. It was not a grave political problem.

Law does not have to be negated. The Academy of Political Science and Law, the Political and Judicial Commune, and the Political and Judicial Army Corps may not be happy when they hear this. Reduce the time for legal investigation; let the workers and peasants do the job.

At An-shan Steel Mill, there was a case which needed inquiry and investigation. The case was left with the masses. They were fast in gathering information. Cases which had been pending for years were quickly brought to a solution. Before the trials, the public security bureau had no other way but to beat people. The information they obtained was inaccurate.

Members of the Military Control Commission are nothing but soldiers. Wen Yu-ch'eng does not know many people. Would it work ... if we depend on their detection and investigation? We should say that we must learn from the masses. First, don't kill. Second, don't sentence people to long terms. Two

to three years are enough. In the past, there was solitary confinement in the army. Do you still have this kind of punishment? Do you still arrest deserters?

Wen Yu-ch'eng: Solitary confinement is abolished. Deserters are no longer arrested.

Chairman: People want to desert. What is the use of bringing them back? Struggle-criticize-quit. If they want to quit, let them go. Why do they want to quit? Simply because they don't feel comfortable after they are targets of struggle and criticism, or they are beaten. Or they have to attend to family matters. Or they cannot endure army life. Compared with the past, the number of deserters has become smaller after we stopped arresting deserters and abolished solitary confinement. We are the People's Liberation Army. Now in schools, the arrested are treated like prisoners of war, subjected to coercion and forced to make confessions. If one refuses to confess, he is beaten until he is injured or dead. I think the intellectuals are most uncivilized. I think the unsophisticated soldiers are most civilized. Huang Yung-sheng and Wen Yu-ch'eng don't arrest deserters, nor do they punish people by solitary confinement. Now a new kind of punishment called "jet plane ride" is invented. I am the guilty one. In the "Inspection Report on the Peasant Movement in Hunan," I talked about "parading people on the street in dunce hats," but I did not mention "jet plane ride." I am the arch-criminal with inescapable responsibilities!

How about today? Do you think that you are being arrested here to be placed in solitary confinement? The method used by Ching-kang-shan is not good. I mean Commander K'uai's Ching-kang-shan. Four people were killed and 50 at the General Knitwear Mill were wounded. Had it not been for the social effect, the loss was a minimum, very minimum.

Lin Piao: It was worth it. The loss was at a minimum.

Premier: Vice Chairman Lin has put it very well. The loss was very minimum, and the achievement was maximum.

Chairman: In the future, if the workers go to your place, you should welcome them. Don't use K'uai Ta-fu's method.

Premier: In the second half of 1966, you went to the factories for liaison work, they welcomed you, and did not beat you up.

Chairman: Let them do their propaganda. Don't open fire. They are workers sent by the Party Central Committee. Didn't we say that the working class is the leading class? Didn't we say ours is a dictatorship by the working class? They are to dictate over a few bad people in the schools. You are well known people. You can dictate bad people in schools, but you cannot dictate the workers. This includes Commander K'uai.

Now there are many inter-group meetings going on at Tsinghua University, Peking Aeronautical Institute, and Ho-ping-li. Numerous people are from other provinces, including such units as "April 22" of Kwangsi, "Oppose to the End" of Szechuan, "August 31" of Liaoning, the "Messy" faction of Chin-chou, the "Flag" faction of Kwangtung.... Stop all these.

Lin Piao: They started all these meetings before we can convene the Ninth Party Congress.

Premier: We haven't even convened the 12th plenum of the [8th] Central Committee.

Chairman: Don't mention the 12th plenum. Everything is topsy-turvy. People are saying that "social struggle is a reflection of the struggle within the Party Central Committee." It is not that social struggle is a reflection of the Party Central Committee. Rather, the struggle within the party Central Committee is a reflection of social struggle.

Premier: A national defense system meeting was held at Peking Aeronautical Institute. Is it true?

Han A'i-ching: They did not dare call that meeting.

Premier: Don't call that meeting! You know that; it is a national defense secret.

Chairman: Why didn't I invite your opponents to come here? I invited you to come over today to talk about this matter so that you will be prepared. I have never made any tape recordings before, but I am doing it today. Otherwise, you will interpret what I said today in the way you wish after you go home. If you do so, I will play this tape back. You had better discuss this. Once I play this recording, many people will be put in a defensive position.

Despite the fact that so many days were spent and so many meetings held, despite a talk with Huang Tso-chen, and despite our effort to look for K'uai Ta-fu, you insist on asking the Central Committee to express its attitude. At the beginning, the Central Committee interferred a little. Later on, it was too busy to bother about this. In Peking, we have Hsieh Fu-chih in charge. In the past when you were called in for meetings, I never attended, nor did Comrade Lin Piao. We are behaving like bureaucrats now! This time I am afraid that you will expell me from the party because of my bureaucratic behavior. Besides, I am also the black hand that suppressed the Red Guards.

Lin Piao: Yesterday, I drove around to take a look at some of the big character posters. I asked why there were no big character posters put out by Peking or Tsinghua Universities. People said that they were engaged in armed struggle. I would say that you are isolated from the masses who are clamoring for an end to your armed fighting.

Chairman: The masses just don't like civil wars.

Lin Piao: You have isolated yourselves from the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

Chairman: Some people say that public notices issued in Kwangsi are applicable only in Kwangsi, and public notices issued in Shensi are applicable only in Shensi. Now, I am issuing a nation-wide notice. If anyone continues to oppose, fight the Liberation Army, destroy means of transportation, kill people, or set fires, he is committing crimes. Those few who turn a deaf ear to persuasion and persist in their behavior are bandits, or Kuomintang elements, subject to capture. If they continue to resist, they will be annihilated.

Lin Piao: There are real rebel groups. Some of them are bandits and Kuomintang elements who are using our flag for rebellion. In Kwangsi, 1,000 houses have been burned down.

Chairman: Make it clear in the notice and explain clearly to the students that if they persist and do not change, they are subject to arrest. This is for light cases. In serious cases, they are subject to capture and elimination.

Lin Piao: In Kwangsi, 1,000 houses were burned down, and nobody was allowed to put out the fire.

Chairman: Wasn't the Kuomintang just like this? This is the kind of desperate struggle on the part of the class enemy before his death. Burning houses is a grave error.

Lin Piao: On my expedition in Kwangsi, I fought with Pai Ch'ung-hsi. He used this tactic. He set fire to houses and tried to make believe that it was the Communists who set fire to them. The same old tactic is being used again.

Han A'i-ching: K'uai Ta-fu is riding on the back of a tiger from which he cannot get down.

Kang Sheng: It is not the kind of situation as you say.

Chairman: If he cannot get off the back of the tiger, then let me kill the tiger.

Premier: The fellows from Kwangsi are in your Peking Aeronautical Institute. How did you call members of the national defense and scientific committee to attend the meeting?

Chairman: You hide the "April 22" of Kwangsi. The students from Kwangsi are living at the Peking Aeronautical Institute.

Kang Sheng: They wish to control the movement all over the country.

Han A'i-ching: We did not call that meeting. You may investigate. It was called by Wu Chuan-pin [2976 0278 2430] of Kwangtung. I was sick at that time, and lived in the School of Physical Education before I was admitted to a hospital. A telephone call came from the school, asking me to greet two standing members of the provincial revolutionary committee. Others are saying: "Up there is heaven; down there is the Peking Aeronautical Institute." I did not enthusiastically receive the leaders of the May 4 Students' Congress, and those of the rebel factions from other provinces. We were criticized for conceit and self complacency. They also said that we are rich peasants, not revolutionaries any more. Then I started giving them better reception. When we saw them off, they wanted to call a meeting to discuss the national situation. I told them that if they call such a meeting in Peking, it would be an illegal meeting. In Peking, there is a sky faction and an earth faction. The situation is very complicated. I agreed to have a chat with a few leaders of rebel factions and the responsible persons of revolutionary committees without going into any specific measures. K'uai and I went to those talks. Then, I was admitted to the hospital. Everybody felt that things went wrong as soon as the meeting was started. The representatives from the geology college stopped attending the meeting after they attended the preparatory meeting. K'uai Ta-fu ran away from the meeting after listening for a few minutes. The representatives of Ching-kang-shan were also scared, and ran away. Information from my schoolmates came to me one after another. Before we could rush in our reports, heaven knows, we were criticized.

Kang Sheng, Wen-yuan:

Chairman: You talk too much about Han A'i-ching. She is only 23 years old.

Chiang Ch'ing: At the beginning of the movement, both Peking University and Peking Aeronautical Institute entertained visitors from other places, and did a lot of work together. In fact, we did ask you to do so. Now the situation has changed. It must be recognized that we should not do this any more because what they are opposing are their respective provincial revolutionary committees and the People's Liberation Army. T'an Hou-lan, who saved the day for you in the "September 7" affair?

T'an Hou-lan: Chairman Mao, the Central Committee, and the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group.

Fu-chih: It was Comrade Chiang Ch'ing.

Chiang Ch'ing: I don't particularly like the army corps of Normal University. But, the weather is so hot; you cut off their water, electricity, and food supply. They were not allowed to see daylight for three months during the summer. How could you have done this? As I heard this, I could not help crying. There were hundreds or tens of them. After all, they are the masses... Han A'i-ching was wrong at the very beginning. She wanted to topple others.

Han A'i-ching: I was wrong.

Chairman: It sounds a little bit like anarchism. In this world, anarchism is relative to government. As long as there is government, anarchism cannot be eliminated. This is what we used to say: the punishment of right opportunism is punishment of right opportunism of the Central Committee.

Chiang Ch'ing: I have no friendly feelings toward your opposition. It is said that the army corps is against us. I am not talking on their behalf, but you might as well release them! Proletarians should observe proletarian humanitarianism. These several tens of counterrevolutionaries are, after all, youths. They want to strangle me to death. I am not afraid of being fried in oil. I heard that Ching-kang-shan of Peking University wants to fry Chiang Ch'ing.

Wen-yuan: Frying is but a way of speech.

Chairman: There is hope. Strangle K'uai Ta-fu to death, so they say.

Fu-chih: Niu Hui-lin is bad.

Chiang Ch'ing: Niu Hui-lin may have some problems, but he can be educated. Nieh Yuan-tzu, do I still have some right to speak? I privately feel sorry for you. You are engaged in a struggle in which the masses are pitched against the masses, and the bad people are hiding. Did I say that "April 14" believed that they are definitely going to win? "April 14" is specially against the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group. They are also against the Premier and Kang Sheng. Nevertheless, it is a mass organization!

You know where I live. If you want to strangle me, go ahead. If you want to fry me, go ahead. We went through trials and tribulations together. If you cannot tolerate others, how can you rule the country, and make peace in the world. I think you are not studying the Chairman's writings, and not learning the Chairman's working style. The Chairman always wants to unite with those who oppose him.

Chairman: Don't mention that any more. "Kill the cow, slaughter the monkey, and stew the mutton." Why do we kill the cow? Can we keep it to help cultivate the field? All you cited are nothing but their attacks on Chiang Ch'ing and Lin Piao. All these can be stricken out in one stroke. They only talked about these things among themselves privately. They did not put up big character posters.

Chiang Ch'ing: I am not afraid even if they do put up big character posters.

Chairman: Who opposed Comrade Lin Piao the year before?

Premier, Yeh Chun: Maybe I-lin [0122 2651] and Ti-hsi [3321 6007].

Chairman: In addition, the leader of "June 16" Liu Kung-k'ai [0491 0361 0418] was against the Premier, but the Premier always protected him. People said the Premier was magnanimous. I agree with the Premier. These people should not have been arrested in the first place. Too many were arrested, because I nodded my head.

Fu-chih: This has nothing to do with the Chairman. It was I who did the arresting.

Chairman: Don't try to free me from my mistakes, or to cover up for me. I ordered the arrest; I also agreed to their release.

Fu-chih: You did not ask me to arrest so many.

Chairman: Some of those released kill their time by riding a bicycle around Pa-pao-shan and T'ien-an-men. After a couple of months, life becomes dull. Others behaved like rascals. Their purpose is nothing but to make a little money and to play with a woman. Is P'eng Hsiao-meng [1756 1420 5536] that reactionary?

Premier, Wen-yuan: Bad. His parents are very bad. They are associated with Wu Hsiu-ch'uan.

Chiang Ch'ing: "April 14" is especially against the Party Central Committee and the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group, but it is a mass organization.

Chairman: You cannot get rid of several thousands of them. You cannot get rid of a thousand members of Peking University's Ching-kang-shan. Bad people will get rid of themselves. Don't mention "killing the cow, slaughtering the monkey, and stewing the mutton" any more. The cow can be used to cultivate the field. Why should we kill the monkey?

Chiang Ch'ing: We have political responsibilities toward you. To help you politically is not enough. You have to do it yourself -- arrest the black hand and foster unity.

Nieh Yuan-tzu: More than 1,000 just left Ching-kang-shan. They are holding study classes.

Chairman: Those who leave Ching-kang-shan are not reliable. Most of them are on one side physically, and on the other side in their minds. Physically they are with the Old Buddha, but their mind is with Ching-kang-shan. Don't interfere with Niu Hui-lin. Let him go to Ching-kang-shan. Give him freedom. Don't compell or insult others. Especially don't beat people up.

Don't coerce or press for confessions. In the past we made many mistakes. You commit this mistake for the first time. We cannot blame you.

Chiang Ch'ing: How is Fan Li-ch'in [2868 5439 0530]?

Nieh Yuan-tzu: We did not do anything to him. He is with the counter-revolutionary group of P'eng Yen [1756 6056].

Chairman: Has Niu Hui-lin put him under arrest?

Nieh Yuan-tzu: He is under surveillance by his own people. Some agree to his arrest; others don't.

Chairman: Is Hou Han-ching a student or a teacher?

Nieh Yuan-tzu: A graduate student. His father was a speculator in 1963.

Chiang Ch'ing: They are not the worst. They are made up of several organizations. There are bad people protected by secret agents. They are also engaged in what is known as single-line liaison.

Chairman: This working style is bad.

Today we have two from the Heaven faction and two from the Earth faction. The Earth faction supports "April 14" of Tsinghua and Ching-kang-shan of Peking University. The Heaven faction supports Commander K'uai. I am not quite clear about this Heaven and Earth faction business. There are so many schools.... In short, we have experience with the five generals. They are Nieh Yuan-tzu, T'an Hou-lan (woman), K'uai Ta-fu, Han A'i-ching, and Wang Ta-pin. There are leaders from other schools, but there are only five who are famous. You have done a lot of work. No matter how many defects and mistakes are there in your work, we are going to protect you. You are also confronted with a lot of difficulties in your work. I have not experienced cultural revolution before, nor have you. The majority of schools did not engage in fighting. Only a small number of them did. They affected the workers, soldiers, and internal unity. Why are there so many non-committed people, and so few [for] cannon fodder? Have you ever thought about this?

Fu-chih: The Chairman loves you because you are small generals of the Red Guards. Vice Chairman Lin, the Premier, the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group, and especially Comrade Chiang Ch'ing are concerned about you. I have to take the major responsibility in this matter, because I did not give you enough help. I can go over this with you.

Chairman: All the institutions of higher learning in the capital are holding study classes, and no report has been made to the Central Committee. This has caused dissatisfaction to Nieh Yuan-tzu and others. You also run study classes, but you don't permit inter-group activities. So they held a big meeting for inter-group activities. To forbid inter-group activities is wrong. You are also wrong in threatening to overthrow Hsieh Fu-chih.

Fu-chih: That helped me greatly.

Chairman: There is a habit in Peking. Today we overthrow this; tomorrow we overthrow that.

Lin Piao: A big storm blows all "overthrows" away.

Chairman: Children are collecting big character posters as waste paper for sale. How many cents a catty?

Fu-chih: Seven cents. The children are making a fortune.

Chairman: I don't believe that. Chinese are good in one thing. When they have an opinion, they talk. It is all right to say that inter-group activities are not allowed, but absolute banning is not good. The opposition is conducting inter-factional activities. "Smash-the-Three Olds" faction is conducting inter-factional activities. The "Anti-Smash-the-Three Olds" faction is also conducting inter-factional activities. What's wrong with a little inter-factional activity? Why can't the Heaven faction and the Earth Faction have a little inter-factional activity? I say that inter-factional activities are permissible, because they are being done. If you don't permit good people to have inter-factional activities, bad people will do it. Most of the people are good people. More than 90 percent of the people are good. Bad people are extremely few.

Chiang Ch'ing: It would be a good thing to unify our viewpoints through inter-factional activities, and pluck the bad people out.

(Huang Tso-chen reported that K'uai Ta-fu was coming. K'uai cried out as soon as he entered. The Chairman stood up and went forward to shake hands with K'uai. Comrade Chiang Ch'ing laughed. K'uai presented his case as he cried. He said that Tsinghua was in danger. The workers under the control of black hand were entering Tsinghua to suppress the students. He said it was a great conspiracy.)

Chairman: Is your name Huang Tso-chen? Where are you from?

Tso-chen: X X, Kiangsi.

Chairman: Oh, cousin! I heard of you a long time ago. Comrade Huang Tso-chen's words were not taken seriously. Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih's words were not taken seriously. The Municipal Revolutionary Committee meeting was not taken seriously. I don't know whether the meeting of the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group will be taken seriously. I have become the black hand. Take me to the garrison headquarters.

Wen-yuan: Extend the red hand. Propagandize Mao Tse-tung's thought. We follow you closely.

Chairman: Four methods. What are the four methods?

Wen-yuan: Military control; one divides into two; struggle-criticize-quit; fighting on a big scale, if necessary.

Chairman: The first is military control; the second is one divides into two; and the third is struggle-criticize-quit. In the first place, you don't struggle. In the second place, you don't criticize. In the third place, you don't transform. How many months have you fought?

Premier: Since last year.

Chairman: The fourth method is to fight on a big scale. Get 10,000 people involved in the fighting. Withdraw the workers. Give the rifles back to you for a big fight, just like what was done in Szechwan.

Chiang Ch'ing: Disgrace to the family.

Chairman: I'm not afraid of fighting. I'm glad as soon as I hear about fighting. What kind of fighting is it in Peking? A few cold weapons, and a few rifle shots. In Szechwan, the fighting is real war. Each side has tens of thousands of men. They have rifles and cannons. I heard that they had radios, too.

Chiang Ch'ing: ...

Chairman: In the future, wide publicity should be given to public notices as soon as they are issued. If anyone disobeys them, he should be arrested or eliminated, because it is counterrevolutionary!

Chiang Ch'ing: Kwangsi has been under seige for almost two months.

Premier: You people did not think as to why the Kwangsi notice is Chairman Mao's great strategic plan. In regard to concern about affairs of the state, you five did not even issue a joint announcement to express your attitude, or do a little follow-up work.

Chairman: They are busy!

Premier: These are affairs of the state!

Chairman: Don't divide yourselves into factions any more.

Chiang Ch'ing: I hope you will be united. Don't divide yourselves into Heaven faction, Earth faction, Chang faction, and Li faction. You belong to the Mao Tse-tung thought faction!

Chairman: Don't create two factions. One faction is enough, why two? There are difficulties in achieving this.

X X: No headway has been made in education reform.

Chairman: Education revolution cannot make any headway. Even we cannot make any headway, not to mention you. You are hurt by the old system. Why can't we make any headway? ... Our Comrade Ch'en Po-ta was anxious at the Central Committee meeting. I said don't be so anxious. A few years later, they will be gone, and that will be the end. As I see it, the education revolution consists of only a few things. Why should we engage in education reform? If we fail, that's the end of it. This is what the students say. Where else can I get information except from the non-committed students! Marx was engaged in the study of philosophy..... Why can't the first volume of his book, Das Kapital be published? To build a party is not an easy thing. The first international was divided into at least three factions -- Marxism, Proudhon-ism, Blanqui-ism, Lasaille-ism.... Blanqui's so-called report is nothing but anarchism. The first international was divided in four or five ways. We are not being fair in what we are doing now. To fight a little civil war is not a serious matter. Therefore, one of the four methods is to fight in a big way.

Wen-yuan: I am inclined to accept the struggle-criticize-disband, or the struggle-criticize-quit formula practised in some schools.

Chairman: When the earth makes one revolution, it is one year. When it turns 10 times, it is 10 years. With the two factions going on like this, I think they have to quit. If they want to fight, let them fight on a big scale. They should give their place in the school to novel writers for self-study. Those who study literature should write poems and drama. Those who study philosophy should write history, family history, and the process of revolution. Those who study political science and economics should not emulate the professors of Peking University. Are there any famous professors at Peking University? These subjects do not need teachers. Teaching is harmful. Organize a small group for self study, a self-study university. The students may stay half a year, one year, two years, or three years. No examination is required. Examination is not a good method. Suppose ten questions are asked about a book, which contains 100 viewpoints. The ten questions cover only one-tenth of the book. Even if you answer all the ten questions correctly in the examination, what about the other 90 percent?

Who examined Marx? Who examined Engels? Who examined Lenin? Who examined Comrade Lin Piao? Who examined Comrade Huang Tso-chen? The needs of the masses and Chiang Kai-shek are our teachers. This was the case for all of us. Teachers are needed in middle schools, but everything should be made simple.

Wen-yuan: Establish a few good libraries.

Chairman: Give workers, peasants and soldiers time to use them. To study in a library is a good method. I studied at a library in Hunan for half a year, and in the library of Peking University for half a year. I

chose my own books. Who taught me? I took only one course -- journalism. I can be regarded as a member of the journalism class. As to that Philosophy Research Association, the sponsors were insincere. Hu Shih [5170 6684] signed. There were also T'an P'ing-shan [6223 1627 1472] and Ch'en Kung-po [7115 0361 0590].

The Peking University was run in such an inflexible fashion. It should have operated with more freedom.

Chiang Ch'ing: Now the universities are engaged in armed struggle.

Chairman: There are two advantages of armed struggle. First, one obtains combat experience from fighting. Second, bad people are exposed. We must make an over all analysis of armed struggle. Social phenomena do not change according to man's will. Now that the workers are there to intervene, if they do not succeed, withdraw the workers. Let the students fight for another 10 years. The earth will be revolving as usual, and the heaven is not going to fall.

Chiang Ch'ing: We really love you. It is nonsense to say that we don't need college students. We do want you. Some of you sometimes listen to us. Some of you act in one way in our presence, and in another way behind our back. We don't know what you are holding back.

Chairman: If you don't listen to us, I have a way out. Let the workers extend the "black hand"; use the workers to intervene; use the proletariat to intervene.

(Nieh Yuan-tzu requested that the Liberation Army be sent to Peking University.)

Chairman: You want your appetite satisfied. You insist on the 63rd Army, not any other unit. How about the 38th Army? If the 38th Army really supports Ching-kang-shan, I will send the 63rd Army. You should work with the 38th Army.

Chiang Ch'ing: Nieh Yuan-tzu, you should work on the 38th Army. You should give it a welcome.

Chairman: Send half of the troops from the 38th Army, and the other half from the 63rd Army. The 38th Army is not as bad as you think. Their base lies with Yang Ch'eng-wu and the Peking Military Region. The Peking Military Region held two meetings. The first one was not very good, the second was better. Cheng Wei-shan [6774 4850 1472] was put under investigation.

T'an Hou-lan, actually your gun was always pointed at Nieh Yuan-tzu. When you, T'an Hou-lan, a woman general, fired a shot, Cheng Wei-shan became very nervous. At that time, Cheng Wei-shan was not in Peking. He went to Pao-ting and Shansi to solve his problems. We didn't see him, did we? Nobody knows whether this divisional commander is good or bad. He scared all the generals. Did he give you (pointing to T'an) any trouble?

T'an Hou-lan: No, the students don't agree with him.

Chairman: There must be historical reasons. These things don't happen accidentally. They don't come suddenly.

Po-ta: Follow the Chairman's teaching closely; resolutely carry it out.

Chairman: Don't talk about teachings.

Wen-yuan: The Chairman's words today have profound meaning.

Po-ta: The first half of 1966 was relatively good. All the colleges and universities agitated and ignited the flame of revolution. It was right to touch off the storm of revolution. Now, they have gone beyond their heads, thinking that they are great. They want to put the entire country under their control. The hands of K'uai Ta-fu and Han A'i-ching reach everywhere, but they are ignorant.

Chairman: They are only 20-odd years old. Don't take the young people lightly. Chou Yu [0719 3842] started as a cavalryman. He was only 16 when he became the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Wu. Please don't think that you are old timers.

Chiang Ch'ing: We took part in the revolution when we were teenagers.

Chairman: Don't feel elated; elation all over the body is just like a disease.

Po-ta: Han A'i-ching, you have not given much thought to Chairman Mao's thinking and the opinion of the Central Committee. You call secret meetings on the basis of information obtained surreptitiously. You put your personal interests first. You are following a dangerous path.

Chairman: First of all, I have been bureaucratic. I have never met you. Had they not wanted to grab the black hand, I would not have asked you to come here. Let K'uai Ta-fu wake up.

Po-ta: K'uai Ta-fu, you should wake up. Stop the horse at the edge of the precipitous cliff. You are on a dangerous course.

Lin Piao: Stop the horse at the edge of the precipitous cliff. Admit your mistakes!

Chairman: Don't use the words "admit mistakes."

Po-ta: K'uai Ta-fu does not respect the worker masses. If he still refuses to listen to us, it will mean his disrespect to the Central Committee, his disrespect to Chairman Mao. That road is dangerous.

Chairman: It is pretty dangerous. Now it is time for the younger leaders to make their mistakes.

Premier: The Chairman said long time ago: now it is the younger leader's turn to make their mistakes.

Lin Piao: K'uai Ta-fu, our attitude toward you was taken after consultation with the Garrison Headquarters and the Municipal Revolutionary Committee. You said that you don't understand the attitude of the Central Committee. Today, Chairman Mao shows his personal concern about you, and has made the most important, the most correct, the clearest, and the most timely teaching. If you turn a deaf ear to this again, you will be committing a grave mistake. You Red Guards have played an important role during the Great Cultural Revolution. Now, a great revolutionary unity has been achieved in many schools throughout the nation. As far as great unity is concerned, some of the schools are still lagging behind. You should catch up. You have failed to see what is needed at different stages of the movement.

Chairman: T'an Hou-lan's opposition has only 200 people. A year later, they are still not suppressed. The opposition force in other schools is much larger in size, how can they be conquered?

Ts'ao Ts'ao [2580 2347] tried to use force to conquer Sun Ch'uan [1327 2938], and was defeated. Liu Pei [0491 0271] used force to conquer Sun Ch'uan; he lost Chieh-t'ing and was defeated. Ssu-ma I [0674 7456 2034] failed to conquer Chuko Liang by force. The first battle lasted a long while, but Chang Ho [1728 6740] had only one horse left at the end....

Yeh Chun: That's the loss of Chieh-t'ing.

Lin Piao: To fight the capitalist roaders is a good thing. It is also necessary to struggle with the freaks and monsters in literary circles. Now there are people who are not doing this. Instead, they are engaged in pitting one group of students against another group of students, and one group of masses against another group of masses. Most of them are children of workers and peasants, being utilized by bad people. Some of them are counterrevolutionaries. Others have just begun to be revolutionary. Gradually, their revolutionary spirit diminished and went in the other direction. Still others subjectively want revolution, but their objective action is just the opposite. There is a small group of people who are both subjectively and objectively counterrevolutionary. You are isolated from the masses.

Chairman: The workers and peasants constitute more than 90 percent of the population of the country. More than 90 percent of the schools are good; very few of them are engaged in civil strife. There are only six of them in Peking.

Fu-chih: Tsinghua has 20,000 students. Less than 5,000 are engaged in armed struggle.

Lin Piao: Those who do not take part in the fighting disapprove of the fighting.

Chairman: They are riding on the back of a tiger; there is no way of coming down although they wish to. K'uai Ta-fu can come down and become a government official or a plain citizen. K'uai Ta-fu should welcome the workers.

Fu-chih: The workers are not armed with an ounce of iron. They carry only three weapons: (1) quotations from Chairman Mao's works; (2) Chairman Mao's latest instructions; and (3) the "July 3" notice.

K'ang Sheng: The rifles in Tsinghua were provided by the Peking Aeronautical Institute. Two car loads of rifles were given to Tsinghua. K'uai Ta-fu is the commander and Han A'i-ching is the political commissar.

Han A'i-ching: There isn't such a thing! There isn't such a thing at all! People from the Garrison Command came over to our place to check the rifles several times. Not a single rifle was missing.

Fu-chih: You are correct; you are all right again. I criticized you several times, and you objected. You don't have the self-criticism spirit at all.

Po-ta: Should we take back the rifles?

Han A'i-ching: Chairman, I have a request to make. Please assign a unit of the Liberation Army to supervise me. Many reports are at variance with facts. I love K'uai Ta-fu very much. I am also aware of the fact that as long as I am with him, I will be involved in many things. But I feel that I must do my best to protect him lest he collapse. His fate is linked with that of the Red Guards throughout the country. Assign a Liberation Army unit to me, and everything will be clarified.

Po-ta: No self-criticism spirit.

Chiang Ch'ing: I made a mistake. I spoiled you. Hsieh Fu-chih, you spoiled her more than I did. She is spoiled. Now that there is a little trouble; Chairman Mao's method is the best.

Chairman: Don't criticize all the time. Yang Ch'eng-wu is creating many centers. The National Defense Scientific Committee is engaged in the theory of many centers. Throughout the country, there are thousands, or perhaps tens of thousands of centers. If everybody considers himself No 1 in the country, will there still be any center?

Chiang Ch'ing: Han A'i-ching, I criticized you several times. You have never expressed yourself.

Chairman: Don't criticize her. You always blame others; never blame yourself.

Chiang Ch'ing: I was saying that she lacks so much in self-criticism spirit.

Chairman: Young people cannot stand criticism. Her character is somewhat like mine when I was young. Kids are strong in subjectivism, very strong. They only criticize others.

Chiang Ch'ing: K'uai Ta-fu is smiling now. Relax a little, don't be so tense.

(K'uai reported that Ch'en Yu-yen [7115 5148 1693], a girl student at Ching-kang-shan Headquarters, was arrested by the workers.)

Has Ch'en Yu-yen been released? She is a girl, and should be protected.

K'uai Ta-fu: Ch'en Yu-yen is sleeping at Peking Aeronautical Institute.

Chairman: If you want to arrest the "black hand," the "black hand" is me. What can you do to me? We are sympathetic with your side. I cannot accept "April 14's" idea of certain victory, but we must woe their masses and some of their leaders. Chou Chia-yin's main viewpoint is that those who conquered the country cannot rule it. He said that K'uai Ta-fu must turn over his authority to "April 14."

We asked the workers to do some propaganda work, you refused, knowing clearly what kind of propaganda they were to do. Huang Tso-chen and Hsieh Fu-chih explained this matter, but they failed to persuade you. The workers were unarmed. You killed or wounded five of them. Just like Peking University, we are sympathetic with Nieh Yuan-tzu, sympathetic with you five leaders. Didn't you know why tens of thousands of workers went to Tsinghua University? How dare they go without the order of the Central Committee? You are very passive. Contrary to our expectations, "April 14" welcomed the workers, while Ching-kang-shan did not. You are mixed up. Nobody was invited here today from "April 14," or Ching-kang-shan of Peking University because the thinking of "April 14" is not right. Although flying the red flag, Ching-kang-shan has more bad people. The Nieh Yuan-tzu faction has more good people.

Nieh Yuan-tzu: Wang [3769], Kuan [7070], and Ch'i [2058] had a hand in it.

Chairman: You are opposed to Wang, Kuan, and Ch'i. You had inter-faction contacts, which I cannot forbid. Han A'i-ching, K'uai Ta-fu, are you good friends? You two should continue to be good friends. Han A'i-ching, you should continue to help him by making better policies.

Now, "April 14" is very happy, thinking that Ching-kang-shan is going to collapse. I don't believe that. I think Ching-kang-shan will continue to be Ching-kang-shan. I don't mean you Old Buddha's Ching-kang-shan.

Wen-yuan, Fu-chih: The real Ching-kang-shan, the base of revolution!

Chiang Ch'ing: Don't put me in a position where I cannot do anything to help you although it is my wish.

Chairman: Many of those who beat up the workers are not your men. I heard that they came from other places.

Premier: Do you still have out-of-town students in your place?

K'uai Ta-fu: Yes.

Chairman: All of you haven't slept yet. K'uai Ta-fu, if you don't have a place to sleep tonight, go to Han A'i-ching's place to sleep. Han A'i-ching should take good care of him. Han A'i-ching, you should take good care of him. When you people get together, go to Han A'i-ching's place to take a little rest, and then hold a meeting.

Premier: Han A'i-ching, you can come up with some good idea to help him.

Chairman: K'uai Ta-fu, is your action against the Central Committee? You ignored Huang Tso-chen's words, and ignored Hsieh Fu-chih's words. Even a meeting at the Municipal Revolutionary Committee did not stop you. I cannot but extend my "black hand." I mobilized the workers to stop your fighting. The fighting went on for so many days. As the workers marched in with drums and gongs, you still did not pay any attention. You are isolated from the masses, the workers, the peasants, the soldiers, the majority of the students, and your own people. Many people are saying uncomplimentary words about you. We did not tell Tsinghua University to keep quiet directly, but we did tell them indirectly.

Wu Te [0702 1795]: I had a talk with K'uai Ta-fu yesterday. He did not listen to me.

Chairman: "April 14" welcomed the workers. You Ching-kang-shan people are very stupid, very passive. I am very unhappy with that "April 14."

Chiang Ch'ing: "April 14" cursed me.

Chairman: The workers carried an effigy in their demonstration, and cut the power supply cables. At this moment, "April 14" was not told anything about this demonstration, why did they welcome them? You are very foolish this time, giving "April 14" a chance to welcome the workers.

Chiang Ch'ing: Even the masses of "April 14" are saying that K'uai Ta-fu is left oriented, and Shen Ju-huai [3088 1172 2849, an "April 14" leader] is right oriented. Tsinghua is engaged in a grand unity movement, but it won't work without K'uai Ta-fu.

Chairman: K'uai Ta-fu, can you be the chancellor of Tsinghua University? Let the university be run by two from Ching-kang-shan and one from "April 14." Let Shen Ju-huai be the vice chancellor.

K'uai Ta-fu: No, I can't, I am unable to....

Chairman: Unity is needed. We need K'uai Ta-fu. Without K'uai Ta-fu, unity cannot be achieved. K'uai Ta-fu is left inclined. Two from Ching-kang-shan. "April 14" is right oriented.

Chiang Ch'ing: Now, starting with you five, stop the fighting first.

Chairman: First, military control. Second, divide into two, with "April 14" taking a half and you, K'uai Ta-fu, taking the other half. Third, struggle-criticize-quit. These are the proposals, but they are unwilling to follow.

In the first place, you don't struggle. In the second place, you don't criticize. In the third place, you don't transform. You concentrate your effort on civil war. Of course, civil war will take months. The fourth way is to withdraw the workers, return all the rifles to you for a big fight. Should we run liberal arts college? We still have to run liberal arts colleges. As to how, we have to make a study and find a method. The old method encouraged revisionism.

T'an Hou-lan: Is the Normal University going to be continued?

Chairman: If we suspend it, who is going to teach senior middle school? Who is going to teach special secondary schools? How can we go without a foreign language school? It doesn't work if only one wind prevails. But heaven is not going to fall if only one wind prevails for a few years. During World War I which lasted a number of years, not only universities were suspended, but high schools and primary schools were also suspended. Everything was chaotic.

Chiang Ch'ing: Reform is a hard task; you people cannot sit still on your rear ends.

Chairman: Knowledge is not gained in schools. Hasn't Comrade Lin Piao just said that! Where did his knowledge come from? From Whampoa Military Academy? Comrade Huang Yung-sheng went to school for one year and a half. Wen Yu-ch'eng is lucky; he went to school for three years. Wen Yu-ch'eng, you are from Ch'ang-kang; you know a few characters. Society is the biggest university. How can it work if you sit in a narrow grove? Society is the biggest university. Lenin studied in a university for a year and a half. Engels did not finish high school. Both of them were better off than Gorky, who went to primary school for only two years. I, too, haven't attended a university.... [text illegible] The inventor of the steam engine was a worker, not a college teacher.... [text illegible] Look at some of our children who spend more than ten years studying. They are physically ruined, and become unable to sleep. A child may study history, but he doesn't understand class struggle.

Chiang Ch'ing: They study dozens of thick books. The works of Marx, Engels, and Chairman Mao become reference material, or supplementary material. Only the books chosen by their teachers are formal teaching materials.

Chairman: Six years is too long for primary school education; six years is too long for middle school education. Too much time is wasted. Do away with examinations! What are examinations for? It would be good if no examinations were necessary for any course. All examinations should be abolished, absolutely abolished. Who examined Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin? Who examined Comrade Lin Piao? Who examined me? Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih, call all the students back to school. If some of them don't want to go back because they are angry, don't force them. It is not right that members of "April 14" are staying in school, while members of Ching-kang-shan are not. Tell all members of Ching-kang-shan to come to the People's Assembly Hall. Differentiation should be made in treating the leaders of "April 14."

Han A'i-ching: Chairman, I have a question. If 10 or 100 years from now, civil war should break out in China, and if one faction claims that they represent Mao Tse-tung's thought and another faction also claims that they represent Mao Tse-tung's thought, resulting in a situation where each faction occupies a piece of territory and the entire country is engulfed in war, what would we do?

Chairman: There is nothing startling about it. The war against the Ch'ing Dynasty lasted more than 20 years. We fought Chiang Kai-shek for over 10 years. Within the Chinese Communist Party, we had Ch'en Tu-hsin, Li Li-san, Wang Ming, Po Ku, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Kao Kang, Liu Shao-ch'i, and many more. These experiences are more valuable than our knowledge about Marxism.

Lin Piao: We have Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chairman: We are better off to have this Great Cultural Revolution than to have none. Of course, we cannot guarantee [illegible]..... I don't understand your sister Nieh Yuan-su [5119 0337 4790]. Why must your elder brother and elder sister align with their younger sister?

Premier: My younger brother Chou Yung [0719 3057] likes to be associated with Wang, Kuan, Ch'i. I have grabbed him and sent him to the garrison headquarters.

Chairman: My father was bad. If he were alive today, he should be given a "jet plane rice" [a form of punishment].

Lin Piao: Lu Hsun's younger brother was a big traitor.

Chairman: I, myself, am not smart, either. I believed in everything I studied. Thereafter, I studied for another seven years, including half a year spent in studying capitalism. I was totally ignorant about Marxism.

Knowing only Napoleon and Washington, I was not even aware of the existence of Marx in this world. It is much better to study in the library than attending classes. A piece of cake is enough to take care of a day's meal. The old library attendant became very well acquainted with me.

Po-ta: Han A'i-ching mentioned this problem before. With Comrade Lin Piao as Chairman Mao's successor and with Mao Tse-tung's thought, I am not afraid of the emergence of revisionism.

Chairman: Nobody can guarantee that there will be no more cultural revolutions after this one. There will still be complications. Don't talk about new stages. There are so many new stages. I mentioned the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant affair. What new stage is that? One cultural revolution may not be enough.

Wen-yuan: The Chairman has already talked about this problem.

Premier: Comrade Lin Piao has studied the Chairman's writings well. Vice Chairman Lin has also mastered Soviet affairs and the works of Marx and Lenin.

Chairman: Did the party go out of existence because of the emergence of Ch'en Tu-hsiu? Despite Li Li-san, the Wang Ming line, and Li Li-san's repeated errors, the party still survived, the revolution still went on, and the armed units still marched on.... [text illegible]

Chiang Ch'ing: Han A'i-ching wrote to me several times, discussing this problem. Why did Han A'i-ching keep bringing this problem up? In the first place, she is isolated from the workers and the peasants. In the second place, she is isolated from reality. As soon as I see her, she thinks about the future. She always talks about things that might happen decades from now. She even asked me when World War III will break out.

Chairman: It is good to think far ahead. She is good! She is good! We may die in many ways. First, we may be killed by bombs. Second, we may die of diseases or germs. Third, we may be killed in a train or plane accident. Fourth, I love to swim; I may be drowned. Lastly, we may die a natural death, death caused by germs.

I heard that Liu Shao-ch'i has recovered from a serious disease. Po I-po almost died. He had kidney infection, heart disease, hypertension, and diabetes. Four or five doctors and two nurses saved him. Have you heard that?

Wen-yuan: Historical development is always progressive and has ups and downs, but the future is bright. We believe in Mao Tse-tung's thought; we believe in the masses. I think Han A'i-ching is a pessimist.

Han A'i-ching: Victory is not won in one shot. There will always be ups and downs according to dialectics. [Remaining text illegible].

POSTSCRIPT

With feelings of boundless love, boundless faith and boundless veneration in our hearts for the reddest of red suns, our most loved and respected great leader Chairman Mao, and in order to better understand, grasp and make use of the great and invincible Mao Tse-tung Thought, we have collected and edited this volume of hitherto unpublished speeches and articles of Chairmen Mao. Because the manuscripts have gone through several stages of copying and because our level of competence is limited, errors are unavoidable. Accordingly, we hope that all readers will refrain from making public reference to these materials or passing them to unauthorized hands, and will use them only for internal reference. If in the future they are made public, the public version will be considered the standard version.

The Editors

CSO: 3500-W

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