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TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)  
(Peiping, No. 15, 1 August 1960)

Communist China -

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## FOREWORD

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[This report is a full translation of all articles in  
the above publication.]

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## I. INTENSIFY THE SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST EDUCATION CAMPAIGN IN THE RURAL AREAS

Pages 1-5

Lin T'ieh

The new situation arising from the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country demands that we intensify the socialist-communist education [campaign] in the rural areas -- to systematically enlighten the broad career cadres, party members and peasant masses on Marxism-Leninism and on the writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and to eliminate the influence of bourgeois thinking and the traditional influence of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, thereby bringing the people's ideological awakening to a new level. This is an important condition for the further consolidation and development of the people's communes. This is an extremely important task confronting the party organizations on all levels.

On the basis of the continued great leap forward in 1958 and 1959 and the consolidation and development of the people's communes in the rural areas, the Hopeh Province has continued to leap forward in various aspects of socialist construction. The Aid-agriculture Campaign is being intensively conducted. In accordance with the suggestion of the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung that the national economy be generally bolstered by placing basic emphasis on agriculture and major emphasis on industry and by combining the priority development of heavy industries and the rapid development of agriculture, we are concentrating our effort on agriculture, with the view of accelerating the speed of agricultural development and fulfilling the targets established in the Agricultural Development Program ahead of schedule. The drought disaster was comparatively serious this year, but the people of this province, by waging a large-scale struggle and by launching an aid-agriculture campaign in all sectors of the community, have succeeded not only in greatly reducing the disaster area but also in making further progress in water conservancy, mechanization and semimechanization. Now, the irrigated area constitutes roughly over one third of the cultivated area in the province and the machine-irrigated area constitutes over one fifth of the total irrigated area. The technical-innovation and technical-revolution movement is also being intensified. The people's communes in the rural areas have been further consolidated and developed. Meanwhile, the above-average cities in the province have fundamentally carried out people's communization, in response to the needs of socialist construction. The formation, consolidation and development of the people's communes in the urban as well as rural areas signify the further intensification of socialist revolution on the

economic, political and ideological fronts and the further development of socialist construction. As a result of the two rectification campaigns in 1957 and 1959, the uninterrupted socialist-communist education campaign, the faithful execution of the party's general line, the achievement of the great leap forward and the people's communization movement, the people's spiritual outlook has experienced profound changes. The rapid enhancement of the ideological awakening of the broad cadres and masses has resulted in their unprecedented activism and creativeness in the course of accelerated socialist construction.

Now, the conditions in the rural areas in Hopeh are very good. However, we must realize at the same time that the two-road struggle between socialism and capitalism remains to be the major contradiction in the rural areas and that this struggle is yet to be decisively won. The poor peasants, the new lower-class and middle-class peasants and the old lower-class and middle-class peasants, who constitute the great majority of the rural population, are enthusiastic supporters of socialism and the people's communes. The majority of the rich middle-class peasants are also supporters of the people's communes; some are basically supporters but waver at times; only a few resist or even oppose the communes. The poor peasants, the lower-middle-class peasants and the rich middle-class peasants are all laborers and at the same time owners; but the poor peasants and the lower-middle-class peasants, who were originally poor peasants, are semi-proletarians, find it easier to change their concept of private ownership, whereas the rich middle-class peasants who are more committed to the concept of private ownership find it not so easy. Although there are only a few of the rich middle-class peasants, who tend to resist socialism, their thinking still has certain influence on some peasants. We are still engaged in the two-road struggle, insofar as the following are concerned: the consolidation and development of the system of people's communes, the consolidation and development of such collective welfare projects as the public dining halls, the acceleration of the improvement of agricultural techniques, the management of socialist markets, the management and supervision of the people's communes and adjustment of relationships between the state, the large collective bodies, the small collective bodies and the individuals.

We should also realize that there are still the remnants of the Type-C Team in the people's communes. In these Type-C Teams, the dominating leadership of the poor peasants and lower-middle-class peasants has not been established or consolidated; in some of the type-C teams, the leadership is in the hands of rich middle-class peasants, who are seriously inclined to capitalist thinking; in some others, the leadership has even been usurped by the landlords, rich peasants and otherwise undesirable elements. In these

cases, the socialist revolution has not been thoroughly carried out or there are even some tasks of democratic revolution awaiting solution. In these cases, there is still a vehement struggle between the two roads. Who is to seize the leadership is an extremely important issue. In order to thoroughly change the outlook in these cases, we must continue to conduct a series of activities intensively.

As for the broader career cadres and party members in the rural areas, the great majority are known for their revolutionary will to struggle for the realization of socialism and communism, for their staunch loyalty, for their fresh spirit, for their perseverance and simplicity, and for their boldness in thinking and in action. However, there are also a few who tend to isolation from the masses. They do not know how to follow the mass line; whenever a situation arises, they do not fully consult the masses. They are basically good cadres and good comrades; but these shortcomings, if not overcome soon, may affect their relationship with the masses and their work. What merits our particular attention is the fact that a few career cadres, subject to the lingering influence of bourgeois thinking, betray such bad habits as corruption and wastefulness. Although these cadres number extremely few, their mistakes are very dangerous in nature. We must therefore constantly engage ourselves in the struggle against bourgeois thinking among the cadres.

We must mentally adjust ourselves to the many changes in production relationships, in production and in our pattern of life in the rural areas. Our struggle to change the production relationships and to transform nature demands that we not only change our thinking but constantly transform our subjective world. We are struggling for the realization of communism. It is impossible to do so in the absence of extreme abundance of material products and the maximum enhancement of our communist awakening and moral qualities. Therefore, while energetically developing production, we must educate the masses in socialist and communist ideology, in Marxism-Leninism and the writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, so as to greatly enhance their ideological awakening and to establish and consolidate the world viewpoint of the proletariat. Every step forward in this educational process may prove to be the unestimably great material force to accelerate the socialist construction.

To promote socialist-communist education means to launch a series of ideological revolutions, to foster the proletarian thinking, to eliminate the bourgeois thinking, to establish the communist world viewpoint, to destroy the bourgeois world viewpoint, to continuously defeat the inherent influence of capitalism and to fully develop the revolutionary spirit. This is a long-term, difficult task; we must persevere in our struggle.

Experience has proved that in the course of administering socialist-communist education in the rural areas, the more promptly and thoroughly we criticize the rich middle-class peasants' capitalist tendencies, then the broader would be the spread of socialism and communism, the more consolidated and extensive would be the ideological camp of socialism and communism and the smaller would be the market for bourgeois thinking.

At present, the principal task in our socialist-communist education campaign in the rural areas are to raise the flag of Mao Tse-tung's ideas even higher, to raise the party's flag of the General Line of socialist construction, to closely unite all professions in support of agriculture, to rapidly develop the mass movement in agriculture, to consolidate and develop the people's communes, to continue to wage the two-road struggle, and to continuously enhance the socialist-communist awakening of the broad cadres, party members and peasant masses. In order to fulfill these tasks, we must in every way intensify our political, ideological and educational work in the rural areas.

First, to enable the cadres, party members and the peasant masses to further understand the great future of communism, to master the twin theories of permanent revolution and various stages in the revolutionary development, and to be at once ambitious and realistic.

Our great ideal is the realization of communism. Socialism represents only a transitional society in the course of transition from capitalism to communism and a low stage of communism. In the socialist society, there are still remnants of capitalism and there are also the seeds of communism. Our task is to accelerate the socialist construction and to destroy the remnants of capitalism, thereby creating conditions for future transition to communism. At present, there are three different attitudes toward socialism in the rural areas. The first is to resolutely follow the socialist-communist road. Those who adopt this attitude not only cherish the great ideals of communism but are also filled with genuine revolutionary enthusiasm. They actively demand the rapid development of socialist construction. They are the promoters in the rural areas. They constitute the great majority of the rural population. The second attitude is to go no further and to maintain the status quo. These people think that the present conditions are good enough and we should therefore stabilize the status quo and go no further. Only a small minority adopt such an attitude. The third attitude is to be nostalgic of capitalism and continue to indulge in fancies. Only an extremely few adopt this attitude. We must develop the spirit based on the twin theories of permanent revolution and various stages of revolutionary development and resolutely oppose the idea of returning to capitalism. At the same time, we must resolutely overcome the

idea of going no further and actively build socialism, thus paving the way for the future transition to communism. At present, we must insist on the 3-level system of ownership on the basis of teams in the people's communes, so as to insure the continuous healthy development of the people's communes. As Comrade T'an Cheng-lin pointed out in his report to the All-China People's Congress last April, entitled "Struggle for the Realization of the National Agricultural Development Program Ahead of Schedule," "we should energetically develop the economy of the production teams and particularly we must provide stronger leadership and greater support to the poor teams, so that they may gradually overtake the rich teams; at the same time, we should in accordance with the 3-level system of ownership actively support the economy of the commune. Our future lies in the transition from the fundamental system of team ownership to the fundamental system of commune ownership and then to ownership by all the people. However, in order to realize this future, we must have the necessary conditions. For the realization of the fundamental system of commune ownership, the conditions are: first, the economic development of the whole commune has reached the level of average per capita annual income of 150 to 200 yuan; second, the percentage of commune-owned economy has reached a dominating position in the commune's economy; third, the poor teams have overtaken the rich teams; and fourth, mechanization and semi-mechanization have reached a certain extent. In order to create these conditions, we must insist on the 3-level system of ownership, on the distribution system based on the distribution according to labor, and on the system of equal-value exchange. The insistence on these systems is beneficial not only to the production and construction in the people's communes at present but also to the gradual transition in the future; it is in accordance with the people's demands not only in terms of current interests but also in terms of long-term interests. [See Note] Very obviously, our current tasks are to correctly deal with the relationships between the commune, the production teams, the sub-teams and the commune members as individuals and to mobilize all active elements for the development of production. The better equipped are the people with the theories on permanent revolution and on the various stages of revolutionary development, the more enhanced would be their enthusiasm for production and thus the more beneficial to the development of productivity. (Note: National Agricultural Development Progra, 1956-1967. The People's Publishing Co., 1960, pp 43-44.)

Second, to enable the cadres, party members and peasant masses to realize the importance of agricultural development to socialist construction and the great future of agricultural modernization, thereby crystalizing the idea of rapid agricultural development and further strengthening industrial-agricultural alliance.

Agriculture is the basis of our national economy. Only by rapidly developing agriculture and completely transforming the backward appearance of agriculture can we insure the supply of necessary food and other agricultural products to the industrial population in the urban areas; supply the light industries with sufficient raw materials, gradually raise the living standard of the people in the rural areas; open up the widest market for industrial products; insure the supply of necessary labor force for industrial development; and lay a solid, reliable foundation for the rapid development of industry. The idea of placing basic emphasis on agriculture and major emphasis on industry and of combining the priority development of heavy industries with accelerated development of agriculture, as has been suggested by the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, correctly reflects the objective law of economic construction. In the absence of rapid development of agriculture, the basis for rapid industrial development would not be sound; conversely, in the absence of modern industry's support for agriculture, the foundations of agriculture, as a sector of the national economy, would remain weak. Accordingly, industry must in every way support the capital construction in agriculture and agricultural mechanization. First of all, it should supply the machinery for water conservancy and irrigation and the equipment for the production of chemical fertilizers.

Now, the industrial-agricultural alliance has advanced to a new stage, i.e., the industrial-agricultural alliance has rested on the gradual realization of improved agricultural techniques. In the wake of 2 years' great leap forward, much has changed in the agricultural outlook in Hopeh. The province has achieved fundamental self-sufficiency in food supplies and the production level has been raised considerably. However, agricultural development is yet unable to meet the demands of industrial development nor the people's demand for an every higher living standard. At present, the province is making a great effort to aid agriculture and to intensify the mass movement to accelerate agricultural development. In all the cities and villages throughout the province, a large-scale propaganda and education campaign to achieve rapid agricultural development is being conducted. This campaign is designed to make the broad cadres, party members and masses further aware of the important role of agriculture in the national economy and the great future of agricultural modernization, and cherish the high ambition of achieving agricultural modernization, thereby further consolidating the industrial-agricultural alliance on a new basis. We must comprehensively criticize the erroneous viewpoints that industry is advanced whereas agriculture is backward, that we may develop industry rapidly but we can only develop agriculture "slowly,"

that to achieve rapid development of industry we must relax our effort to develop agriculture and that industry and agriculture cannot be developed equally rapidly at the same time or if we place equal emphasis on industry and agriculture we should not be able to achieve rapid development.

Third, we must carry the socialist-communist education campaign to the backward corners of the villages and completely transform the backward outlook of C-type production teams in the people's communes. Certain changes have taken place since the two rectification campaigns, but fundamental transformation has not been achieved and our task remains to be difficult. The fundamental transformation of these backward teams is a task that should not be overlooked in carrying out the socialist revolution. The party committees on all levels in Hopeh have decided to transform these C-type teams by groups within this year. In order to succeed in fundamentally transforming these C-type teams, we must, in addition to the adoption of a series of measures, promote socialist-communist education, fully mobilize the poor peasants and lower-middle-class peasants for the two-road struggle and enable the poor peasants and lower-middle-class peasants to achieve absolute leadership, so as to consolidate and enlarge the socialist-communist ideological camp. Besides, we must re-organize and rehabilitate the C-type teams. In order to thoroughly transform these teams, the Provincial Committee has considered sending some 20,000 cadres to the various households in these teams on a 3-year work assignment and it is hoped that the intensified leadership thus provided may lead to the ultimate transformation of these teams. To date 12,000 cadres have been assigned to the C-type teams. We should realize that in the C-type teams the large number of poor peasants and lower-middle-class peasants are likewise known for their socialist activism and that they urgently demand for the transformation of their backward appearance, thus overtaking the advanced units. The favorable conditions for the complete transformation of these teams are now present. If only we are to rely on them heavily, we shall soon find changes in the appearance of these teams.

Fourth, we must enable the broad cadres to consciously work for the ideological and spiritual transformation and to correctly deal with the internal contradictions among the people, thereby mobilizing the broad masses' enthusiasm for production.

The great majority of the career cadres in the rural areas in Hopeh manifest desirable ideological and spiritual tendencies. At the same time, however, we should realize that some career cadres have been corrupted by bourgeois thinking and a few have even learned some undesirable bourgeois habits. We must help them to overcome these shortcomings, to correct these mistakes and to free themselves from the influence of bourgeois thinking at all

times. As for all the cadres, we must teach them to correctly deal with the relationships between the state, the commune, the production team and the commune members and to implement, resolutely and correctly, all the party's objectives and policies. The leadership of the commune must place unqualified emphasis on production, on the pattery of living and on the ideological and spiritual education of the cadres. All the cadres must continue to improve their working style, to demonstrate the glorious tradition of relentless struggle, to live and labor in the midst of the masses, to consult the masses whenever a problem arises, and to listen to the opinions of the masses.

In the socialist-communist education campaign in the rural areas, we must first direct our attention to the broad party members, cadres and active elements and arm them with Mao Tse-tung's ideas, so as to further enhance their socialist-communist consciousness, to raise their Marxist-Leninist theoretical level, to further stabilize their proletarian stand, and to further confirm their class viewpoint in the class struggle. This would have an important bearing on the intensive socialist-communist ideological education campaign among the broad peasant masses and on bringing their ideological consciousness to a new level. In the villages of Hopeh, several million career cadres, party members and peasant masses are now engaged in a movement to study Marxism-Leninism and the writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Having studied Marxism-Leninism and the writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the people would be able to better understand the future of socialism-communism and to coordinate the tasks in the current struggle with the great communist ideal, thereby demonstrating boundless enthusiasm in the accelerated program of socialist construction.

Party organizations on all levels and the broad cadres were confronted with the great revolutionary task of accelerating agricultural development and completely transforming the appearance of agriculture. Under the unprecedentedly favorable circumstances and facing such difficult tasks, we must regard the intensification of political and ideological work in the rural areas as extremely important. However, a few leading comrades still fail to understand this fully and they tend to neglect or relax their effort in this direction. Some comrades were able to place due emphasis on the political and ideological work in a major political movement, but once the political movement had ended they would relax their effort. Some comrades do not know how to bring the routine political-ideological educational work and the current production struggle closely together. We must realize that the neglect of socialist-communist education is a clear manifestation of the neglect of political leadership. In the absence of political leadership, we cannot expect the carry out any work successfully. In this connection, the Hsu-shui Hsien Committee of the CCP has

a better record. In the great-leap-forward movement this year, Hsu-shui Hsien placed consistent emphasis on the ideological education of the cadres, party members and the masses and there was noticeable improvement in the working style of the cadres. In the campaign against drought this year, they successfully coordinated all the current production tasks and energetically propagated Mao Tse-tung's ideas, thereby contributing much to the water conservancy movement as well as the campaign against drought. Their experience showed that the ideological work should directly serve production -- lead production. Such a method is good enough for us to follow.

The socialist-communist education campaign must be conducted continuously and increasingly intensively, so as to make the socialist-communist ideology our guiding spirit. This is an important factor that would enable us to strengthen the party's political-ideological leadership in the rural areas, to achieve continued leap forward in production and to promote the rapid development of agriculture.

II. FURTHER DEVELOP THE "TWO-PARTICIPATION, ONE-INNOVATION  
AND THREE-UNION" SYSTEM AND RAISE THE MANAGERIAL  
STANDARD IN ALL ENTERPRISES

Pages 6-15

Wang Ho-feng

I

In the past 2 or 3 years, the industries and communication-transportation enterprises in Heilungkiang Province have, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and in accordance with the directives of the Central Committee and the Provincial Committee, faithfully implemented the factory-head responsible system and the workers' convention system under the leadership of the party committee; energetically adopted and developed the "two-participation, one-innovation and 3-union" system and continuously raised the managerial standard in the enterprises -- with the result that the managerial work in the enterprises is fundamentally adapted to the needs of continued leap forward in production as well as to the further development of the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement.

The experience of the industries and communication-transportation enterprises in Heilungkiang -- particularly the experience of the Ch'ing-hua Tool Plant -- in adopting the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system has fully demonstrated the great superiority of this system. Practice has proved that it is in complete accordance with the nature of socialist enterprises. In the socialist enterprises, the system of exploitation of one man by another has been abolished and the working class have become the masters of these enterprises. Accordingly, we not only should but can fully develop the enthusiasm and creativeness of the working masses and successfully manage these enterprises by relying on the working class. Only by firmly relying on the working class can we fully develop the enthusiasm and creativeness of the broad masses and fully demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system. As early as February 1949, on the eve of national liberation, the 7th session of the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee of the party has formulated the policy of successful management of the enterprises by relying on the working class. This is our fundamental policy on the management of the enterprises. We now realize that the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system is a very good method of implementing this policy.

The "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system is a revolution in the management of enterprises, a creative development of the party's mass line as applied to the management of

enterprises. This system and the factory-head responsible system under the leadership of the party committee and the policy of providing political leadership and energetically launching mass movements together form a set of fundamental systems under which we are to lead and manage the socialist enterprises. They constitute what may be described as the "constitution" under which we are to lead and manage the socialist enterprises in our country.

This set of new systems for the management of socialist enterprises is an organically related whole. The factory-head responsible system under the leadership of the party committee represents the fundamental system for implementing the party's leadership in enterprises. For only with the leadership of the party can we implement the policy of political leadership and mass movement and successfully carry out the "w-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system. And by adopting the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system, we may better implement the factory-head responsible system under the leadership of the party committee, closely coordinate the leadership of the party with the mass line, and closely coordinate the high degree of concentration in the management of enterprises with a high degree of democracy.

The "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system is a very good method to reconcile the internal contradictions within the enterprises. In our socialist society, productive relationships and productivity are fundamentally well-suited to each other; so are the high-level construction and the economic foundations; and the high-level construction and productive relationships contribute significantly to the development of productivity. However, this does not mean that there are no contradictions between productive relationships and productivity or between high-level construction and economic foundations. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung so aptly pointed out: "In the socialist society, the fundamental contradictions remain to be the contradictions between productive relationships and productivity and between high-level construction and economic foundations. These contradictions only assume a fundamentally different nature and manifest themselves in a fundamentally different manner in a socialist society." [See Note.] In the socialist society, the most important problem in the productive relationships, after the problem of ownership system has been resolved, is the inter-relationship between individuals in the course of productive labor, particularly the relationship between the leadership and the masses. The "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system is indeed a fundamental measure suitable to the continuous re-adjustment of productive relationships and certain links in the high-level construction in our socialist enterprises, so that they may prove better suited to the development

of productivity. By participating in labor, the cadres may better understand the conditions of production and the demands of the masses, overcome the bureaucratic tendencies which isolate themselves from reality and the masses, and provide competent leadership in their relationship with the masses. By participating in management, the workers may better understand the leadership and management work in the enterprises, so that they may have a better over-all view in dealing with problems. In this way, favorable conditions are created for the solution of contradictions arising from the different roles of the cadres and the masses and from their different viewpoints in dealing with problems. On the basis of the cadres' participation in labor and the workers' participation in management and in accordance with the spirit of the twin theories of permanent revolution and various stages in the revolutionary development, we are to continuously and promptly revise those regulations and systems that limit the enthusiasm of the mass and that hinder the development of productivity and to better unite the leading cadres, workers and technical personnel, so as to achieve better coordination between politics and technology and between theory and practice. By doing so, we shall never fail to consciously deal with the contradictions between productive relationships and productivity and between high-level construction and economic foundations in our socialist enterprises, thereby achieving continued rapid development of productivity and continued leap forward in our production and construction. (Note: On the Question of Correctly Dealing with the Internal Contradictions among the People. The People's Publishing Co., 1957, p. 10.)

The "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system is an important measure to intellectualize the working masses and to proletarianize the intellectual elements.

During the past 2 or 3 years, there has been considerable improvement in the workers' professional techniques and cultural standard in all the enterprises and industries in Heilungkiang. The majority of the workers now working on the managerial staff in the enterprises are equal to their tasks. Moreover, about 25 percent of the workers on the managerial staff of general enterprises and about 5 percent of the workers on the managerial staff of some advanced enterprises have achieved the competence of professional staff. Some of them have even reached the standard for the heads of functional sections in the plants or head of plants. The workers' technical competence has also improved considerably. Of the apprentice workers who entered the various plants in the second half of 1958, the majority can now handle the 2nd or 3rd grade work; some can even handle the 4th or 5th grade work; and quite a few technical workers have achieved "1-specialization among other general skills." The workers' cultural level has also been raised considerably. Many

workers have learned to write and to compute in the course of their actual work; and in order to participate in management, they have found it imperative to study culture. To date, from 80 to 90 percent of the workers in the province have participated in spare-time cultural studies. Similarly, many cadres who have learned some technical skills in the course of their participation in labor. For instance, the majority of the cadres in the Ch'ing-hua Tool Plant have learned to master one or more types of work and the operational skills for 3 to 5 labor processes.

During the past 2 or 3 years, the broad working masses have, in the course of adopting the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system, greatly raised their political-ideological level, strengthened their sense of responsibility as masters and developed their communist working style. The working masses have all given due emphasis on the study of political theories. To date, over 70 percent of the workers in the province have participated in the study of Mao Tse-tung's writings and quite a few have learned to analyze and solve production and management problems by applying the viewpoints and methods as are presented in such writings as On Contradictions, On Practice and On the Question of Correctly Dealing with the Internal Contradictions Among the People.

In summary, as a result of various movements, a series of political-ideological work conducted by the party, and the adoption of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system in the last 2 or 3 years, a powerful, highly political conscious, fairly cultured and skilled team of working class and a red and professional team of cadres have been rapidly growing into maturity on the industrial front in Heilungkiang.

## II

Generally speaking, the adoption, consolidation, improvement and development of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system in the industries and communication-transportation enterprises in Heilungkiang have undergone 3 stages in the past 2 or 3 years.

In March 1958, the Heilungkiang Provincial Committee called a field conference, reviewing the experience of Ch'ing-hua Tool Plant and Chien-hua Machinery Plant in adopting the "2-participation and 1-innovation" system. This experience was soon propagated throughout the industries and enterprises in the whole province. In the general review of industries in the province, held in June and July, a full review of the functioning of the "2-participation and 1-innovation" system was conducted. Later, the experience of the Ch'ang-ts'un Automobile Plant in bringing cadres, workers and technical personnel under unified leadership was adopted in conjunction

with the "2-participation and 1-innovation" system. In November, the Provincial Committee called a province-wide field conference on political work in the industries, to conduct a general view of the experience in adopting the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system with the view of further developing the system. This was the first stage.

Early in 1959, in accordance with the directives of the party's Central Committee and Provincial Committee and with the policy adopted at the 8th session of the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee that mass movement must be coordinated with concentrated leadership, we began to re-examine and consolidate the functioning of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system. In May, the provincial conference of cadres on 6 levels in the industries, under the auspices of the Provincial Committee, conducted a general, systematic survey of the experience in adopting the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system; solved some problems arising from its adoption; stressed the need for strengthening professional management as well as the priority need for continuing to strengthen the mass management and conducted many construction programs on managerial affairs -- thereby better coordinating mass management with professional management and further consolidating and improving the functioning of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system. This was the second stage.

By faithfully implementing the resolution adopted at the 8th session of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, we made further progress in the mass drive to increase production and to achieve economy, with emphasis on technological innovation and technological revolution, in the enterprises. Particularly since the technological-innovation and technological-revolution, movement, with emphasis on mechanization, semimechanization, automation and semiautomation, was launched and the experience of the production movement conference was popularized, there has been new and fairly general development in the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system. A new stage was thus reached. The development and improvement of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system has contributed significantly to the improvement of managerial standard in the enterprises, to the development of the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement and to the continued leap forward on all production fronts.

In the past 2 or 3 years, the development and improvement of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system have manifested themselves in the following several aspects.

Significant Development in the Scope and Substance of Workers' Participation in Management.

Since the general popularization of the experience in "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union," we have, in accordance with the principle of coordinating concentrated leadership with level-by-level management, gradually expanded the scope of small-group management. At first, the workers participated only in some of the small group's routine operation in production management; gradually, they have begun to participate in the small group's planning, technical supervision and cost management, etc. In this way, the small group has really become a strong administrative organization in the enterprise and the foundation of managerial work in the whole enterprise.

It is the workers who formulate the small group's production plan, labor plan and cost plan and who revise various technical and economic requirements (to be evaluated and approved by the plant). This marks an important development in the workers' participation in management. Previously, it was the enterprise that formulated the production plan; generally speaking, it was a top-to-bottom process; the workers were chiefly responsible for the discussion about the execution of the plan and for the formulation of guarantee measures. Now, in some plants, it is the plant that establishes monthly production targets and it is the small group that formulates production plans, labor plans, cost plans and plans on technical organizational measures. Since the working masses are directly engaged in production and thus most familiar with concrete conditions in production, they can, in the course of formulating these plans, concretely consider all objective conditions and at the same time fully consider various subjective conditions. They are familiar both with material conditions and with human conditions. Accordingly, their plans are generally progressive and practicable. Having the small-group plans formulated by the workers as a basis, the enterprise is able to formulate the plans for the entire enterprise much faster. For instance, the Ch'ing-hua Tool Plant cut down the time for the formulation of its production plan in 1960 by better than two-thirds, as compared with the previous year.

It is extremely popular that the workers participate in the technical management. They participate not only in the examination of reasonable suggestions, in the analysis of the quality of products and in the examination and repair of equipment but also in the formulation of work schedule, in the designing of products and in the scientific, technical study of new products that are large in size and refined in craftsmanship. Generally speaking, the workers participate in the designing of 40 to 50 percent of the products; in some cases, they participate in the designing of

80 percent of the products. The efficiency and quality of the designing have also improved noticeably. In 1959, the Ch'ing-hua Tool Plant undertook the task of designing 4 new products. With the then available professional staff of designers and under the old system, the task would require 2 years; by letting the workers participate in the designing, the task was fulfilled in 3 months. In order to facilitate the workers' participation in technical management, quite a few enterprises have adopted the 3-level (sections, workshops and small groups) management system. The workers are thus further encouraged to participate in technical management.

After the workers participated in technical management, systems have been established for the inspection of products by the producers themselves and for the mutual inspection of the quality of products within the small groups. By doing so, we have strengthened the workers' sense of responsibility for the quality of products; well coordinated mass-nature inspection with professional inspection; and made the work of qualitative inspection even more generalized, scientific and strict. We thus have more reliable guarantee for the qualitative improvement of products.

In cost management, we have broadly adopted the system of economic auditing by small groups. Some enterprises which have successfully adopted the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system, have also adopted the practice of fixed cost auditing. The cost is computed in terms of the various parts of the product. The practice of daily auditing, weekly analysis and monthly review is followed. In so doing, auditing, analysis and supervision are closely coordinated with each other. It is thus possible to promptly determine the causes for excessive or lowered cost and to overcome the shortcomings of the previous practice of general accounting at the end of each month. For instance, the "38" small group of the Ch'ing-hua Tool Plant discovered, in analyzing the economic activities of the small groups, that an excessive amount of rags had been consumed in polishing the machine tools and that the consumption of auxiliary materials had exceeded the standard. The workers of the whole group then picked up all the used rags and used them again and again after each washing. They know how to save one drop of oil and one piece of rag. In 1959, this small group saved as much as 2.7 times their combined annual wages. The workers said: "In the past, we were not masters of the household and we did not realize how dear were firewood and rice; now, we are the masters and we are not to waste anything." As a result of all the savings, the cost of the whole plant declined month by month. As compared with the average actual cost in 1959, the cost of comparable products declined by 1.52 percent in January; by 4.27 percent in February; by 6.13 percent in March, after the adoption of fixed cost auditing; by 7.9 percent in April, by 17.49 percent in May; and by 19.59 percent in June.

The expansion of the scope of the workers' participation in management has been achieved on the basis of continuous rise in the professional standard. At the same time, it has in turn contributed to the expansion of the workers' team participating in management and to the rise in professional standard. Generally speaking, from 30 to 50 percent of the workers have participated in the small-group management. In the case of Ch'ing-hua, Chien-hua and some other plants, practically all the workers have participated in management, following the adoption of such measures as "reserve personnel," "teacher and apprentice at one job," "more than one at one job," etc. The professional standard of worker-turned managerial personnel has risen considerably. For instance, the Ch'ing-hua Tool Plant sponsored a meeting on the managerial work movement last March, at which 50 percent of the worker-turned managerial personnel demonstrated in the tests conducted that they had reached the standard of professional managerial personnel at similar jobs. Some worker-turned target-fixers formulated the small group's monthly labor plan in 7 minutes; some worker-turned auditors compiled the small group's monthly cost plan in 4 minutes; the small group headed by Wu Kuang-ming accurately compiled the small group's monthly production plan in 40 minutes.

Since the workers participated in management, many small production groups have accumulated rich experience and gradually established or perfected a set of relatively comprehensive managerial system. For instance, the small production groups in the Ch'ing-hua Tool Plant have generally set up 4 books, 5 accounts, 8 charts, 5 meetings and 10 systems [See Note], which have contributed much to the consolidation and improvement of the system of workers' participation in the small-group management. (Note: The 4 books are: concerned respectively with the registration of reasonable suggestions, the recording of technical safety matters, the recording of changing shifts, and the recording of post-shift meetings. The 5 accounts are respectively for the registration of materials, the auditing of appropriated materials and equipment, the registration of unusable products, the registration of spot inspections and the registration of embryo materials? and semi-finished products. The 8 charts are to indicate: the daily progress in monthly products?; the small groups' economic auditing; the records of work shifts; the production volume and work hours; the records of individual performance; the comparative evaluation of equipment maintenance and t'ai-hour records; the evaluation of workers' monthly performance; the weekly inventory of products; and the computation of workers' wages. The 5 meetings are: pre-shift meetings; post-shift meetings; meetings on the analysis of weekend economic activities; meetings on established plans held on the first day of each month; and inspection and comparative evaluation meetings held on the last day of each month. The 10 systems are

concerned with: the small groups' technical management; the responsibility for the quality of products; the responsibility for technical safety; security; shifts; performance evaluation; the management of products in process; the management of materials; the management of tools; and the management of equipment.)

In order to strengthen the work of the production small groups, many enterprises have established a nucleus small group, headed by the head of the party small group and composed by the heads of production small groups, the head of the union small group and the head of the Communist Youth Corps small group. This nucleus small group is designed to strengthen the collective leadership and to direct all the activities of the various small groups. Equal emphasis is placed on production and on management. Equal attention is paid to thinking, studying and living. Many small groups have developed the "4-guarantee" and "6-success" contests [See Note], with emphasis on production and chiefly on the basis of economic auditing, or "ideological-production leap forward" contests. By staging these contests, by reviewing various activities and by encouraging criticism and self-criticism, they have promoted the total development of the work of the small groups. (Note: The 4 guarantees are for: ideology, production, management, and living. The 6 successes are in: ideology, production, management, reform, unity and study.)

Many small groups have been extremely successful not only in their economic work but also in their political-ideological work. The party small group constantly studies the workers' ideological conditions and performs the political-ideological work. Quite a few worker-turned managerial personnel are also interested in political-ideological work. For instance, some performance examiners, having discovered that some workers were poor in performance, would visit the homes of these workers and perform their political-ideological work there. The small group is also very concerned about the workers' life. It pays equal attention to production and to the workers' life. If one person is in trouble, everybody is to come to his aid, so that all the workers in the small group may devote themselves to production. The small groups pay particular attention to the workers' studies. In accordance with the needs of production, management and various movements it organizes the workers' studies by providing reading materials, by sponsoring discussions and by offering individual tutoring. The small group thus becomes an important place for the workers to study politics, culture, techniques and management.

#### The Systematization of the Cadres' Participation in Labor.

Since the industries and enterprises in Heilungkiang faithfully implemented the Central Committee's directive on the cadres'

participation in labor, most of the cadres have participated in productive labor. However, in the early period, such participation was unscheduled and undisciplined. Since the Provincial Committee emphasized the implementation of "officers-serve-as-soldiers" measure, a system has been generally set up for the cadres' scheduled participation in labor. In the meantime, various forms of participation for different types of cadres in different enterprises were devised. Thus the cadres' participation in labor has been determined both in form and in method.

Since the 8th session of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the party, many enterprises have created a system of coordination between work, labor and study, in response to the flourishing development of the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement and the popularization of the production movement meetings. For instance, the Mu-tan-chiang Rubber Plant has adopted a "4-2-2 system" with respect to the cadres in the sections and the Ch'ing-hua Tool Plant has adopted a "1-(labor)-3-3 system" [See Note]. All these systems are designed to offer a coordinated, reasonable arrangement between the cadres' work, labor and study; to provide coordination between the handling of routine duties, the intensive study of practice, the reviewing of experiences and the solution of problems; and to further systematize and regularize the cadres' participation in labor. This is not only a new development in the cadres' participation in labor but also an important measure to further raise the cadres' political-ideological level and professional level and to further improve the working style of leadership and working methods. Since the Mu-tan-chiang Rubber Plant adopted the "4-2-2 system," 98 percent of the management cadres in the whole plant have regularly participated in labor, thus overcoming the previous shortcoming of intermittent fever. Since the Ch'ing-hua Tool Plant adopted the "1-(labor)-3-3 system," the cadres in the fiscal planning section have made intensive field studies and since the beginning of this year submitted more than 20 survey reports on multiple management and unified utilization among other topics. (Note: The "4-2-2- system" means 4 hours of work, 2 hours of labor and 2 hours of study every day. In order to facilitate labor and study, a method of concentrated utilization of time is adopted: The afternoons on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays are allotted for study; the afternoons on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, for labor; all mornings, for work. The "1-(labor)-3-3 system" means that the cadres above the rank of section chief are to participate in labor for one month at a scheduled time every year and that the cadres in the sections are to labor one day every week and to devote one-third of the remaining time to routine duties, participation in the work of workshop small group and study in equal allotments.)

The cadres' participation in labor and their regular appearance on the forefront of production have greatly strengthened the leadership in production. Since the beginning of this year, the Sung-chiang Electric Machinery Plant has adopted the method of coordinating leadership with the masses, thereby cultivating 68 "experimental farms" in 8 workshops, cultivating 12 red-flag small groups that have achieved over-all leap forward, training 168 superior worker-turned managerial personnel, popularizing 134 items of advanced experience and effectively promoting the further development of the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement and the continued leap forward in production. The cadres' participation in labor has solved not only the production problem but also the problem of workers' living conditions. The union chairman and the deputy head in charge of the workers' living conditions and welfare of the Ch'ing-hua Tool Plant have led the cadres in related sections to the dining hall, participating in labor, helping the dining hall to improve the kitchen equipment, increasing the variety of dishes served, improving the quality of foods and improving the service attitude of the dining hall personnel; the workers are extremely pleased.

The cadres, by participating in labor, have further adopted the labor viewpoint and mass viewpoint; improved their ideological framework; changed their working style; and cemented their relationship with the masses. After more than 2 years' training, the cadres have strengthened their labor concept and become used to the participation in labor. Quite a few cadres have felt: that if they do not participate in labor now, they would seem to be hanging in mid-air -- neither touching the sky nor resting their feet on the ground -- with an uncertain heart. As a result of their participation in labor, as is required under the new system, and their intimate contact with realities and the masses in the role of common laborers, the cadres have to a great extent overcome such bureaucratic tendencies as to indulge themselves in calling meetings, issuing order, issuing directives and demanding charts and reports, while sitting in their offices, and cultivated such new working styles as to eat and live among the masses, to labor with the masses and to consult the masses.

#### Continuous Improvement of Unreasonable Regulations and Systems in the Enterprises as Required by the Development of Productivity.

When the "2-participation and 1-innovation" system was first adopted, the principle task was to abolish those regulations and systems which unduly emphasized the system of plant-head responsibility at the expense of reliance on the leadership of the party committee and on the masses and which were detrimental to the development of production and at the same time to formulate a set

of regulations and systems which would suit the system of plant-head responsibility under the leadership of the party committee and facilitate the workers' participation in management as well as the cadres' participation in labor. The enthusiasm of the masses was thus greatly enhanced and the great leap forward in production was facilitated. In May 1959, around the time when the provincial meeting of cadres on 6 levels in the industries was held, further concentrated effort was made to revise the regulations and systems with the view of re-examining, consolidating and improving the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system and in accordance with the principle of coordinating professional management with mass management. In the course of this effort, we systematically formulated and perfected many regulations and systems with the view of facilitating the workers' participation in management and at the same time strengthening professional management, thereby achieving better coordination between professional management and mass management. In the course of the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement, which has been active since the winter of 1959, we have made another effort to revise the regulations and systems in response to the needs of the rapid development of productivity. In the course of this effort, emphasis was placed on regulations on techniques, regulations on operations, labor organization and production organization. According to the survey conducted by the Ch'ing-hua Tool Plant, 84 percent of the regulations on techniques were revised in this effort. In the course of the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement, the industries and enterprises in Ch'i-ch'i-ha-erh Municipality widely popularized the experience in single-machine productive cooperatization [See Note 7], thereby greatly reducing the time for production support, raising the equipment-utilization rate and economizing from 5 to 10 percent of the technical labor force. All these innovations have not only greatly enhanced the enthusiasm and creativeness of the workers and augmented production but also further strengthened the workers' collectivist thinking and better developed the communist spirit of cooperation. (Note: By "single-machine productive cooperatization" it is meant that single-person, single-machine operation is changed into cooperative production by more than one person and one machine.)

#### Considerable Development in the Form and Substance of "3-Union."

In the course of the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement, which took the form of production movement meetings primarily and which emphasized mechanization, semi-mechanization, automation and semiautomation, the "3-union" proved to be varied not only in form but also in substance. Various forms of "3-union" have made their appearance in the enterprises. Nearly

all the workers have participated in the "3-union" activities. In the meantime, the "3-union" has took the form of coordination between plants, institutions of higher learning and scientific research departments and between plants, designing departments and utilization departments. The wide application of all these forms of "3-union" have noticeably contributed to the further development of the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement and the continued leap forward in production. Now, the solution of all important problems in production techniques and the appearance of all important discoveries and inventions almost invariably represent the results of "3-union" activities. For instance, the "3-union" research group surrounding the key organizations responsible for production techniques in the Hsin-feng Processing Plant has adopted the "3-union" system in all operations, ranging from the suggestion of programs, designing, experimentation and even manufacturing. They have a "3-union" small group. When they wanted to manufacture an automatized production line, they succeeded in designing more than 800 parts and drafting more than 100 installation charts in 5 days. In the course of the ambitious drive to revolutionize the designs of its products, launched at the beginning of this year, the Harbin Electrometer Equipment Plant has established "3-union" spare-time scientific and technological institutes and groups in all the workshops, sections and small groups and together they have revised the designs of more than 270 products, simplified the structure of products, achieved economy in work-hours and in raw materials, and greatly improved the efficiency of the electrometer equipment. The "3-union" method has been applied not only to the technological-innovation and technological revolution but also to the various aspects in the work of enterprise management.

Our experience in the past 2 or 3 years has convinced us: that the "3-union" method is a very good mass-line working method and a Marxist-Leninist working method. Proper and full application of the "3-union" method is an important condition for the success of the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement, i.e., proceeding along the correct, scientific and all-people road.

Following the further development of the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement and the continuous consolidation and improvement of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system, Mu-tan-chiang Municipality created the experience in a major reform of management tools last February. Soon after its appearance, this experience was popularized throughout the province. Now, many enterprises have created various forms of speedy, electronic and automatized management tools, with the result that the work efficiency has increased by several times or by dozens of times. These tools -- fast, timely accurate and

easy to master -- have offered convenient conditions for the workers' participation in management and for the cadres' participation in labor and they have been enthusiastically welcomed by the workers and cadres.

During the past 2 or 3 years, as a result of the continuous consolidation of the party leadership in the enterprises, the side application of the methods of political leadership and mass movement and the continuous consolidation, improvement and development of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system, there have been profound changes in the appearance of management work in the industries and communication-transportation enterprises in Heilungkiang and these changes have effectively supported the further development of the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement as well as the continued leap forward in production and construction. By the end of 1959, the degree of mechanization, semimechanization, automation and semiautomation in the industries and communication-transportation enterprises in the whole province has reached 38.2 percent. By the end of June this year, it rose to 77.6 percent, with the appearance of 3,514 automized production lines, 590 automized and semiautomized work-shops and 100 automized and semiautomized plants. The combined value of industrial production in the first half of this year has already reached 51 percent of the target figure established for the whole year, i.e., an increase of 94.5 percent over the figure for the like period in 1959 and surpassing the production level in the great-leap-forward year of 1958. Previously, production suffered from a sort of intermittent fever -- intense early in the month or season and relaxed later in the month or season; now this "rule" has been broken, with the emergence of a new situation of over-all leap forward in production.

### III

The "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system is something new. As in the case of all new things, it must undergo a process of development from imperfection to perfection. Similarly, we must also undergo the process of practice, understanding, further practice and further understanding before we can understand and master its law of development. After more than 2 years' experience, we have not only gained a deeper understanding of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system but also accumulated some experience in popularizing, consolidating, improving and developing this system.

To Strengthen Party Leadership, To Insist on Political Leadership,  
To Achieve Closer Coordination Between the "2-Participation,  
1-Innovation and 3-Union" with Energetic Mass Movements.

The appearance and popularization of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system is not only a revolution in the management system and leadership methods in the enterprises but also a profound political-ideological revolution in the industries and enterprises.

As early as August 1955, the conference on political work in the industries, sponsored by the Heilungkiang Provincial Committee in accordance with the spirit of the 7th session of the 4th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, had solemnly and sharply criticized the undue emphasis on the system of plant-head responsibility. In 1956, the first session of the 8th All-China Party Congress expressly decided that the system of plant-head responsibility under the leadership of the Party Committee be adopted in the enterprises. In the course of implementing this system in our industries and enterprises, we have waged a continuous struggle against the unduly emphasized system of plant-head responsibility; adopted some proper organizational measures; and reinforced the principal leading cadres of the Party Committee in the enterprises. We have thus gradually strengthened the party's leadership and political-ideological work in the enterprises and greatly enhanced the sense of responsibility of the working masses as masters. Particularly after the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle, the broad working masses, under the influence of the general line on socialist construction and the great leap forward in production, have developed the communist character of boldness in thinking and in action and in order to develop production in consonance with the principle of "quality, quantity, economy and speed," voiced the popular demand for the revision of the management system in the enterprises and widely adopted the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system. However, there are also some cadres and technical personnel who are skeptical of or opposed to the adoption of this system. Even in the early stages under this system, they did not believe that the workers were prepared to participate in management; maintained that there was no need for the cadres to participate in labor; and objected to the revision of regulations and systems. In the course of adopting this system, a minority further attacked the system on the basis of some temporary and individual shortcomings resulting from our lack of experience in the early stages. They said that the "2-participation and 1-innovation" system had "adversely affected the management work" in the enterprises; that "the regulations and systems had been wrongly revised;" that "it was hardly necessary for the cadres to participate in labor;" etc.

The bone of contention was: with respect to the management of enterprises, whether we should have party leadership and political leadership; whether we should follow the mass line and launch mass movements; whether we should permit the masses to participate in management. Under the leadership of party committees on all levels, we broadly mobilized the opinion of the working masses and severely criticized these erroneous ideas. As a result of numerous ideological struggles, the idea of placing one-sided emphasis on the system of plant-head responsibility has been completely refuted and the idea of permitting the masses to participate in management and of insisting on party leadership have been engraved on the people's hearts. As the working masses' political-ideological consciousness and managerial ability continues to rise and following the mass movement launched on the industrial front, and particularly as a result of the further development of the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement, the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system has also enjoyed continuous over-all development.

In summary, the process of adopting the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system has been a complicated process of sharp struggle. Only by strengthening the party leadership, by insisting on political leadership, by continuously overcoming the idea of placing one-sided emphasis on the system of plant-head responsibility and other erroneous ideas, and by coordinating the adoption of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system with the development of the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement and with the effort to launch mass movements can we continuously consolidate, improve and develop this new system of enterprise management.

Make the Small Group a Class-A Administrative Organization and Coordinate Professional Management with Mass Management by Strengthening the Small Group's Management Work.

To strengthen the work of the small group, to make the small group a Class-A administrative organization and to guarantee and consolidate the system of workers' participation in management in terms of organization and essential to the successful function of the system. And the successful functioning of the system of workers' participation in management is the basis for the successful management of the entire enterprise. At the same time, we should form party, union and Communist Youth Corps small groups as well as the production small groups and make the party small group the nucleus, whose task is to fully develop the functions of the production, union and Communist Youth Corps small groups. In response to the needs of the development of production and the improvement of the workers' managerial ability, we should promptly

and properly determine the substance and scope of the small group's managerial jurisdiction; establish and perfect a set of systems governing the small group's management; adopt various methods to prepare the workers for managerial assignments; strengthen the political-ideological work; and continuously improve the managerial standard of the small group.

Our experience in adopting the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system in the last 2 or 3 years has fully proved that professional management and mass management serve to regulate and facilitate each other. If professional management does not rest on the basis of mass management, it would isolate itself from the masses and from reality and the management work would not be performed satisfactorily. On the other hand, if mass management is not placed under the leadership of professional management, it is also difficult to consolidate, improve and develop the mass management. Therefore, we should not one-sidedly emphasize or neglect either aspect. Only by properly coordinating one with the other can we expect them to facilitate each other and thus improve the over-all managerial standard in the enterprise.

How are we to achieve the close coordination between professional management and mass management? We must not only solve the ideological problems but also learn to benefit by the recent experience of many enterprises in doing so. For instance, some plants have coordinated professional management with mass management by forming "lines," "dragons," and "networks" /See Note/ in accordance with their functions, and by launching contests both horizontally and vertically. There are also plants that have adopted the forms of "3-union" meetings and "3-union" contests. All these are good methods and may be further popularized. (Note: By "line" and "dragon" it is meant that in each functional system the plant, the workshops and the small groups are to be horizontally linked together. By "network" it is meant that the various functional systems are to be vertically as well as horizontally linked together into a "network.")

The Need to Coordinate the Implementation of the "2-Participation, 1-Innovation and 3-Union" System with the Campaign to Improve the Working Style of Leadership.

To faithfully implement the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system is a fundamental measure to improve the working style and working methods of leadership, and to overcome bureaucracy, orderism and subjectivism. By adopting the system of cadres' participation in labor, we may enable the cadres to participate in production, to lead production, to familiarize themselves with reality and with the masses and to cement the relationship between the leadership and the masses. By adopting the system of workers'

participation in management, we may considerably lighten the responsibilities of leadership and enable the leading cadres to have sufficient time to participate in labor, to review the work, to crystalize experience and to learn political theories and operational techniques, thereby further improving the leadership standard. On the basis of successful functioning of "2-participation," we may revise the regulations and systems even more properly and apply the "3-union" method to various tasks even more broadly. Experience has proved that wherever the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system functions well, there is better performance in production and in other tasks and there is less tendency toward bureaucratism, orderism and subjectivism. The improvement of the working style of leadership may in turn facilitate the improvement and development of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system.

The Need to Coordinate the Implementation of the "2-Participation, 1-Innovation and 3-Union" System with the Over-all Improvement of the Workers' Political-Ideological Level, Technical Level and Cultural Level.

The process of consolidating, improving and developing the system of workers' participation in management is closely related to the general improvement of their political-ideological level, technical level and cultural level. In the early stages of this experiment, we first tried to enhance the workers' sense of responsibility as master, to abolish their superstitious beliefs, to liberate their minds and to solve the problem of whether they were sufficiently prepared for management. Later, we tried to intensify the training of managerial personnel, to continuously improve their managerial ability and to solve the problem of whether they had been successful in managerial posts. With respect to training, many enterprises have adopted such methods as classroom lecturing, spare-time training programs, professional discussions, individual tutoring, tests and oral examinations, field visits, exchange of experiences, etc. All these methods have proved to be effective. In order to further improve, systematically and generally, the workers' political, professional, cultural and technical preparedness, the enterprises have launched the movement to study the writings of Mao Tse-tung; intensified the spare-time technical and cultural education of the workers; and formulated comprehensive arrangements and long-term plans with respect to the various aspects of the masses' education. In so doing, they have created the favorable conditions for the consolidation, improvement and development of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system.

To Adapt the "2-Participation, 1-Innovation and 3-Union" System to Realities and To Continuously Consolidate, Improve and Develop the System by Reviewing the Experiences.

The "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system is an experience of general significance. However, in view of the differences in production characteristics, in operational basis and in working conditions between the various businesses and enterprises, the methods and procedures to implement the system should be likewise different. In the past 2 or 3 years, some businesses and enterprises have successfully implemented the system in accordance with their respective circumstances. For instance, some communication-transportation enterprises have, in accordance with their characteristics -- e.g., fluidity, dispersion and continuous production -- adopted the forms of simultaneous and alternating shifts with respect to the cadres' participation in labor. Some units in forestry have, in accordance with their characteristics -- e.g., field dispersion and operations in open air -- adopted such methods as field operations, "following shifts" and "following key operations" with respect to the cadres' participation in labor. Some coal-mining enterprises have, in accordance with the constantly changing conditions in labor organization, adopted such methods as "more than one person at one post" and "transfer of worker-turned managerial personnel" with respect to the workers' participation in management. Besides, with respect to the organization of production and the number of and division of labor between the worker-turned managerial personnel, most enterprises have formulated such plans as are best suited to their respective practical conditions and characteristics. In summary, in view of the differences in production characteristics between the various businesses and enterprises and between the small and large plants or between the new and old plants in the same enterprise, we should implement the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system in accordance with given conditions and should not adopt a uniform method.

The "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system is something new. In the course of its implementation, we should, in the light of the development of production, the improvement of the cadres' working style, the improvement of the workers' managerial ability and the accumulation of leadership experience, review our experiences from time to time, enrich the substance of the system and continuously try to solve the problems arising in the course of its implementation, so as to achieve the continuous consolidation, improvement and development of this system.

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The appearance of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system and its popularization, consolidation, improvement and development are by no means accidental, but due to the fact that under the leadership of the party central committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung we have continuously strengthened the party leadership and insisted on political leadership and mass movement in the industries and communication-transportation enterprises in Heilungkang, that we have continuously criticized and eliminated the influence of one-sided emphasis on the system of plant-head responsibility and faithfully implemented the system of plant-head responsibility under the leadership of the party committee and the system of workers' convention, and that we have insisted on the general line and the great leap forward. In the final analysis, they represent the product of Mao Tse-tung's idea that the general truth of Marxism-Leninism be coordinated with the practice of Chinese revolution and construction -- a victory of Mao Tse-tung's idea in enterprise management. The continued development and improvement of the "2-participation, 1-innovation and 3-union" system in the future will certainly push the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement and production and construction programs on the industrial and communication-transportation fronts in Heilungkang to a new and unprecedented hightide.

(Editor's Note: The author of this article is the Secretary of the Secretariat of the CCP Heilungkang Provincial Committee.)

### III. FULLY UTILIZE THE WILD FIBERS

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Wang Ta-ch'eng

Since the great leap forward in 1958, the textile industry has, under the leadership of the party, opened up a new front, i.e., the utilization of wild fibers. Many of the wild fibers, previously regarded as "useless," have turned into useful raw materials for the textile industry, as a result of the creative labor of the broad masses. They have made it possible to increase the production volume and variety of textile products and thus met the demands of society. Particularly since the beginning of this year, as a result of the continued leap forward of the textile industry and the further development of the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement sponsored by all the people, there has been further development in the utilization of wild fibers. The broad working masses in the textile industry have not only been energetically engaged in the utilization and study of wild fibers but also gone to the mountains and rural areas to assist the commercial departments and people's communes in the gathering, purchase and processing of wild fibers. Many enterprises have helped the people's communes in the establishment of t'o-chiao plants. Many textile machinery plants and the workshops of textile plants are in the process of making skinning machinery for the people's communes. A mass drive to utilize the wild fibers has been launched enthusiastically in many localities.

#### I

These wild fibers are the plant fibers or animal fibers that have not been fully utilized and that could be spun. They are to be distinguished from such textile raw materials as the cotton, wool, hemp, silk and chemical fibers that have already been widely utilized in the textile industry.

The raw materials for our textile industry come chiefly from agriculture and pastoral industry. However, much of the stems, skins and sheels of agricultural crops and of the hair and wool of domestic animals is yet to be utilized as spinable fibers. In the case of cotton, for instance, we have utilized its fruit, i.e., raw cotton, in making cotton yarns and cloth and its seeds in extracting oil; but large quantities of cotton skin have always been used only as firewood. Actually, there is a considerable amount of spinnable fibers in the cotton skins, which could be used in making ropes, sacks, material for wrapping cloth, etc. Again for instance, the linseeds, cultivated over extensive areas in the Northwestern and Northern provinces, have mostly been used

in making linseed oil; actually the linseed fibers are comparatively good in fineness, strength, coloring and elasticity and could be used in making sacks, sail cloth, wrapping cloth and cloth for apparel. Again for instance, the mulberry trees in the south have to be chipped every year and the fibers of the mulberry skins are actually good enough to be mixed with silk in making cloth for apparel. Other fibers such as those of bamboo skins and sugar cane skins could also be used in making ropes and hemp bags. As for the animal fibers, we have only made use of the lamb's wool and there are many others that could be used in the textile industry. For instance, the rabbit hair is light, warm and soft and it could be mixed with lamb's wool and silk in making textile products of better quality. Again for instance, the wild yak wool produced in Tibet, Tsinghai, Sinkiang and Kansu could be spun into high-grade products such as long-haired overcoat material and sweaters. The hair of hogs, horses and cows could all be made into blankets and carpets.

The resources of wild plant fibers are extremely abundant in our country. Unfortunately, we have let them grow and die by themselves without making much use of them. Actually, much of these fibers could be used as textile raw materials. According to incomplete statistics, there are more than 100 kinds of wild plant fibers that could be spun. Of these, some are herbs; some are plants; some are readily adaptable to various surroundings as they grow on the plains or mounds and in mountain or basin or swamp districts. For instance, lo-pu hemp is found in large quantities on the sandy fields of Sinkiang, Kansu and Shensi and along the beaches of Shantung and Kiangsu. It is a wild plant, which has great resistance to cold and drought and which is not afraid of alkalies. Its fibers are not weak in compressibility and are fairly good in strength and in fineness. They could be spun either independently or with lamb's wool or cotton for making cloth for apparel, threads of fishing nets, leather threads, etc. Again for instance, the chih-ma of the Northeastern provinces is comparable to ya-ma in quality and could be used in making material for summer clothes and industrial products. The wild Chinese Grass in Hupeh, Hunan and Honan does not compare unfavorably to the domestically-cultivated Chinese Grass. Other wild fibers available in large quantities include creepers, non-she-t'eng and tuan skins, which could be used to replace hemp in making sacks and sack cloth, once they are processed.

There are also large quantities of refuse cotton and used textile goods and some could be re-spun into wrapping cloth and public utility cloth.

Suffice it to show that by fully utilizing various wild fibers and by turning the useless into the useful, we would be able to increase the amount and variety of textile raw materials, thereby

contributing significantly to the development of the textile industry. There are some 10 million tan of cotton skin fibers alone in the country. The resources are even more impressive if we count also the linseed, lo-pu-ma, chih-ma and other wild fibers. By utilizing these fibers, we shall be able to produce a greater variety of textile goods and thus better serve the needs of society. In the first half of this year, the country produced more than 20 million sacks and more than 70 million meters of cloth as a result of using these wild fibers in mixed-spinning. A large quantity of the cloth thus made is in the form of wrapping cloth and public utility cloth; a part of it can be used for apparel. In addition, we have made many small products, e.g., shoe-soles, hats, socks, book-bags, carrying bags, etc., which have been well received by the consumers.

By utilizing the wild fibers, not only can we increase the supply of raw materials for the textile industry but we may also, in the process of processing and utilization, produce many products, e.g., fertilizers, starch and k'ao-chiao, to meet the needs of agriculture, auxiliary operations and the like. In the case of the Fei-ma People's Commune in San-t'ai Hsien of Szechwan Province, for instance, they have succeeded in making unified utilization of the wild fibers. Out of every 100 chin of grass, which had been steamed and boiled in lye, they could get 65 chin of boiled fibers. In addition, they have extracted more than 200 chin of fertilizer, 45 chin of starch and 10 chin of K'ao-chiao from the used liquid. The fertilizer thus produced by the various communes have been used in the fertilization and re-fertilization of 500,000 mou of spring crops this year. The starch thus processed has been used to feed the hogs, thereby contributing to the development of the hog business.

Unified utilization of wild fibers has opened up a wide road for the development of the hsien-operated and commune-operated industries. In the last several months, Liaoning Province alone has established more than 400 plants for the unified utilization of wild fibers in the people's communes. Some modern textile enterprises have also helped the people's communes in the construction of t'ou-chiao and processing plants, in accordance with the form of plant-commune cooperation. For instance, the Ying-k'ou Textile Mill in Liaoning Province has helped the communes in establishing more than 20 processing plants. All these actions have not only effectively facilitated the utilization of wild fibers but also bolstered the economy of the communes and increased the income of the commune members.

## II

To use the wild fibers as raw materials in the textile industry is a significant event. However, its function and the possibilities of its wide application was not fully appreciated by the people in the beginning. Moreover, in the course of implementation, there have been many practical problems awaiting solution. The process of utilizing wild fibers in the past 2 years is not only a process of continuously solving various practical difficulties but also a process of continuously overcoming various ideological obstructions.

Some people are of the opinion that the wild fibers are coarse in quality, that nothing of value could come out of these fibers and that their utilization value is not great. Generally speaking, the wild fibers are soft, lacking in uniformity and high in miscellaneous content. However, this is not true of all wild fibers. Some wild fibers--e.g., lo-pu-ma, linseed, wild Chinese grass, rabbit hair and wild yak wool -- are better in quality and could be used in the manufacture of high-grade products. Even in the case of these wild fibers that are relatively inferior in quality, they could be used to produce products for various purposes if only they are properly utilized. Society has a great variety of demands for textile goods. Some are for us to wear; some are for us to use. They serve no fewer than several hundred purposes. We should use different raw materials in accordance with the different purposes that different products are to serve. In some cases, we may and should use the relatively coarse raw materials; in some other cases, we should use materials of finer quality. In this way, we would be able to utilize all the usable textile raw materials most economically and properly and at the same time reserve those fibers of better quality for the production of products of higher quality. For instance, by using the wild fibers in making wrapping cloth, we may use the cotton, which was previously used in making wrapping cloth, in making cloth for apparel. By using the wild fibers in making sacks, we may use the yellow hemp in making soil cloth or other textile goods. At present, we are yet unable to meet the increasing demands of the people for various textile goods. It is therefore all the more important that we try to utilize the wild fibers. In 1959 for instance, the industrially used cloth and public utility cloth constituted no less than 16.8 percent of all the cotton cloth produced. No less than 120 million meters of industrially used cloth were used in cotton wrapping and in making sugar bags; and much of the public utility cloth was used in making work-clothes, tent cloth, window curtains, table cloth, sofa covers, etc. In all these cases, substitutes could be made of wild fibers. By doing so, we would serve the original purposes

equally well and at the same time may have more cotton cloth left for the people's other needs. In effect, we have thus increased the supply of cotton cloth.

We expect a great increase in the cotton, wool, hemp, silk and chemical fibers in the future, but the utilization of wild fibers will remain significant. For the social needs always are on the increase and the quality of products made of wild fibers will also be steadily improved as a result of technological development. In order to utilize the materials in nature to create more social wealth, we must also fully utilize these resources. Therefore, the utilization of wild fibers is not a temporary measure but a long-term policy to develop the textile industry.

Some people have argued that it is not economical to utilize the wild fibers, for the value of production is low and cost is high. At present, the production value of textile goods made of wild fibers is generally lower than that of similar products made of cotton, wool, hemp or silk fibers. However, by turning the "useless" into the "useful," we have greatly increased the production value of the entire national economy. If we do not make active use of the usable fibers, we would on the contrary cause undue wastefulness in the whole society. We must therefore consider the question of production value from the viewpoint of the entire national economy and should not consider this question from the localized viewpoint of a single enterprise. Due to our lack of experience, the cost of products made of wild fibers was generally higher than otherwise; but this was a temporary phenomenon. As we continue to improve the techniques of production and management, the cost will certainly decline. There are numerous vivid examples to prove this. For instance, the Hemp Mill in Chung-chiang Hsien of Szechwan Province is a small mill, which has grown from scratch and employed the native methods. At first, much labor force was consumed; the production efficiency was low; and the cost was very high. However, having launched the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement and as a result of continuous improvement of production equipment and production tools, it has succeeded in increasing the production efficiency greatly and in reducing the cost considerably. The cost of a sack has declined from 4.7 yuan in the beginning to 2.2 yuan and the cost of a bolt of wrapping cloth has declined from approximately 9 yuan to 2.7 yuan. Within half a year, it has succeeded in getting back all the investments in the construction of the mill. Again for instance, the Ch'ang-te Sack Factory in Hopeh is a modernized factory. When it first used the wild fibers, the cost was also very high. Later, they created the experience of making sacks out of mixed fibers of raw cotton skins and yellow hemp, so that the raw cotton skins did not have to be processed before they could be used for making sacks. By doing

so, it has not only greatly economized the consumption of alkalies and labor force but also raised the utilization rate of the cotton skin fibers. The raw materials used to make one sack previously can now be used to make 1.5 sacks. The cost of the raw materials used in making one sack has declined by one-third, among other cost reductions.

Since the beginning of this year, we have been energetically engaged in the unified utilization program in the processing of wild fibers and thus opened up a wide road for increasing the economic value of wild fibers and reducing the cost of production. For instance, as a result of unified utilization, the Fei-ma People's Commune in San-t'ai Hsien of Szechwan has produced large quantities of fertilizer and fodder, thereby increasing the economic value of every 100 chin of grass from the original 3 yuan to 118 yuan and the economic value of 100 chin of raw cotton skins from the original 11-plus yuan to 68 yuan. Again for instance, the Ma-lu-ho Processing Plant in En-Shih Hsien of Hupeh has reduced the cost of wild fibers by 30 percent in the processing of k'ou-chiao alone, as a result of unified utilization.

All these facts have proved that after we further grasped the law of utilizing the natural resources by relying on the masses, we may create more and more material wealth. Therefore, wide utilization of wild fibers would not prove in any way "uneconomical" but on the contrary it offers great hopes and a great future.

Some people have argued that the wild fibers cannot be utilized in large quantities and constantly -- in view of the fact that they are widely scattered, of great variety and with different properties, that they have to be processed before utilization, that we do not have enough material equipment and that it is very difficult at this stage to master the techniques. True, the utilization of wild fibers is a new task and we must search for a set of new production methods applicable to the wild fibers. Exactly for this reason, we must rely on the masses and in every way create and accumulate experiences. Any technical experience in production is to be gradually learned in the course of practice and it does not come from the sky. In this connection, the reliance on the enthusiasm of the hsien and people's communes, the unification of native and foreign methods, the "start-with-native-method" approach, adaptation to given circumstances, on-the-spot processing and unified utilization are of great significance. In this way, we may do more and faster; we may make full use of the many resources scattered in the vicinity; and we may save the labor force for the transportation of raw materials. Meanwhile, different places may create such experiences as are suited to their processing and utilization in accordance with the different properties of various fibers. Take processing for instance. If we insist on using the foreign method, we shall have to manufacture

new equipment and to consume large quantities of alkalies. By following the "start-from-native-method" approach, we may adopt various measures under local conditions. To date, the masses have invented more than 40 processing methods. In addition to natural germs, such substitutes as lime, grass and plant ashes, used liquid from printing plants, steel sediments and burner-ashes have been used for alkalies. The Ch'i-li-ying People's Commune in the Hsin-hsiang Special District of Honan has followed the "start-from-native-method" approach and can process materials with only one cooking-pot, one vat and one piece of cloth. The Ch'eng-teh Sack Factory in Hopeh has invented a machine to deal with the raw cotton skins, thus using no alkalies at all.

Of course, by emphasizing the "start-from-native-method" approach it does not mean that we do not want the foreign method. There are large quantities of wild fibers. Some are found in a concentrated area. Some are of better quality. In these cases, the big, foreign-styled enterprises must actively use them. Moreover, the successful application of the foreign method would contribute to the improvement of the native methods. Experience has proved that if only we can grasp the characteristic properties of various wild fibers and their common property, process the wild fibers before utilization in such a way as to adapt their properties to the available textile equipment, and continuously improve equipment, techniques and operations, it would be entirely possible to utilize the wild fibers in the production departments of existing textile enterprises. For instance, on the modernized hemp-weaving machines, we previously used only yellow hemp in making sacks; following a period of research, we have found it possible to use mixed fibers of cotton skins and yellow hemp and in the experiments conducted in some plants to use cotton skins exclusively. We have also gained some preliminary experience in using wild fibers to weave yarns and cloth. In some districts, plans have been formulated to design special equipment for making yarns and cloth out of wild fibers. In this way, the simultaneous application of native and foreign methods, which supplement and complement each other, we shall soon discover a comprehensive set of new techniques for the utilization of wild fibers. In order to make full use of wild fibers, many big enterprises have helped the people's communes in building plants for the processing of raw materials and in implementing unified utilization; in turn, the people's communes would supply the plants with raw materials. In some cases, cooperation in processing operations has been achieved between the modern textile mill, the manual textile mill and the people's commune. For instance, the Hsin-hsiang Special District in Honan has achieved the cooperation between the Yu-pei, Hua-hsin, Chung-yuan and Ch'eng-hsing cotton mills and brought all the manual textile mills, processing plants and commercial

departments in the neighboring hsien under one unified organization, under which the various component parts support one another by division of labor as agreed upon. In this way, all the active elements are mobilized; a formidable army is ready to attack the wild fibers; and the utilization of wild fibers becomes a flourishing mass movement that unifies the urban and rural areas as well as the native and foreign methods.

Some people are of the opinion that the wild fibers being widely scattered, much labor is to be consumed in gathering, processing and transportation, thus affecting agricultural production. Of course, it requires a certain amount of labor to gather the widely scattered wild fibers and to undertake such preliminary processing operations as skinning and shredding; however, if only we are to fully demonstrate the superiority of the people's communes, make over-all arrangements, exploit the potentials of labor force, adopt the methods of unifying regular and special operations and of coordinating the professional teams with the masses and to launch an energetic technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement -- under the leadership of the party committee and on the premise of guaranteeing adequate supply of foodstuffs, we would be able not only to insure agricultural production but also fulfill the task of gathering and processing wild fibers in accordance with the demands of "quality, quantity, economy and speed." Su-lu Hsien of Hopeh is, in this connection, a very good example. In the Small Autumn Harvest Movement in 1959, they mobilized the masses in a mass cotton-skinning drive centering about water conservancy construction. In the course of this drive, all the labor force was properly organized; half-labor units were used wherever possible; surprise attacks were launched between harvesting operations. In this way, they fulfilled the cotton-skinning task and overfulfilled the exporting task within a short period. Nin-shui Hsien of Szechwan adopted the "special," "borrowing," "surprise," "carrying," and "digging" methods in the processing and utilization of raw materials. "Special" means the establishment of special teams for the processing of raw materials. "Borrowing" means to borrow the services of other personnel. "Surprise" means to organize "small surprise attacks" whenever necessary. "Carrying" means the widely launched and every active movement "to carry tools going out and to bring back a bundle of grass coming home." "Digging" means to dig the potentials of the labor force in the commune. In this way, while agricultural production is given priority emphasis, the question of labor force is properly solved. It is also possible to continuously improve the labor productivity in the gathering and processing of wild fibers. For instance, each person could skin some dozen chin of cotton manually every day. The Textile Industry Department of Shantung has invented a cotton-skinning machine, which is simple in structure,

light in weight, made of very little material, high in efficiency and easy to operate. This machine can skin 30 chin of cotton every hour. Particularly since the movement for the unified utilization of wild fibers has been launched, the gathering, processing and utilization of wild fibers has been closely coordinated with the current agricultural production. Not only the industries are thus supported but agriculture is developed. Not only the major industries are supported but the commune-operated industries are developed. Hence, the processing and utilization of wild fibers and agricultural production support and facilitate each other. Suffice it to show that if only we make proper arrangements and implement the program of technological innovation and technological revolution, it is also entirely possible to solve the problem of labor supply.

### III

Our experience in the past 2 years has proved that the processing and utilization of wild fibers promise a great future. There are many materials in the world of Nature that have not been utilized, only because we have not understood their properties and grasped their patterns. However, under the leadership of the party and the influence of the party's general line, if we further cherish the ambition to conquer Nature, we shall be able to continuously grasp the laws of Nature in the course of practice, to dig out the treasures of Nature and to increase the wealth of society. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung so aptly said: "Socialism has not only liberated the laborers and means of production from the old society but also liberated the vast world of Nature which the old society could not utilize." /See Note/ (Note: The Socialist Upsurge in the Chinese Villages. The People's Publishing Co., 1956, p. 578.)

Although the utilization of wild fibers has become a large-scale mass movement, its development has been uneven. It is yet to be conducted extensively and intensively in some areas. We have not quite understood some of the resources that could be utilized. We have not yet succeeded in solving some technical problems in processing and in utilization. It is therefore necessary that we further strengthen the leadership of the party, faithfully implement the party's general line for socialist construction and a set of "two-leg" policies, insist on political leadership, launch energetic mass movements, develop the campaign for technological innovation and technological revolution, and intensify communist cooperation, so as to further intensify, broaden and perpetuate the development of the mass movement for the utilization of wild fibers. For the time being, particular attention should be paid to the following tasks:

First, to continue to gather and purchase as much wild fibers as possible. It is now the small summer-harvest season for the wild fibers and the small autumn-harvest season is soon to come. The people throughout the country should grasp the opportunity to successfully fulfill the task of gathering and purchasing wild fibers under the leadership of local party committees. They should concentrate their efforts on collecting the major products available in large quantities in the locality and pay due attention to the collection of scattered miscellaneous fibers. In the gathering process, they should further ascertain the resources and formulate proper plans for future gathering and utilization. They should also pay attention to the preservation of resources. What may be cultivated should be cultivated. The better species of wild fibers should gradually be cultivated domestically, so as to achieve the objective of long-term utilization. They should make a great effort to promote the cooperation between the textile enterprises and the people's communes, establish raw-material bases, and render necessary support to the people's communes in terms of manpower, financial resources and technical skill, thereby better guaranteeing the supply of wild fibers as raw materials.

Second, to emphasize the manufacture of equipment for the processing of wild fibers. At present, the processing of wild fibers is primarily a manual operation, with very low efficiency. Although the people in various localities have gathered many new experiences in resolving the problem of processing equipment, such experiences have not been widely popularized. We must make a great effort to popularize those ripe experiences and at the same time should continue to mobilize the masses to invent and produce various processing equipment for themselves under the practical circumstances in the locality and by relying chiefly on the native methods in accordance with the "start-from-native-method" approach. All those enterprises responsible for the manufacture of cotton-skinning machines should produce the same at the earliest possible date and have them transported to the villages. They should also help the commune members to master the processing techniques, thus preparing them for the coming small-autumn-harvest season.

Third, to solve the key technical problems in the spinning process. In this connection, certain obstacles are yet to be overcome. For instance, the production rate and the raw-material utilization rate remain fairly low. We must rely on the masses to implement an ambitious technological-innovation and technological-revolution program and to overcome these obstacles at the earliest possible time. We should adopt the policy of flexibility with respect to the fineness of the products and the purposes they are to serve. In accordance with the different properties of the various wild fibers, we should utilize them properly. Moreover,

we should continuously review our experiences, actively study and devise new techniques adaptable to the properties of the wild fibers, manufacture new equipment, continuously improve our techniques and increase the percentage of wild fibers in the mixed textile products. With respect to hemp weaving, we should try to use wild fibers exclusively in making sacks, thereby further enlarging the scope of the utilization of wild fibers.

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The utilization of wild fibers is an important part of our struggle to find wealth in Nature under the leadership of the party. As we march forward, we have already solved many problems. We are to continuously face new problems in the future. If only we are to raise the red flag of Mao Tse-tung's ideas, underestimate the difficulties in our strategy, emphasize the difficulties in our tactics, cherish the high ambition to conquer Nature and demonstrate the spirit of earnest endeavor, we shall certainly be able to fully utilize all the spinnable wild fibers, increase the raw materials for the textile industry and promote the rapid development of the textile industry.

(Editor's Note: The author of this article is the Vice Minister of Textile Industry of the Central Government.)

#### IV. EXPEDITE THE REFORM OF AGRICULTURAL TECHNIQUES, INTENSIFY THE FARM TOOL INNOVATION MOVEMENT

Pages 22-27

Sung Wei-ching

##### I

The whole country is now engaged in a large-scale aid-agriculture mass movement. Under such favorable circumstances, the farm tool innovation movement, as is now intensively waged in the rural areas, is an important factor to accelerate the reform of agricultural techniques and to facilitate the continued leap forward in agriculture.

During the past 2 or 3 years, the farm tool innovation movement on the front of agricultural production has made great strides under the leadership of the party. During this period, more than 400 million innovated farm tools and instruments of various types have been popularized throughout the country. This movement has contributed significantly to the increase of labor productivity, relaxation of tension resulting from the shortage of human and animal labor in the course of the great leap forward in production, better implementation of the "Eight-character constitution" for agriculture, and the improvement of the peasants' working conditions.

In 1959, the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung issued the great appeal for the acceleration of technical innovation in agriculture, so as to basically achieve the mechanization of our agricultural machinery in 10 years. As for the procedure of achieving agricultural mechanization in our country, they further suggested that beginning 1959 "small solution" be reached in 4 years; "medium solution" be reached in 7 years and "big solution" be reached in 10 years. It was also pointed out that in the "small solution" stage we are to rely chiefly on the innovation and semimechanization of farm tools. At the same time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly explained that the development of our national economy must be based on agriculture and accordingly he called upon everybody to support agriculture. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's directive was enthusiastically supported by the whole party and the whole nation and has proved to be a tremendous force to facilitate the continued leap forward in agriculture and the innovation of agricultural techniques. The establishment of agricultural machinery departments on various levels, the state's appropriation of more steel materials for the support of technical reform in agriculture and particularly the rapid development of the aid-agriculture mass movement in all enterprises, chiefly the industrial enterprises, have further

enhanced the enthusiasm and determination of the broad masses, thereby offering extremely favorable conditions for the work of innovating farm tools. Accordingly, the farm tool innovation movement has made new progress in the rural areas, with noticeable accomplishments, in the recent period. In the first half of this year, nearly 100 million pieces of various innovated farm tools and instruments were popularized throughout the country. Some of these tools and instruments are of high technical quality and some had been attempted before, unsuccessfully. For instance, marked progress has been made in the innovation of planting tools in the past several years, thanks to the deliberations at 7 national conferences on planting machines. It has been successfully designed this year. A number of better-quality planting machines have been manufactured. The rate of evenness in the distribution of sprouts has reached an average of 70 to 80 percent; the depth of planting has reached approximately 4 centimeters; the rate of failure (resulting in injured sprouts, floating sprouts, intertwined sprouts and missing sprouts) has declined to no more than 10 percent -- thus fundamentally meeting the standard of agricultural techniques. According to statistics, by the second half of June, nearly 2 million planting machines of various models had been manufactured throughout the country; about one million of these machines had been used in the planting of early and mid-season rice over more than 10 million mou, thus saving some 20 million work days. The use of planting machines has greatly increased labor efficiency. For instance, in Heng-shan, Nin-hsiang and other 6 hsiens of Hunan, at least 15 days were previously required to plant the early rice; with the planting machines, only 8 days were required.

## II

On the basis of what has been accomplished in the past 2 years, the farm tool innovation movement has now been further intensified throughout the country. According to reports from various areas, this movement has shown the following new characteristics:

1. From the innovation of individual pieces to the systematic innovation of sets of farm tools and instruments and their unified utilization with emphasis on gaps, advanced techniques and weak links.

In the 2-year-old farm tool innovation movement, large quantities of new farm tools have been designed; but numerous gaps are yet to be filled and many complicated problems of advanced techniques are yet to be solved. In some cases, these problems have been solved but other related technical links are yet to be adjusted accordingly, thus resulting in failure to raise the overall working efficiency. For these reasons, to attack these advanced

problems, gaps and otherwise weak links, to combine various farm tools and machinery into sets and to finalize the designs and to popularize the new models are the urgent demands in this movement. Take the water conservancy work for instance, there are 5 consecutive operations, i.e., digging, loading, transporting, unloading and disposing. Since digging involves breaking the ground and shoveling the earth, the loading, transporting and unloading operations must necessarily follow. Later, when the problem of high-dam earth-transporting is solved, the loading, unloading and disposing operations would have to be recognized as weak links and the tools used in these operations would have to be so innovated as to keep pace with the work. The innovation of these tools would enable us to achieve active balance of working instruments in water conservancy on the basis of continuous innovation and thus to improve the over-all working efficiency. Again for instance, the paddy rice planting machine, which involves advanced techniques of mechanization, has been successfully designed by the broad working people. After this problem was solved, the operations of picking, washing and loading sprouts have become the gaps or omissions in the entire planting process. Only by making up these gaps and by solving the problem of excessive auxiliary labor which has to be consumed in these operations, can we improve the over-all efficiency in the whole planting process. Accordingly, our study on the mechanization of paddy-rice planting machines has focused its attention on these weak links this year. As a result of the successful experimentation of the newly designed tools for picking, washing and arranging sprouts by the Institute of Agricultural Science of Lo-ch'ing Hsien in Chekiang, the operations in paddy rice planting can be well coordinated into a "dragon process," thereby insuring a forward movement of 5 to 7 meters a minute in the course of planting. The working efficiency is thus further improved, as compared with the previous practice of using the planting machine only. The whole nation is now engaged in a campaign to innovate the farm tools and instruments and to coordinate them into sets. In agriculture, forestry, pastoral industry, auxiliary occupations and fishery as well as in welfare affairs, many operations are now performed by a set of machine tools. For instance, a set of machine tools have been designed for various operations in the cultivation of wheat, ranging from plowing, harrowing, seed-selecting, seeding, middle-farming, fertilizer-application, plant preservation, harvesting and shelling. In water conservancy operations, machines for digging, loading, transporting, unloading and disposing have been systematized into a set. In cooking operations, not only the innovated instruments have been systematized into a set but further accomplishments have been reported in many areas, including the automatic control of water, innovation of the kitchen-range and

semimechanization of processing instruments for cooking. As for hog raising, large quantities of tools, in sets, have been produced in many localities. Innovation and systematization of farm tools and instruments may not only result in the over-all improvement of working efficiency but also enable us to discover gaps and omissions in time and to recognize our urgent tasks. Meanwhile, as we continuously attack the weak links, we have continuously improved the quality of farm tools and instruments and proceeded gradually from the small to the large, from the native to the foreign, from the bottom to the top and thus toward unified utilization, mechanization, semimechanization, automation and semiautomation.

2. From the use of human and animal force to the broad utilization of various natural resources in the rural areas.

As the farm tool/instrument innovation movement is intensified, we demand an every increasing supply of power and the available manpower, animal force and limited machine power can hardly satisfy this demand. We are thus forced to develop and utilize various natural resources. China is extremely rich in the resources of natural power (e.g., wind, water, gas). During the past one or 2 years, we have developed many native power stations and many native power machines in accordance with local conditions. The innovation of farm tools and instruments has thus been coordinated with the native-method utilization of power resources. In the unified utilization of wind-force, for instance, we have designed more than 20 types of wind-powered machine tools for water-pumping, irrigating, shelling, sawing, plowing, electricity-generating, flour-grinding, grain-husking, grass-cutting, oil-extracting, communication-transportation, printing, cooking, sewing, and water-carrying. The Fei-huai People's Commune of Peng-fu Municipality in Anhwei manufactured 177 small wind-mills in 1959, which has contributed to the successful fight against the severe 100-day-long drought and to the guarantee for bumper harvest. The Model-59 large windmills successfully designed by the said commune have been used in the establishment of a wind-power station. One of these windmills, if attached with a 3-hp small steel grinder, can grind 138.5 chin of flour per hour when the wind velocity stands at 4 meter/second. If attached to a 10-hp water-pumping machine, it can pump 110 tons of water per hour, when the wind-velocity stands at 6 meters/second. If attached to a 5.6-kilowatt direct-current electric generator, it can supply 260 fifteen-kilowatt bulbs with electric light, when the wind velocity stands at 8 meters/second. Hydraulic power has been used even more broadly than wind power. Hydraulic power stations have been established extensively in the rural areas. Where local conditions permit, small hydroelectric power stations have also been established. Marsh-gas and natural gas have also been used increasingly extensively. The broad utilization

of these power resources has greatly improved the efficiency of innovated farm tools, lightened the people's burden of manual labor and further enhanced the enthusiasm of the broad masses for farm tool innovation.

3. From an unorganized effort to manufacture farm machine tools to the establishment of hsien-operated and commune-operated farm tool plants and united enterprises for the production of farm tools, thus coordinating the manufacture and repair of farm tools with the processing of raw materials.

The manufacture of repair of many farm tools require large quantities of raw materials and materials. It is therefore necessary to develop the metallurgical industry. Quite a few hsien have utilized these resources in the development of hsien-operated and commune-operated industries, so as to make these industries self-sufficient in raw materials and in equipment, thereby further facilitating the development of farm-tool innovation movement. For instance, the Tung-fang-hung People's Commune at Jun-ch'eng in Yang-ch'eng Hsien, Shansi, has supplied itself with native iron-refining furnaces, native iron-rasting furnaces, native iron-bar furnaces, native sealed steel-refining furnaces and native baking furnaces, thereby forming the "5-native dragon" capable of refining iron ores into native iron, roasting the native iron into wrought-iron, turning the wrought-iron into iron bars and finally turning the iron-bars into native steel. By applying this process, the said commune produced 255 tons of native iron, more than 100 tons of hui-k'ou iron, 35 tons of native steel and 36,000 pieces of various farm tools in 1959, thereby enabling 80 percent of the areas under its jurisdiction to achieve transportation-by-vehicles, semimechanization and mechanization of cooking instruments and automatic control of water. This "5-native dragon" experience is now actively popularized in many areas where there is a reasonable supply of coal and iron and a great effort is made to establish united enterprises for the production of farm tools for themselves. By doing so, they would better facilitate the development of the farm-tool innovation movement.

4. Success in strengthening production and manufacture, a weak link, thereby coordinating the various links in the whole process of innovating farm tools, including invention and creation, evaluation and selection of models, estimation of production, the formulation of designs, experimental manufacture, production-manufacture and popularization of its use.

In the past 2 years, production-manufacture has been a weak link in our effort to innovate farm tools; the formulation of designs and experimentation, which serve production-manufacture, have also not been generally emphasized. The establishment of agricultural machinery departments on various levels and the

proper management of agricultural machinery industries on various levels during the past year have strengthened the production-manufacture work and led to the close coordination between the invention and creation of agricultural machinery and their popularization. According to the statistics gathered at 6 field meetings on water conservancy tools, cooking tools, paddy rice planting machines, plowing tools used in mountain areas, windmills and hog-raising tools, successfully held since last spring, the various localities have submitted 738 designs and models of tools; of these, 124 have been approved for popularization, 147 have been recommended, and the designs of 30 popularized farm tools have been formalized. In this way, favorable conditions have been created for experimentation and popularization on a large scale. In order to produce innovated farm tools and semi-mechanized farm tools in large quantities, the Central Government has appropriated a certain quantity of steel material and some investment funds for the capital construction of semimechanized farm tool plants in the various localities. By the end of June, nearly 10 million pieces of semimechanized farm tools had been produced in the country. Many provinces and municipalities have made the agricultural machinery departments fully responsible for the innovation, manufacture and popularization of farm tools and set up a vertical system of specialized organs in order to achieve unified planning, unified organization and unified leadership. In this way, more favorable conditions have been created for the systematic development of the farm tool innovation movement.

These characteristics of the farm tool innovation movement now in progress indicate that there are great possibilities in our march toward systematization of farm tools into sets, mechanization, semimechanization, automation and semiautomation.

### III

Our success in innovating the farm tools in the last 2 years is inseparable from the fact that the party committees on various levels have strengthened their leadership over this movement and that we have waged an uncompromising struggle against rightist conservative tendencies. When the movement was first launched, we first encountered the ideological obstruction represented by the rightist conservative viewpoint opposed to mass movements and opposed to the innovation of farm tools by relying on the masses. According to this viewpoint, discovery and invention are the responsibilities of the technical personnel and workers and peasants are not so prepared; we cannot do what our forerunners have failed to do; and we can achieve mechanization only by relying on the importation of foreign models and machine tools. This is a question relating to who should be responsible for the

task of innovating farm tools in the final analysis. Accordingly, we have adopted the method of free discussion to enlighten the masses and to refute the above-stated rightist conservative viewpoint and mobilized the masses with respect to research and designing, selection of models and systematization into sets and the popularization of products. The leading cadres, workers, peasants, scientific-technical personnel, students and shop clerks have all been mobilized to participate in the farm tool innovation movement. In this way, a flourishing, down-to-earth farm-tool innovation movement has been gradually developed. Those rightist conservative elements who have no faith in the masses and who refuse to rely on the masses cannot but admit defeat in the face of facts.

After the movement was extensively launched, we have further encountered the ideological tendency to emphasize the foreign at the expense of the native, to emphasize the large at the expense of the small, and to insist on one-sided perfection -- contrary to the "2-leg" policy and in defiance of realities -- and the erroneous attitude of pessimism on the excuse that we need materials and equipment for the innovation of farm tools. This is an important question relating to how the farm tools are to be innovated. Unless we overcome such an erroneous viewpoint, we would not be able to push the movement forward. Relying on the unexcelled superiority of the people's commune system, party organization on all levels have insisted on the party's policy to achieve self-sufficiency, to rely chiefly on the native method, to give priority consideration to the medium and the small and to emphasize the innovated farm tools and semimechanized farm tools. As a result of repeated ideological struggles and in the light of practice, the broad cadres and masses have gradually realized that perfection cannot be separated from reality, that improvement cannot be separated from popularization, and that they must rely on their own strength to overcome difficulties under given circumstances. Then, the farm tool innovation movement in the various localities began to move in the direction of self-reliance, with respect to the search for power and materials and to the manufacture of equipment, and coordination between invention and promotion, between imitation and innovation and between popularization and improvement -- thereby promptly bolstering agricultural production. In the course of the energetically launched farm tool innovation movement, various localities have invented many new forms of mass-line working methods. For instance, the form of closer union between the leading cadres, technical personnel, and the working and peasant masses has led to the close coordination between the production of farm tools, scientific research and popularized utilization. The first paddy rice planting machine was made by a peasant. It was due to the energetic

support of party and government departments in various localities and also to the concerted effort of all research departments concerned with agricultural machinery that the planting machine has met the demands for formalization. Suffice it to show that "3-union" is an important condition for the continued, healthy development of the movement. Other effective methods facilitate the development of the movement are to sponsor various field conferences, contests, exhibitions and production movement meetings and to organize tours and roving exhibitions, etc. To develop various forms of communist cooperation is also an important form to implement the mass line. The industrial departments have done much to support the innovation of agricultural techniques. In the midst of the current campaign to support agriculture, there has also been development in the form of labor-agricultural cooperation. The cooperation between the plants and the communes, the "plant-guarantee-commune" system, the supply of technical skill and machinery equipment by the plants to the communes, thereby arming the commune-operated industries....all these have had an noticeable influence on the innovation of farm tools. Other forms such as the cooperation between districts, the cooperation between departments and technical cooperation have likewise demonstrated their good influence.

#### IV

The period between 1959 and 1962 is the "small solution" stage in achieving the innovation of agricultural techniques. In this stage, the principle task is to achieve semimechanization in agriculture. We are now in the second year of this stage. We must lay the groundwork for semimechanization within this year. The technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement is now flourishing across the country. The hsien<sup>2</sup>-operated and commune-operated farm tool plants, which are the bases for the innovation of farm tools, are now moving toward mechanization, semimechanization, automation and semiautomation. The conditions are highly favorable. We must continue to intensify the farm tool innovation movement, with emphasis on semimechanization, throughout the country. At present, we should pay particular attention to irrigation machines to be used for fighting drought and preventing floods, mist or powder-sprayers for plant preservation, the "3 autumn" tools (for autumn plowing, autumn planting and autumn harvesting), various tools for transportation and various processing tools for agricultural and by-products. These machine tools are not only urgently needed in the course of farming but also the weak links in the present stage of farm tool innovation movement. We must launch a direct attack on

these weak links and make renewed effort to fill the gaps, to systematize the tools into sets and to raise the over-all working efficiency, so as to achieve at an early date mechanization or semimechanization of those forming operations that consume most of the manpower in the rural areas and thus to create even better material conditions for realizing agricultural mechanization ahead of schedule and insuring the continued leap forward in agricultural production.

In order to successfully fulfill the above-enumerated tasks and thus to make further progress in our farm tool innovation movement, we must now direct our attention to the following:

First, we must insist on political leadership, strengthen the political-ideological work, ideologically mobilize the broad masses and continuously struggle against rightist conservatism and various erroneous viewpoints. In the farm tool innovation movement, the hsien-operated and commune-operated industries represent an extremely important force and during the last several years have demonstrated their significant function. However, there are some people who continue to have some vague ideas and erroneous views, due to their failure to fully appreciate the significance of rapid development of agriculture of industry's energetic support for agriculture. They are of the opinion, for instance, that "to innovate the farm tools is a vexatious job" and that "we cannot expect to accomplish much." Accordingly, they adopt a passive attitude toward the movement. We must conduct a propaganda-education campaign extensively and intensively, so that they may deeply appreciate how important it is to accelerate the innovation of agricultural techniques and for the industry to render energetic assistance to agriculture and particularly how significant is this movement to the acceleration of the development of agricultural production and to the over-all achievement of technical innovation in agriculture, thus willingly working for the innovation of agricultural techniques and successfully performing their tasks in the movement. We must also further implement the party's mass-line approach, fully develop the enthusiasm and creativeness of the masses, and continue to stress self-reliance and the "two leg" policy of simultaneous development of native and foreign methods in accordance with local circumstances. All these are the lessons we have learned in the course of this movement and also the fundamental guarantees for our greater victories to come.

Secondly, we must emphasize quality in the process of producing the innovated farm tools. During the past year, as a result of the extensively launched technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement, there has been steady improvement in the techniques for producing the innovated farm tools and there has also been steady improvement in the quality

of many farm tools thus made. Nevertheless, there are still cases where the quality is not up to the standard of technical demands, which have affected in varying degrees the popularization of these innovated farm tools. We must therefore pay particular attention to quality. We cannot emphasize too strongly that the quality of agricultural machine tools may directly affect the development of agricultural production. We must implant the "quality first" idea into the minds of the broad masses, so that every piece of innovated farm tool will meet the demands for good quality, high efficiency, durability and low cost. To this end, we must, in the course of production, study and adopt not only such measures as would improve quantity but also such measures as would guarantee quality; regard the improvement of quality as an important assignment in the technological revolution movement; and fully mobilize the masses in a common struggle to improve the quality of the innovated farm tools.

Thirdly, we should establish specialized organs responsible for the innovation of farm tools on all levels in the agricultural machinery system, so as to achieve coordination and to neglect neither the innovation of farm tools nor the plants that manufacture these tools in the technological revolution movement, and to enable us to reflect conditions, to discover problems and to review and exchange experiences promptly. For the time being, our most important tasks are to strengthen the planning work; classify and systematize the locally produced innovated farm tools into sets; direct our particular attention to the innovation of tools used in such agricultural operations that consume the greatest amount of manpower or that demand the greatest labor intensity as in dealing with grains, cotton, oil and hemp; and emphasize the gaps, omissions and weak links in these operations, particularly the priority items, with the view of achieving systematization and "dragonization." Besides, we must strengthen the work in the field of evaluation and formalization of models, standardization, experimentation and exchange of experience, so that we may be simultaneously engaged in creation, formalization of models, popularization and improvement of different tools. In order to succeed in filling the gaps and in achieving systematization and dragonization, we must emphasize the technological-innovation and technological-revolution movement; make known to the masses what are the gaps and omissions; and fully develop the wisdom and skill of skilled workers and the broad masses by letting them look for solutions. By doing so, we would certainly be able not only to fill the gaps but to continuously improve the innovated farm tools in the course of practice.

Besides, to further strengthen the leadership over the hsien-operated and commune-operated plants, research institutes and evaluation stations is also an important measure to facilitate

the development of the farm tool innovation movement. Generally speaking, the hsien-operated and commune-operated plants are responsible for the following 3 tasks: 1) the production and repair of semimechanized farm tools; 2) experimentation and research and pilot production of new products; 3) the training of technical personnel. In order to successfully fulfill these tasks, we may adopt either the form of unification or the form of coordination between the station, the plant and the school. The research institute and the evaluation station should serve the technological-innovation and technological-revolution mass movement, thereby closely coordinating business operations and mass movement. The farm tool research institute may also appoint the experts on farm tool innovation in the communes as special research fellows and assign certain tasks to them, so as to develop the wisdom and strength of the masses even more systematically and in a more organized manner.

To intensify the training of technical personnel -- to let the masses share the technical knowhow -- is also an important condition for the intensive development of the farm tool innovation movement. By uniting the workers, technical personnel, peasants and cadres engaged in farm tool innovation, by uniting the leading cadres, technical personnel and working masses within and without the plants, and by uniting the enterprises, schools and scientific research organs, we are to let the masses share the techniques for manufacturing, utilizing and repairing these innovated farm tools, so that the technical strength may keep pace with the development of this movement. What the rural areas urgently need at present are people who can use the new farm tools. Accordingly, to intensify the training of technical personnel who can use the new farm tools is our central task with respect to training. As for the substance of the training program, we must coordinate production plans with the plans for scientific research and educate the masses by emphasizing the review of their inventions and experiences.

At present, we are further implementing the policy of the party central committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung to coordinate the priority development of heavy industries with the rapid development of agriculture -- by regarding agriculture as the basis and industry as the mainstay, in an effort to energetically develop agriculture, to call upon all enterprises and professions to support agriculture and to strengthen the work of technical innovation by various means. Under these unprecedentedly favorable circumstances, we shall certainly win greater victories in the farm tool innovation movement.

## V. MASS LINE IN EDUCATIONAL WORK

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Kuei Lin-hsi

Socialist education is a task of the people. In order to implement the party's policy that education should serve the political ends of the proletariat and education should be coordinated with productive labor and in order to develop our educational program in consonance with the demand for "quality, quantity, economy and speed," we must fully mobilize the masses and rely heavily on the masses. The Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have taught us that we should, under the leadership of the Party Committee, coordinate the professional educational workers with the masses, adopt the mass-line method, i.e., "from the masses and to the masses," and implement the policy that all the party and all the nation be engaged in educational work. With respect to the various tasks within the schools, we should also implement the mass-line approach under the leadership of the Party Committee. To resolutely and faithfully carry out this directive is a fundamental key to the continued leap forward in our educational program.

In the course of developing our educational program in Anhwei, we have consistently followed the mass-line principle. Particularly since the great leap forward in 1958, we have further implemented the directive of the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, by launching a glorious educational revolution throughout the province and by bringing the all-party, all-people educational program to a new high. As a result of the energetically launched mass movement, a brand new spectacle of great revolution, great development, great popularization and great improvement has appeared on the educational front in Anhwei.

The mass movement, as we have launched on the educational front, is not free from obstacles. In this connection, what we first encountered was the struggle between the expert line and the mass line. Some bourgeois intellectual elements in the educational department have from the very beginning emphasized expert-administered education, in opposition to mass-administered education. According to them, "in politics we may launch mass movement and in education we should not;" "mass movement can only destroy and cannot build;" and "to develop education by means of mass movement, we can only have quantity but not quality and popularization but not improvement." Obviously, these views are completely erroneous.

Can we energetically launch a mass movement in the field of education? Facts have long furnished the answer. During the past 2 years, we have reported extremely obvious accomplishments in our educational work, as a result of the mass movement. In terms of both the scope and the speed of the development of our educational

program, between 1957 and 1959, the number of colleges in Anhwei increased from 5 to 32 and their enrollment increased from some 8,000 to over 21,000; the number of full-day middle schools increased from 302 to 846 and their enrollment increased from 188,000 to 419,000; the people's communes and industrial and mining enterprises had established more than 900 agricultural middle schools and various vocational schools, with a combined enrollment of over 86,000. Now, there is an institute of higher learning in each special district; there is a senior middle school and a secondary vocational school in each hsien; there is an agricultural middle school in most people's communes in the rural areas; there are several primary schools in each production team. By 1959, 6 million young people had been liberated from illiteracy; 2 million workers and peasants had studied in various spare-time school. Mass line is the fundamental line for all our revolutionary tasks. To follow the mass line and to launch mass movements are applicable not only to our political struggle and productive construction but also to our educational work. It is not conceivable that without mobilizing the whole party and all the people and thus mobilizing their enthusiasm, Anhwei may have made so much progress in its educational work as in the past 2 years.

Is it true that mass movements can only destroy and not build? Is it true that to develop our educational program by means of mass movement we may have only quantity but not quality? We may have popularization but not improvement? Facts have also furnished eloquent answers to these questions. Since the great leap forward, and in the course of the mass movement for an all-party, all-people educational program, we have obliterated the idea of expert-administered education. To follow the expert line, we could achieve neither quantity and speed nor high quality. Under the ideological influence isolated from politics, from the masses and from reality, of course we would not be able to train the red-and-specialized people who may meet the demands of socialist construction. We have resolutely abandoned such an idea. In the mass movement of educational revolution, all schools have established a new system, which emphasizes politics as well as work and which demands study as well as labor, thereby greatly developing the academic climate in which theory and practice are linked together. As a result of the energetically launched educational revolution, the quality of education has greatly improved; the students have had a balanced education in moral values, in intellectual achievement and in physical fitness; the instructors have made noticeable progress in both political and professional terms. There has been a major transformation in the spiritual outlook of instructors and students alike. Their class viewpoint, mass viewpoint, collective viewpoint, labor viewpoint and viewpoint of dialectical materialism have all been significantly re-affirmed; a general tendency to love labor and to respect the working people

has taken shape; there has also been noticeable improvement in the academic quality of their cultural and scientific knowledge. In the national college entrance examination in 1959, the graduates of senior middle schools in Anhwei proved that they were no longer backward as before, as their grades were better than in any previous year. Schools on all levels have also reported successes in coordinating teaching with scientific research. The colleges have completed the study of an impressively large number of topics in 2 years. They have not only solved some problems in economic construction that urgently awaited solution but also reported impressive achievements in the advanced scientific research. Facts have clearly told us that those fantastic arguments that mass movements can only destroy and not build and so on are totally groundless.

While launching a mass movement in the educational field, we must also struggle against the rightist thinking that over-emphasizes difficulties and preaches contentment with backwardness. On the educational front in Anhwei, the foundations are weak and there are not enough trained teachers; and there are certain difficulties in the course of its development. Some rightist cadres and educational workers have always tried to exaggerate the difficult aspect and neglect the major aspect in the course of development -- on the pretext that this or that "condition is not good." They have failed to realize that the rapid development of the educational program is dictated by the socialist revolution and construction and that the broad masses have demonstrated a high degree of enthusiasm and boundless creative capacity in the current educational program. Accordingly, they appeared too timid to move forward.

Are we to stand up in the face of difficulties, to rely on the masses, to create conditions and to engage ourselves actively in the educational program? Or are we to bow to the difficulties and thus refrain from developing our own educational program? This has long been the focus of our repeated struggles on the educational front. We have resolutely armed ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's ideas, continuously taught the broad cadres, instructors and students to cherish the highest of ambitions, objected to the contentment with backwardness and emphasized "self-reliance," and pointed out that the more are the difficulties the more we must mobilize the masses and rely on the wisdom of the masses in order to turn difficulties into favorable conditions and to arrest the unfavorable tendencies. Since the liberation, we have waged relentless struggles against various rightist tendencies, e.g., "there are too many difficulties in the disaster-stricken area and it is difficult to preserve education;" "under the unfavorable conditions, we cannot overtake the advanced provinces;" and "we may achieve quantity and speed but not quality and economy." In the great leap forward in 1958, the Anhwei

Provincial Committee of the CCP again emphatically criticized the erroneous viewpoint that did not believe in mass-administered education; promptly adopted the resolution on the development of education; brought the all-party, all-people educational program to a new high; effectively implemented the party's educational policy and succeeded in achieving the over-all leap forward in our educational work. Suffice it to show that without eliminating the obstacles of various rightist tendencies it would not have been possible to achieve victory in our educational work.

The struggle between two reads, two ideological tendencies and two methods will remain in our educational mass movement in the future. At present, the mass movement centering about teaching reform is being energetically waged on the educational front in Anhwei. Teaching reform is the continuation and extension of the educational revolution, the continuation and extension of ideological revolution in the field of education. It consists not only of the struggle between proletarian thinking and bourgeois thinking but also of the struggle between what is advanced and what is backward and between what is right and what is wrong. The overwhelming majority of instructors, students and parents are enthusiastically supporting the present teaching reform. However, a few bourgeois intellectual elements tend to regard the academic system and curriculum that we inherited from the bourgeoisie as inviolable laws, or to regard knowledge still as private property and fancy to monopolize knowledge, or to fear that their knowledge might no longer be respected and they would thus no longer be regarded as "authorities." Accordingly, they adopt in varying degrees an unsympathetic and hostile attitude toward the teaching reform. There are others who adopt the rightist conservative view on teaching reform, who tend to underestimate the wisdom of the masses as well as the emerging forces, fearful that both the instructors and the students might not be equal to the revised curriculum, and who are thus skeptical of the teaching reform. In view of these erroneous tendencies, we must adopt the mass-line methods, sponsor free expression and free discussion, criticize and educate them individually, and propose positive, practicable measures, in order to sweep away these ideological obstacles on our way to progress.

In order to guarantee the rapid development of our mass movement on the educational front and to achieve the continued leap forward in our educational work, we must also: continue to implement the "two leg" policy in education, to exploit all potential forces favorable to our educational program and to develop our educational program by all means; stimulate the educational work in the schools and improve the teaching quality by relying on the collective wisdom and strength of the masses; actively cultivate and boldly advance the emerging forces, continuously reinforce the leadership nucleus in the schools and expand the army of instructors.

First, the hundreds of millions of masses are a tremendous power for the development of the socialist educational program. To fully develop the people's active interest in education and to exploit all potential forces capable of administering education are the important keys to the development of our educational program in such a way as to achieve "quality, quantity, economy and speed." Since the great leap forward in 1958, the Anhwei Province has resolutely implemented the "two leg" policy as was enunciated by the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. In the course of developing our educational program, we have had the participation of the state, the masses, the educational departments, all enterprises, government agencies, organizations, communes, factories and farms; we have established independently administered by one unit or jointly administered by several units; we have established both regular schools and vocational schools; we have directed our attention both to the education of children and to the education of adults; we have established full-day schools and also half-day and spare-time schools (including correspondence and broadcast schools). We have thus succeeded in developing more educational programs at the maximum speed and with the minimum funds.

During the past 2 years, Anhwei has not only greatly developed full-day regular schools on all levels and established a number of spare-time schools but also established a group of agricultural middle schools and a group of full-day or half-day vocational schools. In the agricultural middle schools, the "3-in-1" system of combining teaching, productive labor and scientific research is generally adopted. The school is not only a middle school of the commune but also a producing unit, a base for scientific research and a station for the popularization of agricultural techniques in the commune. The establishment of such new schools may not only satisfy the demands of youths in the broad rural areas for education but also better serve the agricultural production of the commune. The school is also a labor team of the commune. During the busy farming season members of the school may be assigned to the most urgent locality. During the past 2 years, the agricultural middle schools in Anhwei have demonstrated an impressive record, in teaching, in production and in scientific research. For instance, the 27 agricultural middle schools in Fei-tung Hsien have all achieved self-sufficiency as a result of production; in fact, they have saved 120,000 yuan in 2 years. The students' records have been very satisfactory. In the joint examination for all full-day junior middle schools in Ho-fei Municipality, the average grade of the students of some agricultural middle schools has approached, reached or even surpassed the average grade of students of full-day middle schools. Much has also been achieved in the scientific research work.

The vocational schools developed in the various enterprises are of many types, with specializations in industry, agriculture, fishery, finance and trade, culture and public health, etc. There are also differences in the period required for graduation, in the curricular arrangement and in the objectives of training. Inasmuch as the schools are adapted to the requirements for vocational cadres and technical personnel in the respective departments, these departments are highly enthusiastic about education. Such problems as the recruitment of faculty, campus, equipment and funds are more readily resolved. Meanwhile, since teaching is well coordinated with the operations in the various departments, the student personnel all have highly satisfactory records. They have learned not only certain cultural and scientific knowledge but also certain vocational skills. For instance, the Fu-tzu-ling Electronics School jointly administered by the party committee of Fu-tzu-ling Reservoir and the Ho-shan Hsien committee has now more than 200 students. All the 100 graduates this semester have fundamentally mastered the techniques for surveying, designing and operational management applicable to a small hydroelectric power station and 80 percent of these graduates have gained a basic knowledge of the operational techniques applicable to a medium hydroelectric power station. In addition, they have established a skilled workers' training program, a spare-time program from the level of illiteracy-elimination to senior middle school, and a spare-time study group on the college level. The broad masses are well pleased with such a multi-purpose school and they call it the "small, foreign cluster" in education.

In the future, we must continue to implement the "two leg" policy, to intensify the mass movement for the establishment of educational programs in all enterprises and professions, and to systematically develop various schools at different levels. In the next several years, all schools should direct particular attention to the support of agriculture. The agricultural middle schools should now be consolidated and improved.

Second, to fully develop the enthusiasm and creativeness of the broad instructors and students and to broadly develop great cooperation are the fundamental methods to facilitate the continuous improvement of educational quality. In the schools above the secondary level, we have generally carried out the policy of combining teaching, productive labor and scientific research, which has contributed equally significantly to the improvement of educational quality and to the progress of scientific research. In the meantime, the system of uniting the cadres, instructors and students, as is adopted in all schools under the leadership of the party committee has on the one hand enabled the leading cadres in the schools to familiarize themselves with teaching, to participate in the activities of regular classes or teaching-

research groups and to direct teaching by the method of cultivating the "experimental farm for teaching" and on the other hand mobilized the enthusiasm of instructors and students and made them active participants in the teaching reform. All these methods have brought about favorable results. For instance, in 1958, the University of Southern Anhwei (formerly the Anhwei Normal College) called upon all the instructors and students to conduct an intensive survey of all educational and teaching problems in accordance with the spirit of the party's educational policy. Free discussions ensued. Within one month, the masses issued more than 100,000 big-letter bulletins, offering a large number of suggestions, opinions and methods with respect to the improvement of teaching. The school leadership promptly accepted the opinions of the masses and submitted its program for the improvement of teaching to the masses for discussion and implementation. Within 40 days, they compiled 19 new teaching plans and 86 teaching outlines; revised the textual materials of various courses; and accordingly made significant improvements in the teaching methods -- thus laying a solid foundation for any further effort in the future.

In our current effort to improve teaching, it is particularly important that we apply the mass-line method, mobilize the masses, ascertain such phenomena as are contrary to the demand for "quality, quantity, economy and speed," and make comprehensive and systematic improvements in the academic system, in the curriculum and in teaching methods -- by systematic, conscious effort of the masses under proper leadership. To improve the teaching in the full-day middle and primary schools, we must actively create conditions, systematically conduct experiments and promptly review experiences, so that we may at the earliest possible time properly reduce the period required for graduation, properly improve the academic standard, properly control the study hours and properly increase labor participation, thereby achieving "quality, quantity, economy and speed." In the course of launching mass movements in the various schools on various levels, we should carefully observe the principle of proper adjustment between work and ease.

While mobilizing the masses within the schools for the improvement of teaching, we have organized broad cooperation between schools or between schools and producing departments in industry or in agriculture. The cooperation between schools chiefly involves the following: 1) to conduct teaching and research activities and to exchange advanced experiences; 2) to support each other in case of need for instructors and to train new instructors by the inductive method; 3) to support each other in case of need for teaching facilities; 4) to render every support and assistance to the new or less advanced schools. Such inter-school cooperation has become a regular system and permanent organizations have been set up. The cooperation between

schools and producing departments chiefly involves the establishment of formal relations and mutual support in education and in production. In many cases, after the school has entered into formal relations with a plant or commune, its instructors and students would spend part of their prescribed time for labor participating in the production of the plant or commune and at the same time helping the plant or commune in its spare-time educational program or cultural activities; the plant or commune would on the one hand help the instructors and students of the school in learning about production and on the other hand offer technical guidance to the plant or farm operated by the school. Such great cooperation of mass nature has demonstrated its important function in facilitating the development of educational programs and the over-all improvement of educational quality in the schools. In the future, we must broadly apply the experience of such great cooperation and continuously develop and improve it in the course of practice.

Third, the great development of education calls for a large number of cadres and instructors. In the mass educational movement, a number of emerging forces will certainly make their appearance. We must actively cultivate and boldly promote and employ them, in response to the needs of rapid development of our educational program. The supply of educational cadres and instructors is far from adequate in Anhwei. It is a sharp contradiction to the rapid development of education. In order to solve this contradiction, we must train the cadres and instructors in accordance with the "2 leg" policy, i.e., on the one hand, to rely on the party committee for the assignment of instructors and on the normal college for the training of instructors, and on the other hand, to actively cultivate the emerging forces by adopting the mass-line method. Under the present circumstances, the latter approach appears more important.

During the past several years, we have always emphasized the cultivation of emerging forces. We have carefully selected those faculty members and workers, who are politically progressive and of certain professional ability, and trained them into the nucleus force in the schools; in the same time, we have completely abolished the restrictions of the "academic background" theory that only college graduates can teach in senior middle schools, that only graduates of special course schools can teach in junior middle schools and only the graduates of normal colleges can teach in primary schools, and boldly avail ourselves of the services of those who are progressive in their political thinking and equal to teaching assignments even though their academic background may be lower than otherwise required. As for the instructors needed for the many newly established agricultural middle schools and for the development of spare-time education,

we have recruited from among the intellectual elements in the rural areas, cadres, workers experienced in production and peasants. In order to improve the instructors' political and professional standing, we have adopted various measures, including "on-the-job study," "off-the-job study," "induction," "visits and 'pilgrimages'" etc. and offered them with every active assistance.

These new instructors are less influenced by the conservative thinking, bold in accepting new ideas, enthusiastic and hardworking. As a result of their training and education under the party and their practical experience, many have become the nucleus members in the teaching profession. For instance, many young instructors at institutions of higher learning have achieved highly satisfactory results. In the course of teaching reform, the instructors and students in the Chemical Engineering Department of the Ho-fei Industrial College succeeded, under the leadership of the party committee of the College, in compiling a new teaching outline for elementary chemistry and a set of new textual materials and in organizing a group of new instructors to practice teaching. Although these new instructors have had little teaching experience, their serious studies and preparations enable them to achieve very good results and the students are well pleased. There are even more of such cases in the secondary schools. In the future development of our educational program, we must continue to select and cultivate the active elements emerging from the mass movements. This is an important task on our educational front.

The party's firm leadership is the fundamental guarantee for the mass movements on the educational front. During the past several years, we have adopted various active measures to strengthen the party leadership over the activities of schools. Prior to the anti-rightist struggle, the party's leadership in the schools was fairly weak. In the course of successive political movements, we have conducted a thorough review of the school organizations; purified the army of instructors; and strengthened the ideological transformation of bourgeois intellectual elements. In the same time, we have sent a large group of cadres, who are firm in their standpoint and experienced in political struggle, to the schools to fill the leading posts, to form the leadership nucleus and to actually control the leadership in these schools. Since 1958, there have been more than 10,000 cadres transferred from the provincial and commune level to the schools. After more than 2 years' actual experience and diligent studies, most of these cadres have gradually become leaders equally familiar with politics and with their work. The party committees on various levels have actively engaged themselves in forming or perfecting party organizations in all the schools and in developing the party organization's fortress function in various activities. As a result of these measures, the leadership in the schools has been

firmly controlled by the party, thereby insuring the implementation of the party's directions and policies and the successful development of the mass movement. In the future, we must continue to strengthen the party's leadership in the teaching reform, to rely on the progressive elements emerging from the mass movement of educational revolution, and unite the broad masses, thereby achieving the continued leap forward in our educational work.

Under the shining light of the three red flags, i.e., the general line, the great leap forward and the people's communization, the educational front, no different from all other fronts, in Anhwei promises continued leap forward. We must, in the spirit of continuous revolution, continue to fulfill the party's educational program, continue to develop the all-party, all-people educational movement and further mobilize the masses in teaching reform, thereby achieving better "quality, quantity, economy and speed" in our educational program.

(Editor's Note: The author of this article is the Secretary of the Secretariat of the CCP Anhwei Provincial Committee.)

## VI. ON THE UNITY OF OPPOSITES

Pages 33-41

Kuang Feng

### Unity-Conflict Is Fundamentally the Law of Unity of Opposites.

According to Marxist dialectics, the conflict between opposites is unconditional and absolute; and the unity of opposites, conditional and relative. The conflicting nature and unifying nature of the 2 contradictory aspects, i.e., which are at once unified and conflicting, constitute the nucleus of materialistic dialectics -- the fundamental essence of the law of unity of opposites. We say that the law of unity of opposites is a general law that applies to all fields; of course, it applies to the conflicting nature and unifying nature of opposites, the two inseparable aspects.

All things are unified bodies made of contradictory opposites, which are at once conflicting and unified. We must grasp unity in conflict and grasp conflict in unity. If one is to dismiss either aspect, he would necessarily metaphysically misinterpret the other. If he is to dismiss the conflicting nature of opposites, the unifying nature as he understands it would necessarily be without contradictions or opposites, a dead unity. If he is to dismiss the unifying nature of opposites, the conflicting nature as he understands it would necessarily mean that as a result of the conflict neither can turn in the direction opposite to its own, thereby denying the qualitative change in the development of things or events. In other words, if the conflicting nature and the unifying nature of the opposites are to be separated, then such conflicting nature and unifying nature could not be the conflicting nature and unifying nature in dialectics. It is very apparent that to deny either the conflicting nature of opposites or the unifying nature of opposites is the substitution of metaphysics for dialectics.

Some comrades do admit the general nature of the law of unity of opposites but they deny that this or that kind of opposites is unifying in nature, i.e., denying the general nature of the unifying nature of opposites. For instance, in the discussion of the question concerning the relationship between thinking and being, they deny that the "unifying nature of contradictions" is applicable to the relationship between thinking and being. Besides, there are comrades who deny that such opposites as war and peace, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and life and death, are unifying in nature. When these comrades reach the conclusion denying the unifying nature of this or that set of opposites, they do not consider such a conclusion of theirs self-contradictory to their admission of the general nature of the law of unity of opposites. Why cannot they realize the self-contradiction here? For in their opinion, the conflicting nature of opposites is general in nature and is the

fundamental essence of the law of unity of opposites, whereas the unifying nature of opposites is not general in nature nor the fundamental essence of the law of unity of opposites. Such a viewpoint is not correct. In effect, such a viewpoint is to separate the conflicting nature and the unifying nature of opposites.

### What Is the Unifying Nature of Contradictions

According to Comrade Mao Tse-tung: The unifying nature of contradiction "refers to the following two cases: First, both sides of every contradiction in the development of things and events regard the other as the premise for its own existence and both exist in a unified body; second, both sides of the contradiction, in accordance with certain conditions, move toward its opposite direction. These are what is the so-called unifying nature." [See Note 1] "And the conflicting nature lies in the unifying nature." [See Note 2] There is no unifying nature that does not contain the conflicting nature; similarly, there is neither the conflicting nature that is isolated from the unifying nature. For instance, there is no unifying nature between war and stone. They cannot depend on each other for existence under certain conditions, nor can they under certain conditions turn toward each other. Accordingly, there is not much conflicting nature between them. In other words, war and stone could not constitute a contradiction. (Note 1: "On Contradiction," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung: The People's Publishing Co., 1952. Vol. II, p. 793. Note 2: Ibid., p. 800.)

Those comrades who deny there is the unifying nature in this or that set of opposites apparently have misinterpreted the sphere of unifying nature in the dialectics, as stated above, mistaking the scope of unifying nature in the dialectics for the unifying nature in metaphysics. For instance, those comrades who deny the unifying nature of thinking and being are first to misinterpret the unifying nature of thinking and being as the equivalent sameness in metaphysics, i.e., the sameness without difference or the unity that does not contain opposites, and then object to the same. Their arguments are correct in terms of the theory of equivalent sameness in metaphysics but are completely incorrect as arguments against the contradictory unity between thinking and being. They say: "thinking and being are after all different." Yes, thinking and being are different; but it is exactly because they are different that they can constitute a contradiction, the unifying nature and conflicting nature of contradiction; if they were in no way different and they were equivalent-same, then there would not be a contradiction between them and accordingly there would not be the so-called unifying nature and conflicting nature of the contradiction. The unifying nature, as a term in dialectics, implies that the 2 sides are different from and opposite to each other. How could the statement that "thinking

and being are after all different" be cited as the argument denying the unifying nature between thinking and being? It only reveals that they have adopted the metaphysical interpretation of the sphere of unifying nature in dialectics.

Those comrades who deny that there is a unifying nature in such sets of opposites as war and peace, proletariat and bourgeoisie and life and death, also misinterpret the unifying nature in dialectics as the unity in metaphysics. They say that the principles of the unifying nature of Marxist dialectics could not be applicable to these phenomena, for they are "fundamentally opposite and against each other." Such an argument also betrays their metaphysical viewpoint. According to their "fundamentally opposite and conflicting phenomenon," it would not be possible to have such a viewpoint as the unifying nature nor could the two sides of any contradiction be described as in any way unifying in nature, for both sides of any contradiction are always conflicting with each other." ("Conflicting with each other," as a sphere in philosophy, pertains to the conflicting nature of both sides of the contradiction; this problem is to be discussed more in detail later.) In this way, where are they going to find the unifying nature? In this way, is it not true that they have completely dismissed the unifying nature in dialectics?

#### The Unifying Nature of the So-called "Fundamentally Opposite Phenomenon."

Lenin said: "dialectics is a theory, which studies how the opposites can be unified, how they become unified -- under what conditions they are unified, or how they turn toward each other -- why the human brain should not regard these opposites as dead, frozen things, but should regard them as live, conditional, active and moving toward each other." [See Note 1] He further said: "All boundaries in the world of Nature and in society are conditional and changeable and there is no phenomenon that could not, under certain conditions, turn into the very opposite." [See Note 2] In discussing the dialectics of thinking, Lenin also said: "The mutual dependence of concepts, the mutual dependence of all concepts without exception." [See Note 3] Please note: what Lenin said was that both sides of all contradictions without exception are unifying in nature. Of course, the so-called "fundamentally opposite phenomena" and the scientific concepts that correctly reflect these phenomena may not be exceptions. Here, the question is not whether there is the unifying nature but how unity is achieved. (Note 1: Lenin: Notes on Philosophy. The People's Publishing Co., 1956. p. 86. Note 2: "On Yu-ne-ssu-wu's Little Book," Collected Works of Lenin. The People's Publishing Co., 1958. Vol. XXII, p. 302. Note 3: Lenin: Notes on Philosophy. p. 182.)

As regards the unifying nature of the so-called "fundamentally opposite phenomena," "how they can be unified," and "how they are unified," we should study them in the light of dialectics and on the basis of reality and should not look at them at a distance and immediately negate them when they appear too difficult to understand.

As regards the unifying nature of thinking and being, it has already been widely discussed and it is not to be further repeated here. Let us discuss briefly the unifying nature of war and peace, of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and of life and death, etc.

War is a product of class society, the continuation of politics and the continuation of class policy. In other words, war is a special form of class struggle (This is a form -- the sharpest form -- in which force is demonstrated.) The seed of modern wars is the capitalist-imperialist system. What stands opposite to war is peace, which is another form of class struggle. At a certain stage, imperialism would employ the means of "peaceful" struggle to deceive, oppress and exploit the people; the proletariat and the people of various countries, on the other hand, would expose the "peaceful" deceit of imperialism, prevent imperialism from launching wars and strive for genuine peace, democracy and the triumph of socialism. As for the so-called "social peace," which advocates "class cooperation," it is empty words of deceit coined by the modern bourgeoisie and revisionists and in fact there is no "social peace," nor can it be achieved. Both war and peace are forms -- different forms -- of class struggle and accordingly they share the unifying nature. In the class society, war and peace, as two fundamentally opposite phenomena or concepts, are mutually dependent. Is it not true that when the imperialist system and the capitalist system are abolished, when class distinction is really obliterated and when lasting world peace really emerges, there will be no more "wars"? Yes; however, this does not prove that in the class society, war and peace are not mutually dependent but on the contrary that they are. The future "lasting peace" under discussion does not mean the concept of "peace" as a form of class struggle in the class society. When the imperialist system and the capitalist system are abolished, when class distinction is really obliterated, and when lasting peace truly really emerges, the contradiction between war and peace as is under our present discussion would have passed away.

In the history of class society, war and peace are both the special forms of class struggle and under certain conditions they may also move in the direction opposite to their own. When peaceful struggle between the revolutionary class and the reactionary class and between two hostile political camps reaches a feverish degree, then under certain conditions they may adopt the form of armed struggle, to achieve by means of war the policy objectives that could not be achieved by means of peaceful struggle. Of course, no war is to go on indefinitely; invariably one party is to emerge victorious and another vanquished or pending the emergence of certain balance of

power the state of war is to turn into a state of peace. Inasmuch as there are the seeds of war in the class society, the state of peace may under certain conditions again turn into war and lasting peace is thus ever beyond reach. In the history of class society, peace and war have always been moving in a continuous cycle. Examples are too numerous to list. For instance, the First World War turned into post-war peace; this post-war peace in turn turned into the Second World War; and the Second World War again turned into post-war peace. As the Moscow Declaration pointed out, "Now, the forces of peace have grown considerably and the prevention of war is already a practical possibility." The same declaration, however, further pointed out: "As long as imperialism remains, there is ground for the outbreak of aggressive wars." In other words, as long as imperialism remains, peace may under certain conditions turn into war. It is in the face of this possibility that the socialist camp headed by the USSR, the international proletariat and the people's of the world must wage a relentless struggle to prevent imperialism from launching another war and thus to preserve world peace.

In the capitalist society, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are also mutually dependent. "If there is no bourgeoisie, there will be no proletariat; if there is no proletariat, there will be no bourgeoisie." [See Note 1] Let us ask: If there is no exploited proletariat, how can there be the bourgeoisie who are to exploit the surplus value? If there is no bourgeoisie, can there be any proletariat? We all realize: that the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were born at the same time, for without one, the other could not emerge; that after the bourgeoisie is eliminated in the course of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat would turn into a working class sharing all the means of production with the people and no longer be penniless proletarians. This concept of working class (in this connection, it is to be distinguished from the concept of proletariat) is one relative to the other remaining classes in the country and to the bourgeoisie in the international arena. When class distinction is obliterated completely in the world, there will no longer be any "working class." "The governed proletariat is to emerge from the revolution as the ruler and the previously ruling bourgeoisie is to emerge as the governed." Following the socialist revolution, the bourgeoisie, who previously owned large quantities of means of production, is to lose such means of production as they may own and the previously penniless proletariat is to share with all the people the ownership of all the means of production. Is it not that they "move in a direction opposite to their own" and that they "turn toward the position occupied by the opposite side?" "Let us ask: How can such a change take place, if they are not connected under certain conditions and they are not unifying in nature?" [See Note 2] (Note 1: "On Contradictions," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, p. 794. Note 2: Ibid., p. 795.)

The phenomena of life and death are likewise opposite and unified at the same time. Between them, there is also the unity of contradiction. Life is not death and death is not life; however, without the passing of old cells, there will be no growth of new cells; and without assimilation of the new and excretion of the old, there will be no life. As Engels said: "It is no longer considered as scientific not to regard death as an important element of life or not to understand the physiological fact that the negation of life is actually contained in life itself; accordingly, life is always considered in connection with its inevitable end, i.e., death (death, in its embryonic form, is always contained in life). The dialectical view of life is nothing but this." [See Note] The cycle of life -- assimilation and katabolism -- also means that the organic body is on the one hand to absorb various nutritive elements into itself and turn them into live cells and on the other hand to excrete what is decaying from itself and turn them into something dead. In other words, it also reflects mutation of life and death. Moreover, life emerges from the lifeless and every life inevitably ends in death. How can we say that there is no unifying nature between life and death? (Note: Engels: The Dialectics of Nature. The People's Publishing Co., 1955, p. 250.)

Unity is not merely found in such "fundamentally opposite phenomenon" as war and peace, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat or life and death; it is found in all "fundamentally opposite phenomena." It cannot be otherwise. Is there anything in the universe that does not rely on its opposite for its existence? Is there anything that never changes and that may never turn into what is its opposite? No. Such opposite extremes as difficulty and success, strength and weakness, victory and defeat, good things and bad things, the advanced and the backward, truth and mistake, etc. invariably rely on each other under certain conditions and at the same time change into each other in accordance with certain conditions. If there is no difficulty, would there be success? If there is no success, would there be difficulty? If difficulty cannot turn into success under certain conditions, difficulty shall always remain to be difficulty. How can we talk about "overcoming difficulty"? If success cannot turn into difficulty under conditions, success shall always remain to be success. Then, do we still have to wage struggles by developing our subjective initiative? The facts are: that once the difficulty is overcome, difficulty is to turn into success and that in case we relax our subjective effort or changes occur in the objective conditions, success may also turn into difficulty. It is relative to error that truth exists. It is in its struggle with error that truth advances. Nor can error be completely eliminated from the knowledge of mankind. Of course truth is not error, but it may turn into error if we should go beyond the sphere of its

application. Of course error is not truth, but it may turn into truth if we should deal with it correctly by learning the lessons of experience. This is the very reason why Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that "error is often the guide of truth." [See Note] Even in the case of capitalism and socialism, these "fundamentally opposite phenomena" may likewise turn into each other under certain conditions. Capitalism has given birth to its "grave-digger," — the proletariat and created the material premise of socialism — large-scale production; following the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, capitalism may turn into socialism and private property into public property. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, we have already succeeded in achieving this transformation in the socialist states, with 1/3 of the world population. We must continue to strive for such a transformation throughout the world, which is indeed inevitable. According to the objective law, socialism inevitably turns into Communism. Our task is to actively create the necessary conditions so that such a transformation may be achieved at the earliest possible time. However, at the socialist stage, the 2-road contradiction between socialism and capitalism will always remain to be the major contradiction. That is why under certain conditions — e.g., if we fail to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, fail to bring the proletarian revolution to its ultimate consummation, cease to guard against and struggle with the reactionary classes within and the foreign imperialism, and let the reactionary elements succeed in their subversive plot — socialism may suffer temporary reverses, thus lending to the revival of capitalism. (Note: "Reform Our Learning," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol. III, p. 823.)

In Summary, if we are to admit that the movement and development of our material world are absolute, that there is no such thing as constant phenomenon and that the nature of things and events change in the course of their development, then we must logically admit that any "fundamentally opposite phenomenon" may under certain conditions turn in a direction opposite to its own.

#### To Negate the Unity of Opposites Is to Negate the Revolutionary Dialectics.

To negate the conflicting nature of opposites is to negate the revolutionary dialectics; similarly, to negate the unifying nature of opposites is also to negate the revolutionary dialectics.

Why do we say that to negate the unifying nature of opposites is to negate the revolutionary dialectics?

First, to negate that opposites may under certain conditions turn into each other is to negate revolutionary mutation.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The unity or oneness of the various aspects of contradictions in objective things or events is by nature not dead or frozen but live, conditional, changeable, temporary and relative and all contradictions may under certain conditions turn in directions opposite to their own. Such a situation, reflected in our thinking, has resulted in the Marxist, materialist-dialectical theory of the universe. Only the temporary and previous reactionary ruling class and metaphysics, which serves their interests, do not regard opposite things and events as live, conditional, changeable and capable of turning into the opposite but regard them as dead and frozen. Moreover, they propagate these erroneous views everywhere, with the view of deceiving the masses and thus to perpetuate their rule. The tasks of the Communists are to expose the erroneous ideas of the reactionary elements and metaphysics and to propagate the natural dialectics of things and events, so as to facilitate the mutation of things and events and thus to reach the goals of revolution." See Note/ These words of Comrade Mao Tse-tung have profoundly clarified the revolutionary nature of the unity of opposites as a Marxist-Leninist philosophical principle. (Note: "On Contradictions" op. cit., p. 797.)

To negate that opposites may under certain conditions turn into each other is to regard them as dead and frozen, as unchangeable and as incapable of moving in a direction opposite to their own. If we are to observe the practical life and guide our actions in accordance with this viewpoint, how could we act as promoters of the revolution, "facilitating the transformation of things and events"? It is exactly because the capitalist system must inevitably move toward its opposite extreme and the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist society must inevitably, under certain conditions, change their positions, that we are supremely confidently engaged in the proletarian revolution with the view of facilitating this transformation. If we are of the opinion that the capitalist system may not move toward its opposite extreme, that the bourgeoisie and the proletariat cannot reverse their positions, and that the existing system of ownership of property will remain unchanged, then is it not that we have negated the inevitable triumph of the proletarian revolution. It is exactly because peace may under certain conditions turn into war — so long as there are the imperialist system, the capitalist system and class conflict in the world — that we must intensify our vigilance, develop our subjective initiative, prevent the imperialists from launching aggressive wars and thus to preserve world peace. And as the imperialists may venture to launch aggressive wars, we must achieve peace by launching revolutionary wars

against counter-revolutionary wars. Similarly, the socialist system is also changeable. With the emergence of certain conditions, it will inevitably turn into communism. If we regard the socialist system as dead, frozen and unchangeable, would it not be true that we have negated the basis for the realization of communism?

The Communists must make use of this objective dialectics in their effort to create conditions and thus to facilitate the revolutionary transformation. They must do so in the revolutionary effort to seize power and to obliterate capitalism; they must do so in the course of socialist construction. The record of our great leap forward in the past several years has conclusively confirmed the pattern of the mutation of opposites under certain conditions and the great significance of developing our subjective initiative in accordance with this pattern. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has eminently and thoroughly applied the dialectics to the socialist society and confirmed that the things and events in the socialist society are also changeable and transformable. Armed with this ideological weapon, the people have boldly played their roles as reformists and promoters, thereby achieving the great leap forward. As time goes on, this idea is better understood by the people.

Very obviously, to negate the interchangeability of the positions of all opposites under certain conditions is in effect to negate the fundamental qualitative change and to regard such change as "quiet" evolution. Thus we would be contented with the substitution of ordinary theory of evolution for the revolutionary dialectics.

If we negate the interchangeability of the positions of opposites under certain conditions, can we correctly maintain the conflicting nature of contradictions in the dialectics? Of course, we cannot. According to Marxist dialectics: the struggle between the opposites in a contradiction must inevitably lead to the reverse of their positions, the qualitative change, the passing of old things and events and the emergence of new things and events. To negate the interchangeability of the positions of opposites under certain conditions would be to negate that the "struggle" must inevitably lead to the passing of old things and events and the emergence of new things and events. The so-called "conflicting (struggling) nature" in this connection is of course totally unrelated to dialectics.

Secondly, to negate the unity of opposites may under certain conditions lead us to negate contradiction or the conflicting nature of opposites.

As we said before, the unity as is recognized by those who maintain that there is no unity between the "fundamentally opposite and mutually exclusive phenomena" is actually the unity in metaphysics, i.e., the equivalent-sameness of the two phenomena,

without the characteristic of being "fundamentally opposite" or "mutually exclusive." According to this viewpoint, when they recognize the presence of unity, they may twist the unity and negate contradiction or the conflicting nature of "mutual exclusiveness."

Some people do not admit that there are contradictions in the socialist society. This viewpoint is related to the viewpoint that negates the unity in "mutually exclusive phenomena." They offer a metaphysical interpretation of the unity of dialectics. Accordingly, if they recognize the conflicting nature, they would fail to recognize the unifying nature and if they recognize the unifying nature they would fail to recognize the conflicting nature. In accordance with the metaphysical viewpoint, they on the one hand maintain that there is no unity between the "mutually exclusive phenomena" and on the other hand only recognize the unity but negate the "mutual exclusiveness" in the socialist society. In this way, they also have negated the contradictions in the socialist society.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "the various aspects of the contradiction in all processes are originally mutually exclusive." See Note 1/ If they are not "mutually exclusive," they would not constitute the contradiction. Comrade Mao Tse-tung further said: "We Chinese often say: 'opposition supports.' In other words, there is unity in opposites. This statement is based on dialectics and not on metaphysics. 'Opposition' means that the mutual exclusiveness of or struggle between the two contradictory aspects. 'Supports' means that under certain conditions the 2 contradictory aspects are coordinated, thereby achieving unity." See Note 2/ "Mutual exclusiveness," as a philosophical sphere, pertains to the conflicting nature of opposites, i.e., contradiction. We should not interpret it in too narrow a sense. If we do so -- e.g., to evaluate the relationship among the working people in the light of the mutual exclusiveness between the two parties in a war or between to hostile classes -- or course there is no mutual exclusiveness. However, such an interpretation would not be the original sense of "mutual exclusiveness" as a philosophical sphere. For its meaning is much broader. In his article entitled, "Discourse on Dialectics," Lenin placed the word "struggle" in quotation marks when he wrote: "development is the 'struggle' between opposites." This indicates that "struggle" was used as a philosophical sphere in the broad sense, including not only class struggle but also the + and - in mathematics, the function and counter-function in differential calculus and integral calculus, the positive and negative electricity in physics, the compounding and dissolution in chemistry, etc. All opposites are "struggling" (conflicting) with each other, but their "struggles" are all of a different nature. If "struggle" is interpreted in too narrow a sense, how can we say, for instance, the + and - or

for that matter the positive electricity and negative electricity are engaged in struggle? (Note 1: "On Contradictions," op. cit., p. 794. Underline added. Note 2: Ibid., p. 800. Underline added.)

In terms of social phenomena, the philosophical sphere mutual exclusiveness includes not only such mutual exclusiveness as between hostile classes but also such mutual exclusiveness as between the different opinions and arguments among the people and between the advanced and the backward. Such contradictions as between the working people in a socialist society, between national interests, collective interests and personal interests, between democracy and concentration, between those who lead and those who are led, etc. are based on the fundamental agreement on the interests of the people. Philosophically speaking, the various aspects in these contradictions are also mutually exclusive (of course, such mutual exclusiveness is different from that between hostile classes in nature) and do not suggest the unity, equivalent-sameness, in metaphysics. It is exactly for this reason that they constitute contradictions and these contradictions must be dealt with correctly. For instance, national interests, collective interests and personal interests are of course different (opposite, mutually exclusive or conflicting with one another, in terms of philosophy) and not equivalent-same. If there were equivalent-same, would it not be that there are no contradictions and that there is no need to reconcile them? Accordingly, the contradictions based on the fundamental agreement on the people's interests only define the specific nature of such contradictory struggle or mutual exclusiveness. However, those who define unity in the metaphysical sense would fail to recognize the struggle or mutual exclusiveness in these cases; and to negate the struggle between opposites, or their exclusiveness, would mean the negation of contradiction. This is the inevitable conclusion of the logical development of the viewpoint that negates the unity between mutually exclusiveness phenomena. Inasmuch as those who adopt this viewpoint maintain that there is no unity between the mutually exclusive phenomena, there would not of course be any mutual exclusiveness in such phenomena as they may recognize to be of the unifying nature.

In the history of our party, some comrades, because they insist on the metaphysical viewpoint, have failed either to recognize, in some instances, the unifying nature between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie or to recognize, in some other instances, the conflicting nature between the two classes. The party has had rich experience in opposing these two types of one-sidedness, these two extremes of the metaphysical approach.

In the history of our revolution, we formed a united front with the national bourgeoisie for a long period. In accordance with the Marxist-Leninist dialectics, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has

made a comprehensive analysis of the united front as a unified body of contradictions and accordingly formulated the policy of "at once uniting with and struggling against" the national bourgeoisie, thereby consolidating and expanding the united front. This only correct Marxist-Leninist policy has guaranteed the consolidation and expansion of the united front and the leadership of the proletariat, thereby gradually leading the Chinese revolution to victory. However, the "leftist" and rightist opportunists have isolated themselves from the Marxist-Leninist dialectics, which is at once of the unifying and conflicting nature, and elected to observe problems in accordance with the metaphysical approach. Thus they have failed to appreciate the policy of united front, which was designed to unite as well as to struggle with the national bourgeoisie. The "leftist" opportunists recognized only "struggling" and negated "uniting." The philosophical basis for such a political viewpoint was the recognition of only the conflicting nature of the fundamentally opposing parties and the negation of the unity between them. They were of the opinion that where there is conflict there is no unity and that where there is unity there is no conflict. The rightist opportunists recognized only "uniting" and negated "struggling." Accordingly, they offered the leadership of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie and proceeded toward surrenderism. The philosophical basis for their political viewpoint was the recognition of only the unity of opposites and the negation of their conflict. They regarded the united front not as a body that unified the mutually exclusive contradictions but as the unity or equivalent-sameness as in metaphysics. Thus they reached the conclusion that struggle be abandoned in politics. The philosophical viewpoint of the rightist opportunism and that of the "leftist" opportunism were agreed on one point and that was where there is conflict there is no unity and where there is unity there is no conflict. It was exactly for this reason that "leftist" opportunism and rightist opportunism were interchangeable in their positions under certain conditions. If the "leftist" opportunists had failed to fundamentally revise their world view at that stage, they might under certain conditions commit the error of rightist opportunism at another stage; and vice versa.

Engels said: "The metaphysicists think in terms of absolutely irreconcilable opposites. Their theory is: 'either yes or no; otherwise, duplicity.'" [See Note 1] They "regard unity and differentiation as two irreconcilable opposites and not as the two extremes of the same thing, which is true only because they influence each other and differentiation is contained in unity." [See Note 2] Those who negate the unity of opposites actually think this way. In their opinion, unity and opposition are divisible, mutually independent and separated by an insurmountable gulf; unity is unity and it cannot contain opposites; opposition is opposition and there can be no unity between opposites; "yes is yes and no no;"

it is impossible to have conflict and unity at the same time. However, the nucleus of dialectics is conflict in unity. It is exactly because the negation of unity between opposites is actually represented by the metaphysical formula "yes.....yes, no....no" instead of the dialectical formula "yes.....no, no.....yes," that those who adopt this viewpoint tend to recognize conflict but not unity at one stage and to recognize unity but not conflict at another stage or at the same stage tend to recognize unity but not conflict in one type of problems and to recognize conflict but not unity in another type of problems. Of course, under whatever circumstances, the conflict or unity which they recognize are based on metaphysics and not on dialectics. (Note 1: Engels: Anti Duhring Theory, The People's Publishing Co., 1956, p. 20. Note 2: Engels: Dialectics of Nature. The People's Publishing Co., 1955, p. 178.)

#### Unqualified Insistence on Revolutionary Dialectics

This article has dwelled on the tendency to negate the unity of opposites and its danger. In no way does this imply that the conflict between opposites is not important. According to Marxist dialectics, the conflict between opposites is absolute and to negate the absoluteness of conflict is to fundamentally abandon the revolutionary dialectics and to negate to so-called unity of opposites. To discuss unity with disregard for conflict is to discuss unity in metaphysics and thus lead to relativism and sophism.

As Lenin taught us: "Dialectics has more than once -- in the history of Greek philosophy for instance -- acted a bridge to sophism. However, we have always been dialecticians. In our struggle against sophism, our tactics is not to fundamentally negate the possibility of any mutation but to concretely analyze a certain event, its environment and development." [See Note 1] Lenin made this statement while discussing the principle that "in the imperialist stage, the nationalist wars in the colonial and semi-colonial areas are not only possible but inevitable." He pointed out: "Nationalist wars may turn into imperialist wars and imperialist wars may also turn into nationalist wars." He further pointed out: "Only the sophists may try to obliterate the difference between imperialist wars and nationalist wars on the ground that one type may lead to the others." [See Note 2] "To obliterate the difference between imperialist wars and nationalist wars" is purely a revisionist technique and to this we must resolutely object. However, it is also extremely erroneous to negate that imperialist wars may turn into nationalist wars and to this we must also resolutely object. Lenin pointed out: "This error is also extremely harmful in political practice, for the people may thus spread the misleading propaganda for 'disarmament,'

for it seems that there may never be any war other than the reactionary war, and for the people may thus adopt even less justifiable, if not reactionary, attitude of indifference toward nationalist movement." [See Note 3] (Note 1: "On Yu-ni-wu-ssu's Pamphlet," Collected Works of Lenin. The People's Publishing Co., 1958, Vol. XXII, pp 302-303. Note 2: Ibid.; p. 302, Note 3: Ibid., p 305.)

The enemies of Marxism-Leninism -- the revisionists -- negate this absoluteness of the struggle between opposites; twist the unity sphere of dialectics into Sophism and Relativism; negate the qualitative regularity of things and events; obliterate the fundamental conflict and qualitative difference between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, between the righteous wars and unrighteous wars, etc.; and at the same time negate the inter-changeability of positions between the opposites under certain conditions, qualitative change and revolutionary change. They use the ordinary theory of evolution to replace the revolutionary dialectics.

There is a clear boundary between Marxist dialectics on the one hand and Sophism and Relativism on the other hand. Marxist dialectics firmly recognize the unity of opposites, the inter-changeability of positions between opposites and at the same time the absoluteness of the struggle between opposites and the relativity of their unity. Accordingly, it firmly recognizes the relative stability of events, and their qualitative regularity; it also recognizes that events are unified contradictions and that "the nature of events is chiefly determined by the major aspect of the contradiction that has achieved the ruling position;" [See Note 1] it maintains that the reverse of positions between the opposites represents the result of the struggle between them; it maintains that "the conditions for such reverse of positions are important and in the absence of certain conditions neither party in the struggle is likely to change its position." [See Note 2] The boundaries between the Marxist dialectics on the one hand and Sophism and Relativism on the other are thus clearly defined. (Note 1: "On Contradictions," Op. cit., p. 789. Note 2: Mao Tse-tung: On the Question of Correctly Dealing with Internal Contradictions among the People. The People's Publishing Co., 1957, p. 35.)

As a Marxist-Leninist, one should never cease to seriously study the materialist dialectics; learn to appreciate its spirit and substance; on the basis of past and contemporary ideological struggles, study how the various extremist views fell prey to metaphysics and betrayed the revolutionary dialectics, thereby gathering experience and learning lessons; arm himself ideologically; and thus even more resolutely and unconditionally follow and propagate the revolutionary dialectics.