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JPRS: 3358

3 June 1960

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ARTICLES ON MAO TSE-TUNG IDEOLOGY, FEBRUARY 1960

- CHINA -

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JPRS: 3358

CSO: 3737-D

I. RAISE THE BANNER OF MAO TSE-TUNG IDEOLOGY TO AROUSE WOMEN
IN THE STRUGGLE TO REALIZE A CONTINUED LEAP FORWARD
IN 1960

[Following is a translation of an article in the Jen-min Jih-pao, Peiping, 25 February 1960, page 4. The article is a summary of a report given at the 2nd session of the 3rd All-China Federation of Women Executive Committee by Tsai Chang, chairman of the federation.]

The Chinese Women's Movement Began to Enter a
New Stage of Complete Emancipation in 1958 and
Attained Greater Successes in 1959

The Chinese women's movement, under the brilliant guidance of the general line for socialist construction and the stimulus of the great leap forward and people's communes, began to enter a new stage of complete emancipation in 1958 and won a greater success during 1959. The overwhelming majority of women warmly support the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's communes. They have become efficient social laborers with a high degree of socialist consciousness and a definite cultural and technical level. During the increase-production and practice-economy movement centered around technical innovation and revolution, they displayed heaven-storming enthusiasm and uninterruptedly carried out innovations and inventions. Collective welfare undertakings and social service undertakings have gained consolidation and elevation in the rural areas through their overhaul, development, and construction. In the cities, these undertakings are spreading far and wide, resulting in a further step toward realization of the ideal of socialization of household chores.

Why did the Chinese women's movement begin to enter a new stage of complete emancipation in 1958? We all know that the movement for emancipation of women is an integral part of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The inequality between men and women in the past actually was a reflection of the social relations of production, particularly class relations. With the victorious completion of the socialist revolution, class exploitation was eliminated while, at the same time, the social root of oppression of women was eliminated and women were emancipated. However, in a socialist society there still exist a contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and a contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base. The relations of production and the superstructure still bear vestiges of the old society and contain various contradictions among the people -- contradictions which will still be reflected in the social status of women. Only by correctly

handling and constantly solving these contradictions can the complete emancipation of women be promoted.

We might think back for a moment. Although after the founding of the Chinese People's Republic and through the land reform, women acquired land like men and eliminated the economic base of feudal patriarchy, yet the tradition of regarding men as superior and women as inferior could by no means be completely destroyed on the basis of small peasant economy. Cooperation in agriculture enabled over half the women with labor-power to take part in social collective labor, brought about equal pay for equal work, and raised the social status of women. However, the agricultural producers cooperatives, which were not large-sized, continued to restrict the rapid development of the productive forces to a certain degree while the remnants of capitalist ideas and the force of petty bourgeois habits were incompatible with the newly established socialist relations of production. These conditions could not but have a certain impact on women's participation in social labor and on their social status. It is remarkable that, although agricultural production was collectivized after cooperativization, the peasants still preserved the old habit of consumption and took families as units of consumption. This resulted in a contradiction between collective production and individual consumption. This contradiction, one between social labor and household labor, was mainly reflected in women who performed household labor. This contradiction restricted women's participation in social collective labor and also seriously affected those women who took part in collective labor.

In 1958, there was a great leap forward and formation of people's communes under the brilliant guidance of the party's general line for socialist construction. The rapid development of the productive forces, promoted the reform of the relations of production (emergence of people's communes) and reform of the superstructure (change in mental outlook), while the reform of the relations of production and of the superstructure in turn promoted the rapid development of the productive forces (great leap forward in the national economy). In such an extremely favorable situation, millions of women proceeded to the agricultural front and other posts. The broad masses of women rapidly and generally took part in social labor and demanded that we quickly solve the contradiction between collective production and individual consumption. At the same time, the new productive forces and relations of production (great leap forward and people's communes) provided excellent conditions for resolving this contradiction. Thus, several million public mess halls, nurseries, and kindergartens emerged. Freed from household chores, women took part in social labor. This collective labor and collective life as well as years of party education have brought about a tremendous change in the outlook of women. Whereas in the past their outlook was confined to their own families and they were narrow-minded, they now interest themselves in the affairs of the nation and take an active part in national construction. With their socialist consciousness markedly raised, they follow the direction of the party. All this marks a new stage for complete emancipation reached by the women's movement. Obviously, this is a product of the

general line, the great leap forward, and people's communes -- a product that is adapted to the new stage of socialist construction and to the new productive forces and the new relations of production. This marked change in the social status of women makes it possible for them gradually to eliminate their political, ideological, cultural and professional backwardness left over from the past in the course of the continued leap forward in the national economy and to achieve complete emancipation of women along with the victory of socialism and Communism.

Organizations of the Federation of Women Should, on the Basis of the Task to Develop the National Economy as Set by the Party and State, Positively Arouse the Masses of Women to Participate in the Mass Movement to Increase Production and Practice Economy Centered Around Technical Innovation and Revolution

The problem of our national economy in 1960 is to carry out more satisfactorily the party's general line -- building socialism with more, faster, better, and more economical results by exerting utmost efforts and pressing ahead continually -- to carry out more satisfactorily the party's fundamental policy of developing industry and agriculture simultaneously, and to strive for a continued leap forward in the national economy on the basis of the continued great leap forward of 1958 and 1959. Compared with 1958 and 1959, the political, ideological, material, and technical conditions are more favorable in 1960 for a continuing leap forward. These conditions are:

First, the three banners of the general line, the great leap forward, and people's communes have entered deep into the minds of the people. Following the anti-rightist struggle waged within the party after the 8th plenum of the 8th Central Committee of the party, a new high tide instantly has appeared on the economic front and on other fronts. All the cadres and the masses have gained a wealth of experience through positive practice and the learning of lessons by negative example. They have gained a deeper insight into the correctness of the general line and are more confident of carrying it out.

Second, under the brilliant guidance of the general line, the working people of China display a still greater activity and creativeness. On the fronts of industry, communications, finance and trade, and capital construction, an "initial victory" was won early this year and efforts are being exerted to win "victories every month" and "victories in all fields." On the agricultural front, 70 million people are engaged in water conservancy construction; hog-raising is being developed to accumulate manure; field management is better than in the past two years. All peasants of China are striving for a harvest richer than that of 1958 and 1959.

Third, as a result of their overhaul, consolidation and elevation, the people's communes have embarked upon the road to healthy development as regards production and distribution; they display greater superiority

and vitality. The people love the people's communes, regarding them as a "ladder" leading to the Communist paradise.

Fourth, capital construction of industry, agriculture, communications and transport last year took a bigger leap forward compared with the previous year. This year, capital construction is larger in scale than it was last year. The production capacity newly added will create better material and technical conditions for a continued leap forward in the national economy this year and thereafter.

Fifth, industrial aid to agriculture will far exceed that for any of the past ten years. The mechanical power for agriculture and the rolled steel used for making agricultural machinery and farm tools will be increased to a considerable extent. The area of mechanized farming, drainage and irrigation will rapidly be expanded. This will enable agro-technical transformation to take a big step forward.

Sixth, the working people of China are developing technical innovation and technical revolution during the increase-production and practice-economy campaign. A mass campaign for technical innovation and technical revolution centered around mechanization, semi-mechanization, automation, and semi-automation is spreading to all parts of China. This campaign is more extensive, successful, and stable than it was last year. This will gradually raise labor productivity and insure overfulfillment of the production and construction plans. Cultural revolution is rising along with the upsurge of technical revolution.

Needless to say, we are likely to run into difficulties and new problems in the course of our continued leap forward. But we have acquired political, ideological, material and technical conditions as mentioned above and all people of our country are, with unrivaled confidence, overcoming difficulties and continuing the advance.

Our Federation of Women should, on the basis of the tasks proposed by the party and state for the development of the national economy, mobilize women to take an active part in the mass campaign for production increase and economy centered around technical innovation and technical revolution; successfully run the collective welfare undertakings and social service undertakings and go a step further to socialize household labor; endeavor to guide women to heighten their political and ideological consciousness and raise their technical and cultural levels; and contribute more to the continued leap forward in 1960 and to the consolidation and elevation of people's communes.

To make a good job of the abovementioned work, I have the following three suggestions to make:

Respond with Full Resolve to the Leadership of the Party Central Committee and Party Committee on Various Levels and Enable Women's Work to be Resolute, Good, and Timely in Line With Party Demands

First, absolute obedience to the leadership of the party is a fundamental guarantee for women's work.

Women's federations at all levels must, under the absolute leadership

of the party, proceed with women's work and play their organizational role, firmly following the line, guiding principle, and policy laid down by the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and various concrete directives of the party committees at the corresponding levels. The party is the supreme commander of the Chinese people in revolution and construction. Political command means fundamentally command assumed by the party, command assumed by Marxism-Leninism, and command assumed by the ideology of Mao Tse-tung -- the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. For long years our women's organizations have obeyed the leadership of the party Central Committee and party committees at the corresponding levels and followed the party directives in our work; consequently, we have been successful in our work. This is the main aspect of the matter and the main stream in our work.

Our problem is how to live up to the demands of the party closely, satisfactorily, and promptly and to bring the organizational role of women's federations into fuller play. The key to this problem, in my opinion, lies in our wholehearted obedience to the leadership of the party center and party committees at corresponding levels and in our active work. Cadres of our women's federations studied and carried out the line, guiding principle, and policy of the party; but quite a number of cadres did not sufficiently study and comprehend the line, guiding principle, and policy of the party with the result that a satisfactory implementation of the party line, guiding principle, and policy was hindered in our work. We must rectify this drawback from now on, seriously study and repeatedly discuss the party documents, carefully read all important editorials published by the Jen-min Jih-pao, Kung Chi, and other party periodicals, and deeply imbibe the spirit and substance of the party line, guiding principle, and important policies before we can carry them out well in our work, improve the political and ideological character of our work, raise our leadership level, and make a good job of women's work.

Our Federation of Women in various regions must, with an open mind, draw on the advanced experience in women's work and strive to raise and improve our work. We cannot confine ourselves to or rest content with the experience of one locality. Women's federations on the one hand and the people's organizations and other working units of the other, under the leadership of the party committee at the same level, should learn from each other, cooperate with each other, jointly set the masses in motion, and fulfill the party's tasks with concerted efforts.

Further, we must regularly and purposefully go to the masses and into the thick of reality and resolutely carry out the decision of the party Central Commission requiring leading cadres to work among the masses for four months. As ordinary laborers, we must form a compact with the masses and familiarize ourselves with the feelings and sentiments of the masses. Our women's federations have broad contacts with the masses including women and children under seven years of age, who account for more than half the total population. We must therefore intensify investigations,

acquaint ourselves with the masses' state of mind and demands, pay close attention to discovering and fostering new things among the masses, sum up new experiences, uncover new problems, put forward new proposals, exert efforts to the utmost and work in an active manner.

Mass Work Among Women at this Time Should Continue to Center on Production, With Attention to Living Conditions and Study

Second, what should be given importance in the mass work among women? Long years of experience and the present circumstances indicate that importance should still be given to production and to living conditions and study, centered around production. This work is aimed at mobilizing women further to promote a continual leap forward in socialist construction, at raising the socialist and Communist consciousness of the women masses, at consolidating the people's communes, and at preparing conditions for speeding up the transition of people's communes from the basic ownership by individual brigades to the basic ownership by the communes as a whole.

(1) Working women on each front of industrial and agricultural production and socialist construction should be encouraged to exert utmost efforts and to take an active part in the production-increase and economy campaign, centered around technical innovation and technical revolution.

We have fulfilled, with great success, our historic mission of mobilizing women to take part in social labor. As borne out by facts, mobilizing women to take part in social labor has played a great role in promoting a high-rate in socialist construction. Besides, it has remolded and is remolding women and is greatly changing the public view of women. Our present task is to go a step further to mobilize all women with labor power to take part in social labor and constantly to elevate their role in industrial and agricultural production and construction. Chairman Mao told us: "It is of momentous significance to mobilize the female masses to take part in productive activities in order to build the grand socialism." "For all woman laborers to join the labor front -- such a demand should be met within the shortest time possible." For the present, we in cities should, according to the plans and arrangements made by local party committees, actively and step by step organize dependents of workers and woman inhabitants to take part in street industries and in collective welfare undertakings and social service undertakings that serve production. Our urban women's federations must devote greater efforts to this work.

Regarding women engaged in industrial and agricultural production and working in various departments of the national economy, we should continue to encourage them to exert utmost efforts and take a more intelligent part in labor, and promote the integration of practical, hard, and skilled work. For the present, we should make a special point of mobilizing women to take an active part in the production-increase and economy campaign centered around technical innovation and technical

revolution. The technical level of our country is still very low. Agricultural production is in the main done with hand labor. Hand operations account for about 30 percent in modernized big enterprises and about 70 percent in street industries. Moreover, the greater part of the workers spread over the hand-operation departments are women. Production efficiency can be raised several times or scores of times through technical innovation and technical revolution. Furthermore, technical innovations and technical revolutions can lesson manual labor. Thus, this is the key to a continuing leap forward in production as well as a pressing demand of the female masses.

Our women's federations should, under the single leadership of party committees at corresponding levels, guide women to overcome self-abasement and conservatism, to make heroic determinations, to set their minds free, to think, speak, and act with courage and daring, and to innovate things and create things constantly. They should create things out of nothing, develop things from humble beginnings, adopt modern methods if possible and local methods if modern methods are not possible, and adopt both local and modern methods of production. The main thing to do is to achieve, through our own efforts, the technical innovation and technical revolution centered around mechanization and semi-mechanization, and to raise labor productivity in every possible way. Preparations are under way to provide agriculture with water conservancy works and to achieve mechanization and electrification of agriculture. Our women's federation must take an active part in this work, study and accumulate experiences in mobilizing women to take part in the agrotechnical transformation movement, and energetically assist the departments concerned in training women as technical persons and machine operators.

At the same time, we must pay close attention to the protection of women laborers and see that they are in good health and safe. We must pay close attention to women during their menstruation, pregnancy, child-birth, and nursing periods and see that women do no heavy work, do not expose themselves to cold water, and do not work at night during their menstruation and pregnancy periods and that they take a certain amount of leave before and after child-birth. Where possible, working conditions should be improved and measures taken to protect woman laborers in the light of local conditions. Labor and rest should be rhythmically combined so that labor is tempered with ease.

Go a Step Further to Socialize Household Labor and Transform Scattered, Multifarious, and Stultifying Household Labor into Collective Undertakings of the Socialist Economy

(2) Successfully run the collective welfare and social service undertakings, gradually pass over from organizing main household labor to all-round organization of collective life, go a step further to socialize household labor, and transform scattered, multifarious and stultifying household labor into collective and large-scale undertakings of the Socialist economy.

Our principle for raising the people's living standard is to develop collective welfare undertakings and increase individual income simultaneously at present, and gradually to make the collective way of life the main mode of life in the socialist society of the future. The collective welfare and social service undertakings are an inevitable product of a highly developed socialist and collective production and are highly significant in so far as promotion of socialist construction, consolidation, and elevation of people's communes and development of one's collectivism are concerned. In particular, the collective welfare and social service undertakings lend themselves greatly to the further emancipation of woman laborers and create more favorable conditions under which women can devote themselves to social labor, study politics and culture, and take part in technical innovation and technical revolution. Thus, the collective welfare and social service undertakings are concerned with both livelihood and production and are an indispensable part of a highly developed socialist production. They promote each other instead of opposing each other. The people in general and women in particular love these undertakings.

In running the collective welfare and social service undertakings, the thing to be done at present is to make all-round arrangements for the people's livelihood. We should continue to develop and run successfully public mess halls, nursing rooms, day nurseries, kindergartens, service stations, maternity hospitals, homes for the aged, and so on, and strive to improve the service quality and expand the scope of service. Simultaneously with this, we should strive to develop collective welfare and social service undertakings in diverse forms and at different scales and standards in order to meet, as far as possible, the needs of different persons, different seasons, and different production pursuits. Moreover, political and ideological education should be intensified continuously among the women working in these collective welfare and social service undertakings. Promotion of innovated tools and technical innovation is the main measure to insure successful running of these undertakings. Our women's federations should in particular assist the departments concerned in training nurses and kindergarten teachers, in developing schools for training child's nurses and normal schools for training children's teachers, in training qualified nurses and kindergarten teachers, and in raising the professional level of nursing rooms, day nurseries, and kindergartens so as to insure that children are brought up in a better way than at home.

Mobilize Women to Take an Active Part in Political Study, In Order Uninterruptedly to Raise their Socialist and Communist Consciousness and Uninterruptedly Raise their Cultural and Scientific Levels

(3) Mobilize women to take an active part in political studies in order uninterruptedly to raise their socialist and Communist consciousness. Take an active part in the anti-illiteracy campaign and spare-time studies, in order to raise their cultural and scientific levels.

The most active factor in the productive forces is man, and development of man's activity and creativeness in production is the key to high-speed development of productions. Both political and ideological education and material incentives play an active role in stimulating the enthusiasm of the people. Our principle is to give the political and ideological education the primary importance, and material incentives the secondary. Chairman Mao told us: "Ideological work and political work remain forever the soul and command in all kinds of work." We must, therefore, mobilize women to take an active part in political studies, constantly guide women to raise their socialist and Communist consciousness, and bring into play women's high-degree consciousness and enthusiasm. Undue stress on material benefits to individuals is completely wrong because it will lead itself to the growth of bourgeois individualism.

The main purpose of political studies at the moment is to enlighten women on the general line and to enable them to carry it more successfully, support the big leap forward and people's communes, follow firmly the socialist road, and see clearly the great target of Communism. At the same time, it must be brought home to women that, if socialism is to be built at a great tempo and if we are to pass over to Communism, they must fully show a Communist labor spirit and perform labor heroically regardless of remunerations and conditions of work; they must subordinate personal, immediate, and partial interests to the collective, long-range, and whole interests. They must continue to carry out the policy of building the country, and running all undertakings and household affairs by industry and thrift, and enlarge upon the fine tradition of arduous struggle. To this end, women must be continually mobilized to join the socialist education campaign, which is gaining momentum and, on this basis, to study Chairman Mao's works.

It is of considerable importance to help women constantly to raise their cultural and scientific levels. It will help women study political theories and carry out technical innovation and technical revolution and will narrow down the difference between mental labor and physical labor. Woman illiterates still make up the majority of illiterates at present. In view of this, our women's federations must place on their order of the day the mobilization and organization of women to study culture and science. The Central Committee has directed us to fulfill the anti-illiteracy target among young people basically in 1962. We must assist the departments concerned in mobilizing and organizing young woman illiterates and exert tireless efforts to fulfill this target ahead of schedule. Those women who have shaken off illiteracy should be encouraged to "hurry on without stopping" by attending primary, secondary, and even higher spare-time schools, raising their cultural level step by step, and boldly carrying out scientific research. Moreover, necessary conditions should be created for women to take part in studies. We must also encourage women to take part in cultural and sports activities and improve the constitution of women.

In order to make a good job of the three phases of work mentioned above, it is necessary for women's federations to follow the mass line and launch a mass movement. Mass movement is the most fundamental way of carrying out the party's general line as well as the most important duty of our women's federations. We must continue to exert efforts to mobilize woman masses to join the mass movement on the basis of the party's line, guiding principle, and policy. Experience tells us that one successful method of mobilization is to encourage the advanced, fixed models and to stimulate enthusiasm. Since the great leap forward, women's federations, under the absolute leadership and unified arrangements made by party committees of corresponding levels, have launched red-banner-bearer movements, skilled-girls' movements, and crack-women movements, and built women's experimental plots and high-yield land. These campaigns have played a conspicuous part in stimulating the enthusiasm of women, increasing their confidence, and helping the backward catch up with the advanced. Women have been more extensively mobilized to join the socialist emulation drive and fulfill the central tasks of the party. We may carry on with these movements.

Moreover, our women's federations must assist the relevant quarters in promoting and training woman cadres more systematically and deliberately. These woman cadres should be boldly assigned to leadership posts so as to swell our ranks of cadres and carry out more extensive mobilization of women.

In Order to Do a Good Job in Woman's Work, Women's Federation Cadres in General and Leading Cadres in Particular Must Adhere to Political Leadership, Proceed from the Over-all Situation, and Attain All-Round Development

Thirdly, to enable women's federations to do women's work successfully under the leadership of party committees, our women's federation cadres in general and leading cadres in particular must adhere to political leadership, proceed from the over-all situation, and attain all-round development.

In the first place, we must study seriously Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's works, deeply comprehend and firmly carry out the party's line, guiding principles, and policies, and constantly raise our political, ideological, and theoretical levels. Under the brilliant leadership of the party and Chairman Mao, our people have won a great victory in the people's democratic revolution and socialist revolution and brought about a new situation in which socialism is being built at a fast tempo; it is a victory of Marxism-Leninism in China and a victory of the Mao Tse-tung thought. The Mao Tse-tung thought is an example of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution and construction; it is a developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism based on a summing-up of the experiences acquired in the practice of our revolution and construction, a guide to Chinese revolution, and is a very valuable part of the treasury of international Marxism-Leninism.

In our study of Chairman Mao's works, we must first of all learn Chairman Mao's firm stand of the proletariat, establish the proletarian world view, and reform the bourgeois world outlook. We should learn Chairman Mao's scientific attitude and method of strictly following materialistic dialectics, grasp the substance and inner connections of things, deeply comprehend the party's line, guiding principles, and policies, and study a series of important problems in our revolution and construction. We should study Chairman Mao's idea about integration of the theory of uninterrupted revolution with the theory of development of revolution by stages, and fully display the spirit of uninterrupted revolution. In particular, we should learn his attitude of fostering and helping new things. We should learn Chairman Mao's attitude toward the revolutionary mass movement and his mass line method of work. We should firmly rely on the people and establish the conviction that the creative power of the people is inexhaustible and that as long as we rely on the people and develop mass movements under the strong leadership of the party, we shall always be victorious. Our leading cadres in particular must realize that only when we are armed with the ideology of Mao Tse-tung can we understand theoretically that the party's general line for socialist construction is the only correct line during the period of our socialist construction and can we carry out firmly the party's line, guiding principles, and policies, stamping out the influence of right opportunism. And only when we use the weapon of the Mao Tse-tung thought can we wage a determined struggle against modern revisionism.

In the second place, we must not confine ourselves to the small circle of women's work. In our work we must proceed from the central tasks of the party and from the over-all situation of socialist construction. We must make a good job of women's work and promote the realization of women's complete emancipation. Our cadres engaged in women's work must deeply realize that the emancipation of women is part of the party's cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction and that the emancipation of women can continue to advance only when the socialist revolution and socialist construction continue to advance. Speaking about women's participation in social labor, our women's federations strived, after the founding of the People's Republic of China, to carry out the policy of mobilizing women to take part in production; during the period of economic rehabilitation and socialist transformation and the early period of socialist construction, the number of women participating in social labor increased by two million and several hundred thousand persons during the eight years from 1949 to 1957. In 1958, when the party laid down the general line, took a great leap forward, and formed the people's communes, the number of woman workers and office employees increased by more than four millions and almost all the rural women physically fit for work performed labor in people's communes. It is clear that, without the great victory of the general line, big leap forward, and people's communes, we could not have mobilized women so extensively to take

part in social labor in a big country with so large a population. Therefore, if we are to make a good job of women's work and achieve complete emancipation of women, we must strenuously carry out the general line, take a great leap forward, and develop people's communes. We must proceed from the over-all situation of socialist construction and from the central tasks of the party, and take an active part in the central tasks and serve the central tasks; we must not confine ourselves to the small circle of women's work. In view of this, we cadres engaged in women's work must gain an all-round development, pay constant attention to the political situation at home and abroad, acquaint ourselves with the state of economic construction, study and comprehend the state policies in the political, economic, cultural, and educational fields, and interest ourselves in the progress of the international Communist movement and the world peace movement. If we take a longer and broader view and are more political-minded, the political and ideological character of our work will be constantly raised to meet the demand of the party.

We must, in the spirit of Communist cooperation, strive to cooperate with all the organizations and departments concerned, especially with the trade unions, Young Communist League organizations, and the departments of finance and trade, education and public health. To ensure better cooperation, we must first learn with an open mind from the other side. In particular, we should learn from trade unions and Young Communist League organizations; we should also learn from the other people's organizations and working departments led by the party. Everyone and all are to cooperate in mobilizing the masses and fulfilling the central tasks of the party, playing their best part and taking account of their characteristics.

Woman Masses have Their Special Problems Which Should
Receive Special Attention from Cadres of Women's Fed-
erations In Order to Promote Further Emancipation of
Women

My reiteration of the abovementioned points does not signify that our women's federations have no jobs of their own. As a matter of fact, with the socialist construction advancing by leaps and bounds, our responsibility for mobilizing women is heavy and the work of our women's federations is rich in substance. Meanwhile, at the present stage, the woman masses have their special problems which should receive special attention from cadres of our women's federations, who must keep the party committees informed of the new conditions and problems confronting woman masses, put forward suggestions on how to expand women's work, and promote further emancipation of women. If we do not interest ourselves in the women's problems, do not mentally accept women's work, and do not mentally accept women's work, and do not make a good job of our work, it would mean failure to carry out the tasks assigned by the party and the people. We must carry on our work over long periods of

time and to the end. My aim of repeatedly calling upon cadres of women's federations to study theories, interest themselves in politics, proceed from the over-all situation, gain an all-round development, and achieve large-scale cooperation is to raise the political and ideological character of women's work, to raise the leadership level of our cadres, to carry out the party's general line, guiding principle, and policy more successfully, to make a good job of women's work, and to become promoters of socialist construction.

We are not confronted with an infinitely favorable situation. Internationally, the East wind blows hard while the West wind goes down, and socialism is getting better, while imperialism is getting worse every day. At home, the continuing leap forward in the national economy is a matter of foregone conclusion. It is our profound belief that under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, our people will certainly be able to build our country in a not too long period of time into a strong socialist country with modern industry, agriculture, science, and culture and will then continue to forge ahead and achieve the eventual target of Communism. Our women cadres will certainly, through continued work and study, train themselves as all-round cadres versed in politics, economics, culture and science, and experienced in actual struggle. Our woman masses will certainly, through the practice of productive labor, go a step further to elevate their economic status, thereby giving all-round development politically, ideologically, culturally, scientifically and technically and achieving complete emancipation. It is hoped that all will display a still greater zeal and work hard to build socialism and fulfill the great ideal of Communism.

II. THE MASS MOVEMENT UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF MAO TSE-TUNG IDEOLOGY

[Following is a translation of the preface written by Li Fu-ch'un to the book, "Red Banner Bearers Who Carry Out the General Line." The preface was published in the Jen-min Jih-pao, Peiping, 28 February 1960, p 2.]

Following the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the republic, the Central Committee and the State Council convened the national conference of advanced groups and advanced workers in the fields of industry, communications and transportation, capital construction, finance, and trade. At this national conference of heroes, the outstanding representatives present the great achievements of 1958 and 1959 in the great leap forward. These great achievements showed the tremendous strength of the mass movement under the guidance of the ideas of Mao Tse-tung, which combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The accomplishments of outstanding groups and workers arouse our enthusiasm and convince us that only by truly grasping and using Mao Tse-tung's ideas can we correctly comprehend party leadership, correctly comprehend the way to carry out the party's general line, correctly organize a great leap forward in production and construction, correctly bring forth the incomparable superiority of the people's communes, and promote the revolutionary mass movement, moving uninterruptedly from high-tide to new high-tide and from victory to new victory.

The mass movement under the guidance of the ideas of Mao Tse-tung is permeated with the spirit of uninterrupted revolution. In the class struggle and the struggle for production, we advocate both the theory of revolutionary development by stages and the theory of uninterrupted revolution. We think that socialism and Communism are two qualitatively different stages; but we also recognize that they are not, and must not be, separated by a great wall. We Communists and the working class as a whole have as the ultimate aim in our revolution the attainment of Communist society. Communism has the highest benefits for the working class and the laboring people. We are never satisfied with what has already been achieved. We always inspire the masses by pointing to the highest aim of the revolution and educate them in the spirit of Communism. On the basis of the uninterrupted elevation of the consciousness of the masses, we uninterruptedly point the high revolutionary zeal of the masses toward new goals of struggle. The party's general line of going all out, aiming high, and achieving greater, faster, better, and more economical results to build socialism is the embodiment of this spirit of uninterrupted revolution. We must, therefore, constantly educate the masses firmly to adopt for themselves the heroic and magnificent aims of the working class and to carry out persistent struggle for the lofty cause of completing the building of socialism and attaining Communism. This is the proletarian world outlook. With this world

outlook and the spirit of uninterrupted revolution we can have revolutionary fervor, free our minds from superstition, fight right-deviationist tendencies, carry out the technical and cultural revolution, continuously transform the political and ideological characteristics of people, transform the backward, poor, and blank situation, change the rules and regulations which handicap production, and blaze the way for the development of the productive forces of society, creating ample spiritual and material conditions for the completion of building socialism and the realization of Communism. The experiences and achievements of the outstanding groups and outstanding workers fully reflect the great vitality of this spirit of uninterrupted revolution. They use this spirit of uninterrupted revolution to bring forth wisdom in which the working class is not deficient, to demonstrate the soft but tough authority and influence of the working class, and to reveal the character to struggle for Communism possessed by the working class. Accordingly, all difficulties confronting them will be overcome one by one. Our cause, too, will move from having no achievements to having some achievements, from small things to big things, from few things to many things, from hand-operation to mechanization, from mechanization to automation, as we climb to the top of the lofty peak of science, technology, and culture. Backward ideas, backward techniques, backward culture, and backward social customs are now being rapidly transformed. The dried-out ideas of weakness and indolence have already been rejected by the majority of personnel in word and deed, and the fighting attitude of the Communist has already become the standard which motivates the actions of our masses as the intensely spirited mass movement moves along. Only with the revolutionary fervor of going all out and by displaying a high degree of Communist spirit can we carry high aloft the red banner of the general line, oppose right deviations, and free our minds from superstition. We definitely will be able, in the not too distant future, to build our country into a strong socialist nation with modern industry, modern agriculture, and a modern science and culture.

The guiding principle of the mass movement under the guidance of the ideas of Mao Tse-tung is the mass line of the party. The masses of the people are the creators of human history; Comrade Mao Tse-tung has explained this point in many of his works. In his article, "Introducing a Cooperative," he explained more clearly that, "In addition to the leadership of the party, 600,000,000 people constitute a decisive factor. When there are many people, there is much discussion, fervor is high, and energy is enormous." Our enterprises, particularly the advanced enterprises adhering to the instruction of the party and Chairman Mao, have insured the rapid advance of our cause by having confidence in and relying on the masses, first of all the masses of the activists, front-rank elements, and outstanding groups. Precisely because scope has been given to these outstanding workers and groups, who play the role of pacesetters, that advanced experience has quickly become the wealth of the whole of society and the ranks of outstanding

workers are expanding daily. This, in turn, has enriched the advanced experience. So the process goes on unceasingly and the movement surges ahead with ever greater vitality, wave on wave. "From the masses, to the masses, getting concentrated and sending down resolve" -- these are the brilliant mass line directives for the mass movement under the guidance of the ideas of Mao Tse-tung. Even since the rectification movement in enterprises in 1958, there have been new developments in the style of work of this mass line in many advanced enterprises. Thorough implementation of the party's line has resulted in great blooming and contending, great debate, and the posting of large-character posters, as well as in new forms of labor competition, such as large-scale cooperation in work and technical demonstration competitions. These methods, systems, and forms served as effective guarantees for the uninterrupted encouragement of the masses in going all out, for concentrating the wisdom of the masses, for solving production difficulties, for creating miracles in production, for transforming the features of these enterprises, and for expanding the movement of technical innovation and technical revolution. The party's general line for building socialism, personally drawn up by Chairman Mao, and the series of policies of walking on two legs are the embodiment of the party's mass line to the highest degree. By thoroughly carrying out the general line and the series of policies, we can bring the positive elements into play in all spheres. The simultaneous development and combination of industry and agriculture, heavy and light industries, central and local enterprises, big, medium-sized, and small enterprises, and modern and simple, local methods has enabled the workers of all trades to display their initiative and ingenuity, bringing forward thousands upon thousands of outstanding groups and workers and creating a great change in the national economy.

The mass movement under the guidance of the ideas of Mao Tse-tung uninterruptedly develops under the guidance of the outlook and method of dialectical materialism. The party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have incessantly taught us that we must look at problems from the developmental viewpoint and not the static viewpoint, from an all-round viewpoint and not a superficial viewpoint, from the aspect of the essence of things and not from the aspect of their outward manifestations. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us that we must examine the intrinsic contradictions of things and find different solutions for contradictions of different kinds. In the mass movement, we have correctly handled a series of contradictions under the leadership of the party and in accordance with the teaching of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This accounts for the rapid advance of the movement. For example, in the relations between the political and the material, the principle has been observed of putting politics in command while not overlooking material encouragement. In dealing with the relations between the advanced and the backward, there is the principle of learning from and helping one another and overcoming one's own weakness by learning from others' merits, for the enhancement of all. Difficult problems are tackled in the spirit of belittling them strategically while giving great thought

to them tactically. In the matter of reforming the system of regulations in enterprises, we use the method of dropping some and retaining others, enabling the integration of collective leadership with the mass movement to take place. As for guidance in the mass production movement, we adhere to the principle of integrating labor with leisure and wave-like advance. In the matter of technical innovations, great revolutionary fervor is combined with scientific analysis. In the relations between production and living standards, both are taken into consideration in accordance with the principle of gradually improving living standards on the basis of the development of production. The party's general line for building socialism is the embodiment to a high degree of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's dialectical materialist thinking. It closely integrates the highly developed mass subjective activity with the objective possibilities of the rapid growth of the national economy. In this way, we can bring into play the initiative of all elements, firmly maintain the labor enthusiasm of the masses, and insure the continuous leap forward tempo of industrial and agricultural production. In sum, experiences of the advanced enterprises amply prove that by using dialectical materialism in guiding the mass movement, many types of contradictions can be solved correctly, giving rise to a mass movement of considerable variety in form and liveliness in action, to a mass enthusiasm that is unprecedented in intensity of fervor and resolve, to an unprecedentedly flourishing, grand environment for our country's socialist construction.

The mass movement under the guidance of the ideas of Mao Tse-tung has already opened the most beautiful blossoms and produced the richest fruit. In the past, the mass movement under the guidance of the ideas of Mao Tse-tung has already attained the great victory in the big leap forward; hereafter, we are confident that if we resolutely, and with greater self-consciousness, grasp the ideas of Mao Tse-tung we will definitely attain even greater victories. Let us study the experiences of the conference of heroes and bravely advance under the red banner, held even higher, the red banner of the ideas of Mao Tse-tung!

(Editor's note: The book "Red Banner Bearers Who Carry Out the General Line," which was edited by the representative conference of outstanding units and outstanding workers in socialist construction in industry, communications, machine-building, finance, and trade in 1959, will be published in two volumes in March by the Workers Publishing House. The first volume contains advanced experiences of 60 outstanding units to the national conference of heroes, with 45 editor's notes commenting and elaborating on these experiences. The second volume contains letters from nine outstanding units and 46 outstanding workers, with 12 editor's notes elaborating on the significance of the deeds of these outstanding units and personalities.)