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- COMMUNIST CHINA -

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I. THE "SMALL FOREIGN GROUPS" ARE PROMOTING THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD IN THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

Pages 1-6 Wang Ho-shou

The iron and steel "Small Foreign Groups" that have emerged in the process of the Great Leap Forward in the iron and steel industry represent a great innovation in the period of our country's socialist reconstruction. Like many an innovation in our country's socialist reconstruction, their emergence is due to the great creativity of the masses of our country under the guidance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Since their emergence despite incessantly encountering the willful caricature and blasphemy of the enemies of socialism and the assault and opposition of rightist opportunist elements, they have at once shown their great vitality and revealed their unique role in the overall socialist construction. Within the short interval of 1 to 2 years, the "Small Foreign Groups" have evolved from the foundations of the "Small Native Groups," and have speedily become a great force on the industrial front. Recognizing their unlimited prospects, it is exactly like picturing the rising sun in the morning air. In the last 2 years the "Small Foreign Groups" have already exerted great influence in the iron and steel industry, as well as in the Great Leap Forward in the whole national economy. The "Small Foreign Groups" have not only played an important role in developing the productivity and raising the volume of output of the iron and steel industry, they have also exerted a great effect in correcting inaccurate forms of consciousness and in adjusting production relations. It is on this account that the emergence of the "Small Foreign Groups" has enabled the iron and steel industry to develop with the high speed of the Great Leap Forward, and thereby to quickly change its features.

1

The last 2 years have fully confirmed that the "Small Foreign Groups" have occupied a status of great importance in the process of the Great Leap Forward in our country's iron and steel industry.

In the period of the First Five-Year Plan, our country's iron and steel output increased from 1.35 to 5.35 million tons, an average yearly increase of 800,000 tons and a gradual yearly rate of increase of 31.7%. Of course this high rate of increase is undreamed of in any capitalist country. Many people have maintained that the annual rate of increase of 30.7% is the highest in the history of the development of our country's iron and steel industry; they have also maintained that as the basic

figures of steel output are great, it is impossible to maintain this rate of increase permanently or to better it. Therefore they have predicted that henceforth the annual increase of the iron and steel industry cannot be more than 20%, despite planning for the greatest speed of development.

Ever since the Party and the Central Government summoned the whole of the population to operate the iron and steel "Small Native Groups" and "Small Foreign Groups," however, not only has the average yearly rate of increase in the volume of steel jumped absolutely to over 4 million tons, the average gradual rate of increase per year was over 60% in 1958 and 1959. Thus our country's iron and steel industry has moved from one high-speed leap forward to another "high-speed great leap forward." The emergence of this "high-speed great leap forward" is due to the important function performed by the "Small Foreign Groups." According to the estimate of the whole country's total iron and steel output, the production of pig iron by medium and small blast furnaces represented one half; the production of steel by medium and small Bessemer converters amounted to more than one third; and the iron ore and coke produced by the "Small Native Groups" and the "Small Foreign Groups" represented one half and three fourths respectively. Therefore it is clear that this new life force, the "Small Foreign Groups," is a very important material force in shaping "the high-speed great leap forward" in the iron and steel industry.

In the development of the iron and steel industry there is a problem which is as significant as the increase of high speed. The emergence of the small iron and steel industry enables us to solve more speedily this problem -- the distribution of the iron and steel industry. The iron and steel industry as bequeathed by the old China not only had a weak foundation, it was also irrationally distributed. After 3 years' recovery and the endeavors of the First Five-Year Plan, though the irrational distribution of our country's iron and steel industry underwent some changes, the problem has still not been basically solved. At the end of 1957, the volume of iron and steel output in the interior of our country was still very small; in many provinces and areas where the population was multitudinous and resources bountiful, there was a basic incapability of producing iron and steel or only the production of a very small amount. Respecting the problem of distribution, which is of strategic significance, hitherto some people maintained that it could not be solved even within 10 or 20 years. After the Great Leap Forward, simultaneously with the establishment of the "Large Foreign Groups," the whole country's provinces, municipalities, and autonomous areas exerted great efforts in setting up the "Medium and Small Foreign Groups" as strategic points of the iron and steel industry which quickly spread over the whole realm. Basically a

quick and economical way of solving the problem of distribution was found. At present the whole country has not only large modernized enterprises such as An [saddle] Steel, Wu [military] Steel, and Pao [covering] Steel, but also scores of medium iron and steel plants under construction, as well as small ones spreading like chessmen and scattering like stars everywhere in the process of growth. Though these medium and small iron and steel enterprises are still not complete at present, they can be quickly established as complete joint iron and steel enterprises. Having many "medium and small foreign groups" spread all over the country, we may be able to develop on this basis a series of "Large Foreign Groups." That is to say, the "Small Foreign Groups" have accelerated the process of solving the problem of the strategic distribution of the iron and steel industry. In the last 2 years the "Small Foreign Groups" have made an important contribution to the speedy training of a strong technical cadre and to the technical-revolution movement. Since the emergence of the "Small Foreign Groups," they have, within 2 years, enabled some million peasants to be transformed into iron and steel workers, have trained tens of thousands of skilled iron and steel workers, technical cadres, and managing cadres. The technical personnel who have been trained in the mass movement are much greater in number than the number trained in the last 8 years.

A special feature should be specifically mentioned here. In the past year the "Small Foreign Groups" have demolished technological theories which have been held classical and "authoritative" by many great enterprises, and in the field of metallurgy many technical achievements and technological theories have been created. As regards the small blast furnaces, small coke ovens, small converters, as well as small blooming mills, small mines, and small refractory-material plants, new and important accomplishments have been made. The emergence of the new technical achievements has almost doubled the output, saved raw materials, fuels, and various kinds of resources, and greatly improved the quality. The profound significance of the technical achievements of the "Small Foreign Groups" lies not only in the adaptability of the newly expounded technical theories to the "Small Foreign Groups" but also in their simultaneous adaptability to the "Large Foreign Groups." At present the "Large Foreign Groups" which have begun to make use of the new technical experiences accumulated by the "Small Foreign Groups" have obtained new achievements in production. Thus the "Small Foreign Groups" have virtually become heralds in promoting technical reform and technical revolution in the iron and steel industry.

Thus the iron and steel "Small Foreign Groups" already represent a newly born force which wields great influence in our country's iron and steel industry. They have already become an important force in the development of our country's iron

and steel industry. Had it not been for the operation of the "Small Native Groups" and the "Small Foreign Groups" by the whole of the people under the guidance of the Party's main lines and directions as regards "walking with both legs," it would not have been possible to secure the Great Leap Forward in the iron and steel industry.

2

The great contributions made by the "Small Foreign Groups" to the Great Leap Forward in the iron and steel industry are not limited to those mentioned above. From the more important and profounder viewpoint of revolutionary significance, the emergence of the "Small Foreign Groups" has smashed many obsolete conceptions hampering the development of the productive forces, changed incorrect forms of consciousness in the people, and thereby stirred up a revolution in the thought of the multitude of skilled workers, rendering anew their spirit and capabilities. From a long-range view, the "Small Foreign Groups" represent a great and significant force in promoting the high-speed development of the national economy as a whole.

Through the processes of the development of the "Small Native Groups" and the "Small Foreign Groups" we have begin to understand more and more deeply the great significance of the instruction to "walk with both legs," and to appreciate more and more deeply the profound meaning of this instruction in the development of the theory for our country's socialist reconstruction. When the Party, the Central Government, and comrade Mao Tse-tung issued the instruction to walk with both legs, many comrades still did not understand the important meaning of the "simultaneous operation of the foreign method of production and the native method of production," "the simultaneous operation of large enterprises and medium and small enterprises," "the simultaneous operation of the central industry and local industry," and the like in the over-all socialist reconstruction. They maintained partially and mechanically that "the larger the enterprises, the better, and the more foreign equipment, the better." Therefore they were basically opposed to a medium or small iron and steel industry of whatever description, and had no respect for the native method of production. However, only a little more than a year after the establishment of the "Small Foreign Groups," tens of thounds of cubic meters of blast furnaces, several hundred mines, and tens of thousands of small coke ovens and local coke ovens have been added. The productive capacities represented by these blast furnaces, mines, and the like are far more advanced than those attained at an expenditure of scores of years in the past. This fact cannot but make people realize that only through

the operation of the instruction to walk with both legs can the positive, revolutionary spirit of initiative of the multitudinous masses in socialist reconstruction be fully developed, can the positive factors of the various aspects be realized or the Great Leap Forward in socialist reconstruction be attained. The "Small Foreign Groups," despite production conditions far inferior to those of the "Large Foreign Groups," are making rapid progress in the improvement of quality and the reduction of costs. In output per cubic meter of volume, in the amount of iron produced in a day and a night, the small blast furnaces have taken one year to accomplish what hitherto took the large blast furnances 3 years. The technical and economic indexes of many small blast furnaces have caught up with and even surpassed those of the large blast furnaces. Confronted with these facts, those who maintained that the "Small Foreign Groups" could be speedy but not economical have changed their mind. These facts contribute to the bankruptcy of the theory of "the larger the enterprise, the better" as maintained partially and mechanically by some people.

Originally, the native and foreign, largeness or mediumness and smallness, are relative. The mutual dependence of these two phases is the objective law of the development of things. It is impossible to recognize the foreign and deny the native, or to accept largeness and deny the medium and the small. Moreover, what is known as "foreign" usually grows out of the "native," "largeness" always develops out of the medium and the small. After a thousand years, after even ten thousand years, there will still be "Small Native Groups" and "Small Foreign Groups," and there will still be the "combination of the native and the foreign," only they will differ in form and content from those of the present. The great functions exercised by the victorious development of the "Small Foreign Groups" have vividly testified to the fact that the instruction to "walk with both legs" is the correct road for our planned, proportionate, and high-speed construction of socialism.

The realization of the "Small Foreign Groups" has further testified that in industrial reconstruction it is correct to assume political leadership and to engage in the mass movement. It is a well-known fact that the actual practice of assuming political leadership and earnest participation in the mass movement are the basic principles for our Party in engaging in the revolutionary struggle. In the period of socialist reconstruction, however, a wrong conception is being produced. Some comrades maintain that industrial construction belongs to the category of the natural sciences and that the main problem for solution is that of technology; they maintain that industrial production is complex and that it requires highly centralized direction.

Therefore they maintain that the principles of socialist revolution, such as political leadership and the mass movement, are incompatible with industrial reconstruction. They maintain that in order to have good industrial reconstruction in our country, we have only to depand on the one-head system, on administrative orders, on regulations and institutions, on material incentives, and on a few technical experts and textbook formulas -- and not to rely upon political leadership nor the mass movement. Such biased and wrong thinking has hampered the masses, permitted no revolution, and thereby also hampered the development of the productive forces of the iron and steel industry. The rise of the "Small Foreign Groups" has effectively rebuked this wrong conception. For the "Small Foreign Groups" themselves are the products of the Party's main lines, the Great Leap Forward, and the creation of the world-shaking mass movement in iron and steel production in which the whole people engage earnestly. When thousands and millions of the masses responded to the call of the Party to change the situation of backwardness and to engage extensively in the iron and steel industry, all sorts of difficulties -- an insufficient accounting of resources, inadequate capital, lack of equipment and material, weak technology, etc. -- were incessantly overcome by the might of the mass movement. Simultaneously, under the guidance of the concept of political leadership, it has continuously corrected wrong ideas in the mids of the people, uninterruptedly corrected the people's thinking, and in this way greatly developed the collective wisdom and spirit of initiative of the masses. As compared to the singular dependence on the "Large Foreign Groups" in the past, all difficulties in reconstruction, in production, in technology, in quality, and the like, have been more readily solved in the enterprises participating in the mass movement. The experience of the "Small Foreign Groups" shows that under the system of socialism, no matter how complex the technics of industrial reconstruction, the main determinant in the development of production is not the raw material (given the proper material conditions) and a few technical experts, but primarily the multitudinous masses politically awakened to the highest degree. The iron and steel "Small Foreign Groups" created out of the political leadership and the mass movement have proved that ideological and political work are the safeguards for the completion of economic enterprises and technological work; they have proved that in order for the iron and steel industry to develop, it should engage extensively in the mass movement. In our country's iron and steel industry, as well as in all industrial reconstruction, the concept of correctly setting up political leadership and of earnestly engaging in the mass movement should be upheld, while the one-head system and the erroneous concept of depending solely on experts and noton "Reds," on

material incentives, and the like should be abolished. This represents a great revolution on the road to our country's industrial reconstruction, and this revolution is of inestimable significance for the high-speed development of our national economy.

The revolutionary spirit of initiative of the "Small Nonlocal Groups" in thinking daringly and acting daringly has provided our country's iron and steel industry with an example in learning about the movement for "getting rid of superstitions and the liberation of thought." Hitherto there were in existence many useless superstitions and dogmas on the iron and steel front. Such superstitions and dogmas have clouded the science and technology of industry, inducing faith solely in authority and not in the masses, faith solely in other people and lack of respect for ourselves, mere belief in textbooks with no attention to creativity. Adherents of such superstitions and dogmas regarded the formulas and conclusions advanced by "the authorities" as unchangeable through the ages, as something sacred and not to be violated. They had no courage to start a revolution, and permitted no one else to start one. To hold the masses' revolutionary tendencies in bondage they used as a pretext the assertion that "a man with only a 'peasant's degree' is not able to lead one holding a doctorate." For instance, in steel refineries, the workmen were not permitted to go beyond the scope specified in the textbook on steel refining; in the coke industry, there was superstitious belief in the so-called "authority" respecting the "time of coking" and the "blending of coal in the proper proportions," with no allowance for shortening the process of carbonization for changing "the blending of coal in the proper proportions"; and in the Bessemer process, there was superstition regarding "steel refining by oxygen," sufficient courage being lacking to conceive a better method; and so forth. That is to say, they regarded all the predeccesors' experiences and theories as unchangeable and perfect. Being conditioned by these metaphysical viewpoints, they refused to absorb or generalize new practices and experiences, or to respect the new creations of the masses. Thus they had bought for themselves many "charms for t tightening the fillet." However, the "Small Foreign Groups" with their short history, inadequate equipment, small number of personnel and inexperience, were able in last year's movements for technological reform and technological revolution to courageously demolish many theories which had been held by the people as "authoritative," to demolish obsolete metallurgical formulas and techniques and methods of production which had been in use for scores or hundreds of years, to create or begin creating a whole new theory of technology and new methods of production, to realize or begin realizing a great revolution in the technological history of metallurgy, resulting in the effective emancipation

of the productive capacities of the blast furnaces, converters, coke ovens and blooming mills, and bringing about a miracle of output.

Why are the "Small Foreign Groups" capable of performing so many miracles? Why have they become heralds of the technological revolution in the iron and steel industry? This is not due to the existence of more authorities and technological experts in the "Small Foreign Groups"; on the contrary, such have fundamentally been lacking. It is due to abiding by comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions regarding "getting rid of superstition and emancipating thought." In the realization of production and reconstruction they have had the courage to think and to act, to start a revolution, to draw upon the new experiences of the new practice. Though the "Small Foreign Groups" are small in size, crude in equipment, looked down upon as regards technology, they have no burden of obsolete thought, no incorrect airs or frames of mind free from preconceived ideas and superstitions, and thus filled with a revolutionary spirit of initiative. On the one hand, the "Small Foreign Groups" are full of high revolutionary ambitions and aspirations and operate under the correct ideological guidance in assuming the political leadership and engaging in the mass movement; on the other, they have got rid of superstitions, assembled concepts of great benefit, and learned with humble hearts. Thus the "Small Foreign Groups" have been capable of astounding achievements within a short time. For example, hitherto Tsingtao was known as a city which produced not a single ton of steel. In the last 2 years the iron and steel workers of Tsingtao did not pay any attention to the "prophecy" of the authority which compared them to a "chicken-egg-shell incapable of producing good steel." They cherished the revolutionary will of starting from nothing to increase the output of the converters, and to stir up a technological revolution. The result is the creation of a quick, economical and novel production technology that will set an example for the whole nation as regards the Bessemer process. The example of Tsingtao has convinced us that the revolutionary spirit of thinking and acting courageously and the emancipation of the people's consciousness exert a great effect on the development of production and technology.

The triumphant development of our iron and steel "Small Foreign Groups" is by no means accidental. It is the natural outcome of the blending of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete realization of China's reconstruction as creatively envisaged by comrade Mao Tse-tung.

As early as 1956 comrade Mao Tse-tung had expounded the importance of mobilizing all positive factors for accelerating socialist reconstruction. In 1957 comrade Mao Tse-tung had

pointed out more profoundly that between the socialist production relations and the productive forces, as well as between the superstructure and the economic basis, there was the phase of mutual adaptability as well as that of mutual contradictions. In order to correctly deal with these contradictions, comrade Mao Tse-tung had put forth a series of directions, policies, and measures. The principles of socialist reconstruction, based on the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism coupled with the concrete aims for the realization of our country's reconstruction, have exerted great influence in our socialist reconstruction. As indicated above, the all-Party and all-people's effective operation of the "Small Foreign Groups," the abolition of superstition, and the emancipation of thought have been tremendous motive forces in promoting the development of our country's productive power. Now let us see how the adjustment of the production relations effects the advancement of the productive forces. The extensive operation of the iron and steel "Small Foreign Groups" has basically changed the lukewarm operation of the iron and steel industry by a few. "Ownership" of the right to operate the iron and steel industry is being passed on down to the communes, districts, special areas, and provinces. After the adjustment of the production relations, each level, likened to "ample ground for the hero to exercise his gallantry," is capable of operating the iron and steel industry. The iron and steel industry has suddenly made the change from walking with one leg to walking with two, and the productive forces are being greatly liberated. Thus the "Medium Foreign Groups" and the "Small Foreign Groups" are extensively spreading, like spring bamboo shoots after a rain.

In conclusion, we are given to understand that the incessant growth of the productive forces will naturally force the production relations and the superstructure to undergo continuous reform, and the continuous reform of the production relation relations and the superstructure will in turn naturally promote the growth of the productive forces. This is the profounder significance of this innovation, the "Small Foreign Group." Here we clearly see the brilliance of thought of the great Mao Tse-tung.

3

Though our country's iron and steel industry has made great achievements in the Great Leap Forward in the last 2 years, at present the annual output of steel is only more than 10 million tons, far from satisfying requirements for a rapid development of the national economy. Therefore, on the iron and steel front the current task is to continue to maintain the high speed of the leap forward in order to catch up with and surpass England's iron and steel output within 10 years. Thereby we have to delve deeply into the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to follow his

directions as regards the production and reconstruction of the iron and steel industry. In view of the current concrete work, the realization of the following points is urgently needed.

1. Though the movements for technological reform and technological revolution in the "Small Foreign Groups" are at present at a very promising stage of development, they have actually manifested many deficiencies in technology. We have to have an incessant revolutionary spirit to go a step forward in strengthening the leadership of this movement to enable the "Small Foreign Groups" to continuously move forward on the technical basis already achieved in order to develop their pioneering role in the technological revolution of the iron and steel industry.

2. Out of thousands of "Small Foreign Groups" we must select those with better conditions to be gradually promoted to a higher level. We must expand their scales, and enable them to transform step by step into medium and small iron and steel joint enterprises, as well as to develop toward the direction of combined management. The small iron and steel plant may use its advantageous conditions to engage in the combined management of the building-materials, chemical-engineering, coal-mining, and similar small enterprises.

3. At present in many provinces and autonomous areas, the number of iron and steel "Small Foreign Groups" is comparatively small. In the next few years, the masses should continuously be motivated to further establish iron and steel "Small Native Groups" and "Small Foreign Groups."

4. We must systematically proceed with technological reconstruction of the "Small Native Groups" and the "Small Foreign Groups," and deal with the weak pints of our present mines, transportation, etc. We must simultaneously rouse the masses to launch an activation movement for developing the "Small Foreign Groups" so that they may catch up with the "Large Foreign Groups."

In the shining light of the great Mao, the flags of the iron and steel "Small Foreign Groups" are flying more and brightly. The future of the iron and steel "Small Foreign Groups" and "Large Foreign Groups" is brilliant and unlimited. Let us lift higher the Red Flag of the "Small Foreign Groups," and, for the sake of the struggle to win a great victory on the iron and steel front, revolutionize incessantly and leap forward incessantly!

II. EXTENSIVE OPERATION OF LOCAL RAILWAYS

Pages 7-12 Lu Cheng-ts'ao

At present, many localities throughout the country are engaging in the operation of small local and nonlocal railways. A mass movement for the extensive operation of local railways is being energetically launched. At the end of 1959 the whole country had already built or was in the process of building over 400 local railway lines totalling over 6,000 kilometers in length, of which over 2,400 kilometers are available for transportation. In the first quarter of this year over 1,500 kilometers were laid. Local railways are so designated as to be distinguished from the national ones. These railways are locally built, locally controlled, and on the whole responsible for local short-distance transportation and transportation within plants and mines. One section is the small local railway built of iron rails, and the other small nonlocal railway built of light steel rails. Of the locomotives used, some have gasoline engines, some diesel engines or reconstructed automobile engines, and some small steam engines. The existing local railways may in general be divided into three types: 1) comparatively short lines -- transportation lines in plants and mines, transit lines at wharves, and lines connecting short-distance transportation with long-distance transportation; 2) special lines used by industrial enterprises and branch lines servicing medium and small enterprises, plants, mines, and forests, mainly for transporting coke, rock, timber, iron ore, and other raw materials; 3) small railways in the stage of transition to large railways, temporarily laid with iron or steel tracks.

The local railways are the great achievement of the multitudinous masses in faithfully putting into practice the instruction to walk with both legs under the guidance of the main lines of socialist reconstruction. The extensive operation of local railways is a great event in the history of the development of railways in our country. It has opened up new avenues for the high-speed reconstruction of our country's railways.

New Stage in Railway Operation

Speaking of railway operation, an impression of this nature exists in the people's mind: railway engineering is a gigantic undertaking with complex equipment and high-level technology, and it can be managed only by the Ministry of Railways, the localities being incapable of this. After the Great Leap Forward, many events, especially the emergence of the local railways, demolished this mystical conception.

It is not strange that the people have cherished this conception. For the railways have always been operated solely by the Ministry of Railways. After the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic, during the period of the recovery of the national economy, and that of the First Five-Year Plan, the multitude of the masses participated in speedy repair and the setting up of new engineering technology. They quickly repaired the existing railways and laid new ones; they also increased tremendously the efficiency of transportation. However, the operation of the railways had still not passed beyond the monopolistic control of the Ministry of Railways. The 1958 Great Leap Forward in industry and agriculture put additional heavy pressure on railway transport. It was impossible to rely only on the existing some-million-strong railway technical cadre of the Ministry of Railways, for they were incapable of rising to the situation. Under these circumstances, all the local Party committees moved one step forward to strengthen their leadership over the railways, mobilizing some million people to participate in repair and transportation. In this way they basically concluded the stage of the monopolistic railway operation by one group, and entered into the stage of the masses' participation in railway operation with the railway technical cadre as the main body. It was in this period that the sprouts of the local railways began to shoot up. The people of Yu-hsien, Shansi Province, demolished superstitions; they thought and acted courageously; they cast their own rails and laid the first local railway. This railway, 1.7 kilometers long, is a bold trial, and it has set a model for the extensive operation of local railways.

Each locality learned of the experience of Yu-Hsien, and after the autumn of 1959 local railways gradually began to be developed. Hsin-Hsiang Special Area, Honan Province, has by trial and error devised a series of comparatively systematic directions and methods known as the "four self-sufficiencies," "five simultaneous tasks," regeneration through self-effort, high speed and economy, realization of the "three 'throughs.'" The so-called "four self-sufficiencies" are: no iron -- self-refining; no material -- self-discovering; no capital -- self-soliciting; no skill -- self-learning. The "five simultaneous tasks" are: carrying out simultaneously all the tasks of surveying, planning, rail casting, processing, utilizing. The "three 'throughs'" are: first, to get it through from the mines to the plants; from the coal mines to the stations; from the stations to the wharves; and then, going one step further, to link by rail hsien with hswien, hsien and commune railways at strategic points, in order to form a solid railway network. It is gratifying that not only the special areas and hsiens, but also the people's communes, operate railways. Having neither technology nor materials and very poor facilities, the People's Commune, Huai-Yuen

Hsien, Anhwei Province, with the will to work has operated a local railway 3 kilometers long. It is not uncommon to see that the medium and small plants and mines have built their own railways. The Mechanical Brick and Tile Plant in Hsieng-Tang, Honan, has not only built a 7-kilometer railway, it has also used coal dust in manufacturing railway sleepers. These have been produced in large quantity. These sleepers can be made anywhere. After the extension of local railways, a great deal of waste products can be utilized and much timber saved, creating very advantageous conditions for speedy railway development. All this fully confirms that the operation of railways is not too gigantic a task. Under the direction of the Party's leadership, taking the political initiative, depending on the masses, faithfully putting into practice the principle of regeneration by self-effort, adapting to local conditions with appropriate measures, and utilizing a available materials on the spot, the provinces, special areas, districts, communes, and medium and small mines and plants are able to operate the railways. The expanded operation of local railways has also begun to make extensive use of the railway technical cadre and the participation of the masses. This will fundamentally change the situation in our country's railway construction. Now it may be said that the new stage for the extensive operation of local railways through the masses' own efforts with the principle of regeneration by self-endeavor is being ushered in.

At present, the capacity for local operation of railways is becoming greater and greater. According to a preliminary statistical survey, this year it is planned to lay one million kilometers of local railways. This figure is by no means small. However, in a country as large as ours, the operation of the local railways is only just beginning. "A terrace of nine stories begins at an accumulation of earth; a hike of one thousand li begins at the feet." The future of the local railways is unfathomable. We may picture it thus: "trains shall run through all hsiens; every commune shall have its railway." In the not too distant future, say, 10 years or so, realization of this will be a possibility.

"Large, Medium, and Small"

The emergence of the local railways is assuredly not accidental. It reflects the need for the development of our productive forces. Under the guidance of the Party's main lines and directions for the simultaneous operation of several enterprises, our people have realized the Great Leap Forward in the national economy and accelerated the movement for the communalization of the people. In connection with the rapid development of industrial and agricultural production, and especially the exten-

sive operations of the "Small Foreign Groups" in the coal and iron industries and the expansion of the medium and small plants and mines, the volume of commodities transported has greatly increased and transportation must be speeded up to keep pace with the growth. Though the whole country has regularly organized a large short-distance transportation cadre, it is still unable to meet the requirements of production. Without railways, many small kilns, small mines, and forest areas are unable to transport coal, rock, and timber, and many useful things cannot be quickly turned into usable things. Some plants and mines, on account of their inability to import raw materials, are unable to fully develop their production capacities. The same condition is also found in the people's communes. The stronger and the more developed the people's communes, the greater the number of commodities to be transported. The people's communes are basic units of production of a composite character, consisting in general of several thousand to tens of thousands of households with several tens to hundreds of thousands of mow of land. They aim at engaging in comparatively large-scale hydraulic reconstruction, developing multiple management (food, cotton, oil, hemp, silk, tea, sugar, vegetables, tobacco, fruits, medical herbs, miscellaneous products) in agriculture, operating industry of large capacity, proceeding with the technical reconstruction of agriculture, and realizing the mechanization of agriculture step by step. Therefore the people's communes' need for transporting a large volume of commodities is very great. It is impractical to depend on backward means of transportation. If the strong labor force is used all the year round in transportation, transportation is attended to but production is neglected. In order to solve this contradiction, a good measure is the construction of railways. Large railways with a great capacity for transportation and high efficiency are the main force on our country's transportation front, and we should do our utmost to operate them. However, the construction of large railways requires high-level engineering, a great quantity of steel, timber, a lot of modern equipment, and a comparatively large amount of capital. Therefore it is still impossible to construct many large railways, and some localities have no need for them now. In localities where the transportation volume is still low, where the annual transportation volume is over 100,000 and below one million tons, it is not economical to construct large railways. The best method is to build small local and nonlocal railways compatible with the production of local medium or small industry and the people's communes. This kind of railway requires less material, is cheap in construction cost (about one tenth to one fifth of that of the large railways), and produces quicker results. It is more efficient than any other means of local transportation, entails less cost, less labor, and is capable of liberating the multitude of the masses from heavy physical labor.

It is subjected less to the influence of the seasons and weather, capable of running day and night, and quarantees the regular production of the local plants and mines. Now the majority of localities have their own refined iron and have acquired the technology of casting iron rails. They are well equipped with the material foundations for building local railways. With coal and iron, railways can be built. Henceforth the "Small Foreign Groups" of the coal and iron industries shall experience greater development, providing better conditions for building local railways. Simultaneously with the development of the people's communes, it is possible to unify the allocation of manpower and material power, which is more beneficial to the full mobilization of various positive factors, enabling thousands and millions of the people to demonstrate their abilities and to join the movement for the construction of local railways.

The problem is clear. The different types of industrial and agricultural industries require different types of transportation facilities. The socialist economy, which is an undivided entity, is composed of production, circulation, consumption, and other aspects. Transportation is the continuation of the productive process in the realm of circulation. If the transportation industry cannot keep pace with the requirements of industrial and agricultural development, it will hamper economic development. Naturally, if the scale of the transportation industry surpasses the practical needs of the socialist economy, it will also create great waste in social wealth. Thus the "large, medium, and small" industries should be commensurate with the scales of the "large, medium, and small" transportation industries. While there are industrial "Small Foreign Groups," there is a requirement for the corresponding development of the "Small Local" and "Small Nonlocal" railways; while the rural people's communes develop industrial and agricultural production, they also require the development of the small local and small nonlocal railways. Thus it is necessary to maintain appropriate relationships of general harmony between industrial and agricultural production and railway transportation. Conversely, the extensive construction of sm small local and nonlocal railways will also promote the development of industrial "Small Foreign Groups," especially the development of the coal and iron industries, enabling industrial development to be greatly accelerated and the distribution of industry to be more rational.

Some Different Ways of Looking at Things

Like the other new events, the local railways have evolved out of struggle. Brand new projects cannot be perfect. It is only natural that people have different ways of looking at them. At present there are people who still maintain a doubting attitude

toward the local railways.

Some people maintain that the local railway is not worthwhile, saying that, "the rails will be broken when the train runs over them, enslaving the people and wasting wealth." Of course rails have broken in the past and this will happen in the future. This is not surprising. Everything is generally passing from imperfection to perfection. Breakable iron rails may be made unbreakable through research to raise the quality. The so-called unbreakable iron rail is not absolutely unbreakable. There has never been any absolutely unbreakable rail. Even the heavy steel rail of the large railway is breakable. Pang-Pu City, Anhwei Province, has cast good heavy iron rails. Tsu-Po City, Shangtung Province, has used iron rails which are good for running not only small but also large locomotive engines. Some station and branch lines of the large railway may also use heavy iron rails. Thus a large quantity of steel rail can be saved for building the main lines. Some localities have already used pig iron to lay an entire branch line; this is also a new method in the large railways. It is evident that if the wisdom of the masses can be fully developed, the local can be substituted for the nonlocal and local products can also be exported. As to the statement "enslaving the people and wasting wealth," this is not entirely true. From Feng-yang hsien to Lin-Chiao, An Hwei Province, a local railway of 13 kilometers has been built; it replaces 36 automobiles, 500 carts, and 75 wooden boats and the daily volume of transportation has been doubled. Last year Cheng-tu City built a local railway of over 50 kilometers around the city, replacing the transportation work of 900 automobiles. Hsin-Shao hsien, Honan Province, took only 25 days to build a small railway of 12 kilometers, saving the labor of 12,000 people per day, and at a saving of the equivalent of over one million dollars per year as compared with transportation by motor car. It is clear that the construction of the local railway is not "enslaving the people and wasting wealth," but "benefiting the people and producing wealth."

Some people say: "With iron it is possible to have steel. Using iron rail is not as good as using steel rail." Of course iron rail is not comparable to steel rail. If conditions are favorable, it is naturally good to be able to produce more steel rail. However, under the present circumstances our steel production is still not adequate. It is said, "Water at a remote place is unable to quench the thirst at hand." After all, to turn iron rail into steel, we must go through refining, rolling, and various elaborate processes, and this is what cannot be universally done in the various places now. The greatest advantage of the iron rail is that it can be directly cast out of iron, and this technique is beginning to be used by the masses. At present it is not a waste to cast more iron rail; it helps to build more railways, and at some favorable time in the future these iron

rails can be converted into steel ones. The problem before us is whether to wait until the output of the steel rail is abundant before extensively building railways to accelerate the speed of national economic reconstruction, or to simultaneously operate by the native and foreign methods, the simultaneous operation of both iron and steel railways and the extensive operation of the small railways to hasten economic reconstruction. If iron is to be discarded in favor of steel, we are bound to lose the opportunity and thus slow down the speed of reconstruction. For us it is most important to seize the opportunity to build more railways. With more railways we shall be able to insure the production of coal, iron, and steel; and with abundant coal, iron, and steel we shall be able to have more steel rails.

Some people say: "It is too backward to use iron rails to build railways in the 1960s. Is this not a regression?" Indeed, from the technical standpoint, iron rail lags behind steel rail. But progress and lag are relative terms. Under the present circumstances, anthing that can promote the development of production should be regarded as progress. If small local and nonlocal railways are compared with the large railways, the former seem a bit backward. However, from no railway to railway, from wheelbarrow and wagon to locomotive, is very great progress. How can it be called regression? Moreover, local railways will not remain permanently local and small. After the extensive development of the local railways, one section may gradually be made into a local railway network through adjustments and the raising of its quality, and another section may gradually be transformed into a large railway by an incrase in the volume of transport and through technical reconstruction. The natural course of the development of things is the change from local to nonlocal, from low to high, and from small to large. Local and nonlocal, low and high, small and large, shall be in existence 10 thousand years from now, but greatly different in content and forms. Despite the relative crudeness of the local railways, they have, after all, pointed out to us: our country's local transportation industry cannot always remain at the level of backwardness; it is able to go steadily forward toward modernization.

Walking with Both Legs

The several incorrect ways of looking at the local railways as indicated above may be summarized as not willing to "walk with both legs," or lack of an over-all comprehension of this instruction. Some people see only one aspect of the large railways without noticing the small railways; they see only one aspect of the steel rails without noticing the iron rails; they see only the necessity for the railways to adapt to the large

industries without noticing that they should also be adaptable to the small ones. Though some people see both sides (of the case), they emphasize only the rivalry of both sides and their relationship of mutual rejuction, overlooking their interdependence, mutual advancement, and the relationship of mutual transformation. Though some people see the primary and secondary relationships of both sides, they regard these as absolute. These viewpoints tend to regard things as dead, finished, seeing one angle and not the other, which is entirely the viewpoint of metaphysics.

Large and small railways are the two legs of railway construction. Large railways may aid in the development of small railways. In the training of cadres, technical guidance, exchange of experiences, etc., they help small railways and promote their development. After the extensive operation of the small railways, the transport volume of the large railways will naturally be increased -- "all the waters meet at Fou and Wan /two hsiens in Szechuen/, Ch'u-t'ang struggles to flow through the gorge." Main railway lines and important strategic points are bound to be very congested, which will promote the reconstruction and development of the large railways. Simultaneously, small railways may share with the large railways in the distribution of goods, and thereby greatly reduce the pressure on the long-distance transportation of the large railways. They are interdependent, mutually advancing without any contradiction. The large railways may now be termed "nonlocal"; if they are not continuously increased, they will become "local." The small railways may now be called "local," but through the processes of reconstruction and expansion they will be made nonlocal in the future. Respecting the primary and secondary relationships of the large railways and the small ones, from the national standpoint, the large railways with steel rails are the backbone of the transportation front and occupy a place of great importance; but in a given locality or a certain period, the small railways with iron rails also bear the brunt of transportation and also occupy a place of great importance. It is naturally a mistake not to realize that there are primary and secondary relationships; it is also a mistake to regard them as absolute.

The direction for "walking with both legs" as put forward by comrade Mao Tse-tung reflects the universal law of development. The recognition of this law and its operation is capable of greatly accelerating the speed of our country's construction of socialism. Wishing to mobilize the whole people to operate the railways extensively, it is necessary to insist upon the faithful execution of the instruction to "walk with both legs": since large monlocal railways have to be built, small nonlocal and small local railways should also be constructed; since steel rails have to be used for railroad construction, iron rails should also be used; since high technical standards have to be adopted, comparatively low technical

standards should also be used. "Walking on both legs," we shall be able to speedily and economically build up our country's railway network, making railway transportation meet requirements for the development of industry and agriculture. Here we once more deeply comprehend that it is imperative to earnestly study the thought of Mao Tse-Tung and to use it in dealing with all sorts of problems. In this way we shall be able to see problems a little clearer and to work a little faster and better.

All Depending on Man's Effort

Now it is very clear that the extensive operation of the local railways is compatible with the practical situation of our country, and that it is also the thing that must be done and can be done by the masses. However, this realization has arisen from repeated failures and successes. Whether in the acquisition of materials and capital, the selection of railway lines, or the casting of rails, the manufacture of locomotives, coverings, and similar technical problems, the people have encountered all sorts of ideological blocks and concrete difficulties. For instance, in the city of Pang-Pu, five transportation workers who had just rid themselves of illiteracy but who had no technical knowledge or equipment, except for two straw shades, an old gasoline barrel, and wooden hand bellows, set up a railcasting plant. At that time some people made fun of them, saying, "Those chaps who want to cast iron rails are like toads thinking of eating swan's flesh." They said, "Swan's flesh is not unattainable. With the support of the Party, it can be eaten." The men studied hard, learned while they worked, failed more than 10 times, but they surmounted the difficulties of smelting iron, the combination of materials, testing, turning sand, making molds, etc. Through each failure some wisdom was gained: they finally began to cast excellent heavy iron rails. It is not like this everywhere. Experiences and lessons are generalized from practice; methods for building small railways are gradually obtained by trial and error. Thus the small railways can stand on their own feet to be gradually developed.

Since this is so, is it possible to say that there are no longer difficulties in operating the local railways? Of course the methods and experience in building small railways which have arisen out of trial and error will henceforth have a great effect on the extensive operation of the local railways. However, wishing to really operate on a large scale, many new situations and difficulties may be encountered, even frustrations and defeats. Some localities have begun to operate without any previous experience; some have already operated, but without an adequate supply of coal and iron. Though some have already built railways,

they have had no experience in management, utilization, protection, maintenance and repair, etc. Regarding these difficulties, we should, from the standpoint of strategy disregard them, but from the standpoint of defense, they should be given due consideration. Only by persistently endeavouring and starting over again and again after each defeat can the railways be well run. The local railways are in the process of continuous development. We have only to work continuously and to learn from doing. Then we shall be able to gradually enrich our experience and run the local railways well.

Here the most important problem is to work with might -- either working with the strength of the "poor desperadoes" like the transportation workers of the city of Pang-pu, or otherwise. It all depends on human effort. With this will to work, things without it, it is of no use, in spite of good conditions. If we can grasp the main objectives of the local railways, exert great effort develop with the spirit of the "poor desperadoes," work mightily, then the mass movement for the extensive operation of the local railways will have the power of overcoming mountains, turning the ocean upside down, and spreading over the whole country.

III. THE LABORING PEOPLE MUST BE THE MASTERS OF MACHINES

Pages 13-17 Chin Hsueh

At present the movements for urban-rural technological reform and technological revolution, which are centered around mechanization, semimechanization, automation, and semiautomation, are being forcefully launched with a mountain-moving and ocean-turning force in our country. Thousands and millions of people are engulfed in this movement. The invention of machinery, the manufacture of machines, and the use of machines as substitutes for manpower have become a great current which is irresistable.

Our current technological reform and revolution is launched on the basis of the comparatively important role played by manual labor in our country's various production areas. Even in the modern enterprises having a comparatively high degree of mechanization, there is still a great deal of manual labor in many lesser jobs and certain production processes. Having gone through the movements for technological reform and technological revolution, this condition is in the process of rapid transformation. For instance, in the areas of casting and refining, owing to many subsidiary jobs, 60% of the workers in many enterprises are still engaged in manual work. Having been exposed to the technological reform for several months, many refinery workers have laid down the iron tools which they had used for years. They now employ machines in refining. The casting workers also use machines to make molds, pneumatic power for transmitting mineral ores, and hydraulic power to clean the minerals, instead of manual labor. In transportation, hitherto the work of loading, unloading, and moving mainly depended upon manual labor. The last few months' great agitation for technological reform have resulted in great changes in this area throughout the whole country. One after another, carts, suspending levers, conveyor belts, and similar means are being used as substitutes for shouldering, carrying loads by means of a pole across the shoulder, carrying on a pole between two or more persons, and similar heavy physical labor. The loading and unloading workers sing praises:

"From P'an Ku /legendary creator of the universe/ to date --
A hundred thousand years or more,
It has been our fate
To carry loads by means of bamboo poles on the shoulder.
There has been a great turnabout
After the technological revolution:
Poles and clubs discarded, they are not to be found
In the presence of mechanical operation."

Many localities still engage in operating the small local railways, which have greatly increased the volume of transportation and saved much labor as compared with the backward means of transportation previously used. In agriculture, farm labor, hydraulic work, transportation, raising hogs, checking the spread of harmful insects, and other kinds of farm work, agricultural machines being used to various extents. For instance, the machine for planting rice shoots is the great creation of our peasants. The peasants say that in the past:

"Rice shoots were hand-planted
Generation after generation,
With faces toward the mud
And backs toward heaven";

and that the age of using hands to plant rice shoots is gone forever:

"Rice-shoot planting
Is done by machinery;
Hand-operated tools
Rival those of the fairy."

Not only in industry and agriculture, but also in commerce and the various services of life, machines are being extensively employed. For instance, making dumplings and soles are regarded as the most common types of work. For thousands of years much manpower had been wasted, but no machines are beginning to replace manual labor.

In the current technological reform and technological revolution, besides the use of machines as substitutes for manual labor, much work is being done to improve tools, reform work methods, etc.; that is to say, wherever modernized machinery is in use, people are finding various means to improve the existing machines. Under the guidance of the Party, the multitude of our skilled workers, scientific and technical personnel, have on the foundations of mechanization and semimechanization elevated their ambitions and aspirations in engaging in automation, semiautomation, and diverse high-level technology. They have determined to climb, within a comparatively short time, to the summit of the world's scientific technology and to fundamentally change the features of our country's technological lag.

The use of machinery as a substitute for manpower has been accomplished in the capitalist system. Machinery is heartily welcomed by the great masses. The invention and creation of m machinery has become a movement of the great masses. This is what has never been done within the capitalist system. It can only be done within the socialist system.

Under the capitalist system the invention and adoption, of machinery savor of the increasing exploitation of the working people by the capitalists. In the analysis of the capitalist system Karl Marx says that "machinery is the means for surplus value of production" (Capital, Vol. I, People's Press, first edition, 1953, p. 446).

Under the capitalist system, the progress of science and technology and the invention and utilization of machinery have continuously contributed to the bankruptcy of the peasants and the handicraftsmen, reducing them to proletarians without any property. In the period of the initial development of the great industries under capitalism, the living conditions of the laboring people were not improved but made worse; owing to the utilization of machinery, the capitalists could use cheap woman and child labor to lower the value of labor. At the same time, they could prolong the working hours and increase the degree of labor tension. Therefore, under the system of capitalism, the utilization of machinery has subjected the workers to the threats of low wages, bodily injuries, early aging, unemployment, and so on. When machinery was first adopted in many European countries, it was strongly opposed by the masses. In Capital, Marx has used many lively instances to explain this situation. For instance, in the 17th century nearly all the workers in Europe rose up to oppose the use of the silk-weaving and embroidery machines; from the 17th to the beginning of the 18th century, the first use of sawing and shearing machines in England met with the strong opposition of the masses. In 1758 a shearing machine run by hydraulic power was burnt by the unemployed; in the beginning of the 19th centry a "looting movement" broke out in England, a movement started by the masses to destroy machines (mainly the steam textile engines). Of course the workmen's destruction of machines showed that at that time they did not realize that the source of their disaster was not machinery, but the capitalist system. When they realized it, they knew that they were not opposing the use of machinery, but the capitalist ownership of the machines and means of production. In the self-initiative of these early workers, could they not see that under the system of capitalism machinery could definitely bring them no benefits?

In the capitalist society, the use of machinery and the adoption of new technology have greatly developed the productive capacity. However, the development of this productive capacity only concentrates social wealth more and more in the hands of a few capitalists, and the multitudinous laboring people under exploitation become poorer and poorer. Under the system of capitalism, the adoption of machinery and new technology is entirely determined by whether or not it is profitable to the capitalists. If the invention of a machine greatly reduces labor expenditure

but is not profitable to the capitalists, they will not have such a machine nor advance the capitalfor it. Therefore, in the advanced capitalist countries, there is still in existence a great quantity of heavy physical labor, though, according to the general level of technology alrady attained, it is entirely possible to use machinery to replace labor. This is particularly noticeable in agriculture.

In the colonies ruled by the imperialist countries, they have on the one hand introduced the capitalist modes of production, and, on the other, the intensive utilization of the primitive physical labor of the colonized people. The imperialists did their utmost to reduce the value of the labor of the colonized people, incessantly increasing their labor burden, and in this way squeezing more profit out of them. Therefore the imperialists would not bring much machinery to the colonies. Before the liberation, China was in this condition. At the recent All-China People's Congress, one delegate mentioned in his speech that there had been a famous Sullivan Confectionery operated by an American capitalist in Shanghai. In this plant the absolute majority of the work processes were performed by manual work of the highest tension. For instance, in the process of making biscuits, the workers had to use both hands to move the hot iron plate into and out of the oven. Each person had to move 9,000 plates at 15 catties each per day. Both hands of the workment were frequently burnt by the iron plate, called by the workers the "tiger's mouth." The American capitalist was naturally not concerned with a matter which could easily be changed. Only after the liberation, and following a series of mass movements, in which the whole plant's skilled workers agitated for technical reform, could the situation be basically changed. At present this plant (which is re-named Yi-Min Shih-pin Ssu Ch'ang) has already changed its whole production process into a continuous series automatized from the mixing of flour, the making of molds, tending the ovens, packing, to sending the finished products to storage. Of course the condition of this confectionery hardly resembles the imperialist exploitation of Chinese people's blood and sweat. It is a well-known fact that Chinese workers were forced to work like slaves in the mines, on the wharves, and in the textile mills operated by the imperialists in China. Though China had years of experience in using machines before the liberation, a great deal of manual labor is still in existense. The imperialist's long oppression and control over China is one of the main causes.

Under the system of socialism, the adoption of machinery and technical progress is different from that under the system of capitalism: it does not bring disaster, but welfare to the people.

Under socialism, the aim of production is to continuously satisfy the people's demands for a daily increase in material and

cultural goods. The social productive power, which has greatly developed after the technological revolution, is aimed at making the social output richer and richer and people's lives better and better. We use machines as substitutes for manual labor; with the adoption of the new technology, much manpower is saved and the rate of labor output increased. And the result is not unemployment nor crisis, but the emancipation of the industrial and agricultural masses from the bondage of backwardness in technology, the further development of production and increasing leisure time. Therefore the technological revolution wins the hearty support of the multitudinous masses.

Our laboring masses have not only happily and excitedly accepted and used machinery, they have also used their arms and hands to invent and create machinery. In the enterprises and in rural areas, there are many smaller "machine movements" and "reform movements" everywhere. Not scores hundreds, or thousands of people, but millions, offer their opinions and work out measures which results in the production of all sorts of large and small types of new machines. At the All-China People's Congress, a delegate from Heilungkiang made an interesting statement. He said, "The thousands and tens of thousands of new techniques created in the movement for technological revolution were not previously arranged by the professional planning department, but by the multitudinous masses on the basis of the existing equipments and on the requirements of production, generalized with scientific methods from the practical experience of daily production." He also gave an example of the manufacture of a machine for the processing of bristles. The bristle workers had drawn from their years of experience and modelled a new machine after the movements of human hands. This machine is capable of moving a heap of bristles continuously both ways, turning them, and wrapping them up according to their differences in length. This delegate said that this equipment is greatly admired by the professional designers, who admitted that it is most skillful.

It is not incomprehensible that the laboring people are able to invent and create machinery. Fundamentally, scientific technology is the generalization of labor practice. The laboring people, who have rich experiences in labor practice, can well generalize their experiences and naturally are able to use the knowledge of modern science to invent and create. Scientific and technical personnel should cooperate with the laboring people of practical experience in order that all may do their work well. The capitalist system and all the exploitative systems have kept intelligence and ability in bondage. The socialist system has fully mobilized the wisdon and creativity of the laboring people, which has been under suppression for thousands of years, and has made our country's technical revolutionary movement a great revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement of the masses.

Some bourgeois demographers have strongly maintained that China's big population prevents her from realizing industrialization. In order to prove their erroneous points they seek support in the figures of comparatively high industrialization, saying that the addition of one skilled worker requires, for instance an investment of 10,000 to 20 000 dollars or several times that amount. That is to say, each additional worker correspondingly requires an increase of a certain amount of electricity, iron and steel, machines, and so on. They maintain that, since we cannot provide the skilled workers out of nothing, even with a large quantity of electricity, iron and steel, machines, etc., it is impossible to realize industrialization in a country with a large population. The tidal waves of the technological-reform and technological-revolution movements have thoroughly demolished this kind of erroneous argument. Our laboring people will not sit down and wait for electricity, iron and steel, machines, and the like to drop from the sky, nor will they wait for planning bureaus to design for them appropriate machinery. Based on their own needs and experiences they know the kind of machines that are most usable and how to make use of whatever materials that are available, how to adopt both native and foreign methods as well as measures for their combined use, how to use foreign methods while they are available how to use native ones where the foreign are not available, how to with self-effort arm themselves with machines. This fundamentally cannot be found in a capitalist system, nor basically can it be understood by the mediocre bourgeoisie.

The development of the masses' technological-reform and technological-revolution movements in the last few months have already outstandingly increased labor productivity and played a very important role in the development of productive capacities. Of course this is only a beginning. In 1958 we were laughed at for largely depending on manual labor in using the local method of iron and steel refining. However, now that there are local blast furnaces, we have, in no time, gradually raised on this foundation the rate of mechanization, and developed a large number of "Small Foreign Groups" which have exerted a great effect on the development of the iron and steel industry. Similarly, many of the machines invented created, and used by the masses are made locally. Through the invention creation, and utilization of these machines, the masses get rid of their feeling of awe toward them. By learning a certain skill and accumulating new experience, depending on the existing equipments, the masses are in a better condition to invent and creat many more and better machines, and to go one step forward to equip themselves. At present there are in many localities machine shops operated by the masses which have been built out of scrap material. In these machine shops the workers depend on their own labor and quickly set up equipments from nothing: calculated on the basis of value--scores of

or several hundred dollars. When they have equipment worth some scores of or several hundred dollars they are able to go for ward to get equipments worth several thousand dollars or several tens of thousands of dollars. Depending upon the continuous development of the masses' technological reform and technological-reveolution movements, it may be anticipated that we shall be able to incessantly rise from the basis of the existing machines and mechanics; to turn the local into nonlocal; to change the comparatively low grade into high grade, and the semimechanical into mechanical. We must continuously develop from the level of mechanization to that of semiautomation and automation, from relatively low-level automation to high-level automation.

Though the machines are the same, in the capitalist society they are the means for the capitalists to exploit the laboring people whereas in the socialist society they are the means of promoting the welfare. In the capitalist society they are hated and opposed by the laboring people, but are heartily loved in the socialist society. In the capitalist society the laboring people are tied to the machines and have become their slaves but in the socialist society the laboring people have become the real masters of machinery. Thus the basic problem is that of the relations of production. Through revolutionary struggle, the Chinese people have overthrown the reactionary regime of imperialism; they have wholeheartedly engaged in democratic revolution, as well as in the socialist revolution. They have not only gained a victory in the socialist revolution on the economic front, but also a decisive victory on the front of political ideology. Thus the productive forces can be thoroughly emancipated, while a broad road is being built for the growth of productive capacities. There is a conception which maintains that there can be no socialism until there are plenty of machines and the development of very high-level productive forces. This conception is clearly very mistaken; it is a twisting of the historical materialism of Marxism-Leninism. In reality, it is not necessary to have a great development of the productive forces before there can be a reform in the production relations of the superstructure. The old production relations and superstructure have hampered the development of the growth of the productive forces. The need for the forward development of the productive forces has forced the production relations and the superstructure to undergo changes. Having gone through these changes the productive forces are able to gain in onward development. The currents of the masses' technological revolution in our country are the most vivid ex pression of the full emancipation of the social productive power, which has been made possible by the torough operation of the socialist revolution.

This is the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism: only by using their own power can the masses emancipate themselves.

Under the Party's leadership the people of China, have used their own power to conquer their enemies, and have gained a revolutionary triumph. They are now exerting their own power to engage in socialist reconstruction and technological revolution. As was the case with their self-emancipation in the revolutionary struggle, our country's laboring people are just beginning to liberate themselves in the technological revolution. The multitude of the laboring people use machines as substitutes for manual labor, and praise them as the "Second Emancipation." Our technological revolution is capable of going forward at great speed. This is due not only to the utilization of the new achievements in the various fields of modern scientific technology, but also to our technological revolution, which is operated on the basis of the superiority of the socialist system and on the creativity of the multitudinous masses according to the instruction to walk with both legs concerning a series of large, medium, and small undertakings. The industrial revolution in the capitalist countries in general had to go through a period lasting scores of years to a centry. Our current goal is that in the forthcoming decade the volume of important industrial output will surpass that of Great Britain. Undoubtedly, the speed of our technological development is sure to enable us to leave all the capitalist countries far behind.

IV. REALIZATION OF THE AUTOMATION OF TEA PROCESSING

Pages 18-20

The General Branch, Party Committee, Tea Plant No. 1, Min-tung Fukien.

The Min-tung Tea Plant No. 1, Fukien Province, produces "Tan-yang kung-fu cha" (a type of red tea). After the Great Leap Forward in 1958, under the leadership of the Party, the skilled workers of the plant developed the Communist style of boldness in thinking and in doing. Taxing their brains, using their intelligence, they earnestly agitated for technological revolution. In January of this year they already realized the automation of tea processing. The number of workers has been reduced from 2,800 to 700 and the efficiency of tea processing has been raised 21.8 times. Before the realization of automation in tea processing, most of the tea was put out by manual labor. After the tea reached the plant, it had to be processed into 26 different products and subproducts. Each type of tea leaf had to go through about eight processing sequences, not only requiring much labor and strength but also a long period of production at high cost. In the sieving and curing departments, each worker had to carry on the average to the machine over 200 picals of tea leaves per day. Over 2,000 woman workers had to incessantly sort tea leaves and usually they were not able to keep pace with the other sequences of production. The workers had composed a quick-time ditty:

"Tea leaves unceasingly sorted with both hands,
How troublesome manual labor proves to be!
To and fro on shoulders and legs none idly stands,
Yet there's fear in hearts, lest production slow."

Using Machinery as a Substitute for Manual Labor

Since the 1958 Great Leap Forward tea output is being speeded up and processing incessantly accelerated. Thus production capacity and the task of processing are increasingly in sharp conflict. As to how to solve this contradiction there are two opposing thoughts. One of them maintains that the fundamental solution of this contradiction is the demolition of superstitions, the emancipation of thought, earnest engagement in technological revolution, and the raising of the efficiency of labor. The other maintains that in order to make a leap forward, the plant should be expanded, more equipment should be installed, and the number of workers should be increased. Some say, "The making of kung-fu tea [an exquisite type of tea for the connoisseur] depends upon the time taken by the manual art. How can it be called 'kung-fu

tea' if it depends on machinery?" It is an old tradition to depend on manual production which is deemed unchangeable. The struggle between such thoughts is very acute. In dealing with this situation, the General Branch of the Party Committee put forward for discussion special problems such as "Can tea output be included in the technological revolution?" "How is the technological revolution to be operated?" and so forth. It organized the whole body of skilled workers to engage in six great debates, and showed films relating to science and technology to help them demolish the mystic conception of science. Having gone through the Party's indoctrination the thought of the majority of them was liberated, faith and determination strengthened. They maintained that only by building up sufficient will to study hard would backward production methods be abolished. In order to "hammer the iron while it is still hot," the Party's General Branch let the secretary take the initiative in organizing a Science and Technology Study Society, composed of cadres, workmen, and technicians. The Party Secretary also took the lead in organizing two small study groups in two workshops. The skilled workers were given instructions concerning the main directions for studying science and technology. The crucial weaknesses of production were explained, and four subjects discussed, a method for the simplification of technological processes, for the mechanization of sorting and packing, for the automation of elaborate processing, and for raising the quality of output.

Workshop II was the first to respond to the call of the Party's General Branch. It made a profound analysis of the 15 work sequences of the sieving department, and put forward a proposal for the thorough combination of machines, the extensive simplification of work sequences the installation of conveyor belts, the transformation of semimechanized production into semiautomated. This proposal met with the Party organization's consideration and support. The Party's General Branch called for a Party Conference to give full support to Workshop II's proposal for the semiautomation of sieving. The Branch Party Organ of the Workshop immediately organized the workers to discuss the reform measures. After the workers had been fully mobilized, all of them suggested projects, working day and night, adopting the method of regeneration by self-effort and that of blending the native and foreign, solving difficulties regarding raw materials, other supplies, technology and so forth. The workers of Workshop I developed the cooperative spirit of Communism, voluntarily engaging in two-shift production and taking over some work of Workshop II in order to enable the latter to concentrate on working out semiautomation. With the hearty cooperation of the skilled workers of the plant, Workshop II spent just over 20 days to complete the removal and installation of machines, reducing the existing 15 work sequences to seven, changing the old single processing machine

into a composite one realizing the automation of sieving saving 70% of the labor force and more than doubling work efficiency.

Though the work efficiency was raised after the simplication of the work sequences, the quality of the product was still irregular. Then the Party's General Branch stepped into establish as the main direction tackling "the consolidation of the results of semiautomation and the elevation of the quality of the product." Thus the great strength of the skilled workers and the masses was further developed. After technician Chen Chu-chien and others found that crude tea leaves contain many fine hairs and sand grains, they put forward the measure for replacing the single hole of the drying-and-cleaning pneumatic machine by several holes, to enable the hairs and sand grains to be separated through many basic cleaning operations. This was followed by other projects suggested by the workers. They put forward six measures for the storage of tea lines for adjusting and recirculating processes, and so on, which eliminated deficiencies in the original reform measures. Since the crucial problems have been solved, the quality of tea is being speedily raised.

After the realization of automation in sieving, there appeared new phenomena of an unbalanced-production type. Raw material could not be fully supplied by the drying department; the products sieved could not keep up with those sorted by hand; and the work sequences were out of sequence. At the same time packing and similar subsidiary jobs were largely done by manual labor; the time used in production was still long, requiring 34 hours to process one pical of tea with very little reduction in cost. The Party's General Branch made an over-all analysis of the situation. It held that the further raising of the rate of labor output and the reduction of cost should be pushed forward right after the recent victory and that there should be continuous revolutionizing on the foundations of the semiautomation achieved in sieving. A few skilled workers had developed feelings of self-satisfaction and relaxation; they thought that "the technological revolution had already been completed. Among the leading cadres there were also those who held that there could only be small operations and no large ones. For the sake of getting rid of the these ideological obstacles, the Party's General Branch called for a cadre meeting at which the feelings of self-satisfaction, relaxation, and lack of courage to face difficulties were censured. The crucial points put forward for the elimination of manual sorting are economization in labor resources the realization of all-out automation and the mobilization of the masses to launch an attack on the problems After the Small Study Group of Workshop II had studied the characteristics of tea leaves and stems, the machine for cutting tea was installed and equipments were added to certain departments. Thus the stems were no longer broken. This contributed to an increase of 25% to 75% in the

volume of sorting in the process of sieving tea stems. In this connection the workers in the sorting department installed sorting machines enabling the sorting efficiency to be increased in such a way as to keep pace with the other work sequences. Then the drying department put forward a proposal for the rational distribution of the drying machines; the packing department made boxes; the pasting and mounting workers made many native machines to replace manual labor. In this way, Workshop II realized the mechanization of manual work and the semiautomation of machines. As soon as this experience was assimilated by Workshop I, it too accelerated the realization of mechanization and semiautomation.

Realization of Over-All Automation

In order to realize over-all automation, three crucial problems have to be solved. First, in the further realization of the great combination of machines and their distribution, adequate plant accommodation has to be made available; second, as the whole machinery complex has to be reconstructed anew with the addition of more machines there is a shortage of raw materials; third, the machine for sorting tea is not complete without the aid of manual labor, and further elimination of manual labor is needed. After the problems had been laid on the table, the General Branch of the Party served "notice for the enlistment of the talented " held "brain-trust conferences," and used the wisdom of the masses to solve them one by one.

In surmounting the first hurdle of the shortage in plant accommodations, carpenter Pan Shui-kuan suggested that the bulky pecks for tea storage should be moved upstairs. This accelerates the circulation of tea and reduces the area occupied by the machines. Being enlightened by this suggestion, the workers of Workshop I installed the machinery by the ladder-projection method and also adopted the methods of suspension in the air, installation on the floor, and setting in the ground. The utility of plant accommodations has been greatly increased, and the difficulty of plant deficiencies has been solved.

In surmounting the second hurdle, the whole body of plant workers carried out to the letter the direction for regeneration by self-effort: starting with native methods, using simultaneously native and foreign methods, adopting the measures of using hard wood as a substitute for iron and steel, they solved the difficulty of the shortage of steel. As to the shortage of timber carpenter Pan Shui-kuan and mechanic Li Ching-min discovered through research the method of "using the shorter timbers, joining them together to form 'backbones'." They used broken tables and chairs to make useful wooden materials.

Finally, there was the hurdle of sieving. A machine had to

be made to replace sorting by hand. The difficulties which they had to confront were: 1) ignorance of the principle of mechanical structure; and 2) shortage of raw and other materials. However these difficulties did not hamper the ambitions of the workers. Under the personal direction of the secretary of the Party's General Branch, the workers adopted the measures for taking the local method as the primary, and then that of combining both the native and foreign methods. They went everywhere to consult experts and made many experiments by trial and error. After many failures they finally succeeded in the 23rd experiment in January of this year in manufacturing a machine to thoroughly get rid of manual sorting. Workshop I is the first to finish the automation of the whole process of production, and Workshop II has begun to launch the work for introducing automation of the whole productive process.

Expansion of Production and Proper Work Organization

In the process of realizing automation in production the number of workers in the whole plant is continuously being decreased, and the volume of labor output is incessantly being r raised. Before August 1958 there were over 2 800 workers in the plant. After the completion of the mechanization of manual work and the semiautomation of mechanical work on the eve of the May First Festival last year, the number of workers was reduced to 1,400. After the completion of the automation of the whole process in Workshop I in January of this year, the number was reduced to 700. At present, Workshop II is installing automation. After its completion, the number of workers in the whole plant will be reduced to just more than 230. In less than 2 years the total number of workers will be reduced by over 2,000, but the work efficiency will be raised over 21 times.

For more than one year we have made the proper arrangements for all the workers to be displaced by machines. With reference to the principle of using available local materials and the spirit of regeneration by self-endeavour, combined utilization is being extensively employed in operating the printing, rush-basket making, brick and tile, machine repair, and the other nine sub-workshops. Civil engineering corps are being organized to build their own plants, and we are utilizing waste products as well as assuring the production of wood, coke, and oil. Thus several hundred temporary workers are being turned into permanent workers. The workers have happily said, "We no longer have to work half of the year and be idle the other half. The plant has actually become our home."

At present the workers of the whole plant are maintaining a strong will to struggle. On the basis of realizing the overall

automation of tea processing, they have availed themselves of the victory gained to go forward in earnestly fighting for the realization of the initial production of automation, the automation of packing processes and the electrification of elaborate processing. And in line with the spirit of being of service to industry and agriculture, as put forward by the Party, they actively participate in production in the tea region and earnestly strive for raising the volume of output by 46% over that of 1959, and for continuously elevating the quality of the output.

V. THE MOVEMENT FOR THE STUDY OF THEORY BY THE MASSES IN HEILUNGKIANG

Pages 27-31 Yu Lin

The movement for the study of theory by the laboring masses in Heilungkiang has a history of nearly 2 years.

This movement is evolved out of the Rectification Movement on the basis of the Anti-Rightist Struggle in 1957. Under the conditions of the decisive victory of the socialist revolution in various areas and the extensive emancipation of the productive forces, for the sake of correctly comprehending and solving the great number of new problems brought forward by the Great Leap Forward, the workers have urgently demanded the elevating of their own political standard, theoretical level, practical work, and level of understanding. These demands have contributed toward the extensive and profound development of the movement for learning theory by the laboring masses. After the 8th Session of the 8th Plenum of the Party in 1959, and following the Anti-Rightist Movement and the movements for boosting work-strength, increasing prodiction and saving materials, as well as the development of the all-people's technological reform and technological revolution movements this study movement has entered a new more extensive stage of development. In the factories, mines, stores streets, schools, companies, and cadres, more and more people are joining this movement.

At present there are over 24,000 Red and special schools, and over 130,000 groups are studying political theory. In order to strengthen the leadership over this study movement, from the various levels of the provincial Party organizations to the rural Party branches there have been established pedagogical bureaus. The great majority of the Party organizations above the hsien-level have established tutorial cadres, all the Communist Party youth groups have set up auxiliary study groups, and the Party organizations above the commune-level and the committees above the hsien-level have cadres to look after the theoretical work.

It has been proved by the last 2 years' experience that the multitudinous masses are not only able to learn but also to assimilate Marxism-Leninism and the works of comrade Mao Tse-tung. Having been subjected to stiff discipline, many people have already begun to consciously use the standpoints, views and methods of Marxism-Leninism in observing and solving problems. Many people have learned how to write essays. According to incomplete statistics, the laboring masses have written over 160,000 essays in 1959, of which over 400 have been published in the various central, provincial and local papers. This study movement has great effects on the political awakening of the multitudinous masses and the pro-

motion of productive work.

In studying theory, the laboring masses first learn the works of comrade Mao Tse-tung, along with the Party's policies and documents. The blending of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the thought of Mao Tse-tung relating to the realization of China's revolution and reconstruction is the guiding thought for all our Party's work the fundamental assurance for the continuous victory of our revolution and constructive enterprises, and the theoretical basis for the institution of out Party's directions and policies. The masses have appreciated this point most profoundly. Under the long-range leadership of the Party they have intimately comprehended the grandeur, brilliancy, and accuracy of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They have enthusiastically sought absorbing strength and wisdom in the works of Mao Tse-tung, saying, "By studying Mao Tse-tung's thought one can go heavenward."

All of us have great enthusiasm for studying the philosophical works of comrade Mao Tse-tung. In studying the documents of the Second Session of the 8th Plenum the multitude of the laboring masses are greatly roused and their political enthusiasm highly elevated. However, many people still do not have any deep comprehension of the instruction to "walk with both legs." After reading the "Contradictions," some people understand the doctrine of the unity of opposites and begin to comprehend the spirit of this instruction a little better. Thus they are roused to pay attention to studying philosophy. At present, there are a million people studying the philosophical works of comrade Mao Tse-tung. Simultaneously in accordance with the sequence of the development of Chinese revolutionary history, some people have taken three courses of development in studying the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung; and some, based on the requirements of their work study a number of comrade Mao Tse-tung's essays. Among the 1,300 workers in the Mu-Tan-Kiang Cement Plant, 304 have read the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volumes I, II, and III.

In studying theory, the laboring masses have from the beginning insisted upon following the principles of uniting theory with practice and learning with application. They have adopted the method of "using the concrete to discuss the abstract, the abstract to bring out the concrete, and the blending of the abstract with the concrete" to secure a close connection between theory and learning and the current political and productive m movements. In the 1959 anti-rightist struggle many workers and peasants wrote essays, made speeches, and used a great many facts to effectively contradict, from the theoretical standpoint, the words and actions of the rightist opportunists against the Party and socialism, as well as to raise the political knowledge of the laboring people. The study of theory has also been promoted with good effect and has helped solve the practical problems of the

productive movement. For instance, from 1 to 22 January 1959, there were 2 serious and monor accidents in the Mu-Tan-Kiang Cement Factory, which had directly affected the persistent leap forward. Under the leadership of the Party Committee, the Bureau for Teaching and Research in Marxism-Leninism of the factory proceeded to make an investigation to determine the causes of the accidents. They were mainly due to the inability of measures for the protection of machinery to keep pace with the increased output of the kilns, as well as to the great amount of attention given by certain protective personnel to the maintenance of the main machines at the expense of the subsidiary ones. Also, the results of accidents with the auxiliary machines affected the output of the main machines. To deal with this situation the Teaching and Research Bureau helped the Party Committee organize the cadres, workers, and technicians to participate in a big discussion meeting. It discussed "the relationships between the main and auxiliary machines," "how to understand and manipulate the laws of the rotation of machinery," and similar problems in order to enable the workers to recognize the mutual dependence of each work sequence and each link in the plant's production and that one accident in one area affects conditions as a whole. In the Great Leap Forward in production, the emergence of an advancement in one link of production demands that production as a whole keep pace with it. The occurrence of accidents can change from gradual to sudden. Before the occurrence there is in existence the factor of possibility. The recognition and manipulation of the laws of the rotation of the machinery, along with the adoption of the necessary precautions, can prevent or reduce accidents. The workers' theoretical teachers used "the relationship between the main and auxiliary machines," "the relationship between man and machine," "the relationship between the parts and the whole," and similar subjects in lecturing to the workers of the whole factory. From the theoretical standpoint, this has increased the workers' understanding. Experiences in protecting machinery have been summarized in five aspects -- "listen, feel, examine, see, ask"; mechanical "clinical corps have been organized"; the work for the protection of both main and auxiliary machines has been strengthened; the safe rotation of the machines has been assured; accidents have fallen off; January output has been pushed beyond the target.

The understanding of current problems and their solution is of great help in the development of the technological reform and technological revolution. The Mu-tan-Kiang Cement Factory has solved the contradictions of the mutual adaptability of two different main production links -- the kilns and the grinding mills. The Marxist-Leninist Teaching and Research Bureau organized a group of four teachers of theory. Work was stopped for 2 weeks to engage in studying and analyzing the causes of the unequal rate of

the kiln and grinding output. The result of the study showed that the speedy rate of kiln production was due to the comrades of the workshop, who have continuously generalized and made use of their experience in the production practice, have continuously related their knowledge to concrete reality, and have consciously developed human subjective mobility. The slow rate of increase in grinding, in addition to certain objective causes, was due to ignorance of making changes to conform to changes in objective conditions, without fully developing subjective mobility. The thought of some cadres is relatively strong in empiricism. The workers' proposal for improving the mills was rejected, and the output of the grinding machines practically remained at the 1954 level. After the teachers of theory had studied the problem, they collectively discussed and wrote an essay, "On Experience and Empiricism." They talked with the workers about it, which was of great educational value to the cadre members and workers. For instance, after having learned of the problem, the cadre members who had built the machine shops immediately roused the masses to speedily stir up high tides of technological reform and revolution. Within half a month the measure for the 1960 technological reform and revolution in the machine shops was realized.

The movement for the study of theory by the masses needs the support of a strong auxiliary rank and file. The last 2 years' experience has shown that only by insisting upon following the principle of combining full-time jobs with part-time posts, that of the union of the cadres and masses, and that of the joint training of those in and out of office, could this rank and file be well educated in this movement, and its quality gradually elevated.

In the field of setting up full-time cadres of theoretical workers, all the Party committees above the hsien level in the province have already been provided with five or six to over ten full-time teachers of theory and cadres of theoretical workers; the rural people's communes and factories with more than 500 workers each have also been provided with full-time teachers of theory. There are now in the province more than 5,000 full-time teachers of theory and cadres of theoretical workers, and over 100,000 part-time teachers of theory and study auxiliaries. Under the auspices of the various levels of the Party's committees, the rank and file of theoretical workers exert great effect on the study of political theory by the multitudinous cadres and the masses and on the propagation of Marxism-Leninism. Among the full-time teachers of theory, the great majority of the young intellectuals' level of political theory is still low, as they lack stiff training in practical struggle. Therefore we have adopted the method of making assignments in practical work or hard labor discipline, enabling positive participation in the political movement and in the movement of the laboring masses in studying theory and

securing ideological reconstruction. Thus they are elevated politically and professionally, and gradually remolded to be the special intellectual elements of the proletariat.

It is not enough to depend solely on the full-time theoretical rank and file to direct the movement for the study of theory by several million people. Abiding by the principles of "utilizing the available material at the locality" and "let the talented be the teachers," we have chosen a large number of part-time teachers of theory attached to production for work with the industrial and agricultural masses and the basic cadres. Under the leadership of the Party at various levels and with the help and guidance of the full-time teachers of theory, these part-time teachers in industry and agriculture have become the basic force in assisting the industrial and agricultural masses in the study of theory. The unique features of the industrial and agricultural teachers are clear-cut viewpoints, rich experience in practical struggle, thorough familiarity with production conditions, understanding of the thinking of the masses, fresh and lively oratory, which is welcomed by the masses. For instance, when Liu Pei-shun the teoretical teacher of the workers of the Mu-tan Kiang Cement Factory, delivers his lecture "The Speed of Socialist Reconstruction," he first gives an account of the miserable lives of the working class in the old society and the poverty of our country to illustrate that the Main Lines are representative of the will and wishes of the whole people. Then he uses the seven "leaps forward" in the factory in 1958 to prove the possibility of high-speed production; the censures the conservative idea of "no further leap forward is possible, as the project has already touched the sky," and goes one step forward to expound the relationship between subjective mobility and objective regularity. He says that man's subjective mobility has great effect, but a key is needed to unlock it. The Main Line of boosting will to work, along with struggling to go upstream is the best key to mobilizing man's subjective mobility. Having heard this lecture, the workers praise, "This lecture is well delivered. There is theory as well as practice. Our hearts are enlightened and will to work increased."

However, the level of the teachers of theory in industry and agriculture is still not high enough to be fully adaptable to the requirements of the development of the movement for the study of theory by the laboring masses. In order to continuously raise their level and that of teaching and studying, we have set up in the whole province a training network of auxiliary rank and file for the over-all study of theory. We have united the experienced and the amateur, adopted the method of combining in-office with out-office training, used measures for linking short-range and comparatively long-range training, cultivated and trained the multitude of teachers of industrial and agricultural theory. Last

year, the Party schools of the province, localities, municipalities hsiens, factories, and the people's communes; the cadre schools of the Communist Youth Corps; and the labor unions took as their regular task the training of teachers of industrial and agricultural theory and study groups. To date there are over 60,000 out-office trainees. In addition, there are over 50,000 trainees from the "Amateur" Youth Re-Education College, the "Amateur" Political School, the "Amateur" Political University. The period of training in general lasts about 3 months, but at least half a month or a full month. The main points are the ascertaining of some special topics for study with reference to the political movement and the actual requirements of study and guidance. The schools of higher learning and the Party's schools have adopted the measure of cooperating with the factories in running the Worker's Amateur Political University, helping factories cultivate and train teachers of political theory. This measure has not only been of great help in the training and cultivation of the teachers of theory, it has also enabled the intellectual elements to unite with the workers, which is beneficial to the ideological remolding of school teachers and students.

In order to fully develop the functions of the full-time and part-time teahcers of theory, Marxist-Leninist Teaching and Research Bureaus for these teachers are universally set up in the basic units. In the areas under the control of the people's communes, and in the factories and machine shops part-time Marxist-Leninist Teaching and Study Groups are set up with the Party's Branch Committees as nuclei. Besides working out teaching and studying projects and generalizing the experience of teaching and learning, the activities of these Bureaus and Groups are mainly concerned with organizing the teachers' study, investigating and studying the thought of the masses, editing and writing syllabuses discussing lecture notes, guiding the compilation of lectures, and giving information to the public. In addition to the above-mentioned work, a section of the comparatively well-operated pedagogical (teaching and study bureaus has regularly engaged in theoretical research with reference to practical problems. This has great effect on the over-all political thought and work of the Party.

Issured through long-range discipline and training is the emergence of a large group of excellent theoreticans of Marxism-Leninism. This secures the universality of the study of theory and the elevation of the theoretical level. The teachers of a number of the basic cadres have taken active part in guiding the masses in the study of theory and are thus able to promote this study. This is of help in elevating the level of efficiency as regards dissemination of Marxism-Leninism by the basic Party organizations.

Party leadership basically assures the efficient operation

of all sorts of work. Thus the movement for the study of theory by the laboring masses must depend on the Party's strong leadership. Through unified planning at all levels of the Party committees there will be a development toward correct direction, continuous improvement consolidation and elevation. Under the leadership of the Central and the Provincial Party Committees, all levels of the Heilungkiang Party organization have given great attention to theoretical work. The First Secretary of the Party Committee has personally engaged in ideological and theoretical work. Thus he is able to induce the various departments to give proper attention to theoretical work. Labor unions, youth corps, women's federations, and similar organizations of the masses have done much in this study movement. They play a very important role in strengthening the leadership of the basic Party organizations as regards the study of theory and successful extension of the study movement. Some Party organizations in factories have made it an important item on the Party Committee's agenda to organize the workers to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's works. In planning the work, the content of theoretical study and the subjects for research are also planned; the condition of theoretical study is examined; and the results and experiences of theoretical study are generalized. In this way, the study of theory and production are closely linked. This has not only solved the contradictions between production and study, it has also made the study of theory an important force for the promotion of production. Some basic Party organizations have specified that the cadres should participate in and lead the study. The Mu-tan Kiang Cement Factory has had very good results in engaging in the system of interlocking the cadres and the workers in the study. In the factory, the Party Committee secretary, the Branch secretary, the factory manager, the machine-shop director, cadre members in the departments, technicians, as well as the Union and Communist Youth Corps non-production cadre members have been assigned to the workers' study groups. This has not only proved an incentive as regards the study by the cadres and workers, it has also cemented the bond between the cadres, technicians and workers.

As in the process of the growth of all newly generated things the movement for the study of theory by the laboring masses in Heilungkiang Province has at the outset encountered all sorts of ideological obstacles. Some of the obstacles are the skepticism and denial of a minority of the cadre members and intellectual elements as regards theoretical work and the study of theory by the laboring masses. They regard the laboring people as "uncultured and incapable of learning"; they say that such a study is like "thinking of running without being able to walk." In another area, a part of the laboring masses at the start lack sufficient faith in studying; they say, "Old rustics are incapable of learning. Though a thing may be learned, it is of no use."

In order to solve this problem, we cite good examples, summon meetings, set up exhibits of the study of theory. The responsible comrades of the Provincial Committee also write essays in support of the study of theory by the masses. Many leading cadre members join the study groups, study and discuss with the masses and help them to solve their problems relating to thinking and the study of theory. This has good effects on stimulating the positive efforts of the masses in studying theory and on strengthening their faith in learning. Of course ideological problems cannot be thoroughly solved by only one struggle to learn; at certain periods and under certain conditions the remnants of the old ideology may crop up again. While we consolidate, adjust, and raise the level of the work, some people try to avail themselves of the opportunity to deny any achievment made by the movement. For the purpose of censuring this erroneous attitude, we have had to generalize our experiences and conduct extensive propaganda through newspapers, broadcasts, and meetings. The multitudinous masses have experienced the benefits of the study of theory, and they voluntarily showed up to rebuke these wrong statements. Therefore some of these wrong statements have not had much effect, and some of the skeptics have changed their attitude when faced with the facts. In addition to these obstacles, some people have become hesitatant and shaky when they meet with some difficulty in learning, and some are contented with just a bit of learning. Respecting these types of obstacles, we rouse the masses to regularly conduct criticism and self-criticism; we help them to form correct attitudes toward learning. In this way, the movement for the study of theory is made secure, and it rises from one high crest to another.

The study of theory by the multitudinous masses is a mass movement of great magnitude. It is impossible to develop the movement without the masses' self-realization nor without depending on their strength. Within the last 2 years, in guiding the movement, in rousing the masses to take part in the study, and in solving ideological problems and those of auxiliary forces, etc., the Heilungkiang Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has adopted extensive agitation measures for the mass movement. It has used various forms of propaganda (e.g., conferences of representatives of positive elements in the study of theory, meetings, etc.); it has engaged in extensive propaganda to lift hight the red flags, to set up model soldiers, and to discover, generalize, and disseminate advanced experience. In this way, the development of the movement is capable of being continuously elevated.

Having gone through 2 years' work, the movement for the study of theory by the laboring masses of Heilungkiang Province has already made some achievements. It has enabled the Party's theoretical work to break through the narrow circle of the cadres and

the masses making theory directly approach the masses. However, this is only a good start. At present, there are weaknesses in the movement, and the work is still not being adequately done in all respects. This study movement must be developed more extensively, more deeply, and further improved. This demands our going one step forward to strengthen the leadership over this movement, to speedily disseminate the various advanced experiences throughout the whole province, to elaborately and continuously improve the various aspects of teaching in order to insure the continuous development of this movement and the incessant elevation of the quality of learning. It is imperative that effective measures be adopted, the capacities for leading the study movement by the basic Party organizations and the positive elements be increased, the new experiences gained in the movement be generalized, and themovement be raised incessantly to new levels. This movement can be made to steadily perpetuate the popular acceptance of Marxism-Leninism by the masses.

VI. THE HIGH TIDE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

Pages 32-37 Ch'ang Chih-Ch'ing

Not unlike a fire blazing in the plains, burning with increasing intensity day by day, the national democratic movement in Latin America is undergoing deeper and more extensive development. This is the revolutionary movement of some billion people; it is directed against U.S. imperialism, is aimed at turning the "backyard" which has been under the influence of the United States into a front against U.S. imperialism. The continuous development of this revolutionary movement cannot be without profound influence on the whole world situation. The national democratic movement of Latin America is an important part of the national emancipation movement against imperialism in the world, and is also a part of human progress. Therefore it has won very great sympathy and strong support from the people of the whole world. We have a strong conviction that theis national democratic movement is capable of creating a new and free Latin America.

Latin America includes all the countries south of the United States namely Mexico; the six republics of Central America --- Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama; the 10 republics of South America --- Venezuela, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile; and the three republics of the West Indies --- Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. In addition to these 20 republics, there are over 10 colonies belonging to the United States, Great Britain, France, and Holland respectively. On the expanse of over 20 million square kilometers in Latin America there live nearly 2 billion industrious and brave people. The majority of them are metis (mixed Indians and whites), mulattoes (mixed whites and Negroes), and indigenous Indians and Negroes. The whites make up one fourth of the total population. Latin America, with its beautiful lands and fertile soil, was under the colonial rule of Spain and Portugal for nearly 300 years. Through long, bitter struggles, it was not until the beginning of the 19th century that the majority of the countries gained national independence. However, other aggressors from Europe and the newly risen United States appeared, and Latin America became the prey of new aggressors. The United States, in particular, with its advantageous geographic position and strong economic and military power, has daily increased its aggressions in Latin America. At the end of the 19th century, after the war with Spain, the United States seized Cuba and Puerto Rico, which had originally been under the control of Spain. At the beginning of the 20th century, the United States began a series of bloody aggressions in and near

Central America. Through economic pressure, financial control, military occupation, and similar methods, the Cominican Republic, Panama, Nicaragua, and Haiti became colonies and semicolonies of the United States. The outbreak of the First World War gave the United States a good opportunity to go one step forward to invade Latin America, to expand its influence in the South American countries, and to squeeze out British influence. By 1929 the investments of the United States in Latin America were nearly equal to those of Great Britain. The Second World War provided U.S. imperialism with advantageous conditions for the sole monopolistic control of Latin America. The influence of the monopolistic capital of the United States developed by leaps and bounds in Latin America. Before the war, the volume of United States investments in Latin America was less than 20% of the total volume of that of foreign countries, but it reached 80% within the 10 years following the Second World War. The whole of Latin America was completely subjected to the control of U.S. monopolistic capital. It is the unique phenomenon of present times for a great continent to be under the control of the monopolistic capital of a single nation. This accounts for U.S. imperialism as the most wicked and aggressive type of imperialism.

In order to insure unlimited plundering by monopolistic capital the United States has exercised strict political control over all the Latin American countries. Regarding the direct control of the U.S. over the colonies such as Puerto Rico, the Latin American countries may in general be divided into two categories. The one is represented by the economically backward countries. These countries are undeveloped industrially or virtually lacking industry, they are economically dependent upon the United States, and the compradore bourgeoisie and landlords occupy the ruling status. In the great majority of the Latin American countries, usually through coups d'etat, the United States supports its puppets in setting up dictatorial regimes as agents of the United States for plundering the wealth of these countries and exploiting their people's blood and sweat. The second category is represented by the economically more advanced countries. The industries of these countries have already attained a certain level; the influence of the national bourgeoisie is relatively great; and the national bourgeoisie of these countries has assumed the leadership. These are the countries in which the United States invests the greatest amounts. In dealing with these countries, the United States uses pressure from all sides to compel the ruling class to submit to its will. When a government in Latin America, in response to the people's demand, adopts a comparatively independent policy, not working entirely in conformity with the will of the U.S., the United States plans its downfall and even engages in direct interference. One of the important features of the political situation in the Latin American countries is the constant

occurrence of coups d'etat. After World War II, the countries of Latin America continuously underwent coups d'etat, the majority of which were instigated by U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism, whose object is to rule the whole world, is not only unceasingly strengthening its control over Latin America economically and politically, but also making it a base for war preparations. Through the so-called "Mutual Security Pact of the Western Hemisphere" the United States has put Latin America into its strategic system. The United States has forced 12 nations to sign bilateral military pacts and has sent a number of military missions to directly control their troops. The United States has also established many military bases in the strategic areas of Latin America. This is not all. The United States has also compelled the Latin American countries to follow in its footsteps, to expand armaments and to prepare for war, burdening them with gigantic military expenditures. According to the statistics in some publications of Chile, the military expenditures and costs of the suppressive agencies in the whole of Latin America make up 68% of the budget.

The economic, political, and military aggressive activities of the United States in Latin America are usually conducted under so-called "Pan-Americanism" or the "Pan-American Organization." In their struggle against the colonial rule of Spain and Portugal, the Latin Americans had put forth the slogan of "Pan-American solidarity." Having driven out the Spanish and Portuguese colonizers Simon Bolivar, the leader of the movement for national independence in Latin America, called a conference of the American nations in 1825 and summoned the peoples of Latin America to unite for the protection of the sovereignty and independence of the American nations. Later on, the slogan "Pan-American solidarity" of the Bolivar era was stolen, twisted and utilized by U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism has pretended to be the supporter of the interests of the people in the various countries of Latin America, and has arrogantly posed as the head of the family of the American continent, forcing all the countries in Latin America to obey its will and to resign themselves to be slaves. It uses the old "Pan-American Union" and the present OAS (Organization of American States) to control Latin America politically, the "Pan-American Development Bank" to control Latin America economically, and the "American Mutual Security Pact" to control Latin America militarily.

Out of bitter experiences and realities of life, the people of Latin America have realized that U.S. imperialism has plagiarized the name "Pan-Americanism" to realize new colonialism; that U.S. imperialism is the manin spring of the backwardness, poverty, and all sorts of disaster in Latin America; and that it is the main enemy of the people of the various Latin American countries. In order to enable American monopolistic capital to

enslave and rob the people of the various countries in Latin America, the United States energetically supports the big estate system of the Latin American countries and forces their economy to come to terms with that of the United States. Therefore it forces the economy of these Latin American Countries to remain in a state of absolute backwardness and unsymmetrical development. Nearly all these countries have to depend on the export of only one or two kinds of raw materials or agricultural products to sustain their economy; the various industrial products, including clothing and foodstuffs, have to be imported. The multitudinous people of Latin America are living a life of extreme poverty: two thirds have not enough to eat, over 60% are illiterate, there are very low wages for the workers, millions of peasants live like animals and labor like slaves. The health of the laboring people is poor, half of them suffering from infectious or vitamin-deficiency diseases. These conditions cannot but daily increase the conflicts between the Latin American peoples, and U.S. imperialism and its agents aid this in the various countries.

There are over 10 million industrial workers in Latin America. The working class, which suffers the cruelest oppression and exploitation by U.S. imperialism, includes the most resolute warriors for supporting the struggle for national independence against U.S. imperialism. The working classes in the various Latin American countries have already become strong and independent political forces, and they all have their combating vanguard -- the Communist Party. Having gone through long and bitter struggles, the Communist parties in the majority of the countries have already obtained legal or semilegal status. The growth and increasing strength of the Communist Party has strengthened increasingly its prestige and leadership among the masses and is of decisive significance in the development of the revolutionary movement in Latin America. Peasants constitute over 70% of the total population of Latin America. Over 70% of rural families live in a state of poverty or pauperism. The struggle for land by the multitude of the peasants has already become insurmountable. This struggle always takes the form of armed conflict. The incessant armed uprisings of the peasants are characteristic of present-day Latin America. The petty bourgeoisie, especially young students and revolutionary intellectuals, in the more populated cities are not satisfied with the status quo and oppose U.S. aggression. The national bourgeoisie has a strong desire to develop the national economy, but its desire is greatly hampered due to the influence of U.S. imperialism, as well as the feudal and compradore classes within the country. In the struggle against U.S. imperialism, feudalism, and compradorism it is seeking to unite with the working class and the other democratic forces in certain areas of cooperation. The forces of the national democratic revolution in

Latin America have broad and strong foundations. Following the increasing awakening of the masses, the great storms of the national democratic revolution in Latin America are naturally gaining in momentum.

What happened to U.S. Vice President Nixon in Latin America in 1958 illustrates the increasingly strong anti-U.S. sentiments of the Latin American people; it presages the forthcoming high tide of the new revolution. The Latin American people greeted with rotten eggs tomatoes angry spit and roars the so-called "goodwill mission" of Nixon to eight South American countries. This incident frightened imperialism and its lackeys, and roused the entire world. On New Year's Day in 1959, the people of Cuba used armed revolt to overthrow the dictatorial regime of Batista, shaking the whole of Latin America like thunder in the spring, and impelling the national democratic revolutionary movement of Latin America to a new stage of development. The appearance of the new revolutionary events in Latin America is a turning point in the world situation; these events represent basic changes in the correlation of forces and simultaneously the results of the speedily growing strength of the revolutionary will of Latin America.

Cuba was the last nation to get rid of Spanish colonial rule in Latin America, and the earliest to suffer from the aggression and control of U.S. imperialism. But at present Cuba is a nation with an unprecedented achievement in winning the national democratic revolution in Latin America. This is not accidental. The victory and development of the Cuban people's revolution is the outcome of the long-range, heroic struggles of the Cubans against great difficulties and with no fear of sacrifice over the last hundred years. There have been three great periods in the people's revolution in Cuba. In 1868 the people of Cuba rose up to engage in a 10-year battle against the Spanish colonizers. In 1895 there was a new people's uprising under the leadership of a Negro general, Machado, and Jose Marti. In 1906 there broke out in Cuba a large-scale people's insurrection against U.S. control. In 1925, after the establishment of the Cuban Communist Party (later the People's Socialist Party), the Cuban people's struggle made further progress. In 1933 the Cuban workers' general strike and the people's heroic struggle overthrew Machado's dictatorial regime. After World War II, the United States instigated another coup d'etat, and in 1952 supported the Cuban traitor Batista, in setting up a dictatorial regime. Whether in the cities of rural areas, the heroic Cubans engaged in a struggle unprecedented in history. Fidel Castro led the insurrection of a group of revolutionary youths, but failed and was put in jail. Later he and a group of his comrades were exiled. In December 1956 they secretly returned to their fatherland from Mexico, and rallied the peasants, industrial and agricultural workers, and revolutionary youth and intellectuals to organize the rank and file to engage in an armed

struggle. This insurrectionary force, which inherited and developed the glorious tradition of the Cuban people's revolution, won the strong support of the Cuban people's Socialist Party and the hearty backing of the masses. It finally overthrew the dictatorial regime supported by the United States, after 2 years of struggle.

The speedy victory of the Cuban armed struggle and the people's revolution has clearly shown the Latin American people that the reactionary system is rotten to the core, and that the victory of the revolution could be won by organizing the multitude of the people to engage in a decisive struggle. The Latin American people now clearly see that without the multitude of the people, without the long-range bloody struggle of the workers and peasants, without the armed force of the peasants as the main body and the participation of the workers, neither the speedy victory of the Cuban people's revolution not the incessant consolidation and development of the fruits of the victory could have been possible. The new Cuba is like a lighthouse beckoning the people of Latin America to support national independence, to fight for democracy and struggle for economic independence. As stated by a female leader of Puerto Rican independence, "Cuba is an open window, and sunshine has shown through this window over all Latin America."

The triumph and development of the national democratic revolution of Cuba has greatly roused the fighting spirit and faith in victory of the people of the various countries of Latin America, and the struggle of the national democratic revolution in the whole of Latin America is developing like mighty waves rising one after the other. The people have persisted in armed struggles against the dictatorially dominated regimes of Nicaragua, the Cominican Republic, and Paraguay. In November last year, Panama, where U.S. armed forces are stationed, started a violent anti-U.S. demonstration, demanding the return of the Panama Canal. As Puerto Rico is covered with U.S. military bases, the masses have staged many demonstrations for independence. Anti-U.S. mass movements are rising up in Peru, Honduras, and Guatemala. In Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Columbia there are movements for protecting national resources, against foreign interference. In the presence of the increasing intensity of the people's anti-U.S. sentiments, some governments have adopted restrictive measures for smashing the interests of U.S. monopolistic capital. For instance, Venezuela has reclaimed more than 100,000 hectares of land monopolized by the United Fruit Corporation and announced that no new oil field lease rights would be granted to foreign companies. Mexico has abolished the right of the U.S. "Texas International (Gulf) Sulphur Co." to get sulphur from 52,000 hectares of land. Many countries manifest independent tendencies in the diplomatic areas. Some countries have established relations with socialist countries; Cuba

has concluded a trade pact with Soviet Russia. At the election of extraordinary members in the Security Council of the United Nations last year, many Latin American countries did not follow the U.S., and put the U.S.'s "voting machine" in the United Nations out of order.

All these great changes in one year have made the United States uncomfortable. It uses secret, dangerously two faced methods: on the one hand, it shows a hideous face in interfering with and threatening Cuba; on the other, it shows a smiling face to entice the Latin American people. Eisenhower's recent visit to South America demonstrated the two faced and underhanded methods. He spoke highly of "good will," the "good neighbor policy," and "friendship"; politically he brought up the "new Monroe Doctrine"; economically he used the so-called "Pan-American Development Bank" as a bait; militarily, he boasted of U.S. "strength." With the use of both hard and soft methods, threat and inducement, he attempted to isolate Cuba by separating it from the Caribbean area and South America. With reference to Eisenhower's visit, the Communist Party of Argentina declared that "the people of Argentina maintain that diplomatic, military, or economic aggression against Cuba is aggression against the whole of the Latin American people. They shall rise up as one to protect themselves against aggression." From Puerto Rico to four nations in South America, Eisenhower heard wherever he went angry roars against the U.S., saw anti-U.S. demonstration. And in Uruguay he personally had a taste of tear bombs. Eisenhower hoped to isolate Cuba by his so-called good-will mission, and the result was the further isolation of the United States. People have noticed that after Eisenhower's visit to South America, United States' interference in Cuba has become more violent. Airplanes flown from the United States have constantly bombed Cuba. The United States has sent reinforcements to its military base at Guantanamo in Cuba. In Honduras, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Haiti, Guatemala, Mexico, Costa Rica, and especially in the city of Miami, mercenaries and Cuban rebels are well armed, waiting for the order to attack Cuba. The U.S. Government has formally announced the reduction of sugar imports from Cuba. Aboard the French liner "S. S. La Coubre" at the harbor of Havana, the United States created a great explosion to prevent Cuba from obtaining ammunition. The United States has more than once used reactionaries and rebels to engage in antirevolutionary and counterrevolutionary conspiracies in Cuba. These acts of robbery have exposed the falsehood of the so-called "peace," "friendship," and "noninterference" of Eisenhower.

The struggle between U.S. interference in Cuba and Cuba's anti-interference measures is the focal point of the current battle of the peoples of Latin America against U.S. aggression. This concerns not only the fate of the Cubans, but also the destiny of the people of the whole of Latin America. The people of Latin America

are increasingly realizing that unity is unconquerable strength. In the struggle against U.S. interference in Cuba this year, "Latin American People's Week," held with great response in March, is a concrete expression of the mutual adaptability and support of the various peoples of Latin America. With the support of the whole world, some 2 billion people's solidarity is more powerful than U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and mercenaries. If the United States dares to commit the grave wrong of publicly engaging in armed interference in Cuba, it shall suffer the serious consequence of being collectively attacked by the whole of the people of Latin America and all peace-loving peoples of the world.

The further development of the national democratic movement in Latin America will be an important phase of development determining the world situation in the 1960s. To end the rule of U.S. colonialism in Latin America is the fundamental task of the national democratic revolution. U.S. imperialism is absolutely unwilling to be defeated in Latin America. The Latin American people's struggle against U.S. imperialism is a repetitive, complicated, and hard struggle. In dealing with this habitaually aggressive, tricky, and wicked enemy, great vigilance should be maintained to expose at all times all its secret plots. U.S. imperialism is nothing but a paper tiger outwardly strong but inwardly barren, a decaying force daily tending toward extinction. The revolutionary force of the Latin American people is growing strong in the impetuous national democratic movement, and is like the morning sun rising on the horizon radiating long rays of great brilliancy. This newly-born force will naturally be able to overcome a decaying force. The final victory belongs to the people of Latin America.

VII. THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION IS ADVANCING TOWARD VICTORY

Pages 38-42 Ta'ao Ying

The Republic of Czechoslovakia is going to exaltingly celebrate the 15th Anniversary of its emancipation this year. In the last 15 years, under the leadership of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, on the various fronts of socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction, the Czechoslovakians have made glorious achievements. The socialist reconstruction of the means of production is being basically completed and this year will see the fundamental build-up of the basis for the material production of socialism. The 1960 industrial output of Czechoslovakia will be increased about 4 times in comparison with 1937. Czechoslovakia has already become a highly developed industrial country. The socialist share in agriculture is 85% of the cultivated area of the country; agricultural output has markedly increased. The levels of the people's material and cultural standards have been greatly elevated. With the encouragement of the great measures for the completion of socialist reconstruction as put forward at the 11th Congress of Representatives of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party in June 1958, the people of Czechoslovakia are bravely forward with great faith toward the bright future of Communism. In the completion of the socialist revolution in the ideological and cultural fields, these great measures are important constituent parts.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which is faithful to the way of the October Revolution and insists upon following the principles of Marxism-Leninism, has always maintained an uncompromising attitude toward internal and external revisionism of all colors and shades and various bourgeois ideologies, and is incessantly strengthening its leadership in the struggle on the ideological and cultural fronts.

The central task for the realization of the ideological and cultural revolution as specified by the 11th Congress of Representatives of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party is to strengthen in various aspects the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie. Marxism-Leninism maintains that the superstructure should be adaptable and of service to the economic foundation. Based on this principle, the Czechoslovakian Communist Party has guided the ideological and cultural revolution in recognition of the concrete situation in Czechoslovakia. After the liberation, the laboring people of Czechoslovakia, under the leadership of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, brought about basic changes in political and social conditions, their spirit underwent profound transformation, and their socialist awakening became greatly enhanced. However, as the capitalist system had held sway over Czechoslovakia

for one and a half centuries before the liberation, and as the rightist Social Democrats had spread the poison of their doctrine, the ideology and consciousness of the bourgeoisie still have comparatively deep influence on the minds of the people. Among the intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie who were trained in the capitalist era in the past, there are still many who cherish the illusions of "democracy" and "freedom." The exploitative classes which have been overthrown are dreaming of the restoration of their "golden age" of the past. In addition, the imperialists and modern revisionists are using a thousand and one plots to spread poison in ideology and culture. All this tends to show that a serious struggle must be conducted incessantly within the realm of ideology and culture. Socialist ideology can win a decisive victory.

In 1956, when U.S. imperialism, the reactionaries in various countries, and the modern revisionists instigated the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist tidal waves, a small seqment influenced by the remnants of capitalism responded, availing themselves of the opportunity to attempt to stir up anti-Party and anti-socialism storms. There was a small group of people in the Czechoslovakian literary c circle and among the intelligentsia which, influenced by the modern revisionists, acted as the mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie and launched an attack on the Party and socialism. In order to maintain the socialist system and defend Marxism-Leninism, the Czechoslovak Communist Party persistently led the working class and the masses in launching a decisive counterattack against these crazy reactionaries. In order to go one step forward in engaging in the struggle against bourgeois ideology and modern revisionism, as well as to carry on to the end the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1957 proposed that the problem of cultural revolution should be considered as vital in the accomplishment of socialist reconstruction. In June 1956 comrade Novotny in his report to the 11th Representatives' Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party further suggested that it was inconceivable that socialist reconstruction could be accomplished without completing the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture. In April 1959, at the National Representatives' Congress of the Czechoslovakian National Front, he once again emphasized, "Under the present circumstances, the class struggle is particularly acute in the field of ideology and culture. Any negligence as regards this struggle will lead to serious consequences." Simultaneously the Czechoslovak Communist Party has emphasized over and over again that the attainment of socialist reconstruction and eventually, Communism, are determined by the establishment of the necessary material foundations, and also by the proper ideology and morality. With this clear and resolute objective, the Czechoslovak Communist Party is leading the socialist revolution in the realm of ideology and culture, and is continuously making important achievements.

Since the 11th Representatives' Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the ideological and cultural revolution of Czechoslovakia has been developing mainly around the following central themes.

1. Educational reform by relating education to life and productive labor.

Since the liberation, the education of the Czechoslovakian working class has experienced a great development; the nature of the school has been basically changed; the number of students has continuously increased; the new type of intellectual element, especially that of industrial and agricultural origin, is incessantly growing; and the socialist awakening of youth has been markedly intensified. However, there are certain serious defects in educational work. They mainly lie in incorrect attitudes toward physical labor, the separation of the school from life, and the separation of youth education from productive labor. Having elaborated on these conditions, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia regards the strengthening of the socialist and Communist ideological education of youth as an important task of Party work in political ideology. The educational reform is being carried out with emphasis on the union of education and life and productive labor. It is the aim of the education of the young generation to train them to master the ideological content of Communism and to acquire knowledge of productive labor and modern science and technology.

The basic requirements for such an educational reform are the following: strengthening the students' education in political ideology; enabling the students to acquire knowledge of productive labor, to positively take part in social practices; relating the school to the current social life; going one step forward to extend opportunities to the laboring class to get as education; enabling the absolute majority of the youth to get secondary school educations by 1970, simultaneously going one step forward to elevate the quality of pedagogy. Therefore the Central Organization of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has stipulated that the age limit for education, the students may continue their education by attending apprentice schools workers' (part time) secondary schools special secondary schools, or general secondary schools. Civic education lessons are being added in the secondary and elementary schools. In schools of higher level the teaching of Marxism-Leninism compiled. In secondary and elementary schools the blending of industrial practice and liberal-art education is being sent to factories and rural areas to engage in productive labor. New courses for teaching and learning are being compiled, and the teachers' ideological remolding is being strengthened. Simultaneously, great effort is being exerted to develop free-time education

for the laboring people. This basic educational reform is profoundly significant. It helps education to politically better serve the proletariat. It gradually eliminates the differences between physical and mental labor and also creates step by step the conditions for the transition to Communism.

2. Further Flourishing of the Liberal Arts of Socialism

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has always paid great attention to the development of literary and artistic work. It maintains that the most important task of the liberal arts under socialism is to mold the people's socialist and Communist ideology and moral qualities. It practices strong leadership over the liberal arts and wages an uncompromising struggle against modern revisionist ideology and erroneous ideas among literary and artistic workers. It is aware of the fact that among the intelligentsia there are not a few who are influenced most profoundly by bourgeois ideology and culture, having long been separated from the masses and reality. Since the 11th Congress of Representatives, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has further emphasized that the ideology of literary and artistic workers should be remolded, and that the importance of the world view of Marxism-Leninism should be upheld. It has pointed out that, as the engineers of human souls, authors are concerned with great historical reform and must undergo self-reconstruction. Thus the literary and artistic workers must delve deeply into life and closely relate it to industry and agriculture. In response to the appeal of the Party, relations between the literary and artistic workers and the laboring people are being strengthened. Literary and artistic workers regularly visit factories, rural areas, and the rank and file to conduct forums or presentations. Some even go to the medium and small cities, factories, and rural areas to live and to engage in work.

The ideological struggle in the literary and artistic circles and the ideological remolding of the liberal-arts workers naturally reflect method and content. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has paid great attention to this problem and has proposed using the method of socialist realism to create, and to censure the methods of so-called impressionism, modernism, and neorealism. It points out that socialist literary and artistic works should primarily reflect the proper ideology and modern technology, and should simultaneously reflect national forms and characteristics. It censures all tendencies toward giving sole attention to form with no attention to content, formalization, universalism, and so on. It strongly maintains that creative work should be the reflection of modern life, the reflection of the spirit, features, and struggle of the laboring people. It censures the tendencies toward describing only the petty aspects of everyday life and the vulgarity of petty bourgeois sentiments. It strongly emphasizes

that writers should have a great variety of styles. It encourages and promotes a variety of styles in order to fully develop the creative abilities of writers.

The opening of the Congress of Cultural Representatives of Czechoslovakian Socialism in June 1959 is symbolic of the fact that under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia the literary and artistic workers of Czechoslovakia have secured, through criticism and struggle, new solidarity on the foundation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Before the Congress, a great number of literary and artistic workers responded to the appeal of the Party to visit factories and rural areas in order to communicate with the laboring people, to hear their cultural requirements. The Congress criticized the literary and artistic circles for their isolation from politics and life, for neglecting the phenomenon of thought. It inspired the literary and artistic workers with determination to struggle for the accomplishment of the cultural revolution of socialism. They have given assurance of using their whole might to promote the development of socialism, and to continuously engage in an over-all decisive struggle against the ideology of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie against all colors and shades of opportunism, revisionism and the other hostile ideologies. Under the leadership of the Party, with its correct liberal arts directions and policies the liberal-arts circles of Czechoslovakia are flourishing with great vitality.

3. Strengthening the Communist Education of the Masses, and Effective Development of the Cultural Activities of the Masses

The masses of Czechoslovakia have a comparatively high cultural level. After the liberation, the cultural work of the masses was greatly developed with a rich content and a variety of forms. At present, cultural halls, people's libraries and movie theatres are spreading over all the cities and villages; radio, television, museums and galleries are also well developed. A million and a half are participating in amateur liberal arts associations; music, dance and literature are enjoyed by the masses. The associations for the popularization of political and scientific knowledge have done much work in each district of the country.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has paid great attention to the political and cultural education of the masses and to their cultural activities. Since the 11th Congress of Representatives, it has taken one step forward to strengthen its leadership over the cultural activities of the masses. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has suggested three main directions for the cultural activities of the masses. Firstly, inculcation of the scientific world view and the Party's policies; overcoming the

influence of the various kinds of bourgeois ideology, selfishness and self-interest, abuse of public property, lack of consideration for the collective interests, religion and superstition, the ideology of chauvinism; effective propagation of collectivism, patriotism internationalism, Communist morality atheism. Secondly elevation of the level of culture, science, and technology; emphasis on employing the productive technology and advanced experience of Soviet Russia; effective diffusion of advanced production methods; making the popularization of science and culture of better service to production. Thirdly, elevation of the artistic cultivation of the masses; enrichment of the cultural life of the laboring people; positive guidance for the laboring people in the creation of literature and arts; further flourishing of the cultural and technological activities of the people. In order to elevate the creative activities of the masses the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has planned of the masses, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has planned the promotion of such activities in the medium and small towns. It hopes to gradually get each county to have its own newspaper, press gallery movie theater, and artists' association, and each district its people's technical school as the leading center of the cultural life of the laboring people. The effective operation of these measures will gradually eliminate the differences between the cultural levels of the city and rural areas.

At a result of the extension and gradual penetration of the ideological and cultural revolution, the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie has suffered a serious blow and is being weakened. The socialist and Communist awakening of the masses of Czechoslovakia is being incessantly intensified; their zeal for socialist reconstruction has resulted in unprecedental success; the socialist labor activation movements, especially the socialist labor corps advocating socialist modes of work and life, are flourishing. Therefore new victories have incessantly been scored on the economic front. The target for the increased industrial output of the Second Five-Year Plan, 1956-1960, has been fulfilled in advance, and the all-people's movement for the effective development of agricultural production is flourishing. Czechoslovakia is now facing the great task of completing socialist reconstruction and that of creating the conditions for the gradual transition to Communism. Upon the further development of the ideological and cultural revolution of Czechoslovakia, upon the complete eradication of bourgeois ideology, upon the full expression of the participation of the masses in socialist reconstruction, the glorious victory of the socialist and Communist reconstruction of Czechoslovakia can be anticipated.

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