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DISPOSE OF INTERNAL CONTRADICTION AMONG MASSES TO
SPEED UP SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

- COMMUNIST CHINA -

[Following is the translation of an article written by Hu T'i-yun, in T'ien-ching Jih-pao (Tientsin Daily), 18 June 1960, page 4.]

(I)

It has been three years since Comrade Mao Tse-tung's speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" was made public. Within these three years, the rapid development of China's various enterprises, especially the manifestation of the all-out and continuous great leap forward in the national economy, has fully proved the enormous practical value of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's brilliant writing. Following the march of time, its historic value will become greater and greater.

In this speech, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, first from the standpoint of principle, affirmed that there would be contradictions existing in a socialist society. He pointed out, "Marxist philosophy holds that the law of unity of opposites is a fundamental law of the universe. This law operates everywhere, in the natural world, in human society, and in man's thinking. Opposites in contradictions unite as well as struggle with each other, and thus impel all things to move and change. Contradictions exist everywhere, but as things differ in nature, so do contradictions". This awakened some comrades, who dared not openly acknowledge and face the fact that contradictions still existed in a socialist society, and caused them to abandon their passive attitude for an active one. More important is the fact that Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his speech pointed out to us the two types of contradictions: the contradictions between us and the enemy and the contradictions among the people. He also definitely outlined the six criteria by which right and wrong could be differentiated. They are right if they:

- "(1) Help to unite the people of our various nationalities, and do not divide them;
- "(2) Are beneficial, not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction;
- "(3) Help to consolidate, not undermine or weaken, the people's democratic dictatorship;
- "(4) Help to consolidate, not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism;
- "(5) Tend to strengthen, not to cast off or weaken, the leadership of the Communist Party;
- "(6) Are beneficial, not harmful, to international socialist solidarity and the solidarity of the peace-loving peoples of the world.

"Of these six criteria, the most important are the two that concern the socialist path and the leadership of the Party."

These criteria cleared our eyes and enabled us to differentiate the nature of the two types of contradictions. The principle that differentiated the two types of nature strengthened the solidarity of China's 600 million people and dealt a deadly blow against the imperialists, the capitalist rightists and the modern revisionists, who took advantage of the fact that contradictions still existed in socialism to attack socialism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung in this famous speech, not only clearly pointed out to us the different nature of the contradictions existing in a socialist society but also pointed out to us the different methods to resolve these two types of contradictions. That is to say, the antagonistic contradictions between ourselves and the enemy must be resolved through a proletarian dictatorship; while the contradictions among the people, who have similar basic interests, must be resolved by democratic methods. The latter is the application of the "unity--criticism--unity" formula. "To elaborate, this means to start off with a desire for unity and resolve contradictions through criticism or struggle so as to achieve a new unity on a new basis."

According to the Party's practical experiences derived from the socialist revolution and socialist construction, it has been obviously proved that the movement of "let a hundred flowers blossom and let a hundred schools contend", the large-letter wall newspapers and the great debate were the best method and the most correct formula to resolve the contradictions among the people. Under conditions existing in a socialist revolution and socialist construction, the application of the above-mentioned formula was a great

achievement. Comrade Mao Tse-tung in outlining the principles of the correct handling of contradictions among the people, clearly pointed out to us the route to muster all active elements.

After having clearly understood the contradictions and differentiated the nature of the contradictions, we have a correct method to handle them so that our society will progress rapidly forward. Accordingly, these famous conclusions made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung have established the theoretical foundation for China's rapid progress in socialist construction and her active transition into communism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's principles outlined in his speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" contain a great life force. In accordance with these principles, the Party led the entire people through a rectification campaign, mobilized the people throughout the country into an active movement, defeated the capitalist rightists' ruthless attack, boycotted and criticized the international modern revisionist ideology, protected the fruits of proletarian struggle, acquired a decisive victory for socialist revolution and highly raised the masses' socialist and communist awareness. These facts enabled China's socialist productive force to attain rapid development, advancing towards a new era, where China would become a strong socialist state, possessing modern industries, modern agriculture, modern science and culture.

(II)

The problem of correct handling of the contradictions among the people, in the final analysis, is the full mobilization of all active elements. First, it is the mobilization of the entire people's active force in socialist construction.

China is a large country with an over 600 million population and 10,000,000 square kilometers of land. But her characteristic is "one poverty two white". Therefore, after the Communist Party led the entire people and seized political power from three great enemies, the confronting task was the struggle to change rapidly the face of backwardness. As early as 1945, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had pointed out to us, "After having attained political well-being under a new democracy, the people of China and their government must adopt effective measures, within a certain number of years, step by step, to establish heavy and light industries so that China will change from an agricultural country into an industrial country." (Selected Writings of Mao Tse-tung, Second Edition, Volume 3, page 1081).

To change a large, poor and backward country into a strong and advanced socialist country within a short time is of course a very great contradiction and difficulties are inevitable. The problem lies in the fact that China is a large country with enormous potentialities. If only the relations between the various phases were handled properly, the various pessimistic elements could be changed into an active force, forming an uncontrollable current forcing its way ahead, thus, this great contradiction could be resolved rapidly. Just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung once said, "In poverty one must think for change, must act, must rebel. A piece of white blank paper has no obligations. New and beautiful letters can be written on it, and the best and most beautiful picture can be drawn on it." ("Introducing a Cooperative"). Thus, it can be seen that by correct handling of the contradictions among the people, all the active elements can be mobilized. This has a great meaning in the rapid development of China's socialist construction. In its practical application within the last several years, this fact was more clearly recognized.

The Party's socialist construction general line is the further development and manifestation of the ideology presented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People". After having the general line, we know the principle of correct handling the contradictions among the people and we have a general direction. We can employ more fully the objective active force of 600 million people to realize the possibility of rapid progress in socialist construction as implied by the socialist system.

As we all know, contradictions are universally existent, and when old contradictions have been resolved, new ones will arise. Correct handling of these contradictions will enable us to adjust various relations and mobilize the various phases of active force. But all contradictions cannot be treated in the same way, without regard to the degree of seriousness. In general, adjusting various relations and correct handling of contradictions among the people are means to resolve finally the fundamental contradiction in socialist society.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has explained to us, "The basic contradictions in socialist society are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base." This is the basic contradiction that motivates China's socialist development. But, owing to public ownership of the means of production and the state under proletarian dictatorship,

the nature of this contradiction is fundamentally different from that in the old society. In a socialist society, the contradictions between production relations and the productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base are not only non-antagonistic but also, being recognized and self-adjusting, become two phases that are mutually encouraging in development.

In China's socialist society, relations of production are basically suitable for the rapid development of productive forces. "When we say that socialist relations of production are better suited than the old relations of production to the development of the productive forces, we mean that the former permits the productive forces to develop at a speed unparalleled in the old society, so that production can expand steadily and the constantly growing needs of the people can be met step by step." This is to say, the new relations of production is definitely not merely suited for the development of productive forces, but on the contrary, these new relations motivate the rapid development of the productive forces.

Since the establishment of the People's Republic, every reform and improvement in the relations of production is at the same time a process for the rapid development of socialist productive forces, and in turn, the constant development of productive forces actuates the constant improvement of the relations of production. The people's commune, which arose in the midst of the great leap forward movement, and after productive forces have been rapidly developed, is the kind of organizational form that can most effectively accelerate the development of China's socialist productive forces. Just under such conditions, an all-out continuous great leap forward manifested itself in China's national economy.

Since the Liberation, China's production has moved forward with a speed unparalleled in the capitalist countries. Take industrial production index figures as an example, from 1950 to 1958, the average annual increase rate was 28%, while that of the same period for the United States was only 3.7%, and Britain 2.9%.

Furthermore, China's leap forward rate is a continuous and constant development. However, this does not say that China's socialist relations of production are perfect and without defects, but actually, there are certain links that need constant adjustment and improvement, especially, when productive forces have developed, there will arise new contradictions. Only when these contradictions are constantly resolved, can China's productive forces be rapidly developed.

"There is conformity as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the development of the productive forces; similarly, there is conformity as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base". The superstructure is determined by the economic base, but once the superstructure has been established, it will not merely conform but it will serve the economic base by protecting, consolidating and developing it. China is under the people's democratic dictatorship, with Marxism-Leninism as a guide for the building of socialism. In promoting socialist reform in her national economy, China has established and developed a public ownership economic system and organized socialist construction. These have demonstrated great effects.

But China is still in the socialist stage, especially now; China has just left the old society, which left "deep scars" on her, especially the effects from the remnants of capitalist ideology, which still affect many phases. The capitalist elements and their intellectual elements have not been thoroughly remoulded. Accordingly, "the proletariat must reform the world in accordance with its world outlook, while the capitalist class must also reform the world in accordance with its world outlook", so the struggle between these two world outlooks will be long.

To acknowledge and to give attention to the above mentioned two phases of contradiction, to consider regularly the adjustment between the relations of production and the superstructure so that they will be suited for the full mobilization of the entire people's active force, to muster to the greatest possible degree the objective active force of China's 600 million population and to adjust the people's active force to meet the needs of productive forces' rapid development are the key factors by which China accelerates her socialist construction.

We want rapid development of socialist productive forces, no matter whether we look from the adjustment of production relations to promote the development of productive forces, or from the basis of adjusting the superstructure to consolidate economic development; in the final analysis it is a question of man. Man is the decisive factor in the productive force. When you have man, you have all. By man, it is meant a man with an ideology. Consequently, it is only through correct handling of the relations between the various phases that you can mobilize all active elements.

In the correct handling of contradictions among the people, first we must insist that we should assume political prominence. The assumption of political prominence guarantees

the Party's absolute leadership over all enterprises, with communist ideology assuming political prominence. Just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung once instructed us, "The central force that leads our enterprises is the Chinese Communist Party. The power that guides our ideological and theoretical basis is Marxism-Leninism". (A speech delivered at the opening of the First Plenary Meeting of the First All-China People's Congress).

Having the Party's leadership and having the guidance of the communist ideology, the great mass of people can become self-conscious socialist builders and can self-consciously have "high morale, fight for the upper stream, and the construction of socialism in a more, faster, better and cheaper manner". Under this unity of thought, the mutual relations among the people will be correctly handled.

In order to handle correctly the contradictions among the people, all the active elements must be mobilized and furthermore, the Party's general line must be fully implemented as well as the entire set of "walking on two legs" policies that were outlined by Comrade Mao Tse-tung: under priority conditions for the development of heavy industry, industry and agriculture must be developed at the same time; heavy industry and light industry must be developed at the same time; in the field of centralized leadership, and under the conditions of overall planning, division of labor and cooperation, central industry and local industry must be developed at the same time; large enterprise and medium and small enterprises must be developed at the same time; foreign method production and native method production must be developed at the same time.

To carry out the policy of developing industry and agriculture, heavy industry and light industry at the same time under priority conditions, is the correct way to adjust the relation between the development of productive material production and the development of consumption material production; it is also the relation between production and consumption. This policy not only guarantees the priority growth of productive material production, but also guarantees the continuous development of consumption materials and the gradual improvement of the people's livelihood, thereby self-consciously maintaining a mutual and correct proportional relationship.

The development of central industry and local industry, large enterprise and medium and small enterprises, foreign method production and native method production at the same time, is the correct policy to develop China's great potentialities. It is also another brilliant example

of the Party's firm reliance on the masses for socialist construction and the implementation of the mass line.

It is only through the application of the entire set of "walking on two legs" policies that the active force of the various phases in the urban and rural areas, among the workers and the peasants, between the central and the local, the high and the low, the large and the small, etc., can be fully mobilized. These policies not only mobilize the people's active force but also that of the materials, transforming all pessimistic elements into active elements. This is the reliable guarantee for the rapid development of China's national economy and for the planned and proportional development that has speed as its guidance.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung told us that in order to mobilize all active elements, we must correctly handle the contradictions between accumulation and consumption, then, "in the problem of distribution, we must take into consideration the interests of the state, the collective interests and the individual interests". The correctly arranged proportion between accumulation and consumption is the important problem that determines whether we can rapidly develop construction.

Since the establishment of the People's Republic, though China's socialist construction has attained great achievements, her economic conditions are still very backward. Because of this, "After the victory of the socialist revolution, the problem of construction speed has become the most important problem confronting us. Our revolution was aimed at the most rapid development of social productive force. China's economy was originally very backward and she still has imperialism surrounding her. It is only through the most possible rapid construction that China can rapidly consolidate her socialist state and raise the people's living standards." (A work report made by Liu Shao-ch'i at the Second Plenary Meeting of the Eighth All-China Party Congress).

Accordingly, under the conditions of the development of production and the improvement of the people's livelihood, no matter whether it is the state operated economy or collective economy, we must appropriately raise the proportion of accumulation in the people's income, so that we can promote socialist construction in a "more and faster manner". Only under these circumstances can heavy industry be guaranteed priority development, especially the metallurgical industry, the manufacture of machines, the electric power and coal mining departments, so that the technical reform in the national economy will secure the necessary material foundation.

Only under these circumstances can agricultural production be realized with a technical reform and the people's commune system be better consolidated and developed. And it is only under these circumstances that the entire people's livelihood can be more greatly improved, which is the common demand of the great masses of laboring people. This is to say that the rapid development of China's production is the step by step rising process of her people's living standards.

Following the continuous penetration of socialist revolution and the flying development of socialist construction, the political ideological aspect of China's great masses of people has manifested a very impressive transformation. No matter whether it is between the workers and the peasants, or between the Government and the great masses of people, or between those in the positions of leadership and the led, these relations have advanced into a new stage, where the advanced help the backward, without regard for recompense nor for other considerations and time, so communist ideology has attained very great progress.

However, this does not say that the mutual relationship among men requires no further adjustment, but on the contrary, following production developments, the present organizational forms, regulations and systems may be in time become obsolete, the originally advanced may become backward; furthermore, for a still fairly long period of time, the effect of capitalism especially the capitalist political ideology still exists, it still can contaminate us; those old concepts and habits still may be able to grow and produce to the extent that they will hinder our common progress. Therefore, we must constantly adjust and resolve all those imperfect and abnormal elements that may arise in our mutual relations, so that we will be properly suited for the rapid development of socialist construction enterprises.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly instructed us, "In drawing up plans, handling affairs or thinking over problems, we must proceed from the fact that China has a population of six hundred million people. This must never be forgotten". We must "bring all positive factors into play, rally everyone that can be rallied, and do everything possible to turn negative factors into positive ones to serve the great cause of building a socialist society." The great victory China won on every front is the result derived from the fact that under the Party's education, 600 million people have been ideologically liberated, the positive and creative factors have been fully developed.

In short, it is only through correct handling of the contradictions among the various phases of the people that all the positive factors can be mobilized and socialist construction can be rapidly advanced. We have already attained various types of achievements, this is the victory for correct handling of contradictions among the people and it is also a great victory for the Mao Tse-tung ideology.

(III)

The correct handling of the contradictions among the people concerns the mobilization of the positive factors in the 600 million people and also concerns the effect of the full development of the 600 million people's subjective creativity. The great important problem of hastening the progress of socialist construction is the development of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's creative ability to expand socialist construction theories and the communist transition theories in Marxism-Leninism. He not only guides us in China's revolution and construction but also enriches the Marxist-Leninist theories.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" has been made public for three years already. But, our learning from and understanding of this great principle are still far from sufficient; on the other hand, following the practical application, the proof has become more and more obvious. Each one of us, Communist Party members and revolutionary workers, must deeply feel that every time we read this greatly talented writing, we would gain something new and receive further encouragement. This clearly shows that this great speech made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung possesses boundless wisdom and power, from which we can derive endless knowledge.

Accordingly, we must study more diligently and learn more penetratingly these principles and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's other writings, so that we can arm ourselves with the Mao Tse-tung ideology, raise high the flag of Mao Tse-tung ideology and march bravely forward, and with the greatest possible speed build China into a strong socialist country, possessing modern industries, modern agriculture, modern science and culture and modern national defence. Such are the goals for our struggle.

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