forces must be concentrated on a battle of annihilation and the tree-planting and afforestation targets must be achieved in every respect; meanwhile, the work of collecting seeds, breeding saplings and working the land must be expedited and the care of existing fruit trees must be strengthened. Construction of mountainous areas with emphasis on embankment and filling up of ground must be undertaken "on a big scale during the slack farming season and kept up the whole year round." (2) Launch a mass campaign to build farm water conservancy projects with emphasis on small projects, projects built by the masses themselves, and the work of providing integrated sets of equipment; drainage must be combined with irrigation. For the present, emphasis should be placed on elimination of water-logging; projects must be provided with integrated sets of equipment, land must be leveled, management of irrigation canals must be strengthened, the latent power of existing water conservancy facilities must be further tapped, and the area of steady- and high-yield land must be enlarged. (3) Set the masses in motion to sum up this year's experiences in production increase, learn from the experiences of other areas in production increase, popularize the new techniques that have been proved to be successful, and prepare technical conditions for all-round production increase in agriculture, forestry, stock-breeding, side occupations and fisheries next year.

The session passed appointments and dismissals of the personnel of the Municipal People's Council...

Before the session, the Municipal People's Council had held two conferences: an agricultural production conference participated in by suburban sien (and ch'u) heads and responsible persons of sien (and ch'u) departments of agriculture and forestry, water conservancy, agricultural machinery, and electric power, and by some commune directors and a conference on distribution of income of suburban people's communes for 1964.

POLEMICS

Refute the "Combine Two into One" Theory Over the Contradiction Between Redness and Proficiency

by Kao Ta-sheng (考达声)
and Feng Yu-chang (冯育章) of Taishan University

(Peking Pei-ching Jih-pao, November 15, 1964)

In the polemics between "divide one into two" and "combine two into one," Comrade Yao Po-mao has set forth the following views, citing the contradiction between redness and proficiency as an instance: (1) Contradictions may be divided into two categories: "contradictions with identity as their principal feature" and "contradictions with struggle as their principal feature." The contradiction between redness and proficiency belongs to the "contradictions with identity as their principal feature." (2) Redness and proficiency "partially exclude each other." "It cannot be said that the opposite of redness is proficiency and vice versa." "Redness and proficiency are completely united." (3) It is not necessary to resolve the contradiction between redness and proficiency by conducting a tit-for-tat struggle; i.e., by overcoming one aspect with the other; it should be resolved by "combining two into one." From this he draws the conclusion that both those who advocate "dividing one into two" and those who advocate "combining two into one" are "guilty of taking the part as the whole." (See "Comment on the Discussion of 'Divide One into Two' and 'Combine Two into One,'" - Jen-min Jih-pao of July 19, 1964)
The above views held by Comrade Yao Po-mao are wrong. Below we shall analyze his wrong views, taking as an instance the contradiction between redness and proficiency that exists in training politically red and professionally proficient personnel in the institutes of higher learning.

1. How redness and proficiency constitute a contradiction

In our opinion, the relationship between redness and proficiency is one between politics and profession, and between politics and technique; the two are a unity of opposites. The relationship between politics and profession exists in all societies and among all classes. In the capitalist society, the bourgeoisie demands unity of bourgeois politics and profession. In the socialist society, the proletariat demands unity of proletarian politics and profession, i.e., unity of redness and proficiency. Redness means the political orientation of the proletariat; it is the commander, soul, base and motive power of profession. Proficiency means the technique, instrument and method of carrying out assignments; it is at the service of politics. A politically red man is one who takes the stand of the proletariat, has the communist outlook on the world, and serves the workers; peasants and socialism with all his heart. A professionally proficient man is one who masters specialized skills and modern scientific and cultural knowledge. Redness and proficiency are united and promote each other. By placing proficiency under its command, redness can promote proficiency; by serving redness, proficiency can facilitate realization of the political tasks. That redness and proficiency are united and promote each other is recognized by Comrade Yao Po-mao. But the point is that we cannot confine our view to the unity of redness and proficiency without losing sight of their mutual antagonism, exclusion and struggle.

Concerning the antagonism between redness and proficiency, Comrade Yao Po-mao tells us nothing concrete except to say that "redness does not amount to proficiency and cannot replace proficiency, nor does proficiency amount to redness and replace redness."

What are the manifestations of mutual antagonism, exclusion and struggle of redness and proficiency?

One of the manifestations of contradiction between redness and proficiency is that in the present-day society redness and proficiency are still not developed in an even manner and are still separated in varying degrees -- some are politically red but not professionally proficient, while some are professionally proficient but not politically red. For instance, some people have a fine professional ability but not a high political awareness; their political level is not compatible with their professional level, the fact that they are politically not red restricts display of their professional ability, prevents them from making a success of their work and even causes them to do things unfavorable to the people. On the other hand, some people have a high degree of political awareness but poor professional ability; their professional level is not compatible with their political level; the fact that professionally they are not proficient prevents them from fulfilling their political tasks and making a success of their work.

In philosophical terms, this incompatibility and separation are called mutual antagonism, exclusion and struggle of opposites. Being professionally proficient but not politically red or being politically red but not professionally proficient is a state of separation of redness and proficiency, a state brought about by an intensification of contradiction between redness and proficiency.

In the socialist society, this contradiction between redness and proficiency is brought about mainly by the class system and is a manifestation of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The socialist society has come out from the old society. In the old society, the exploiting-class monopolized science and culture, most of those trained were intellectuals of the exploiting class, and the broad masses of working people were deprived of the right to master science and culture. What is left over by the old society is this extreme separation of redness and proficiency. After liberation, things have radically changed with science and culture placed in the hands of the working people, with new intellectuals politically red and professionally proficient growing up in large numbers, with many intellectuals from the old society having gone through ideological remodeling, and with the separation of redness and proficiency being overcome step by step. However, because of the fact that the exploiting
class still has great force and influence in the scientific and cultural fields, bourgeoise intellectuals are still found and differences still exist between manual labor and mental labor, and between workers and peasants; the separation of redness and proficiency left over by the old society is still not completely done away with and there is a likelihood that this separation of redness and proficiency will take place. For example, some of the young people who have grown up after liberation and are of good family origin have a high degree of awareness but lack scientific and cultural knowledge. On the other hand, some people who have been deeply influenced by the exploiting class in the society and their families and whose level of awareness is low, possess more knowledge of science and culture. This brings about a contradiction between redness and proficiency in real life.

The contradiction between redness and proficiency also finds its striking expression in the fact that those imbued with bourgeoisie ideas take their profession as a means to personal fame and gain, use profession to exclude politics and proficiency to exclude redness, and advocate proficiency to the neglect of redness. For instance, during the 1957 rectification campaign, bourgeoisie rightists in the institutions of higher learning considered themselves to be the professional "authority," demanded "professorial management of schools," raised an outcry that "one outside the trade cannot lead one inside the trade," and opposed Party leadership over schools. This was how the bourgeoisie used profession as the means for opposing political leadership and Party leadership, and developed a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. Further, among some people is found the bourgeoisie idea of letting profession serve personal fame and gain. They think that profession may be independent of politics, and hope to be "pure scientists." In the belief that "profession is everything," they bargain with the Party, relying on their profession for "strength." On the excuse that their time is constant and their energy is limited, they exaggerate the contradiction between redness and proficiency in time, and hold that it is impossible for one to be politically red and professionally proficient. Dominated by this individualist outlook on life, they suggest "proficiency first and redness second," "more proficiency and less redness" and "substitution of proficiency for redness." In a word, they want proficiency and in redness, using proficiency to exclude redness, and oppose placing proficiency under the command of redness. Meanwhile, that they are politically not red restricts their professional proficiency. This road traversed by bourgeoisie intellectuals who are professionally proficient but politically not red is fundamentally opposed to the road traversed by the proletarian intellectuals who are both politically red and professionally proficient. Therefore, this struggle between redness and proficiency waged by bourgeoisie-minded people who use profession to exclude politics and proficiency to exclude redness is manifested, in real life, as a struggle between political leadership over profession and "profession decides everything," and a struggle between the red and proficient road, and the proficient but not red road.

The contradiction between redness and proficiency also finds its expression in two different criteria for evaluating what is proficiency. The proficiency the proletariat demands is such that one is capable of solving both theoretical and practical problems, is able to use both his brains and his hands, and is capable of both literary and military deeds. This proficiency is proficiency directed by the proletarian view of the world and proficiency combined with redness which is at the service of proletarian politics. On the other hand, the criterion with which the bourgeoisie measures proficiency is the books read and the theoretical knowledge acquired, irrespective of whether practical problems of socialist revolution and socialist construction can be solved or not. This proficiency is proficiency directed by the bourgeoisie ideal view of the world and is divorced from redness. This proficiency cannot possibly render a good service to the proletarian politics and many even exclude the purpose of serving proletarian politics. This is also one of the manifestations of contradiction between redness and proficiency in real life.
So much for the manifestations of mutual antagonism, exclusion and struggle of redness and proficiency. Comrade Yao Po-mao also recognizes redness and proficiency as two aspects of a contradiction but he holds that redness and proficiency "only partially exclude each other," are not opposed to each other, and are "completely united." In fact, every contradiction has two aspects which exclude each other and struggle against each other, and that is, two aspects which are opposed to each other. Chairman Mao said: "To be 'opposed to each other' means the mutual exclusion or struggle of the two contradictory aspects." (1) There is no such thing here as a distinction between what is called partial exclusion and what is called whole exclusion. The instances of contradiction between redness and proficiency as analyzed above will clarify the following: Redness and proficiency are incompatible with each other and are separated from each other--does not this mean mutual exclusion of opposites? Bourgeois-minded people use profession to exclude politics and proficiency to exclude redness, insist on proficiency instead of redness, advocate "profession decides everything," and oppose placing profession under the command of politics and becoming both red and proficient--does not this mean mutual exclusion of opposites? The proficiency dictated by the bourgeois idealist view of the world cannot conform with the demand of proletarian politics and even excludes it--does not this mean mutual exclusion of opposites? How can this be called "partial exclusion" and "complete unity"? Comrade Yao Po-mao's view is untenable. He himself says: "One may not become a nominal statesman who is politically red but professionally proficient, still less of course may one become politically red but professionally proficient but politically not red and who is unable to serve the people with all his heart and who even does things jeopardizing the interests of the people." Here Comrade Yao Po-mao has clearly seen the intensification of struggle between redness and proficiency. But as he departs from classes and class struggle that objectively exist and as he abstractedly explores the relationship between redness and proficiency, he loses sight of the contradiction between redness and proficiency and arrives at the wrong conclusion that redness and proficiency "partially exclude each other" and are "completely united," thus disregarding the elementary knowledge of materialistic dialectics.

Concerning the relations in which politics is opposed to and united with professions--i.e., with technique, economics, military affairs, and art--Chairman Mao has made many brilliant and concrete analyses and we should learn in earnest. For instance, analyzing the relations in which politics is opposed to and united with art, Chairman Mao said in his "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Art and Literature," "What we demand is unity of politics and art, of content and form, and of the revolutionary political content and the highest possible degree of perfection in artistic form." (2) But is there a contradiction between politics and art? There is. Some things which are basically reactionary from the political point of view may yet be artistically good. But the more artistic such a work may be, the greater harm will it do to the people, and the more reason for us to reject it. The contradiction between reactionary political content and artistic form is a common characteristic of the art and literature of all exploiting classes in their decline." (3) On the other hand, "works of art, however politically progressive, are powerless if they lack artistic quality." (4) It is a contradiction between revolutionary political content and a lack of perfect form of art. That is why Chairman Mao called for "a struggle on two fronts over the question of literature and art" to oppose both the works with wrong political approaches and the tendency towards so-called 'poster and slogan style' which is correct only in political approach but lacks artistic power." (5) This is intended to resolve the contradiction between politics and art and achieve unity of politics and art.

2. How to resolve the contradiction between redness and proficiency and achieve both redness and proficiency

Comrade Yao Po-mao takes the view that since the contradiction between redness and proficiency is "a contradiction with identity as its principal feature," to resolve it, "it is not necessary for the two contradictory aspects to conduct a life-and-death struggle against each other" and that the result of struggle of opposites is not overcoming of one aspect by the other but "should be combination, unity, connection and 'uniting into one' of the two aspects." Is that really the case? In our opinion, whether it is necessary to "conduct a life-and-death struggle" to resolve the contradiction is a question of the form of struggle between opposites. Chairman Mao said: "Contradiction and struggle are universal and absolute but the method of resolving the contradiction, i.e., the form of struggle, varies with contradictions.
different in character." (6) A life-and-death struggle is a form of struggle of antagonistic contradictions; the opposite is a form of struggle of non-antagonistic contradictions. It has nothing to do with the question whether the contradiction involved is "one with identity as its principal feature" or "one with struggle as its principal feature." This is the first point. The second point is that we consider it very important to combine redness and proficiency and our aim of resolving the contradiction between redness and proficiency is to achieve both redness and proficiency. But like all other contradictions the contradiction between redness and proficiency must be resolved through a tit-for-tat struggle of the two aspects of contradiction, by overcoming one aspect with the other, and not by way of "uniting two into one." As mentioned above, the contradiction between redness and proficiency during the socialist period is mainly a manifestation of the class contradiction between the proletarian and the bourgeoisie. Therefore, to resolve the contradiction between redness and proficiency, we must conduct a class struggle to "promote the proletarian and destroy the bourgeoisie," use the proletarian thought to overcome the bourgeoisie thought, use redness to set proficiency in motion, and combine redness and proficiency. After liberation, we have conducted tit-for-tat and repeated struggles against the bourgeoisie in order to place professions under the proletarian command, train red and proficient personnel and overcome separation of redness and proficiency. For example, we have gradually transformed science and culture according to the socialist principle and used the cultural superiority of the proletariat to overcome the force of the exploiting class in the scientific and cultural fields. In educational undertakings, we have carried out the educational policy of the Party, developed the work-study and farming-study system of education, used the educational system of the proletariat to overcome the educational system of the bourgeoisie and taken steps to eliminate the differences between manual labor and mental labor, between workers and peasants and between town and country. All this has given a strong impetus to the growth of the red and proficient forces. Further, among the intellectuals we have consistently insisted in the ideological struggle to "promote the proletarian and destroy the bourgeoisie" and opposed the intellectual road traversed by bourgeois intellectuals who are professionally proficient but politically not red. Meanwhile, we have taken care to overcome the tendency toward 'redness but no proficiency,' that was once manifested by some people. In this way, many people have gained a clear understanding about the direction of redness and proficiency, and gradually embarked upon the red and proficient road. Further, in the professional field we also conducted a struggle between the proletarian outlook on the world and the bourgeois outlook on the world, helped the intellectuals to study Marxist philosophy and Chairman Mao's works, to use the proletarian outlook on the world to direct their professional practice and to overcome the influence of the bourgeois idealist view of the world, and used the policy of integrating theory with practice to overcome the tendency of separating theory from practice, thereby enabling them to achieve redness and proficiency in a better way. If it is not clear that resolving the contradiction between redness and proficiency and achieving both redness and proficiency is a struggle to "promote the proletarian and destroy the bourgeoisie" and to overcome one aspect of contradiction by the other?

Probably Comrade Yao Po-mao will say that the contradiction we have in mind is one between 'redness and proficiency' and 'proficiency but no redness,' or 'redness but no proficiency' and one between 'redness' and 'no redness' and that this is 'beside the point.' As mentioned above, the socialist society objectively demands both redness and proficiency but separation of redness and proficiency is brought about mainly by the class system. This being so, the contradiction between redness and proficiency must be resolved by overcoming the separation of redness and proficiency and by combining redness and proficiency, that is, by overcoming 'proficiency but no redness' or 'redness but no proficiency' with 'both redness and proficiency.' How can the resolution of the contradiction between redness and proficiency and the resolution of the contradiction between 'both redness and proficiency' and 'proficiency but no redness' or 'redness but no proficiency' be regarded as two entirely different things? Comrade Yao Po-mao cuts apart the contradiction between redness and proficiency and the contradiction between 'redness' and 'no redness.' In the contradiction between redness and proficiency, redness is the
Limited Circulation - 35 -

3. The unity of redness and proficiency is relative and their struggle is absolute.

Chairman Mao said: "The unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and transitional and, consequently, is relative while the struggle of opposites is absolute." (7) This fundamental principle underlying dialectics is applicable to the contradiction between redness and proficiency. We maintain that if correct political bearings are maintained and profession and technique are studied earnestly, basic unity of redness and proficiency can be achieved. But this unity is conditional, temporary; when conditions have changed, unity will become disunity and a new unity has to be achieved through struggle. For instance, in the case of many of our veteran cadres who had long been tested in revolutionary war, redness and proficiency were basically united. After the victory of revolution, as Chairman Mao said, "Serious tasks of economic construction confront us. Some of the things familiar to us will soon be set aside while things unfamiliar to us are being forced on us." (8) At the start, these comrades who were transferred to posts of economic construction which were unfamiliar to them were not versed in their professions, and the unity of redness and proficiency was changed into a disunity. They were required to study their trades in a revolutionary spirit and to achieve unity of redness and proficiency under new conditions. Further, when our country entered from the period of democratic revolution into the period of socialist revolution and when the socialist revolution was being deepened, people's past political training and experience were inadequate to meet the current situations and the unity of redness and proficiency was turned into a disunity, making it necessary for people to study anew Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's works, throw themselves into the socialist revolution and struggle and achieve new unity of redness and proficiency. Dwelling on the contradiction between social production and social needs in our national economy, Chairman Mao said: "By balance we mean a temporary, relative unity of opposites. By the end of each year, such a balance, taken as a whole, is upset by the struggle of opposites, the unity achieved undergoes a change, balance becomes imbalance, unity becomes disunity, and once again it is necessary to work out a balance and unity for the next year." "Contradictions arise continually and are continually resolved -- this is the dialectical law of the development of things." (9) In our opinion, this is also the case with the movement of contradiction between redness and
proficiency. With the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, production struggle and scientific experiment constantly developed, with new demands constantly presented, with one's ideological struggle developed and with the work posture changed, contradictions will continue to arise between redness and proficiency and unity is constantly turned into diversity, making it necessary to achieve a new unity through struggle. This is even the case with those who follow the red and proficient road. The unity of redness and proficiency cannot be achieved once and for all. Even when redness is well combined with proficiency, it is only a basic unity of opposites, and struggle still exists in unity. In real life, when we say that a certain comrade has achieved both redness and proficiency and combined redness and proficiency, we mean it has achieved both redness and proficiency and combined redness and proficiency, in the relative sense. There is always an imbalance between redness and proficiency. Nobody can possibly achieve an absolute redness and an absolute proficiency and completely unite redness and proficiency without any contradiction.

In short, the unity of redness and proficiency is conditional, temporary and relative, while the struggle of redness and proficiency is absolute. For this reason, we must handle the contradiction between redness and proficiency in a revolutionary way and overcome the idea that unity of redness and proficiency in a revolutionary way and overcome the idea that unity of redness and proficiency can be achieved once and for all. Comrade Yao Po-mao says nothing about this but raises the question of whether identity or struggle of opposites is the principal feature of contradiction. He maintains that the contradiction between redness and proficiency is one with identity as its principal feature, that redness and proficiency are completely united and that it is not necessary to resolve the contradiction between redness and proficiency by conducting a battle for struggle and by overcoming one aspect of the contradiction with the other. Actually, he regards the unity of redness and proficiency as something absolute and denies the struggle of redness and proficiency so as to define a category of so-called "contradictions with identity as their principal feature" and leave a ground for the "combine two into one" theory.

4. Concluding remarks

It will be seen from the above analysis that the whole theoretical basis on which Comrade Yao Po-mao tries to justify the "combine two into one" theory by the contradiction between redness and proficiency is wrong. His view is one of denying contradiction, denying the absoluteness of struggle of opposites, and denying the viewpoint that all contradictions must be resolved through struggle and by overcoming one aspect of the contradiction with the other.

If the contradiction between redness and proficiency is observed and handled according to the "combine two into one" theory as advocated by Comrade Yao Po-mao, such an approach would obliterate the struggle between redness and proficiency and its class content; forsake the struggle "to promote the proletarian and destroy the bourgeoisie" reconcile the contradiction between 'both redness and proficiency' and 'redness but no proficiency' or 'proficiency but no redness,' and guide one to the road traversed by bourgeois intellectuals who are proficient but not red, or cause one to be red but not proficient. If a state gives up the socialist revolution in the scientific and cultural fields, does not develop the cultural superiority of the proletariat, and does not overcome the influence of the exploiting class in the scientific and cultural fields, then those who are trained are only bourgeois intellectuals who are professionally proficient but not politically red, and thereby a social base for revisionism is built. It is precisely because it is so important to handle the relationship between redness and proficiency, between politics and profession and between politics and technique that we must adhere to the "divide one into two" view and oppose the "combine two into one" view.

One of the important reasons for the wrong views held by Comrade Yao Po-mao is that his method of research is divorced from reality and that he dabbles in the method of abstract conception. Chairman Mao said: "The contradiction we have in mind is real, concrete contradiction, while the mutual transformation of contradictions is also real and concrete." (10) Yet Comrade Yao Po-mao isolates the contradiction between redness
and proficiency from the reality of social class struggle, abstracts redness and 
proficiency into two conceptions devoid of content, and then studies the 'contradic-
tion' between these two conceptions. He seems to think that redness means absolute 
redness and proficiency means absolute proficiency. In fact, there is no such thing 
as absolute redness nor absolute proficiency in real life. Because of this, he nat-
urally loses sight of the struggle between redness and proficiency in real life, 
loses sight of the class content of the contradiction between redness and proficiency, 
and loses sight of the complicated circumstances in which one aspect overcomes the 
other through struggle. This method of research is one divorced from reality and of 
dabbling in abstract conception. If such a method of research is used, the law of 
unity of opposites cannot be correctly applied in analysing concrete contradictions 
and theoretically errors will be committed.

The present polemics between "divide one into two" and "combine two into one" 
is a struggle between the proletarian outlook on the world and the bourgeoisie outlook 
on the world. Comrade Yang Hsiien-chhe's theory of "combining two into one" is opposed 
materialistic dialectics and Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking. In these po-
lemics, Comrade Yao Po-mao in a seemingly balanced and fair manner tries to bring 
together, through his concocted classification of contradictions, two fundamentally 
 opposed outlooks on the world, i.e., "divide one into two" and "combine two into one." 
Outwardly he seems to make an all-round observation of problems but actually he applies 
eclectic tactics in negating "divide one into two," denying that the law of unity of 
opposites is a universal law of the objective things and defending Comrade Yang Hsiien-
chen's "combine two into one" theory. We must resolutely oppose Comrade Yang Hsiien-
chen's "combine two into one" theory as well as various views defending it, and 
safeguard revolutionary materialistic dialectics.

p. 321
2. "Talks at Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, 
3. ditto
4. ditto
5. ditto
p. 323
7. "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," 
Selected Reading of Mao Tse-tung's Works Book A, p. 494
9. "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," 
Selected Reading of Mao Tse-tung's Works Book A, p. 495
p. 319.

* * *

ABOUT CITATIONS

Is It Desirable to Award Too Many Citations?

by 
Ta'ul Li (崔瑞)

workman, Peking Cable Factory

(Peking Pei-ching Jih-pao, November 9, 1964)

Pei-ching Jih-pao editor's note:

The question raised by Comrade Ta'ul Li in his letter is found in many 
units. It is actually a good thing to review and compare our work, commend the 
advanced and give citations to those who distinguished themselves in the work so 
as to encourage them to forge ahead. But from Comrade Ta'ul Li's letter it will