

第一章

二三论

有了“一分为二”，为什么还要提出“一分为三”？“一分为二”是事物性质的哲学分析，“一分为三”是事物存在的哲学分析。我们需要坚持本质层次上的一分为二和现象层次上的一分为三的辩证统一。“二”“三”之间的关系，不可不察。

这里，我们主要是讨论“一分为二”和“一分为三”的关系，故称为“二三论”。

十几年前，有人就提出了“一分为三”的哲学命题。他们认为，世界不是“一分为二”，而是“一分为三”的。如今又有人提出这样的命题：世界是“一分为多”的。其实，一分为三已经含有一分为多的意思了。

Chapter One

Theory of Two and Three

Why should we put forward the term “dividing one into three” since we have already got the one of “dividing one into two”? The reason lies in that they are related to different dimensions: “Dividing one into two” is mainly the philosophical analysis on the nature of things while “dividing one into three” is the philosophical analysis on the existence of things. As a result, we should persist in the dialectical unity between dividing one into two in the natural strata and dividing one into three in the phenomenal strata. The relations between “two” and “three” can not be neglected.

The Theory of Two and Three in this chapter mainly touches upon the relations between the two terms. So, we have the title “Theory of Two and Three”.

The proposition of “dividing one into three” was first put forward ten years ago by some scholars. They believe that the world is of dividing one into three, rather than one into two. At present,

一分为三这个命题对吗？没有人肯定，也没有人否定，在听其自生自灭。

这有着它理论上的原因，因为它似乎要修改马克思主义哲学最基本的原理；这也有着政治上的原因，因为杨献珍同志过去提出过用“合二而一”来补充“一分为二”，遭到过严厉批判。后来虽然平了反，但在人们心理上留下的阴影，还没有完全消除。

我认为，一分为三能不能成立，不仅在于这个提法本身，主要在于我们把它放在怎样的位置上。如果把它放在对事物的性质的分析上，放在最终层次的分析上，那是不能成立的，因为事物最终都是一分为二的。这一点已经无须论证。但是，如果我们把它放在事物的存在状态这个层次上，那么，一分为三就不仅能够存在，而且是一个很好的哲学概括。

也就是说，一分为二是事物性质（特别是最终性质）层次的哲学分析，一分为三是事物存在状态层次的哲学分析。分清了不同的层次以后，两者就不仅不是矛盾的，而且是互相补充、互相依存的。这对丰富马克思主义哲学，对我们认识世界和改造世界，会有极大的帮助。

你看，在现实世界中，在直观上，一切都是一

some scholars yet put forward such a proposition: The world is of dividing one into many. In fact, dividing one into three has already contained the meaning of dividing one into many.

But, is the proposition of dividing one into three correct? No one stands against or in favor of it. They just let it be.

The voices are muted due to both theoretical and political reasons; for the former, it seems to modify the basic principles of Marxism; for the latter, history witnessed that Mr. Yang Xianzhen, who had once lodged the proposition of “combining two into one” as a supplement to “dividing one into two”, was sternly criticized and attacked. Though he was later absolved from blame, the shadow of fear has always been haunting the minds.

However, whether the proposition stands firm does not counts mainly on the term itself, but on how we apply it to the real life. Were it to be used to analyze the nature of things, the ultimate dimensions, it would not hold water for things in nature are two-sided, which is not untenable. Were it to be applied to the existence of things, it would not only stand upright but also indicate great philosophical potential.

Therefore, the proposition of “dividing one into two” turns to be the philosophical analysis on the stratum of nature (especially the essential nature) in things while “dividing one into three” is the philosophical analysis on the stratum of the existing state of things. Once distinguished, they are proved to be never incompatible; they supplement and rely on each other. This of course shall contribute to the enrichment of Marxism as well as the knowledge and alteration of the world.

分为三的。从空间上说，有上、中、下，左、中、右，大、中、小。从时间上说，有过去、现在、将来。从颜色上说，有白、灰、黑。从数学上说，有正数、负数，还有 0 这个不正不负的数。从人称上说，有我、你、他。从物质的结构说，有电子（带负电）、中子（不带电）、质子（带正电）。从政治来说，有敌、友、我。从人群来说，有先进、中间、落后。从经济来说，有宏观、中观、微观。从主体来说，有国家、集体、个人。从产品来说，有优质的、合格的、劣质的……如此等等，千千万万。总之，我们眼睛看到的尽是一分为三的东西！

当然，一分为三的东西，再往下分，又都是可以一分为二的。例如中对上来说，也可以认为是下，它们是上和对立；中对下来说，也可以认为是上，它们也是上和对立。纯粹的“现在”是不存在的。从绝对的意义说，当你说“这是现在”，就在此刻，这个现在已经变成了过去。许多社会上的中间的东西都是要分化的，或者整体倒向一边，或者这个“中间”自己就分裂或分化了。

我们有这样的最终一分为二的观点是非常重要的。但是如果承认任何事物都是运动着的，任何事物都是一个过程的话，那么对事物的存在状态

In reality, let's take an example, everything seems to be three-sided according to our sensation. In terms of space, there exists the classification of upper, middle and lower, left, middle and right, big, middle(medium) and small. In terms of time, there exists the distinction of past, present and future. In terms of colors, there exists the difference of white, gray and black. In terms of mathematics, there exist the terms of positive figures, negative figures and zero, a special figure being neither positive nor negative. In terms of addressing, there exists the calling of first person, second person and third person. In terms of the structure of matters, there exist the electrons (with negative charge), neutrons (no charge), protons (with positive charge). In terms of politics, there exist the enemies, friends and ourselves. In terms of the masses, there exist the advanced, the mean and the backward. In terms of economy, there exist the macro-economy, mediocre-economy and micro-economy. In terms of ownership, there exist the state-owned, the collective-owned and the private-owned. In terms of products, there exist the high-quality ones, the qualified ones and the low-quality ones, so on and so forth in uncountable numbers. In a word, what we see are all things of dividing one into three.

Of course, the things of dividing one into three can be divided from one into two again if we go further. For example, against the upper, the middle can be recognized as the lower, they are the opposite of the upper and lower. The same is true of the relation between the middle and the lower. The absolute "present" does not exist. No sooner have you let out the words "this is present" than the present slips into the past. Many things in

的分析、对运动状态的分析，就不是无足轻重而是至关重要的了。

如果我们在恰当的层次上，把握住了“一分为三”，并把它和一分为二正确地结合起来，我们就会收到两方面的效果。

一方面，将有助于对事物的最终的一分为二的分析。事物的本质是一分为二的，而事物的现象是一分为三或一分为多的。我们认识事物的本质是通过分析事物的现象得来的，离开了对事物的现象的分析，我们对事物的本质的认识将会被架空。因此，恰当地运用一分为三，是正确地运用一分为二的重要方面。（顺便说一句，事物的本质和现象的关系也是一分为三的。一类可以称为“正象”，从正面反映了事物的本质；一类是“歪象”，歪曲地反映了事物的本质；一类是“废象”，对认识事物的本质没有什么作用。详见本书作者所著《新闻采访方法论》一书。）

另一方面，我们认识世界是为了改造世界。改造世界总是要从实际出发的，因而也总是要从大现状出发的。而一分为三的分析，是对现状分析的最基本的哲学方法，更具有现实性，更能体现具体问题具体分析，因而更能从中得到分层次的、成系统

middle are destined to be split up, either leaning on one side as a whole or the “middle” breaks up by itself. Consequently, it is of great importance to hold the proposition of dividing one into two.

However, if we admit that things are in the course of movement, it will be of equal importance to present an analysis on the existing state and the moving state.

If we can utilize the method of dividing one into three in a proper way and correctly combine it with dividing one into two, we will achieve the effects on the two sides:

On the one hand, it will contribute to the final analysis of dividing one into two of dividing one into two. The nature of things is while the phenomena turn to be of dividing one into three or more. We usually know the nature of things by analyzing the phenomena of the things, or all the efforts are in vain. Therefore, how to properly utilize the method of dividing one into three is critical to the application of dividing one into two. (By the way, the relation between the natures and phenomena of things is also of dividing one into three. One is called “correct phenomena”, which reflects the natures of things; another is the “distorted phenomena”, which reflects the nature distortedly; the third is “wasted phenomena”, which plays no role in knowing the nature of things. Please read *Methods for Gathering News* written by the writer of this book for details.)

On the other hand, our aims to know the world are to change it. To change the world always proceeds from reality as well as from the actuality. **The method of dividing one into three is the most essential philosophical method for analyzing the actuality, which indicates its ca-**

的、可操作性的战略和策略。

我们都承认，毛泽东同志是阐述和运用一分为二的大师，但是他在制定和实施战略和策略的时候，总是贯穿了一分为三的精神。

在民主革命时期，他把社会力量分为三部分——依靠对象，团结对象，打击对象，并在这个基础上制定自己的战略和策略。就是对敌人和敌对阶级，他也是一分为三的。例如在抗日战争时期，他把地主阶级分为顽固派（投降派）、一般的地主、开明士绅这样的三个阶层。随着形势的变化，这种一分为三也是在变化的。在土地革命时期，蒋介石的大地主大买办阶级就是主要的敌人；到了抗日战争时期，这些人也可以成为抗日民族统一战线的团结力量，尽管他们可能扰乱我们的战线。

在社会主义建设时期，毛泽东同志同样运用这种方法来解决战略和策略的问题。他认为，凡有人群的地方，都有左、中、右，是一分为三。对我国知识分子进行分析时，他认为，熟悉马克思主义并站稳了脚跟的是少数，反对马克思主义的是少数，中间的即拥护马克思主义又不熟悉马克思主义（熟悉的程度又很不相同）的是多数，也是一分为三。到后来，他更把这种方法用于对世界形势的分析上，

pability to deal with specific problems. Therefore, we can get more stratified, systematized and operable strategies and tactics if the thinking of dividing one into three is applied.

We all admit that, Mao Zedong, our great leader, is a great master of expatiating and utilizing the method of dividing one into two. However, when he formulated and carried out the strategies and tactics, he would adhere to the spirit of dividing one into three.

During the period of democratic revolution, he divided the social forces into three parts: the reliable one, the united one and the enemy, upon which the strategies and tactics were formulated. Even the enemy and hostile classes, he also divided them into three parts. For example, during the period of the War of Resistance against Japan, he divided the landlord class into three strata, namely the dead-hearted ones (the capitulators), the common landlords and the enlightened ones. The dividing tuned to be changeable with time going on. During the Agrarian Revolution, Chiang Kai-shek's big landlords and big comprador class were the arch-enemy, but by the time of the War of Resistance against Japan, these people could be part of the national united front of resistance against Japan even though they might cause trouble and conflicts within the front.

During the period of socialist construction, Mao Zedong also utilized this method to resolve the problem of strategies and tactics. He believed that where the masses might exit, there should be the classification of the left, the middle and the right, which means the dividing one into three. When he made an analysis of the intellectuals in our country, he believed that those who were

于是就有了“三个世界”划分的理论，并明确地指出中国属于第三世界。

这样的一分为三的方法，对制定战略和策略起到了什么样的作用，大家都是很明白的。即以“三个世界”划分的理论为例，毛泽东同志提出这个理论并不是否定一分为二，既没有否定当今的世界的最深刻的矛盾是资本主义和社会主义的矛盾，也没有否定经济发达国家和经济发展中国家的矛盾。但是他的三个世界的划分，就给了我们正确估量世界力量对比的钥匙，使我们有可能摆脱由于中苏对立而所处的孤立局面，并有可能利用各种矛盾提高中国的国际地位并实现中国的发展。实践已经证明这个战略和策略是非常成功的。

近年来，苏联、东欧的蜕变，社会主义阵营基本上不复存在，世界出现了多极化的倾向。在这种情况下，如何正确地运用一分为三的方法就更加显得重要。不然我们将会错误地估计形势，甚至会对社会主义的前途丧失信心。

总之，本质层次上的一分为二和现象层次上的一分为三也是辩证的统一。不坚持一分为二，我们就抓不住事物的本质，就会迷失方向。但如果不善于用一分为三的方法，我们也会脱离实际，也不能

familiar with Marxism and believed in it were few, those who stood against Marxism were also few, those who supported Marxism but were not so familiar with Marxism were in the majority. This is also the case with dividing one into three. Afterwards, he applied this method to the analysis of the world situation, and, consequently, the theory of differentiating the whole earth into three worlds came into being. He clearly pointed out that China belongs to the third world.

Everyone is clear about what role such method of dividing one into three has played in formulating the strategies and the tactics. To take the three-world theory for example, Mao Zedong did not negate the method of dividing one into two by putting forth this theory. He neither negated that the deepest contradiction of the current world was the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, nor did he negate the contradictions between the developed countries and the underdeveloped countries. In reality, the theory of three worlds has supplied us with a key to correctly estimating the force-comparison of the world, to make us shake off the isolated situation owing to the hostility between China and the Soviet Union. Thus, it is possible for us to improve our position in world affairs and realize development by means of using all kinds of contradictions. Facts proved that these strategies and tactics turned to be very successful.

During recent years, the metamorphosis of the Soviet Union and East Europe has made the socialist front out of existence on the whole and the multi-polarization tendency has taken shape. Under such circumstances, how to correctly apply the method of dividing one into three is becoming all the more important. Oth-

正确制定战略和策略，也不能达到我们的目的。我们提出中介论，首要的目的就是要承认一分为二和一分为三之间的内在联系，承认和找出它们之间的中介。

erwise, we would make improper judgment on the international situations and lose confidence for the future of the socialism.

In short, the method of dividing one into two on the stratum of natures and the method of dividing one into three on stratum of phenomena are dialectically united. If we fail to grasp the nature of things, we shall get lost during the course. If we give up the proposition of dividing one into three, we will isolate ourselves from reality and be unable to formulate sound strategies and tactics, let alone the aims we have set up. The preoccupied aim to put forward Middlism is to acknowledge the inner relationship between the two terms, to admit and seek out the intermediate between them.

第二章

层次论

楼房是分层的，不能到二楼找三楼的住户。事物的结构都是分层次的。要用层次性思维认识事物。生产关系分成三个层次：所有制层次、体制层次、运行层次。懂得三个层次划分，才会明白社会主义生产关系改什么，向资本主义生产关系学什么。股份制是“不姓公，不姓私”、“嫁鸡随鸡，嫁狗随狗”的体制层次。

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在方式上，我们可以从特定的角度把人们的思维分成这样两种：归结性思维和层次性思维。

Chapter Two

Theory of Strata

Every building is composed of different floors. One can never meet the residents of the third floor by lingering on the second floor. Since things have a structure of strata, it is of necessity to know them through dimensional thinking. As it is, the production relations can be divided into three strata; ownership, mechanism and the relevant operation. Only by differentiating the three strata can we understand which part of the socialist production relations should be changed and what we should learn from the capitalist production relations. The stock system, to be specific, is the sector that belongs to neither “the family of public-ownership” nor “the family of private-ownership”. It is subject to the mechanism stratum with its nature determined by what it is attached to—just as the saying goes, “If married to a cock,

所谓“归结性思维”是指这样的一种思维方式；它主要是强调对事物的本质进行多次抽象。抽象一次，再抽象一次，直到归结为一个最后或最高的层次，方才罢休。这种思维常用的语言是“实质是……”、“关键是……”、“归根结底是……”、“全部的问题是……”，等等。这种思维的特征也可以称为不含褒贬的“上纲”思维。

我们常说：“民族问题说到底是阶级问题。”“近代中国的各种斗争说到底是两个中国之命运的斗争问题，是中国走什么道路，是走社会主义道路还是走资本主义道路的问题，而后者实际上是走半殖民地半封建的道路。”这也是归结性思维。

毛泽东同志在批判党内的小资产阶级思想的时候，也用过类似的思维和论述的方式。他说有小资产阶级思想的人，党是不能依了你们的，依了你们就是依了大地主、大资产阶级。这也是归结性的思维，他的结论是就最终实质和最后结果说的。如果是从直观状态说，“依了小资产阶级”怎么就是“依了大地主大资产阶级”呢？小资产阶级怎么会和大地主大资产阶级等同了呢？这显然是一种“混淆”。但为了认识这个问题的严重性，使用这样的思维和表达方法，是完全必要的。