



SELECTED WORKS  
OF  
LIU SHAOQI

Volume II

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!**

**SELECTED WORKS  
OF  
LIU SHAOQI**

**Volume II**

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## INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARD

*1950*

In comparison with that of the many advanced countries of the world, the living standard of the labouring people in China remains very low. The people are still very poor and urgently need to raise their living standard and lead a prosperous, cultivated life. This is the greatest demand and aspiration of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, and it is the fundamental task of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government to fulfill this demand.

Why are the labouring people of China so poor and why is their living standard so low?

From the historical point of view, there are two basic causes.

First, China still has very little modern mechanized industry, transport and agriculture. The handicraft industry and individual farming still compose about 90 per cent of the national economy, and most transportation is by means of human and animal power and wooden boats. Compared to that of mechanized industry, productivity is very low, labour-intensive, and insufficient to provide substantial material wealth for the people.

Second, China has been subjected to prolonged rule by foreign imperialists and Chinese feudal landlords, bureaucrats and the comprador class. They plundered the wealth of the Chinese people freely, bullied and oppressed them and brought about prolonged wars and extensive banditry, hindering the growth of China's industry and suppressing and damaging China's already inadequate productive forces. As a result, the labouring people of China were thrown into the abyss of poverty, hunger and cold.

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This manuscript is published here for the first time.

These are the two basic causes for the very low living standard of China's labouring people and for their poverty, suffering and humiliation.

How can we help them extricate themselves from such a plight and continually raise their living standard so that they can lead a prosperous and cultivated life?

We must accomplish two fundamental tasks.

The first is to overthrow the rule of foreign imperialists and Chinese feudal landlords, bureaucrats and the comprador class, to establish a people's democratic dictatorship, to realize the independence and unification of China, to mop up the bandits in order to ensure internal peace, to confiscate bureaucrat-capital, to carry out agrarian reform and other democratic reforms, and to eliminate the landlord class and other remaining feudal forces — all for the purpose of emancipating the existing productive forces in both urban and rural areas. The Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, have already accomplished this in the main, and the work left unfinished can be completed in the near future. Our work in the days to come will be to strengthen and consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, foil reactionary plots for staging a comeback, reinforce national defence in order to maintain world peace and guard against imperialist aggression and attack.

Although this is a colossal task, requiring quantities of manpower and materials, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, can complete it. However, completion of this task will only liberate the Chinese people from the oppression of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; only free them from poverty, suffering, enslavement and humiliation; and only emancipate China's existing productive forces and remove the obstacles to development of production, creating favourable conditions for its continued development and preventing it from being hampered by internal or external forces of barbarism. This will not lead directly to the raising of the productive forces or to the development of production itself; therefore, it cannot greatly raise the living standard of the people.

The People's Government has confiscated the property of the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords and handed the landlords' property over to the poverty-stricken peasants gratis. At the same time it has prohibited plundering by speculators and allocated considerable funds for the relief of victims of natural disasters, unemployed workers and others who have no means of support. This served

to help the poorest of the labouring people to some extent, but the amount was small and the help temporary.

In other words, by overthrowing the rule of imperialism and the Kuomintang, establishing a people's democratic dictatorship, unifying China and confiscating bureaucrat-capitalist and landlord property we have only cleared away obstacles to the advancement of production and created favourable conditions for developing production; we have not brought about expanded production itself. Therefore, the people's living standard cannot rise immediately or directly. However, completion of the first task will provide favourable conditions for the Chinese people to accomplish the second task. If the first task is not achieved, the second cannot be. It is precisely because they did not understand this truth that many who advocated saving the country by means of fostering industry made mistakes and failed.<sup>1</sup>

The second task is to develop productive and other economic undertakings beneficial to the people by taking advantage of, among other things, the already established and consolidated people's democratic dictatorship — the principal instrument, and efforts from various sectors. First of all, every means should be utilized to raise the productivity of every labourer, based on existing foundations and present levels; to expand the quantity and raise the quality of products; to economize on the use of raw and semi-finished materials, eliminate waste, and reduce the cost of products, thus step by step raising the level of production techniques; to establish new productive undertakings and, through collectivization, to turn the handicraft industry and individual farming into large-scale producers with modern mechanical equipment. This will systematically move China towards industrialization and electrification. Only then can China establish strong economic and national defence forces. Only by constantly raising labour productivity and developing modern productive and other economic undertakings can the Chinese people raise their living standard little by little and lead a prosperous, cultivated life. Otherwise, the goal is impossible, because the development of productive undertakings and the raising of labour productivity remain the foundation of the entire population's material and spiritual welfare.

Only by accomplishing the first task can we accomplish the second. As we work towards fulfillment of the first, our goal is to accomplish the second. The first task is nearly completed and implementation of the second task has already begun in some areas. Soon it will be un-

dertaken on a larger scale through comprehensive planning and will be continued permanently, for production is a fundamental and permanent necessity. If, after fulfilling the first task, we fail to go on and accomplish the second, our revolution will have little meaning and we shall not be able to claim victory. Instead, we shall have suffered a shameful defeat.

If we, in co-ordination with the peace-loving forces of the world, want to maintain world peace over quite a long period of time, thus establishing a peaceful environment in which to carry on our economic development, what steps in general should we take?

First, we must rehabilitate all economic undertakings beneficial to the people and enable factories that cannot now carry on production on their own to do so as far as possible. Second, we must focus our efforts on developing agriculture and light industry, at the same time establishing a necessary national defence industry. Third, we must make an even greater effort to build a foundation for heavy industry and to develop it. Fourth, we must greatly increase light industry and mechanize agricultural production. This is the course China should follow in its industrialization.

Why should we take these steps for China's industrialization?

After rehabilitating China's economy and exploiting existing productive forces as much as possible, we should focus on the development of agriculture and light industry, because only with the development of agriculture can sufficient raw materials and grain be provided to industry and the industrial market be expanded. Only with the development of light industry can the great quantities of industrial commodities the peasants require be supplied in exchange for the raw materials and grain they produce and the capital for further advancement of industry be accumulated. At the same time, the development of agriculture and light industry will enable us to meet the urgent need of raising the very low standard of living of the labouring people. This is also imperative for improving people's health and uniting all the people politically. The establishment of a national defence industry is indispensable to guaranteeing a peaceful environment for our construction. Only after the successful completion of this first step can we amass enough capital and strength to establish and develop heavy industry. The great development of light industry, the mechanization of agriculture and a significant raising of the people's living standard will be possible only after the establishment of heavy industry.

The living standard of the Chinese people can be raised only through economic development, and each new development of the economy makes it possible to improve the people's living standard further. There is no other way to achieve this end. Any attempt to raise the living standard of the people beyond the growth rate of the economy, beyond the capacity of the economy to withstand the strain, would result in holding back and damaging economic development, and eventually the living standard would be lowered rather than raised. Such a pattern reflects anarchism, economism and lopsided welfare, and all politically conscious workers must combat these tendencies.

Gigantic sums are needed for the development of China's economy and its industrialization. Without tens of billions of silver dollars invested in industry, especially in heavy industry, speeding up our industrialization is out of the question. But where and how can these funds be raised?

According to Comrade Stalin, besides the relentless exploitation of workers and peasants at home and the forcing of countless small producers and medium-size entrepreneurs into bankruptcy, the capitalist countries had three ways to raise capital during their industrialization: plundering colonies, utilizing war indemnities, and relying on loans and leased concessions on enslaving terms.<sup>2</sup> Of course, we shall not adopt any of these methods, because it is fundamentally contradictory to the principles for building our country to exploit the people at home relentlessly or to plunder any colony. Neither shall we ask for loans from the capitalist countries or lease territories to them on enslaving terms. In principle it is acceptable to obtain loans from socialist Soviet Union and the other people's democracies and to enter into leases with them on equal terms. This we have already done to some extent, and we shall perhaps do more in the days ahead, but it is not possible to obtain large funds in this way, for the Soviet Union and the other people's democracies also need enormous funds to develop industries of their own. Therefore, our method of raising funds for industrialization will have to be similar to that adopted in the past by the Soviet Union, that is, the practising of economy by the Chinese people themselves. Otherwise we shall not be able to raise the huge funds needed for the industrialization of China.

Under the correct leadership of the People's Government the Chinese people will be able to gradually accumulate by their own thrift the massive funds needed for industrialization, because the Chinese

people have abolished the privileges imperialists used to enjoy in China and are consequently free from their plunder, because land reform has been carried out and the peasants need no longer pay land rent to the landlords, because the bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises have been confiscated and turned into state-owned enterprises, and also because the enthusiasm of the labouring people for production has been enhanced, labour productivity has increased, various systems for practising economy have been established and production costs have been reduced. Of course, the funds should be raised through the collection of taxes and profits from state-owned industry, commerce and banking and the issuance of construction bonds, not from each family directly.

To defend China and raise the people's living standard we should carry out economic development on a large scale and industrialize the country. Large-scale economic development and rapid industrialization, however, require the people to practise economy and accumulate large amounts of funds, which will naturally stem the raising of the living standard. That is to say, in the next decade or two we have to slacken speed in this respect, in order to create a better life for the labouring people and improve the living standard more rapidly in the future. The money the people save will primarily be used to satisfy the needs of our country's industrial construction, not for the extravagant life of exploiters and certainly not for a dissolute life of government personnel. This will provide a reliable foundation upon which to raise the living standard of the Chinese people, which must be brought home to all workers. In other words, in order to raise funds to speed up industrialization and create a better life in the future, we should save more and spend less, on condition that we do not suffer from hunger and cold but maintain our normal health.

Comrade Stalin said, "A peasant accumulated a small sum of money. Instead of spending it on repairing his ploughshare and renovating his undertaking, he bought a big gramophone ... all spent."<sup>3</sup> It is impossible for peasants of this kind to create a happy life for themselves. The same applies to our country. If when people accumulate savings, these are not used as funds to develop industry but are all spent on consumer goods, we shall not be able to help people create a happy life. This means that in the period of construction, a contradiction exists between raising the living standard of the people and amassing funds by the people to speed up industrialization. We should help them thoroughly understand this contradiction so that it can be properly resolved.

Not all countries have brought about a rise in the living standard of the labouring people through industrialization. In some capitalist countries the living standard of the labouring people did not rise in the course of industrialization. Moreover, these countries eventually turned into imperialist countries, invading other nations and countries to obtain raw materials and markets to support the industry they had developed and consequently engaging in a world war. This is the road capitalist countries followed in bringing about their industrialization, a road we cannot and must not take.

There is, however, another road to industrialization. This is the road followed by socialist states or people's democracies. Following this road we can progressively raise the living standard of the labouring people, preventing unemployment, starvation, impoverishment, and the necessity to invade other nations and countries, much less launch wars. This is the road we should, must and can take.

In world history there have been only these two roads to industrialization. There cannot be a third one. Those who claim to take the third road are only deceiving the people. If anyone "honestly" cherishes illusions of a third road, he will be "honestly" deceiving both himself and others, for the result will be the same.

## MAY DAY ADDRESS

*April 29, 1950*

Comrades,

With great elation we celebrate the first May Day after the founding of the People's Republic of China. In the past, the majority of Chinese working people outside the liberated areas not only did not enjoy government protection but were strictly prohibited by the reactionary government from celebrating their own festival. They spent their holiday under the watchful eyes of reactionary troops, secret agents and police and in self-sacrificing struggle. Today, as the Chinese working people celebrate May Day, the situation is entirely different. The Central People's Government has decided that May Day should be one of the most important official festivals<sup>4</sup> and has directed factories, mills, government institutions, schools and People's Liberation Army troops to observe the day as a holiday. The people's troops and police, instead of preventing the people from holding celebrations and parades, will themselves join in. It is the duty of the People's Government to protect the labouring people and ensure that they celebrate their own May Day in an easy and cheerful atmosphere. In other words, this is the first time in history that the majority of the Chinese working people can celebrate their own holiday in freedom and joy and under the protection of their own government. How can we here and the Chinese labouring people in other parts of the country fail to be proud and elated by all this?

Comrades, what does this change mean?

It means that the great Chinese people's revolution is victorious, that the labouring people of China have been liberated, that the re-

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Speech delivered at a cadres' meeting held under the auspices of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. It first appeared in the People's Daily on May 1, 1950.

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gime of the reactionary classes that oppressed us and despised the labouring people has been overthrown by the people's forces, and that the labouring people have established a people's regime with themselves as its mainstay. This is the first and greatest victory of the Chinese labouring people in history. We celebrate this greatest victory! We celebrate May 1, Labour Day, of 1950! We celebrate the liberation of the Chinese labouring people!

Comrades, why is May Day worthy of such solemn celebration by our country and our people?

It is because man's world and man himself are the creation of labour. Labour is the foundation on which human society exists and develops. Workers are the creators of civilization. Therefore, labour must command the highest respect in the world, workers must command the highest respect in the world, and Labour Day must become a day most deserving of celebration by our people and our country. Labour Day is a festival of solidarity between us workers and all other labouring people, a festival of international solidarity of the workers and other labouring people throughout the world. On this day we must with solemn ceremony honour all that the workers have created, celebrate all that the workers have achieved by their labour, thank the workers for all the means of production and subsistence and the means of enjoyment of culture and art they give to mankind, and inspire the people to higher enthusiasm for further labour and creation. At the same time, we give our fraternal salute, with the greatest enthusiasm, to the working class and labouring people of all the other countries in the world, first and foremost the working class and labouring people of the Soviet Union!

The Chinese people's revolution is victorious and the Chinese working people have been liberated, but the idea and habit of paying respect to the social parasites who never work but live on the labour of others and of despising work and workers have existed for thousands of years in Chinese society and are still there. We must resolve to wipe out these utterly mistaken notions and habits that have done great injustice to the working people. We must give the labouring people the honour due to them, especially the labour heroes and inventors who have made important inventions and innovations in their work, and we must show our just contempt for the social parasites who never work but live on others. This is one of our new moral standards.

The change that is now taking place in our country and occurred much earlier in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies is really the greatest change in the history of mankind. Like the people of the Soviet Union, the Chinese people will complete the change step by step and, by their own labour, will gradually approach a future of boundless splendour themselves. There are perhaps at present quite a number of people who do not perceive the great significance of this change, but as time goes on, they will realize more and more clearly the magnificent prospect that is opened up by the change that is beginning now in our country. Clearly this great change and the creation of a magnificent future are possible only under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party. Because of this change, the Chinese working class has become the leading class in the country, and precisely because the working class has become the leading class and is carrying out its historic mission under the leadership of the Communist Party, it is able to unite with the people throughout the country and ensure the transition of the country to a state of wealth, strength and prosperity and the gradual transition from new democracy to socialism.

But, comrades, while we celebrate the people's victory and see the future of unlimited splendour, we must not ignore the temporary difficulties we are confronted with. The remaining Kuomintang reactionaries are still clinging to Taiwan, Zhoushan, Jinmen and other islands. Aided by U.S. imperialists, they are bombing our cities and blockading our seaports. Our troops must, therefore, pursue the campaigns to liberate Zhoushan,<sup>5</sup> Jinmen and Taiwan and must also advance into Tibet.<sup>6</sup> We must wipe out the large numbers of Kuomintang bandits in the newly liberated areas in the rear. At the same time, millions of victims of natural disasters that swept several provinces last year must be given huge amounts of grain by the state. As our national economic system used to be semi-colonial in nature and could not stand on its own feet, depending for its survival on imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and working in their service, besides being seriously undermined by prolonged war, naturally great pains and efforts are required to heal the wounds of war and transform the national economic system into one that is independent, relying on the people and serving the people. Precisely because the old economic order has already been destroyed and a new order is not yet established, serious dislocation and anarchy have emerged in various economic undertakings. The current price stability has resulted

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in temporary slow sales and the need to reduce production for certain enterprises that experienced a false and superficial prosperity during the past twelve years of inflation and rocketing prices. As a result of these objective difficulties and certain shortcomings and errors in our own work, a number of workers have become unemployed and certain difficulties have arisen for industrial and commercial enterprises. The government and people of all circles should jointly try to overcome these difficulties and they can assuredly overcome them.

Why do I say this?

Because they are difficulties that have occurred in the course of victory and progress, and victory and progress contain within themselves all the factors for overcoming the difficulties. If we can skillfully use these factors and create the necessary conditions, we can overcome the difficulties. Hence, our difficulties are temporary.

For the present we do, indeed, have difficulties. This is known to all. But by analysing the present situation, we can clearly see that some of the basic conditions for the development of China's economy and industry have already been created and others are being created. We thus have sufficient confidence that we shall overcome the present difficulties and gradually improve the situation. I shall now list some of these basic conditions:

1. Imperialism has been driven out of China and the many prerogatives enjoyed by imperialists in China have been abolished. The customs policy and foreign trade policy of New China have become an important means of safeguarding the development of industry. That is to say, the key to China's front door is in our own pockets instead of in the pockets of the imperialists and their running dogs, as was formerly the case. From now on China's industry will not suffer from the competition of the cheap commodities of the imperialists. China's raw materials will first of all supply the needs of its own industry. This clears away one of the biggest obstacles that has hindered the development of China's industry for the past hundred years.

2. The people's war of liberation is coming to a victorious end. The People's Liberation Army recently landed successfully on Hainan Island in spite of the enemy's strong fortifications and routed a large number of enemy troops. The experience in liberating the whole island — which will soon be completed — can therefore be applied to operations against Taiwan and other islands occupied by the enemy. After the liberation of Taiwan, enemy bombing and blockade will naturally come to an end. The state's military and administrative

spending will be reduced considerably, and it will be possible to increase greatly the volume of investment in economic reconstruction. Our country will turn completely onto the path of economic development. All this we can clearly foresee.

Today the Northeast is already turned to economic reconstruction. In 1950 the Northeast People's Government,<sup>7</sup> in addition to providing the Central People's Government with 2.6 million tons of coarse food grain to support the war, remedy food shortages in deficiency areas and develop production, has set aside in its budget the equivalent of 3.99 million tons of grain (calculated in terms of millet south of the Great Wall) for investment in economic undertakings in the Northeast. According to the report of Gao Gang, Chairman of the Northeast People's Government, industrial production in that area amounted in 1949 to 35 per cent of the gross industrial and agricultural output. In 1950 it will increase to 43 per cent. The industrial production of public enterprises in the Northeast this year will be 193 per cent of the previous year, and agricultural production will be 137 per cent. In 1949 the number of workers employed in northeastern public enterprises increased by 240,000. The real wages of the workers increased an average of 27 per cent. In 1950 the state will receive in profits and depreciation from northeastern state-run enterprises an amount equal to almost half the total revenue of the area. The burdens of the Northeast peasants were lightened in 1949, compared with 1948, and will be further lightened in 1950. Private industry and commerce in the Northeast also developed. For instance, the number of private industrial enterprises in Shenyang increased by 23 per cent in 1949. The number of workers employed in these enterprises increased by 18 per cent. There are now no unemployed workers in the area, and a shortage of labour power is beginning to be felt. The living standard of the people there is beginning to improve. The demand for all sorts of consumer goods has greatly increased, and the market has greatly expanded. What has happened in the Northeast will also happen in areas south of the Great Wall in the not too distant future. This shows that future prospects for development of China's economy and industry are unusually bright.

Apart from the Northeast, people in the vast areas south of the Great Wall have now begun to turn to economic reconstruction. The People's Government is reviving key branches of the economy. In 1950 the Central People's Government invested the equivalent of 3.93 million tons of grain in economic undertakings. Investments both north

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and south of the Great Wall add up to 7.92 million tons of grain, or approximately US\$700 million. Besides, the state bank is extending big loans to public and private enterprises. The People's Government is making these investments and loans under the difficult conditions of war and natural disasters. So, when the war ends, finance and prices become completely stable and military and administrative expenditures are greatly reduced, it will not be hard to tell how vast the amount of capital the state will be able to invest in economic undertakings. Without doubt, this will promote swift rehabilitation and development of the economy.

3. Land reform has been completed in northeast and north China, except for Suiyuan Province.<sup>8</sup> In Henan Province and some other areas it will also be completed this year. In the newly liberated areas land reform<sup>9</sup> will begin this autumn in accordance with the decree of the People's Government. It will basically be completed throughout the country within the next two to three years. Then the productive forces of the rural areas will be emancipated, which will subsequently serve to provide an adequate supply of grain and raw materials to the cities and solve the problem of markets for industrial development. Taking northeast China for example again, sale of cloth was 800,000 bolts in 1947, 1.2 million in 1948, 3.2 million in 1949, and it is expected to reach 9 million bolts in 1950, 2.5 million bolts having been sold during the first quarter of 1950. In other words, after land reform the peasants' production has increased, their standard of living improved, their purchasing power risen markedly and the market for industrial goods expanded considerably. We have created or are now creating the fundamental and important conditions for stimulating industrial development. After the completion of land reform and after two or three reasonably good harvests, the shrunken purchasing power in the rural areas will revive swiftly and will gradually increase, so that industry and commerce in the urban areas will flourish. This is beyond any shadow of doubt.

4. At the present time the financial and economic work of the state has been unified, state revenue and expenditure are approaching balance (it is most likely that complete balance will be attained before long) and banking and prices will soon become stabilized. This is in the interest of the overwhelming majority of the people throughout the country. Apart from the victories won by the People's Liberation Army at the front, this is the greatest achievement scored in favour of the people by the Central People's Government since its establish-

ment. Historically, China's finance and economy were never unified. Nor were state revenue and expenditure balanced for many decades, so that the reactionary governments had to issue huge amounts of banknotes and contract enormous domestic and foreign loans every year for survival. Financial and price stability has been unknown in China for the past twelve years and the people have paid heavily for losses occasioned by inflation. The People's Government, however, adopted important measures and attained the results mentioned above within a very short time, under conditions of war that is still going on and of natural disasters and imperialist blockade. This is something that no reactionary government could possibly achieve and that in fact could be achieved only by a genuine people's government. It proves that our slogan for the unification of China is not an empty slogan but one full of serious political, military and economic content. It is an extremely important step forward for our country, which has helped create the conditions for the rehabilitation and development of all legitimate industrial, commercial and other productive undertakings, so that capital will not be used for speculation or squandered in inflation, but will be used for those undertakings.

Naturally, some hardships and difficulties are bound to arise in this new, progressive situation. They are like labour pains before childbirth. In order to balance the budget and stabilize prices, the People's Government has had to be very strict about collecting taxes in cash or in kind, issuing state bonds<sup>10</sup> and cutting expenses. Otherwise, it would have meant further inflation and fluctuation of commodity prices. But strict collection of taxes and issuance of state bonds have added to the burdens of some of the people in rural and urban areas and led to difficulties for many. In order to save expenses, several million military personnel and government functionaries have to continue to live under a frugal supply system, which has made it impossible or nearly impossible for them to look after their families, many of whom have to lead a hard, half famished life. Thus difficulties have arisen for them, too. This is one expression of labour pains. Thanks to these pains, a new situation has been brought about in which the financial budget is approaching balance and commodity prices tend to be stable. Stability of prices has put to an end hoarding that was prevailing in the past, and consequently speculators have to put on the market the goods they hoarded. Many consumers who bought and stored considerable quantities of goods at a time of inflation do not have to buy any more for the time being, even though they

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have money in hand. Instead they keep their money in their pockets or deposit it in the bank. As a result, commodities cannot be sold quickly, and prices have to go down. Cash deposits in the banks increase by a wide margin and the banks find nobody to lend the money to. A number of factories are suffering from overproduction and many shops find no outlets for their stocks of goods. They find it difficult to keep going, so some of the workers become unemployed. Such hardships and difficulties inevitably arise when commodity prices become stable; they are unavoidable.

In the new situation some pain and hardship might certainly be reduced if all the doctors and assistants in the maternity hospital, that is, the People's Government, were first-rate and if there were sufficient facilities and medicines for midwifery. Unfortunately, not all the doctors and assistants in the hospital are first-rate and not all the necessary facilities and medicines are present. In pursuing various creative activities these "doctors" must work and study at the same time, gradually drawing conclusions from their experience and accumulating it. Hence, the hardships and difficulties that could otherwise have been avoided. In other words, they are caused by shortcomings and errors made by many of our comrades in their work. Serious efforts must be made to correct them. We hope that people will criticize the work of the government and make suggestions, so as to help government functionaries correct their shortcomings and mistakes and thus reduce unwarranted hardships and difficulties.

Yes, there are shortcomings and mistakes, and hardships and difficulties. But, after all, a new situation has emerged in which revenue and expenditure are approaching balance and prices tend to become stable. Comrades! Countrymen of all circles! Let's grit our teeth, continue to exert ourselves, and the critical phase will be over in due course. Our hardships and difficulties are a temporary phenomenon, and this is beyond doubt.

5. The international conditions are also favourable for our development. When the war is over and the country is unified, we shall urgently need a peaceful environment for economic development. In our relations with other countries, the People's Government will, of course, earnestly pursue a policy of peace and work to defend world peace side by side with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. It is unequivocally clear that the imperialists are extremely hostile to the Chinese people who have won liberation. The American imperialists are still helping the Chiang Kai-shek gang in Taiwan in all

sorts of conspiratorial and disruptive activities against New China. Therefore, people throughout the country and the People's Liberation Army must enhance their vigilance, resolve to liberate Taiwan, consolidate national defence and be prepared to counter any possible imperialist provocation. However, the imperialists' aggressive front, headed by the United States, has already met and will continue to meet with resolute resistance of all peace-loving people throughout the world. The strength of the peace and democracy front, headed by the Soviet Union, has seen unprecedented growth. Should the imperialists dare to stage a provocation and run the risk of launching a war, the result will be the complete doom of the imperialist system. Now that the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance has been signed,<sup>11</sup> we have acquired a powerful ally. As Chairman Mao Zedong said, this will free our hands to carry out construction work. Besides, we have received low-interest loans and the help of specialists from the Soviet Union, and we are going to conduct economic co-operation with the Soviet Union in a number of undertakings that we are not able to start ourselves in the near future. This will help reduce the difficulties arising from our lack of capital and experience.

Thanks to these favourable conditions, we shall, without doubt, be able to overcome the present difficulties one by one and gradually improve the economic situation after going through a short period of hardship and bring about a fundamental change for the better in two or three years.

From this analysis we can see clearly what the present tasks and the direction of effort of the Chinese people should be. In the thirty-eight slogans it issued for May Day, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has clearly and correctly posed the tasks for all fronts and I shall explain a few things about the following tasks.

1. Liberation of Taiwan and Tibet, elimination of bandits and enemy agents, and consolidation of national defence.

People's Liberation Army troops at the front should prepare for the campaign to liberate Tibet and Taiwan and other enemy-occupied islands and thus end the nationwide war. The PLA troops operating in the rear area and public security organizations and troops must, as swiftly as possible, wipe out all bandits and enemy agents and maintain public order, so as to enable the people to engage in production with peaceful minds. At the same time they should engage in

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production, learn to read and write, raise the level of their military skills and consolidate national defence. These are the first and foremost demands of the people at the present moment. People all over the country, including people of Taiwan and Tibet, should do their best to support and co-operate with the People's Liberation Army in fulfilling these glorious tasks. And here we want to say a few words to the Kuomintang generals on Taiwan and other islands and to the rulers of Tibet: Stop your futile resistance immediately, sever all relations with the imperialists and send representatives to negotiate with the People's Liberation Army. Either come over to the side of the People's Liberation Army or lay down your arms in co-ordination with its operations to liberate these places. Only by doing this will it be possible for the People's Government to pardon your past crimes and will you have the barest reason for asking the People's Government to forgive your past and observe your future actions. This is your last chance to obtain the people's pardon.

2. Readjustment of industry and commerce and the relations between public and private enterprises.

In accordance with the Common Programme<sup>12</sup> and the directions of Chairman Mao Zedong, the Central People's Government will take certain concrete measures to readjust industry and commerce and the relations between public and private enterprises, so as to facilitate the organization and planning of the economic life of our country under the present circumstances, put the relations between public and private enterprises and between different branches of enterprises on the right track and overcome anarchy. The People's Government should assist private productive enterprises that can carry on and are beneficial to the national economy and people's well-being but are facing difficulties. The owners and workers of these enterprises, on their part, should do everything in their power to keep their enterprises going, pending improvement in the conditions. It is extremely important for state institutions and enterprises to centralize and allocate all the orders for goods and for processing of materials in the most appropriate manner, in order to readjust industry and commerce and the relations between public and private enterprises and overcome the present difficulties. Since the amount of these orders and volume of processing are enormous, defects and losses have often occurred owing to lack of proper centralization and allocation. Our military and government departments and enterprises are expected to do all they can to draw up systematic budgets of orders and processing for given periods,

especially for orders and processing in large amounts, and hand them to the industrial, commercial and trading institutions, together with their own suggestions. At the same time, the industrial, commercial and trading institutions in different places, on their part, should ask the local public and private productive enterprises to submit factual reports on the conditions of production. They should investigate these conditions and report to their superiors. This will make it possible for our central industrial, commercial and trading institutions properly to centralize and allocate the various state orders for goods and for processing of materials and to readjust production of all enterprises. On the one hand, this can help state institutions avoid certain unnecessary losses and, on the other, regulate the market and readjust production, extend relief to many productive enterprises facing difficulties and stimulate the development of new productive enterprises. In regard to state orders for goods and for processing of materials, it is necessary to give consideration to industries and commerce in Shanghai that are facing particular difficulties.

3. Shift of certain enterprises to other products and the way out for private capital.

There is no future for enterprises that used to serve imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, such as those making high-grade consumer goods and goods used for superstitious purposes or for businesses dealing in commercial speculation, and financial businesses dealing in usury and stock market speculation. All these enterprises should switch to manufacture other products. Some enterprises suffering from temporary overproduction, such as the ones making cigarettes, matches and soap, have to reduce production temporarily or turn to make other products. Others have to make substantial changes and turn out things to suit the needs of the peasants before they can expand their market. Moreover, because speculation has ceased, large sums of idle capital are available in society for production. Fundamentally, these are favourable phenomena without doubt. On the other hand, they will doubtless cause some pain. Reduction of output, suspension of production and shift to other products will inevitably cost some workers their jobs and force others to change their occupation. People are already asking, "I am willing to change to another trade, but where to? Will the People's Government please tell me what enterprises one may operate?" This is a good question. In order to answer each question like this concretely and precisely, concrete investigation and study must be conducted beforehand. I

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can here reply only along general lines. That is, all enterprises may be operated that properly serve the needs of the people, especially the needs of the peasants, and that cannot at present be operated by the state or, though put into operation, are still few in number. Communications and transport enterprises, undertakings in the service of the economic departments that the state is concentrating efforts to restore, and medical enterprises may also be operated. In addition, people may set up private enterprises to exploit and extract certain special minerals, build certain factories and power stations, with which the state will sign contracts under appropriate conditions. At present the People's Government does not forbid individuals to set up enterprises that are beneficial to the people but do not hold sway over the national economy and people's well-being. So, private enterprises will have a wide scope of operation. Certain inappropriate competition between state enterprises and private productive enterprises and inappropriate ordering for goods and for processing of materials should be set right in the course of readjusting industry and commerce. Labour-capital relations may also be directed into normal channels by labour legislation of the state, collective contracts and labour-capital consultative organs. Hence, private capital is not without a way out. Of course, private enterprises should be conducted honestly and entrepreneurs should spare no capital or efforts in the operation of the enterprises that are truly beneficial to the national economy and people's well-being. The People's Government will provide them with the necessary facilities and guidance so as to keep them from acting blindly and help them succeed in their undertakings.

4. Relief for people affected by natural disasters and unemployment.

Thanks to the efforts made by the People's Government and the people to transport grain, we can say with certainty that food supplies this year are adequate. The wheat harvest is only about forty days away. The present moment is critical for relief work, and therefore relief workers should not hold in reserve the relief grain sent to them by the government; they should distribute it swiftly in accordance with the policy of organizing the people in the affected areas to help themselves in production, thus enabling them to tide over the difficult period. Thanks to the efforts of the people themselves and large-scale organizational work of the People's Government, we are certain to get through this year's period of famine without an iota of relief grain from other countries. Having helped the Chiang Kai-shek gang

to kill several millions of Chinese people, the American imperialists suddenly became philanthropic and said they would come here to help relieve the people in affected areas. Their purpose is to conduct subversive activities among the people there. The Chinese people welcome really well intentioned assistance from abroad, but as to the “good intentions” of the imperialists, we have had enough. We do not need these people to conduct subversive activities here.

Since certain economic enterprises have to reduce the number of their workers, suspend work or switch to the manufacture of other products, all possible relief must be given to unemployed workers in big cities — this is absolutely necessary and must be done without delay. The Central People’s Government has decided to allot a certain amount of grain and money and, at the same time, has asked industrialists and merchants, as well as workers in employment, to contribute some money as a relief fund for unemployed workers. The Ministry of Labour of the Central People’s Government is now drafting measures for the relief of unemployed workers and is preparing to set up relief departments and employment agencies for unemployed workers in all big cities. Before the measures are made public, temporary relief measures may and should be taken in Shanghai and some other cities. Former governments of China never helped unemployed workers, but the People’s Government, although it is still confronted with difficulties, is working out practical relief measures for unemployed workers and will carry them out.

##### 5. Future land reform.

Land reform should be carried out this autumn in newly liberated areas where preparatory work has been done, but the areas involved should not be too many. Now that victory has basically been won, only landlords’ land and much public land should be confiscated and distributed in land reform to peasants who have little or no land. Landlords will also be given a similar share and the rich peasants’ land and property should be kept intact. Other property of the landlords will not be subject to confiscation and distribution, with the exception of the means of production needed by the peasants. These points will be incorporated in the provisions of the new agrarian law. On the basis of past experience, land reform should be carried out under guidance, with preparations made beforehand, and in good order. Disorder will not be permitted. Therefore, we must not be over-anxious to complete land reform in all the newly liberated areas, but must stagger it. If land reform can be basically completed through-

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out the country in three years, that will be very quick and a big success.

6. Conscientious correction of shortcomings and errors, and training of cadres.

Since the field armies of the People's Liberation Army began to advance to the south and the northwest on April 20 last year, all parts of the Chinese mainland, except Tibet, and more than 300 million population have been liberated within this very brief period. The territory under our control is vast and work in various fields is heavy and complicated. We are short of experienced cadres but have large numbers of new cadres. All this, plus the lack of time for training, has led to many shortcomings and errors in the course of attaining great achievements. We must take an overall view of the question. That is, we should see both the achievements and the shortcomings and errors in our work, both the hard work and the defects on the part of the cadres. Underestimation of any aspect should be avoided. Now people throughout the country are acclaiming our achievements and at the same time demanding that we correct the shortcomings and errors that have already occurred. We should face these shortcomings and errors squarely and correct them. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has decided to conduct criticism and self-criticism<sup>13</sup> and to train cadres.<sup>14</sup> After these steps have been taken, we believe our shortcomings and errors will be corrected.

The most fatal among our mistakes is that of arbitrarily enforcing orders. We have a considerable number of cadres who, although striving to fulfill the tasks assigned to them by the state and the Party, do not take the trouble to execute them according to the policies of the state and the Party. They do not try to fulfill those tasks within the strict confines of the policies of the state and the Party. Instead, they adopt a crude manner of work, taking no heed of the actual conditions and feasibilities, unwilling to consult local people earnestly, just trying to fulfill the tasks mechanically. The result is that they have fulfilled their tasks, but the people have suffered entirely unwarranted losses. Arbitrary orders are enforced in levying public grain, collecting taxes and selling state bonds to such a serious extent that it has roused the dissatisfaction of many people. Unless we set right this practice, we shall divorce ourselves from the masses. We shall soon carry out agrarian reform over a vast territory, and it will be difficult for us to succeed in the work if we do not start training cadres immediately.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has every year emphasized the need to correct such an erroneous work

style among its cadres, but even after it has been corrected repeatedly, it may recur. The Party now has a membership of more than four million, nearly half of whom have joined the Party for just two and a half years, two years, one year or even a few months. During the past year or so we have taken over large numbers of old personnel to work in government institutions. In this entirely new situation we are required to undertake large-scale training immediately, first of all the training of cadres. The main task will be to review our work and correct any authoritarian work style, then to correct other mistakes and shortcomings.

Comrades! After we have improved our work style, our shortcomings and mistakes are fewer, and we do our work better, then we can better unite with people throughout the country, enhance their enthusiasm, further increase their strength, more quickly enable our country and people to tide over the present difficulties, and create a bright future. All these are the objectives we set for ourselves as we celebrate May Day this year.

Long live May Day — the great day of unity of the labouring people throughout China and throughout the world!

Long live the unity and co-operation of all nationalities, all democratic classes, all democratic parties, and all people's organizations in China!

## THE NEW TASK THAT LIES BEFORE THE ARMY

*May 16, 1950*

The first task of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in the Chinese people's revolution is to overthrow imperialist and feudal forces and the Kuomintang regime and establish a people's democratic state led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. This great task is near completion.

Does this mean that we have done everything and have nothing else to do from now on? Absolutely not. We face a new task, namely, to build up our national defence and to defend our motherland. This task is far greater, more important and of greater international significance than the first. If the imperialists don't provoke us, everything will be all right, but if they should dare to do so, we shall firmly deal blows at them in order to defend our motherland and preserve world peace. Comrade Mao Zedong has told us time and again that if the imperialists dare to create provocations and take the risk of launching a war, they will be doomed to total destruction. Of course, we need peaceful reconstruction and we do not wish to fight a war. A world war may not immediately break out, but we should be prepared. We should sum up our past experience, embark on our new endeavour, build up national defence, and reorganize, educate and train our troops. All this is arduous, long-term work.

We should reorganize and demobilize our troops. Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out that, since we have financial and economic difficulties and the financial burden on the people is too heavy, both military and local personnel have to be reduced. Otherwise, the people will be unable to bear the burden; it will also be disadvantageous to the state.<sup>15</sup> In the past, the peasants had to pay heavy agricultural tax in grain. After taxes on urban industrial and commercial enter-

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Speech at a meeting of staff officers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

prises were raised, the industrialists and merchants complained a great deal, many factories were closed down and a great many workers were put out of work. Much of the industrial and commercial tax burden was then shifted onto the peasants. Therefore, we must find ways of reducing expenditures. To this end, we have to reorganize our army and reduce the number of our military personnel. Some of our troops hope to be demobilized. For example, a number of “liberated soldiers”<sup>16</sup> complained that they had been “liberated without being released.” The work of demobilization calls for prudence, and we should see to it that appropriate arrangements be made so that demobilized officers and soldiers will have a way of making a living. If we do this job well, we shall win popular approval. If not, we shall lose popular support. Hence the need for us to demobilize our troops to reduce expenses and lighten the financial burden on the people, in order that we do not lose popular support and on condition that our combat effectiveness is not weakened. A report will be made by the Commander-in-Chief<sup>17</sup> on the question of reorganization and demobilization of our troops.

Now I should like to discuss the question of how to raise the educational level of our cadres and soldiers.

The veteran cadres in the army and among local authorities are the quintessence of our Party as well as the backbone of the People’s Republic. They have made tremendous contributions, for which the people are grateful. In general, these cadres are very good and they are faithful to the Party, country and people. Nonetheless, they also have their defects, such as low educational level and lack of technical expertise and professional capability. Therefore, it is difficult for them to cope with new tasks. Although military cadres have fought in battles and gained considerable war experience, they lack knowledge necessary for the building of national defence and therefore cannot be fully effective in a new war against imperialists. Thus we should find ways to raise their educational and technical levels. Conditions are now ripe for us to do something about this. The state can afford to allocate funds and finish this work over a span of three to five or even ten years. After victory in the revolution it took the Soviet Union ten years to turn out great numbers of educated worker-peasant cadres with technical and professional expertise. We should learn from its experience and make plans for training cadres in the light of actual conditions. This is the responsible attitude the Party and state should take. Since our cadres have worked hard and behaved very well, we

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should provide every one of them — first of all, the veteran cadres — an opportunity to receive education and raise their educational level.

Every division of the army should set up classes for those who have not received a higher primary school education and allow them to do less work or even take time off, so they can devote themselves to study. The length of schooling should be shortened, so that lower primary school, higher primary school, junior middle school and senior middle school courses can each be finished in two years or less than two years. So long as the cadres are willing to learn, we should guarantee time and favourable conditions. In doing so, we may very well be able in a few years to raise the literacy level to as high as junior middle school. Afterwards, we should have high school graduates who will enter universities to study railway engineering, shipbuilding and other special skills. Existing skilled personnel in the army, such as medical and radio technicians, may enter special schools for further training. In future we shall depend on these cadres to manage technical work of various spheres in the country. The building of the navy, air force, artillery forces and all other technical branches of the army also depends upon personnel improvement and their command of new military technology.

Veteran soldiers with lower levels of education must also receive further training. Otherwise, they will complain that the Party owes much to them. They would say that even if they had no achievements to their credit, they have worked hard. True, they do have worked hard and made contributions to the Party. Yet they are unable to undertake greater responsibilities. So, what's to be done? They may ask, "why don't you give us training?" In the past we could say there were too many difficulties. But can we use the same reason today when the war has ended? Why shouldn't they enter schools, now that classes have been set up everywhere? We can find no more excuses now. If all our cadres and soldiers complain that they are discriminated against, that will be too bad. If we do not do this work in a planned way these years, it will be too late when everybody "attacks" us. Then we shall find ourselves in a passive position.

Based on their own experience, comrades from the Soviet Union have suggested that we retrain the worker-peasant cadres, especially train and promote those who work in factories. We have done very little in this regard; in fact, we haven't even drawn up plans for this work yet. I have explained to these comrades that although our Party was founded in the city, for a long time it was active mainly in the

countryside. The working class in China maintained secret and partial contact with our Party for many years. Only after liberation did the majority begin to establish open contact with the Party. For this reason, we could not recruit Party members and promote cadres from among the ranks of the working class on a large scale until we had conducted two or three years of organizational and educational work among them. At present, most of the cadres in our country are military cadres and local cadres. Therefore, we must retrain these cadres before those from among factory workers and rural peasants. I hope you will discuss the question and work out a general training plan to be put into practice upon approval by the Central Committee and its Military Commission.

After the plan is drawn up, the first thing to do is to find teachers. China is not short of teachers. The large number of intellectuals can serve as teachers, but they need training beforehand. Then, allocation of educational expenses and preparation of classrooms follow. These are not difficult problems. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, even though the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College<sup>18</sup> had hardly any classrooms, it could still train students. Of course, conditions are much better now, but these things cannot be accomplished overnight; they have to be accomplished step by step.

Since our cadres and soldiers are eager to study and education is closely connected with the work of our army, this question should be discussed at the meeting.

## REPORT ON THE QUESTION OF AGRARIAN REFORM

*June 14, 1950*

Fellow members, comrades,

The Common Programme<sup>12</sup> of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference provides that the People's Republic of China shall "systematically transform the feudal and semi-feudal landownership system into a system of peasant landownership." Last winter the People's Government carried out and in the main completed agrarian reform in the suburbs of cities and in a number of other areas in north China and in half of Henan Province, involving a total rural population of 26 million. In general, no serious deviations occurred in the course of the reform. It went smoothly and very few disruptive incidents took place. The people, especially the peasants who have received land and other means of production, are content with the reform.

In addition, in the vast newly liberated areas the People's Government and the People's Liberation Army carried out campaigns to wipe out bandits, oppose local despots and reduce land rent and have set up peasants' associations in many areas. According to reports from east China and south-central China, the peasants' associations in these areas have a membership totalling 24 million and there are also one million people's militia there. In areas where these campaigns have been conducted, people's representative conferences and peasants' representative conferences at county, district and township levels have generally been held. Peasant activists have emerged in large numbers,

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Delivered at the Second Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, it appeared in the *People's Daily* on June 30, 1950.

more than 38,000 township governments have been re-established and the level of the peasant masses' political consciousness has been raised rapidly. About 180,000 cadres will be trained in east China and south-central China before the winter of this year for agrarian reform. Therefore, we consider that in these areas, where the peasant movement has developed and where preparations have been made, agrarian reform can begin this winter.

At present, agrarian reform in China has been nearly completed in an area with a rural population of 145 million (total population of the area is 160 million). There is still an area with a rural population of 264 million (total population 310 million) where agrarian reform has not yet been carried out. Requests for permission to start the reform this winter have been made by various areas with a total rural population of 100 million — 3.5 million in north China, 8 million in northwest China, 35 to 40 million in east China and 47 to 56 million in south-central China — covering more than 300 counties in all. These requests have to be discussed by the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference and approved by the Central People's Government. In an area with a rural population of 164 million no agrarian reform is to be carried out this winter. However, it can be conducted in the greater part of this area following the autumn of 1951, in a smaller part following the autumn of 1952; and in the remaining part, mainly the areas inhabited by minority nationalities, it will be put off to some future date. It has been carried out in areas inhabited by Koreans and Mongolians in northeast China and it may be carried out in other areas where most people of the minority nationalities demand it. It is still impossible to decide today when agrarian reform will be carried out in other areas inhabited by a population of about 20 million minority nationalities. That will have to be decided on the basis of work among the minority nationalities and the level of political consciousness of the people there. We should give the minority nationalities more time to consider and prepare for reform among themselves and we must not be impatient. The Draft Agrarian Reform Law we have proposed shall not apply to areas inhabited by minority nationalities. This means that we plan to complete agrarian reform in the main throughout China in two and a half to three years, beginning from the winter of this year. This is only a general plan. If this plan is realized, it will be an extremely

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great historic victory for the Chinese people, and it will mean rapid fulfillment of one of the basic historic tasks of the Chinese revolution.

It is necessary to formulate a general plan, enabling people's governments and people's organizations in the newly liberated areas to prepare and carry out their work according to this plan. We request that agrarian reform not be carried out in areas where it was decided not to carry it out this year. Even if the peasants want to go ahead with it of their own accord, they should be dissuaded from doing so. However, in areas where it was decided to carry out agrarian reform this winter efforts should be concentrated on making preparations in the summer and autumn in order that it can start immediately after the autumn harvest and collection of grain tax. All possible efforts should be made to complete basic agrarian reform correctly this winter in an area with a rural population of 100 million. If deviations should occur in some areas after agrarian reform starts and give rise to certain chaotic conditions that cannot be remedied quickly, the reform should be held up in these areas in order to correct the deviations and prepare to go on with it next year.

To sum up, we must see to it that no chaotic conditions shall occur and no deviation or confusion shall remain long uncorrected in agrarian reform in the future. Agrarian reform must be guided and carried out in a planned and orderly way in complete accordance with the laws and decrees promulgated by the Central People's Government and the people's governments at various levels and with the principles, policies and steps they have decided upon. Our future agrarian reform will be conducted on the biggest scale in history; only in this way can it conform with the interests of the great majority of the people.

In order to carry out guided, orderly agrarian reform in the future, the Central People's Government must promulgate an agrarian reform law and some other documents. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has drawn up and submitted a Draft Agrarian Reform Law to the National Committee of the CPPCC for examination and discussion. As soon as general agreement has been reached, the draft law will be submitted to the Central People's Government Council for promulgation and enforcement.<sup>19</sup> In order to elucidate the draft law and a number of questions that have to be considered in future agrarian reform, I should like to take up and explain the following questions.

## I. WHY SHOULD AGRARIAN REFORM BE CARRIED OUT?

The essential content of agrarian reform is confiscation of the land of the landlord class for distribution to peasants who have little or no land. Thus the landlords will be abolished as a class in society and the landownership system characterized by feudal exploitation will be transformed into a system of peasant landownership. This is indeed the greatest and most thorough reform in thousands of years of Chinese history.

Why should such a reform be undertaken? In a nutshell, because the original landownership system in China was extremely irrational. In general, the land situation in old China was roughly as follows: Landlords and rich peasants, who constituted less than 10 per cent of the rural population, possessed approximately 70 to 80 per cent of the land and brutally exploited the peasants by means of their land. Poor peasants, farm labourers, middle peasants and others, who made up 90 per cent of the rural population, possessed in all only 20 to 30 per cent of the land. They toiled all year round but could hardly have a full belly and warm back. This situation has undergone some changes in the past ten-odd years of the War of Resistance Against Japan and the People's War of Liberation. Apart from the areas where agrarian reform has been carried out, more land in some areas has been concentrated in the hands of the landlords. In Sichuan and other areas the landlords possess about 70 or 80 per cent of the land. In other areas, such as the middle and lower reaches of the Changjiang (Yangtze) River, landownership is somewhat dispersed. According to data obtained in our recent investigation of a number of villages in east and south-central China, the situation is roughly as follows: Land owned by landlords and public land constitute 30 to 50 per cent; rich peasants possess 10 to 15 per cent of the land; middle peasants, poor peasants and farm labourers possess 30 to 40 per cent of the land, and persons renting out small parcels of land possess 3 to 5 per cent of the land. The total area of land rented out in the rural areas constitutes 60 to 70 per cent of the land. Land rented out by rich peasants accounts for 3 to 5 per cent, while land cultivated by rich peasants themselves constitutes about 10 per cent. In other words, 90 per cent of the land in the countryside is cultivated by middle peasants, poor peasants and a section of the farm labourers, who own merely a small part of the land; the greater part does not belong to them. This state

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of affairs remains very serious. And herein lies the reason why our nation has become a victim of aggression and oppression and is impoverished and backward. This also constitutes the principal obstacle to our nation's democratization, industrialization, independence, unification and prosperity. Unless we change this situation, victory in the Chinese people's revolution cannot be consolidated, the productive forces in the rural areas cannot be set free, the industrialization of New China cannot be realized and the people cannot enjoy the fundamental gains of the revolutionary victory. To change the situation, we must, as stipulated in Article 1 of the Draft Agrarian Reform Law, "abolish the landownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class and introduce the system of peasant landownership in order to set free the productive forces in the rural areas and develop agricultural production, thus paving the way for New China's industrialization." For this basic reason and with this basic aim we must carry out agrarian reform.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen put forward long ago the slogan of "equalization of landownership" and, later, the slogan of "land to the tiller".<sup>20</sup> Industrialization of China must rely on the vast rural markets at home. Without a thorough agrarian reform it would be impossible to realize industrialization of New China. This is too obvious to require much explanation. However, it is still necessary at the present time to explain clearly the basic reason for and the basic aim of agrarian reform, because they can explode the fallacy of the various excuses advanced for opposing and doubting agrarian reform, and for justifying the landlord class. At present, in fact, opposition to and doubts about agrarian reform remain.

We can see from the basic reason for and the basic aim of agrarian reform that the evils done by the landlord class in the past are rooted in the old social system. Landlords in general will only be deprived of their feudal landholdings and abolished as a social class; they will not be physically eliminated. A small number of them, on whom the people's courts should pass sentences of death or imprisonment, consist of landlords guilty of major crimes — rural despots who have committed heinous crimes and criminals who stubbornly resist agrarian reform. Therefore, it is stipulated in the Draft Agrarian Reform Law that after their land and other means of production have been confiscated, landlords will be given shares of land and other means of production so that they can also make a living on their own and re-

form themselves through labour. After undergoing long-term reform through labour, it is possible for landlords to become new men.

This basic reason for and the basic aim of agrarian reform are not designed only to relieve the poor, as is maintained by some people. The Communist Party has always fought in the interest of the labouring poor, but the viewpoint of Communists differs from that of philanthropists. The agrarian reform will benefit the impoverished labouring peasants, helping them to partially solve their problem of poverty, but its basic aim is not merely one of relieving the impoverished peasants. It is designed to free the rural productive forces from the shackles of the feudal landownership system of the landlord class in order to develop agricultural production and pave the way for New China's industrialization. The problem of poverty among the peasants can finally be solved only when agricultural production is greatly developed, the industrialization of New China is realized, the living standard of people throughout the country is improved, and China eventually embarks upon the road to socialism. Agrarian reform can solve only part, not the whole, of the problem of the peasants' poverty.

The basic reason for and the basic aim of agrarian reform are to develop production. Hence, every step taken in the reform should be suited to and closely co-ordinated with the development of rural production. Precisely because of this basic reason and aim, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has proposed that the rich peasant economy be kept from being infringed upon in the reform. This is because the existence of the rich peasant economy and its growth within certain limits is advantageous to the development of the people's economy in our country. It is, therefore, also beneficial to the broad peasant masses.

This, in brief, is my explanation of why agrarian reform should be carried out.

## II . CONFISCATION AND REQUISITION OF LAND

The Draft Agrarian Reform Law stipulates that land in the following categories be confiscated or requisitioned: 1) landlords' land; 2) rural land belonging to ancestral shrines, temples, monasteries, churches, schools and organizations, and other land owned by the public; 3) rural land of industrialists and merchants; 4) land of people who,

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because they have other occupations or lack labour power, rent out land amounting to more than twice the average landholding in that locality and land rented out by rich peasants of a semi-landlord type. But, the land and other property of rich peasants should in general be kept intact, and so should land and other property owned by middle peasants, poor peasants, farm labourers and other rural people.

We allow the renting out of small plots of land and will not requisition them. This may have some, but not much, unfavourable effect upon rural production, because we believe the amount of land rented out in small plots will not exceed 3 to 5 per cent of the total acreage of arable land, and it is necessary to show consideration for the dependents of revolutionary soldiers and martyrs, and for workers, office staff, professionals and other people who have other occupations or lack labour power and allow them to rent out small plots of land. This is because China does not yet have social insurance for the unemployed or for those who have lost their labour power. Moreover, much of such land has been bought by individuals with the proceeds of their toil. Hence there are some advantages in allowing these people to retain this part of their land and continue to rent it or to cultivate it themselves.

Regarding the land and other property of the rich peasants, Article 6 of the Draft Agrarian Reform Law clearly stipulates:

First, land owned by rich peasants and cultivated by themselves or by hired labour and their other property shall be protected from infringement because only in this way can a rich peasant economy be preserved.

Second, small plots of land rented out by rich peasants shall remain as they are. However, in certain special areas the land rented out by rich peasants may be requisitioned in part or in whole with the approval of the people's government at the provincial level or above. In general, the amount of land rented out by rich peasants is not great. In order to neutralize the rich peasants and protect the middle peasants and small land lessors, it is also necessary to allow the rich peasants to retain this portion of the rented-out land. In certain special areas the situation is different; the land rented out by rich peasants is of considerable size, and if it were not requisitioned, the poor peasants would be unable to get an appropriate amount of land. Therefore, in these areas, the land rented out by rich peasants may be requisitioned in part or in whole to solve the problem, if this is ratified by the people's government at the provincial level or above.

Third, large amounts of land rented out by a small number of rich peasants should be requisitioned in part or in whole. For instance, if a rich peasant rents out more land than the land he cultivates by himself and by hired labour, then he is no mere rich peasant; he is a rich peasant of a semi-landlord type. Therefore, the Draft Agrarian Reform Law stipulates that where large tracts of land are rented out by a rich peasant of a semi-landlord type, exceeding in area the land cultivated by him and by his hired labour, the rented-out portion should be requisitioned.

There are also members of landlord families who throughout the year are mainly engaged in farm work, cultivating part of their land but renting out the major portion. Such persons should be given consideration. Basically, they should be allowed to retain the land they cultivate themselves after appropriate readjustment, but the rest should be confiscated.

Landlords' draught animals, farm implements, and surplus grain and houses in the countryside should be confiscated, too. The furnishings of a house should be confiscated and distributed along with the house, but for convenience they may be readjusted. Surplus grain is grain retained by landlords in excess of their own needs after rent reduction and delivery of grain tax. Surplus houses are houses in excess of the needs of the landlords and their families. It is necessary to confiscate surplus grain, houses, furniture, draught animals and farm implements along with the land and distribute them, but a share must be left to the landlord. Since these are essential means of agricultural production, the peasants who have received land must have such means before they can produce. Of course, these means of production are far from enough. To increase production the peasants must themselves work hard and help each other, along with government assistance.

Except for the above, the landlords' other property, including their industrial and commercial enterprises, shall not be confiscated. No doubt, after long years of exploitation, most landlords have a great deal of property. According to past experience, if these possessions are to be confiscated and distributed, the landlords will try to hide and disperse them and the peasants will search for them, which will lead to chaos and the waste and destruction of great quantities of social wealth. It is therefore better to allow the landlords to keep these enterprises of theirs so they can earn a living or put them into operation. This will also be beneficial to society. This way of dealing

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with landlords in the forthcoming agrarian reform is far more lenient than in the past. However, many landlords may still stubbornly oppose and sabotage the reform and the People's Government. We must resolutely punish such obstinately reactionary landlords and not be lenient or let them have their way.

Certain members of the landlord class will most likely conduct a great deal of sabotage before and during agrarian reform, such as killing of draught animals, felling of trees and destruction of farm implements, water conservancy projects, buildings, crops and furniture. The people's governments throughout the country should work out detailed measures to strictly prohibit such activities. Landlords should be ordered to take good care of the property still in their hands and not to destroy, hide, disperse or sell it. They must pay compensation or be punished for any violations. Persons other than landlords who destroy such property shall also be punished.

### III. PRESERVATION OF THE RICH PEASANT ECONOMY

The provisions in the Draft Agrarian Reform Law regarding the land and other property of the rich peasants are aimed at preserving the rich peasant economy and, in the course of agrarian reform, neutralizing the rich peasants politically and rendering better protection to middle peasants and persons renting out small parcels of land, in order to isolate the landlord class and unite all the people in carrying out agrarian reform and eliminating the feudal system in an orderly manner.

Why did we allow the peasants to requisition the surplus land and property of rich peasants during the agrarian reform in the past and why do we now advocate preservation of the rich peasant economy in the coming agrarian reform? Chiefly because a fundamental change has occurred in the political and military situation in China.

Two years ago, the revolutionary forces of the people and the counter-revolutionary forces were engaged in a ruthless war. The people's forces were still in a relatively inferior position, and the outcome of the war was not yet decided. On the one hand, the rich peasants were still not convinced that the people could win the war and they leaned to the side of the landlords and Chiang Kai-shek and opposed the agrarian reform and the people's revolutionary war. On

the other hand, the people's revolutionary war required that the peasants make the greatest sacrifices by joining the army and supplying public grain and labour service to support the war and strive for victory in the war. Victory was in the supreme interest of the Chinese people, and everything had to be subordinated to this need. It was precisely under such circumstances that we allowed the peasants to requisition the surplus land and property of the rich peasants and to confiscate all the property of the landlords, so as to satisfy to a greater extent the demands of the impoverished peasants, rouse to a high degree their revolutionary enthusiasm to participate in and support the people's revolutionary war, and overthrow Chiang Kai-shek's regime, which was backed by U.S. imperialists. This was both necessary and correct at the time, when, without extremely thorough agrarian reform in the liberated areas and full satisfaction of the impoverished peasants' demands, it would have been hard to overcome the difficulties encountered.

Things are diametrically different now. The people's revolutionary war on the mainland has for the most part been completed, and the Chiang Kai-shek gang is undoubtedly doomed to destruction. The two tremendous tasks required of the peasants — military service and labour service — have entirely been fulfilled and the burden of grain tax has also been comparatively lightened. The present basic task for people throughout the country is to undertake economic development on a nationwide scale, to rehabilitate and develop the economy. The fight for Taiwan remains a colossal task, and the People's Liberation Army has adequate strength to shoulder it. The difficulties we confront today are different in character from those we encountered during the war in the past. Our present difficulties are mainly financial and economic, arising in the course of the restoration, reform and development of the economy. At the same time, the great revolutionary unity of all nationalities, all democratic classes, all democratic parties and all people's organizations in the country has already been established politically and organizationally, and the political attitude of the rich peasants, in general, has also undergone a change. If the People's Government pursues a policy of preserving the rich peasant economy, it will enable the rich peasants in general to take a neutral attitude, better protect the middle peasants and dispel certain unwarranted misgivings of the peasants with regard to the development of production. Therefore, in the present situation, it is necessary both politically and economically to adopt a policy of

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preserving the rich peasant economy in the coming agrarian reform. It will help overcome the current financial and economic difficulties and thus benefit the state and the people.

Between July 1946 and October 1947 when the peasants and our rural cadres carried out agrarian reform in many places in north China, Shandong and northeast China, they failed to follow the directive issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party on May 4, 1946, which stressed that the rich peasants' land and property should be kept substantially intact. Instead, they acted as they liked and confiscated the land and property of rich peasants as they did the landlords'. This is understandable, because it was the period of the most tense and bitter struggle between the Chinese people and the Kuomintang reactionaries. It was during this period that most of the deviations in agrarian reform occurred — the interests of part of the middle peasants were encroached upon, some industrial and commercial undertakings in the rural areas were impaired, and indiscriminate beatings and killings occurred in some places. These things happened mainly because of political and military tension at the time. It was also because most of our rural cadres had no experience in agrarian reform, did not know how to define class status correctly in the rural areas, and mistook a number of rich peasants for landlords and middle peasants for rich peasants. In view of this situation, the Central Committee of the Party made public on October 10, 1947, the Outline Agrarian Law, under which the class status of the rich peasants and landlords was differentiated, but the surplus land and property of the rich peasants were allowed to be requisitioned. In the winter of the same year the Central Committee issued a document on the differentiation of class status in the countryside. Chairman Mao Zedong issued a statement on "The Present Situation and Our Tasks"<sup>21</sup> and Comrade Ren Bishi spoke on the question of agrarian reform.<sup>22</sup> After that, certain chaotic conditions in the rural areas ceased and agrarian reform was conducted along the right path. It is necessary to draw attention to past experience so that our comrades do not repeat past mistakes in agrarian reform in the newly liberated areas. Now that we are working under entirely new conditions, it is absolutely necessary to adopt a policy in our proposed agrarian reform law to eliminate the feudal system and preserve the rich peasant economy.

The policy we have adopted to preserve the rich peasant economy is of course not a temporary but a long-term policy. That is to say,

throughout the stage of new democracy we shall preserve the rich peasant economy. It will become unnecessary only when fanning is mechanized on a large scale, collective farms are organized and socialist transformation is carried out in the rural areas. This will become possible only in the rather distant future.

This is why we advocate preservation of the rich peasant economy at present.

Of course, in areas where agrarian reform has been completed, rich peasants shall not be permitted to take advantage of this to regain land from the peasants; such cases should be strictly prohibited.

#### IV. SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING LAND DISTRIBUTION

As for how to distribute land, it must first be made clear that this is a question of readjustment by subtraction and supplementation based on the holdings and of taking into account the interests of the present tillers of the land.

Land distribution on this basis can help avoid excessive and unnecessary changes and benefit production. When rented land is taken away from a tiller for distribution to others, proper consideration must be given to him. The land distributed to the tiller, plus his own land, if any, should be slightly and appropriately greater than the land possessed, after land distribution, by the peasants who had little or no land to begin with, thus in principle enabling the tiller to have land that equals the average acreage owned by each peasant in the locality. Since too much land taken from that rented by tillers would cause them loss, giving them this consideration will mean they suffer little or no loss. This is necessary. After agrarian reform if a portion of land remains to be rented out, it can be rented to tillers who have had too much of their land taken away, as an adjustment and compensation. The best portion of the land of the tillers should not be taken at all or only a little should be taken. Experience shows that the tillers will feel satisfied after such proper consideration is given to them. They will be happy because the land they rented from others now becomes their own, they have no more need to pay rent or curry favour with the landlords, their social status is raised, they receive more land than others and they are better off.

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During the distribution of land and other means of production certain specific problems facing people who have little or no land in the rural areas should be dealt with properly. Where conditions permit, more land should be given to people able to work it, such as impoverished peasant households with one or two members. Less land or no land at all may be distributed to certain people, such as village handicraftsmen, pedlars, professionals and members of their families, salaried personnel of the people's governments and people's organizations who live in the countryside, other professionals who live elsewhere but have families in the countryside, and so forth. These people, whose income is sufficient to support themselves, should not be given land. However, some land — the amount can be less than the shares of the peasants — should be given to people whose income cannot regularly support them or is not sufficient to support them. Appropriate solutions to these problems must be based on the specific circumstances of each village and each individual, and concrete decisions must be based on consultation and discussion among the peasants and the individuals concerned.

Dependents of martyrs, as referred to in the Draft Agrarian Reform Law, include the immediate relatives of those who were killed in action during the various revolutions since the Revolution of 1911,<sup>23</sup> the War of Resistance Against Japan and the People's War of Liberation. The martyr himself should be counted as one of his family members and allocated a portion of land as a form of compensation to his dependents. This is necessary.

Unemployed workers and their families who return to the countryside with credentials from municipal people's governments or trade unions should be distributed shares of land and other means of production similar to the peasants' if they demand them and are able to engage in agricultural production and if local land conditions permit. This will help part of the unemployed workers to settle down and will be advantageous to society.

Monks, nuns, Taoists, priests and imams in the rural areas, landlords who ran away and other people who worked for the enemy but who have now returned to the villages, and their families should be given shares of land and other means of production similar to the peasants' if they have no other means of livelihood and are willing and able to engage in agricultural production; otherwise they will become jobless vagabonds, disturbing public order and harming the people.

As punishment, no land shall be given to persons in the villages who have been confirmed by the People's Government as Chinese collaborators, traitors, war criminals, counter-revolutionaries guilty of heinous crimes, or criminals who are bent on sabotaging the agrarian reform. While some of these persons have been identified, others remain to be identified during the agrarian reform. These cases should be investigated and carefully dealt with by the local people's government.

If the land and other property to be nationalized according to the Draft Agrarian Reform Law lack management, the local people's government should immediately send people to take over and manage them, so that they will not be damaged or wasted. Otherwise, the existing managers may continue to manage it if the state does not need it for the time being, but they may not rent or sell it or let it lie waste. When they do not need the land, they must hand it back to the state.

The local people's government must send people to take care of scenic spots and historical relics, so that they may not be damaged.

These are explanations of certain questions concerning land distribution.

## V . POINTS FOR ATTENTION DURING AGRARIAN REFORM

Agrarian reform involves systematic and fierce struggle. According to the general line for the forthcoming agrarian reform, it is essential to rely on the poor peasants and farm labourers, unite with the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants, systematically and discriminately to eliminate the feudal system of exploitation, and to develop agricultural production. The peasants' associations should be the main organizational form and executive organs of the forces in agrarian reform. Peasants' congresses at all levels, committees of the peasants' associations and the people's representative conferences at all levels<sup>24</sup> should be the centres of activity during reform. Honest peasant activists and cadres sent by higher authorities to carry out agrarian reform should form the backbone of the reform. Higher-level leading bodies in the provinces where agrarian reform is being carried out should set up telephone connections with rural areas to establish close contact with lower levels. Leading members and inspection

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teams should be sent down from every level to the next lower level to provide practical leadership of the movement. Measures and plans for the reform are to be worked out beforehand from the township upwards and are to be put into effect upon approval by the higher level. If any problem arises that a lower body cannot solve, it should be submitted to a higher body for instruction. The latter should immediately dispatch people to help solve the problem. Major unambiguous problems that are ripe for solution and have a vital bearing on the majority of the people should be solved first, while ambiguous or controversial problems that affect only a small number of people should be settled later, lest solution of the latter should get in the way of efforts to solve the former. These are the points to be borne in mind by cadres directing agrarian reform at different levels.

Before agrarian reform is unfolded everywhere, leading bodies at the county level and above must conduct experiments in a few districts or townships to gain experience for use in training cadres and directing the reform.

Purity of the leadership of the peasants' associations at all levels should be ensured. The masses should be mobilized to elect new leadership where it is impure. Here "purity" does not mean the adoption of a closed-door attitude towards farm labourers, poor peasants or middle peasants who have committed certain errors and denying of their admission into the peasants' associations. On the contrary, they should be welcomed into the associations, educated and united with. "Purity" here means to prevent landlords, rich peasants and their agents from joining the peasants' associations and, still more important, from holding leading positions in the associations. The chief leaders of the peasants' associations must be chosen from among the poor peasants and farm labourers, but real efforts must be made to form an alliance with the middle peasants and, above all, to protect the land and other property of the middle peasants (including the well-to-do middle peasants) from encroachment. At the same time, activists among them must be absorbed into the leadership of the peasants' associations. It should be stipulated that one-third of the leadership of the peasants' associations at all levels be chosen from among the middle peasants. This is absolutely necessary. No poor peasants' leagues nor trade unions should be organized in the villages besides the peasants' associations. Meetings or representative meetings of poor peasants, farm labourers and handicraft workers can be held within the peasants' associations to discuss questions affecting them.

Meetings of this kind, however, should be open to representatives of the middle peasants.

The peasants' associations must pay earnest attention to recruiting peasant women as members and to drawing activists among them into the leadership. It is necessary to call women's meetings or women's representative meetings within the peasants' associations, so as to protect their interests during agrarian reform, uphold their social rights and discuss all kinds of their problems.

Peasants' associations should draw in impoverished revolutionary intellectuals and other labouring people in the rural areas. Moreover, they must unite with all people outside the associations who are opposed to feudalism, including enlightened gentry who support agrarian reform, so as to form a united front in the common struggle against the feudal system of exploitation. The people's government should call together the rich peasants, inform them of its policy and explain the actions of the peasants' associations, in order to set their minds at ease. It should also call the landlords together and inform them of its policy and decrees, so that they also can understand the content and procedure of agrarian reform. They must also be warned not to resist or engage in subversive activities, but honestly to obey the decrees of the government and the decisions of the peasants' associations. Then the government will treat them with clemency. Only those landlords, enemy agents and counter-revolutionaries who conspire to organize resistance and carry out subversive activities shall be ruthlessly suppressed, and all their resistance crushed in good time.

During the period of agrarian reform widespread propaganda and explanation should be carried out not only in the rural areas but also among people in every walk of life in the cities and among the People's Liberation Army units. The agrarian reform policy and decrees of the People's Government should be explained to workers, students, office staff, industrialists, merchants and the commanders and fighters of the armed forces to enable them to understand, sympathize with and help the peasants and not to sympathize with or help the landlords, still less to protect the landlords or those among their own relatives and friends. And the landlords must be told that they must observe honestly the decrees of the People's Government and the decisions of the peasants' associations and should not resist or engage in subversive activities if they want to avoid punishment. This is also very important in organizing the united front against feudalism.

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During the agrarian reform cadres of the democratic parties, teachers and other democrats in the cities who are willing to participate should be allowed to do so. They don't have to avoid their native places, because this will enable them and the peasant masses to undergo useful tests and education.

People's tribunals should be set up to suppress and punish without delay the resistance and subversive activities of despots, enemy agents, counter-revolutionaries and landlords and to deal with the charges lodged by the peasants against these elements during the agrarian reform. They should hand over to ordinary courts and public security organs for decision ordinary criminal and civil cases and particularly complicated cases that need long-term investigation before settlement can be reached, so that they can concentrate on dealing with violations of the law during the agrarian reform and maintaining revolutionary order in the rural areas. They should carry out their work in accordance with the regulations promulgated by the government and should not deal with criminals at will. People's organizations and institutions other than the people's tribunals and public security organs shall not detain, try or deal with criminals. People's governments at all levels should pay special attention to helping the people's tribunals and to strengthening and training the cadres of the people's tribunals, thus enabling them to shoulder their own task. Otherwise, order may be endangered during the agrarian reform.

Differentiation of class status in the countryside is a complex and extremely important task in agrarian reform. Leading organs at all levels must tackle this in earnest, in accordance with the decisions promulgated by the Central People's Government. Prudence should be exercised in differentiating the landlord class, because this involves the confiscation of their land and other means of production. The class status of the overwhelming majority of the population in rural areas is clear and can easily be differentiated without much controversy. It should be dealt with first. A small number of people whose class status is unclear, difficult to ascertain and controversial should be dealt with after careful study and upon instruction from higher authorities. Impatience in this matter must be avoided, lest errors be made that lead to their dissatisfaction. In short, no person's class status should be wrongly determined. Once a mistake is made, it must be corrected.

The key to correctly carrying out these tasks and the other tasks of agrarian reform lies in rectifying the work style of our cadres,

especially in correcting authoritarianism. The movement for rectifying work style is now under way in various areas.<sup>14</sup> If this work and the study of agrarian reform are well carried out, I believe the coming large-scale agrarian reform movement will surely be conducted systematically, discriminatingly and in accordance with the laws and decrees of the Central People's Government. Completion of agrarian reform will create decisive conditions for bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in our country's financial and economic situation. Moreover, it will get the peasant masses organized politically. Then our country and the People's Government will be stronger and more consolidated than ever.

This is my report on the question of agrarian reform. I hope you will examine and discuss it.

## ATTITUDE TOWARDS AND METHODS OF STUDY

*September 10, 1950*

The Chinese revolution has triumphed. In general, we have done quite well in all fields of our work, with the exception of theoretical study. Many of our cadres, including some senior cadres in important posts, are rich in experience in struggle but poor in theory. This is a weakness of our Party. The educational level of some other comrades is rather low. Therefore, we must first raise their educational level and then their theoretical level. Experience is a valuable asset, yet if one's educational and theoretical levels are low, one cannot make much progress, being capable of solving only some problems but not others. Many of our cadres have abundant experience in struggle; if they had higher educational and theoretical levels, they would be able to do more work and solve more problems.

Thus, one of the great tasks facing us is to raise our cadres' educational and theoretical levels. The task requires constant effort, because it cannot be accomplished at one stroke. It will take us about ten years to make one step forward. Lack of theoretical knowledge is a great weakness. Some comrades do not have a full understanding of the importance of theory. They do not want to study theory, which is a wrong attitude. It's not enough for just a few people to study theory; we need more people to do it. Cadres in various fields of work should all find time to study theory. Of course, there is the danger of becoming dogmatic if we emphasize theory to the neglect of practice. Nevertheless, theory is our guide in actual work; without it we shall be groping in the dark and get nowhere. A man without a solid grasp of theory easily falls prey to error — for example, he will be confused

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Excerpt from a speech delivered at the opening ceremony of the second and third classes of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

and deceived by the high-sounding words of others. Only when one has mastered theory, can one give correct guidance to a project. Some people have very little theoretical knowledge, yet they are in leading positions. Will such people be able to perform their duties well? Absolutely not! At present, there are still such people, but it will be difficult for them to stay in these positions once most people have advanced their theoretical understanding.

Our Party cadres should pay attention to theoretical work. Today the Party requires you to study theory and decides to let you solve some practical problems and see whether or not you can apply the theory you have learned. This will do you good. Generally, after a fairly long period of study, you will gain some theoretical knowledge that will help you apply Marxist-Leninist theory to observe, interpret and solve practical problems that arise in your work. This is our goal. To attain it, it is necessary for you to learn many things, such as the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and the works of Mao Zedong.

However, reading some books and gaining some theoretical knowledge are not the same as grasping the essentials of theory. They are simply prerequisites for the application of theory. One cannot solve practical problems with book knowledge alone. Some people depend on books for everything — in fact, everything they know is contained in books, both foreign and Chinese. Raise a question, and they can immediately find the answer in a certain book. When it comes to practical problems, however, which neither Marx nor Lenin ever discussed, they will be at a loss as to how to analyse and solve them. They do not know how to use the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to solve problems. This is true of the dogmatists in China. What we should learn from Marxism-Leninism is its stand, viewpoint and method, and we should not regard it as dogma. What you will face and must deal with is all new problems, many of which Marx, Engels and Lenin never discussed. For example, they never spoke of how to deal with land reform in Hunan and Guangdong. It's up to you to use the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method you have learned to observe, analyse and solve the question, and you should do it well. Only then can you be regarded as having learned some theory at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.<sup>25</sup>

Marx and Lenin just expressed their basic views on the questions of land and peasants; it is up to us to solve these questions by working out specific measures in light of concrete realities in China. Let

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us take a look at the question of the rich peasants. In the past we requisitioned their surplus land and other property and distributed them to the poor peasants and farm labourers, but now we want to preserve the rich peasant economy. Does this mean that what we did in the past was wrong? No. We were right in the past to expropriate the land owned by the rich peasants, and now we are also right to do otherwise. If we do not maintain the rich peasant economy now, we shall be making a mistake, because the situation has changed. Of course, the rich peasants themselves have not changed. If there has been any change, it is in their political attitude. During the war the rich peasants stood on the side of the landlords and were against land reform. So, we could not win them over. Now that the Chinese revolution has triumphed, it is possible to win them over. Times, conditions and surroundings have all changed. During the War of Resistance Against Japan we did not carry out land reform but concentrated on reducing land rent. During the War of Liberation we expropriated the surplus land and other property of the rich peasants and distributed them to the peasants. Today, however, we want to retain the rich peasant economy — all this is determined by the prevailing revolutionary situation. The rich peasants would not have supported us or stood on our side at the height of the war even if we had not done what we did to them. Now that we have won the war, we should retain the rich peasant economy to facilitate rehabilitation and expansion of production. Some peasants are not very pleased with this policy, but they will be as production grows.

The essence of Marxism-Leninism is to make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions. There may be some people who have studied for two years and acquired much theoretical knowledge but still haven't mastered the essence of Marxism-Leninism. Correct ideas cannot be formulated until we apply Marxist-Leninist methodology in systematic analysis of objective data and actual conditions. The same holds true in working and writing. Of course, it is necessary to read books, since it is always good to gain knowledge, but that does not mean that reading alone is enough. Read much, yes, but learn to use what you have read. Only a cadre who has read a great many books and acquired much useful theoretical knowledge can be regarded as perfect.

Furthermore, cadres should learn to write articles. Some of our comrades have not received much education and do not know how to write or how to organize the ideas they want to express. This is

definitely a weak point. Writing was stressed for the first group of students of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and the same should be done for the second. In short, those who do not know how to write must learn to do so, while those who know should learn to write more complex articles. To learn to write articles can be likened to mastering a weapon. One should be able to raise questions and give clear answers in articles.

We study mainly theory at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism; it is in practical work that we try to apply what we have learned. If we can use the theory we learn to deal with problems and work independently, our study of Marxism-Leninism will prove fruitful.

Those lacking basic theoretical grounding should study theory, and those with a less than secure cultural footing should try to raise their educational level. Those deficient in Party spirit, harbouring mistaken ideas and weak in organizational matters should also come to study. If we are literate and have a good command of theory, guard against conceit, are sound ideologically, are honest and upright, we shall receive popular support. If, however, having mastered theory, we become proud, look down on others and are only too ready to label others “opportunists”, we shall assuredly not be popular. Therefore, you yourselves have to rectify your way of thinking even though you are going to graduate soon. The more theory and knowledge one has, the more aware one should be that one actually knows very little. When one has learned a little Marxism-Leninism and becomes prouder rather than more modest, one has not grasped the essence of Marxism-Leninism. Of course, if a person has confidence in himself after study and can solve problems on his own, stick firmly to truth and criticize what is wrong, he should not be regarded as conceited.

Our comrades should be honest and upright. If we have any shortcomings, we should overcome them. Everybody should be fully clear that we are led by the Party and that everything we do is for the Party and the people. After studying Marxism-Leninism, one should overcome such errors as individualism, liberalism, authoritarianism and bureaucratism. The Party branch and the institute should pay attention to this question in their work. Another question is whether or not the students can take a correct attitude towards their job assignments. The students at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism should readily accept the work assigned to them by the institute. Wherever they go, whatever they do, they should never say, “I don’t want to go there because that place is not good,” or “that job is not good.”

Nor should they say, "I've grasped some theories and my theoretical level is higher than that of the others, so why do I have to do this work?"

Some comrades say that they are not capable of theoretical study. This is certainly not being conceited; it shows a lack of confidence. You should be confident after studying Marxism-Leninism at this institute. If you work hard and try your best even if you have no confidence in yourselves, it is a sign you have made some progress in your political awareness. It will help you do your work well. However, you must be confident. If you are not sufficiently competent this year, you will be next year; if not next year, you will be in a few more years. No one should wait to meet certain criteria before applying himself to the task assigned.

Propaganda and theory are the weak links in our Party's work. They must be improved. Lenin once worked as the chief editor of *Iskra*<sup>26</sup> Comrade Mao Zedong personally undertakes the most important tasks in the Party's propaganda work. I, too, participate in it. We often take a direct part in last-minute scanning of *People's Daily* editorials before they are printed. Propaganda is an honourable job, so it is wrong to refuse to do propaganda work; graduates from the Institute of Marxism-Leninism have no reason to say that they cannot do propaganda work. Conducting propaganda means dealing with practical problems rather than indulging in empty talk. In doing propaganda work you will meet many problems that will require you to speak and write about and explain. This is when you need to apply the Marxist-Leninist theory you have studied. You learn at the institute and you apply what you have learned to propaganda work. It is better for you to do other jobs after you have studied and done propaganda work for a period of time. Our Party needs a large number of people to undertake theoretical studies. Without great numbers of cadres engaged in such work the Chinese Communist Party will not be able to lead such a large country down the path to socialism.

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE THIRD  
PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE  
CONFERENCE OF BEIJING

*February 28, 1951*

Chairman and fellow representatives,

Permit me to convey my warm greetings and congratulations to the Third People's Representative Conference of Beijing.

We are very grateful to you and the people of the capital for the tremendous assistance you have given to the various departments of the Central People's Government by enabling them to settle down and work here for more than a year. This has caused, however, certain difficulties for the people of the capital, the most evident being the housing shortage. Many people have already spoken to us of this, and we feel that the government should solve this problem gradually in co-operation with the people. I understand that you have already discussed this question here. That is fine. I am sure that it will be solved in time.

The Third People's Representative Conference of Beijing has an even broader democratic base than the previous two conferences. The number of representatives has increased. Eighty-three per cent have been elected by the people, 17 per cent invited, after due consultation, to participate, and only 3 per cent of the total are government representatives. Elections have been made possible by the experience gained during the past two years and the previous two conferences and because the people have become truly acquainted with their political representatives. Each state-owned factory and enterprise, each university and college forms an electoral unit that directly elects its representatives at a meeting of voters. Representatives of peasants

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This text appeared in the *People's Daily* on March 13, 1951.

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living in the suburbs, of industrial and commercial circles, youth and women, and the various city districts are elected at voters' representative conferences. Secret balloting takes place only in colleges and universities, where the voters are all literate and experienced in voting. Elsewhere the voting is by a show of hands after the list of candidates has been discussed. I think such elections are perfectly correct and necessary, for in this way the organizational basis of the people's representative conference — the main organization of people's democratic power in Beijing — has been broadened, the conference's links with the masses have been strengthened, and its structure is better than before. If the present conference discusses and solves more problems for the people, and the municipal government council and the consultative committee elected by it faithfully carry out its resolutions, we can predict the conference's prestige will rise. It will have taken a big step in building the people's democratic power. This deserves our congratulations.

I think people's representative conferences should be convened in this manner not only in Beijing but wherever conditions are ripe.<sup>24</sup> In cities where the people are fairly well organized and in villages where agrarian reform has been completed and the people there can choose their own representatives, they should immediately be allowed to elect their representatives to people's conferences at all levels by direct or indirect vote. As to the form of voting, this may also, in general, follow the example set by Beijing.

Speaking of elections, people tend to remember the old slogan of "universal, equal, direct and secret balloting". In the past, under the reactionary dictatorial regime of Chiang Kai-shek, this slogan, raised to oppose the dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek, undoubtedly had a progressive significance, but immediate realization of this slogan under the new-democratic state power today is not quite suited to actual conditions among the Chinese people; therefore this slogan cannot be fully adopted. The greater majority of the Chinese people, mainly the labouring masses, are still illiterate, they have had no electoral experience and their interest and enthusiasm in voting are still insufficiently developed. If we, under such conditions, register all the voters, mechanically draw up constituencies, and elect delegates to the people's representative conferences at all levels by secret and direct vote in proportion to the size of population, such elections, judging by experience in certain areas in the past, would be a mere formality. They would only cause unnecessary inconveniences to the

people and dampen their enthusiasm; they would not give the conferences a more popular character. Therefore, we cannot use this means to make the present people's power more democratic and more closely tied to the people. Such formal elections are valued by old-type bourgeois democrats, for they can control the elections and install a bourgeois dictatorship in the name of people's representatives. But we advocate new democracy. Our primary concern in elections is not formality but substance, that is, to make it possible for the people, mainly the working people, to elect as their representatives the people they really want and for their delegates to truthfully convey to the government their opinions and demands. If the elections can truly achieve this, we shall not have to go into too detailed consideration of their form, but shall, as far as possible, adopt forms that are familiar and convenient to the masses. This form of election in Beijing proved to be convenient to the people and, therefore, can be adopted at present. Elections by "universal, equal, direct and secret balloting" are not feasible and therefore it is not advisable to hold them in China under present conditions. Such an electoral procedure can be put into practice in its final and perfect form only after much preparatory work has been done and after the bulk of the Chinese people have become experienced in voting and, on the whole, become literate. In the near future we have to content ourselves with completing all the preparatory work step by step in accordance with the actual conditions of the majority of the Chinese people and gradually carry out more universal, equal, direct or indirect voting by a show of hands. The representatives elected by the people to the people's representative conferences at all levels should be required to maintain constant and close ties with their electorate, convey the demands and opinions of the people to the government and at the same time explain to the people the policies of the government and the resolutions of the people's representative conferences. The people's governments and consultative committees at all levels should establish special and competent organs to deal appropriately with every demand raised by the people, reply to their letters and make themselves easily accessible to the people. In this way the people's governments will be closely linked with the people and will serve them in a practical way, while the broad masses will be able to manage their own and state affairs through the conferences and governments. This is what we can gradually achieve in the near future and this will vastly extend the representative character of our people's conferences and governments.

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The system of people's representative conferences and people's congresses is our basic state system. It is the best basic organizational form of people's democratic power. China practises the system of people's representative conferences and congresses. The conferences are at present exercising the functions and powers of congresses; in the near future they will be transformed directly into people's congresses. In accordance with the Common Programme,<sup>12</sup> the laws and decrees of the Central People's Government and the actual possibilities of the various areas, the people's governments at all levels, all democratic parties and all the democratic classes should make every effort to set up people's representative conferences at different levels actually and not just formally, so that they may establish, both politically and organizationally, broader and closer relations with the masses of the democratic classes, gradually perfect their form, and in the course of the next few years be transformed into people's congresses fully capable of exercising political power on behalf of the people. Thus, supported by this system — the system of people's representative conferences and people's congresses at all levels — which has proved most effective, all the people will rally around the people's governments at all levels under the leadership of the Central People's Government and form a great united force to carry out the urgent tasks of construction and national defence. There will be no difficulties we cannot overcome and no tasks we cannot fulfill. This system of conferences and congresses, formulated by Chairman Mao Zedong, which is thoroughly suited to the present conditions in China, will ensure our country and our people lasting victories.

The new-democratic system of people's representative conferences and people's congresses has proved and will be further proved by history to be infinitely superior to any of the old democratic parliamentary systems. As far as the people are concerned, it is ten thousand times more democratic.

In order to build such a system in our country and quickly make it an orderly, regular and stable system governing the entire state structure from below, the people's governments at all levels must, in accordance with the decrees and organizational regulations of the Central People's Government, regularly convene people's representative conferences. Experience in various areas has shown that in large cities these conferences should be held no fewer than three times a year, in small and medium-sized cities four times a year, in provinces at least once a year, in counties at least twice a year, while districts

and townships may convene them according to regulations. I said “at least”, which means, of course, that they may be convened more frequently. Experience further demonstrates that in cities with a population exceeding 100,000, urban and suburban district people’s representative conferences should be called to deal with many concrete questions that are important to the people but often difficult for city conferences and governments to solve and thus have to be left to the district conferences and governments. In order to ensure that people’s representative conferences at all levels be held regularly, the people’s governments at various levels should instruct the civil affairs departments to supervise governments at lower levels and should set specific dates for these governments to submit reports on the work of such conferences. This is necessary because certain government officials are not very keen on holding conferences. They are accustomed to allowing a small group to monopolize all the work and are unaccustomed to consulting with the people’s representatives. They consider the convening of people’s representative conferences “troublesome” and avoid them under the pretext of being “overburdened with work” or having “no questions to be discussed”. It is necessary that such people be supervised by organizations at a higher level; otherwise they will not convene the people’s representative conferences at fixed dates. Those who fail to convene people’s representative conferences as scheduled without adequate reasons should be criticized or even punished. Should the reason for postponement be found valid, it is necessary to ask the people’s government at a higher level for approval. In this way we can ensure the holding of people’s representative conferences at all levels regularly and on schedule. The experience of various localities has shown that the conferences bring good results. Most conferences held in the past have been successful and have benefited the various circles. Only a few have been unsuccessful or only moderately successful, but even this had its advantage — shortcomings in the work of local governments as well as bureaucratism on the part of government functionaries are exposed. This will draw the attention of higher authorities to establish effective control over such functionaries and give them further education, thus enabling these places to make a fresh start in their work. Hence, whether or not there are questions to discuss, the conferences must be held on schedule. When there is “too much work to do”, the holding of conferences becomes still more imperative, helping to mobilize a greater number of people and rally the activists among the people to carry out the work satisfac-

torily. Barring certain emergencies necessitating a temporary change in our usual practice and temporary postponement of the convening of the conferences, it is imperative that this important system be strictly adhered to and that these conferences of people's representatives at all levels be convened on schedule, so that the conferences (or, in the areas where land reform is being carried out, the conferences of peasants' representatives) may be the pivot of the work and activities of the people's governments at all levels. The people's governments should report their work and activities to these conferences, answer their questions and open themselves to investigation. Important work and activities should first be discussed and decided by these conferences and then carried out by concerted effort.

In addition, I should like to draw your attention to the fact that democratization of the organs of the people's political power in Beijing has proceeded under military control. Some people think that democracy should not, or cannot, be put into practice under military control. In other words, a country under wartime conditions cannot practise democracy. These people are entirely wrong in considering that military control by the People's Liberation Army and the practice and development of the people's democratic power are absolutely opposite and incompatible to each other. China remains under wartime conditions, for in some places actual war is still going on. The country as a whole is under military control. Nevertheless, we are everywhere putting real democracy into practice, holding people's representative conferences at all levels on schedule. And we are going to hold elections for the conferences. We shall present national and local policies to the people and their representative conferences for full discussion and decision. Neither war nor military control has hindered the people from practising democracy. Conversely, the practice of democracy by the people has not hindered the waging of the war or the exercise of military control. On the contrary, they help and strengthen each other. Why? Because our military control is a people's military control and the People's Liberation Army is itself a people's army. To the enemies and the reactionaries military control by the People's Liberation Army stands as a merciless and open military dictatorship, but to the people it means democracy among them. Military control not only does not cause any restrictions or inconveniences to the people, but protects and frees them from the oppression and bondage of the old regime, brings them great benefits, inspires them to stand up as masters of their own and the state's

destiny and to manage their own and state affairs. In his article “On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship” Chairman Mao Zedong said, “The people’s democratic dictatorship has two aspects — democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries.” The military control exercised by the People’s Liberation Army is the primary form of the people’s democratic dictatorship. It forcibly suppresses the reactionaries, defends the people in every way, encourages and helps them to convoke people’s representative conferences and establish people’s governments at all levels and, as circumstances ripen, gradually hands over power to these governments. When counter-revolution has been rooted out, land reform has been completed, the majority of the people are organized and the people’s representative conferences and people’s governments at all levels fully execute their duties, military control will become unnecessary and its full power will pass naturally to the people’s governments. Thus our military control not only does not hinder the convening of people’s representative conferences but takes as one of its main tasks the convening of such conferences and the establishment of people’s governments. For this reason it is wrong to put off the convening of people’s representative conferences under the pretext of the existence of military control or wartime conditions.

Economic development has already become the central task of our country and our people, but this new-democratic economic development must be guided and defended by a new-democratic power. Without new democracy there will be no new-democratic economy — an economy comprising five sectors under the leadership of the socialist state-owned economy.<sup>27</sup> This is also an outstanding distinction between our new-democratic revolution and past bourgeois revolutions. Before the time of bourgeois revolution, i.e., before the establishment of the government of the bourgeoisie, a capitalist economy already existed and was being developed, but a new-democratic economy, led by the socialist state-owned economy, can be organized and developed only after the establishment of new-democratic government under the leadership of the working class. The establishment of new-democratic government, the development of the people’s democratic power and democratization of our country are inseparable from the development of a new-democratic economy and of a people’s economy and the industrialization of our country. Without democratization of the country and development of the new-democratic political power it would be impossible to ensure develop-

ment of the new-democratic economy and industrialization of the country. In other words, development of the new-democratic economy and industrialization of the country will greatly strengthen and consolidate the basis of new-democratic political power. Hence our basic slogan: For democratization and for industrialization! In this country democratization and industrialization are inseparable.

Long live a free, prosperous and powerful New China!

Long live the state system of people's representative conferences and people's congresses!

## EIGHT REQUIREMENTS FOR COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

*March 1951*

First, the Communist Party of China is a party of the working class and consists of advanced members of the working class. The Chinese revolution was led by the working class. In future the revolution will need to be led by the working class even more. The ranks of the working class will expand and the workers will become the majority of the population. Moreover, peasants will become workers when agriculture is mechanized, so, in the end, all the people will become workers. (Our Party has always relied on the proletariat and semi-proletariat.) All Party members should recognize this.

Second, the ultimate goal of the Chinese Communist Party is the realization of communism in China. At present, the Party is working to consolidate new democracy and then to go over to socialism and, finally, communism. (Here I shall not dwell on specific features of new democracy, socialism and communism. Generally, the new-democratic revolution will not destroy private ownership of property, whereas socialism will abolish private ownership, first in industry and then in agriculture. When we set up collective farms, we shall be able to depend only upon workers, poor peasants and farm labourers, instead of the peasants in general.) All Party members should be resolutely determined to strive for these goals of the Party.

Third, a Communist Party member must dedicate the whole of his life to the revolutionary struggle. If he stops halfway, he ceases to be a Party member. The revolutionary struggle consists of struggles

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Excerpt from the outline of a report submitted to the First National Conference on Organizational Work of the Chinese Communist Party. On March 28 Liu Shaoqi delivered the report at the conference. After revision the eight requirements mentioned here were written into the “Resolution on Consolidating Party Organizations at the Grass-roots Level” adopted at the conference.

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on political, economic and ideological fronts as well as armed struggle against imperialist armed intervention (although I don't mean one should be a soldier for life.)

Fourth, a Communist Party member must carry on revolutionary struggle under the unified leadership of the Party. He must carry out the Party's policies and resolutions, take an active part in revolutionary campaigns led by the Party, strictly observe Party discipline and fight against everything inside and outside the Party that harms the interests of the Party. Otherwise, he cannot be a Party member.

Fifth, a Party member must put the common interests of the people — the interests of the Party — above his personal interests, which should be subordinate to the former. A person who concerns himself only with his own interests and is unwilling to make sacrifices for the people cannot be a Communist. (Mutual-aid teams, mutual-aid societies, and cooperatives in the countryside are all socialist mode of economy and are semi-socialist in nature. Those who work hard for the co-operatives at the expense of their own interests are working for socialism. Production competition in publicly owned factories is still more socialist in nature.)

Sixth, a Party member must be brave and resolute in revolutionary struggle; he should not flinch from adversity and hardship, surrender to the enemy or betray the Communist Party and communism. If he does any of these, he cannot be a Communist.<sup>28</sup>

Seventh, a Party member must serve the people so as to cement relations between the Party and the masses. He should try to understand the wishes and opinions of the people and make these known to the Party without delay. He should also publicize and explain the Party's policies to the people. Except for a small number of Party members who have gained special approval, all Party members must, in addition to their regular occupations, take on a job to serve society assigned by Party organizations or Party branches. Anyone who cannot do so cannot be a Communist.

Eighth, to meet all the requirements stated above, a Party member must study hard to understand more Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and work to raise his level of political consciousness. Anyone who does not study diligently cannot be a good Communist.

## TRY TO MEASURE UP TO MORE RIGOROUS REQUIREMENTS OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP

*April 9, 1951*

### I. OUR PARTY IS GREAT, GLORIOUS AND CORRECT, BUT PROBLEMS STILL EXIST

Over the past few days the discussion of my report<sup>29</sup> has centred on issues of Party consolidation and Party building, particularly on requirements of Party membership. While agreeing on the fact that our Party is great, glorious and correct, you acknowledged that some problems remained to be solved, and criticized shortcomings in the building of the Party in the past. In my view, this discussion was correct because it reflected the current conditions of our Party.

Some people asked: Isn't it contradictory to claim that our Party is great, .glorious and correct when a number of undesirable elements have sneaked into the Party and quite a considerable number of members of some grass-roots Party organizations are unqualified or not fully qualified for Party membership?

Our answer is no. Only a few undesirable elements have sneaked into the Party. Relatively large proportions of unqualified or not fully qualified Party members are found only in some grass-roots organizations. As far as the Party as a whole is concerned, the majority of its members meet or basically meet the Party membership standards. More important, the ones who are playing decisive and leading roles in the Party are not the unqualified or partly qualified and certainly not the undesirable, but good Party members who comprise the

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A summary report delivered at the First National Conference on Organizational Work of the Chinese Communist Party. Some abridgements have been made in Part Five.

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majority of the membership, the large numbers of fine Party cadres, the Party Central Committee and the Party's leader Comrade Mao Zedong. Therefore, despite the various problems, our Party, taken as a whole, is great, glorious and correct.

One reason our Party is great, glorious and correct is that it is not afraid of making self-criticism or of exposing its defects. We have never denied or covered up our defects, even if they were very serious. Rather, we admitted them and revealed them in the presence of Party members and tried to find ways to rectify them. For this very reason we have decided to consolidate the Party,<sup>30</sup> which precisely indicates that our Party is great, glorious and correct. Some comrades are reluctant to admit shortcomings in the Party or try to conceal them. This is not the correct attitude for our Party to take.

## II . WHY ARE THERE MANY UNQUALIFIED PARTY MEMBERS?

Why are so many Party members unqualified or not fully qualified for Party membership?

Chiefly because in the past we lowered standards when admitting new members to the Party, and after they joined the Party, we didn't give them adequate education to help them to measure up to the requirements. However, so long as we strengthen education among them, some of them will meet the requirements. A secondary reason is that some Party members, unable to adjust to the changed situation and unwilling or unable to shoulder new revolutionary tasks, have lagged behind and become unqualified. Still, some of them will meet the requirements through education.

Is it an error in principle for some local Party organizations to lower standards when admitting new members?

Yes, it is. A Leninist party never allows members' qualifications to be degraded to the level of the ordinary people. It always upholds the principle that Party members, as the vanguard of the working class, must possess higher political awareness than men in the street and steadfast revolutionary will. Obviously, randomly reducing standards runs counter to this Leninist principle.

So why did some local Party organizations make this mistake? As

I explained in my report, it was because higher leading organs of our Party failed to exercise strict control and inspection over admissions and explain this principle extensively in the Party. As a result, some local Party organizations went their own way to some extent in admitting new members. The Party Central Committee should bear the responsibility for this situation. So now it instructs all provincial Party committees and bureaus of the Central Committee to strictly control and inspect membership admissions and instructs all Party organizations to uphold these requirements in the future.

### III . PARTY MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENTS SHOULD BE RAISED

It was wrong for local Party organizations to lower requirements in recruitment in the past. But in those days we did not yet win victory in the revolution and China remained under the rule of reaction. So, those who joined the Party risked persecution. Since the Party was in the midst of a grim war, conditions were extremely difficult. Naturally, against such a background few or no backward persons, careerists or reactionaries would join our Party. The unfavourable conditions served as a natural barrier to such persons. Victory in the three campaigns of Liaoxi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Beiping-Tianjin,<sup>31</sup> however, changed the situation completely and settled the question of who would win. Following nationwide victory in the revolution, the situation today is far different. It seems to some people that joining the Party today brings, not hardship or danger, but security, honour, position, and so on. Now backward elements, careerists and reactionaries all hope to enter our Party. Quite a few undesirable elements are trying to sneak into it. With no longer any natural barriers in the way, a large number of them will succeed, posing an extreme danger to our Party. Thus we must tighten control, set more rigorous requirements for Party membership and more strictly enforce admission procedures.

After victory in the Liaoxi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Beiping-Tianjin campaigns we did not immediately raise Party membership requirements or enforce strict admission procedures. Instead, a number of local Party organizations expanded greatly, nearly doubling total Party membership over the last two years. It was not the right

thing to do. The Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee,<sup>32</sup> held in June last year, decided that in general Party organizations in the old liberated rural areas should stop recruiting new members. In the newly liberated rural areas the Party organizations should not admit new members until land reform<sup>9</sup> is completed. However, a few local Party organizations still presumptuously expanded their membership by lowering standards. This was definitely wrong.

Although the situation today is not the same as before 1949, when we ran the constant risk of being persecuted by counter-revolutionaries, the war is not yet over and we are just beginning to carry out economic and cultural development. The imperialists and their lackeys, in a vain attempt to stage a comeback, are every day planning to sabotage our cause. As Comrade Mao Zedong said, "To win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li.... The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous."<sup>33</sup> Following the triumph of the Chinese revolution, we are confronted with new revolutionary tasks, which are still greater and more arduous. So, Party members should be stricter with themselves, for otherwise they cannot accomplish these tasks. Therefore, we should set higher Party membership requirements. It would be very wrong to lower them for future admissions.

Thanks to victory in the Chinese revolution, China's working class and the vast labouring masses are now able to freely come in contact with and study Marxism-Leninism. We have already launched a nationwide class struggle and a struggle against imperialists. Against this background the political awareness of the ordinary workers and other labouring people has been heightened, so qualifications for Communists, the vanguard of the working class, must and can be raised to a new level. Outside our Party there are now non-Communist revolutionaries and believers in communism whose political awareness and revolutionary initiative exceed even those of some of our Party members. This will become more and more evident as time goes on. The gap will not only impel us to raise membership qualifications, but also push veteran Communists with inadequate political awareness and revolutionary zest to improve themselves. This is a favourable condition for future Party consolidation and Party building, and we should make use of it.

Now it is imperative for us to raise membership requirements to as high a level as possible. That is to say, all candidates will have to

undergo a process of test and education; they must have a good family background — either a worker's or other labourer's family — or if they come from families of the exploiting classes, they must abandon their exploiting class stand, viewpoint and work style and resolve to struggle for the emancipation of the working class and other labouring people; they must have clear past records and be politically sound; they must be faithful to the Party and willingly dedicate themselves to its cause; from mass struggle they must have received class education and possess essential political awareness. In addition, they should display that awareness and revolutionary initiative in their work, production and study. Basically qualified candidates will still have to be educated in communism and the Communist Party in order to enhance their awareness to the level of a Communist's before they can be admitted. In short, they must come from reliable families, have clear past records and be faithful to the Party. They should have high class consciousness, work hard, have a good understanding of communism and the cause of the Communist Party and abide by the Programme and Constitution of the Party. These are the membership qualifications we must adhere to in admitting new members in the years ahead. As for veteran Party members who have not undergone adequate test or received sufficient education, they should be helped to measure up to the standards through more tests and education.

In reference to the education of Party members, the Draft Resolution on Party Consolidation proposed eight requirements for Party membership. They are essential. Thus, besides the foregoing qualifications, candidates must meet these eight, too. This will be attained primarily through education. And these are the qualifications all Party members should try to meet.

#### IV . IN ADDITION TO HIS OR HER REGULAR WORK, EVERY PARTY MEMBER MUST UNDERTAKE WORK ASSIGNED BY A PARTY ORGANIZATION

In our Party many members are professional revolutionaries working full time for the Party and the masses in leadership positions. Far more members, however, are engaged in all sorts of occupations in society at large. In the coming years, as economic and technological work becomes increasingly important, more and more Party members

will engage in occupations in society. Now, many among these have little enthusiasm for Party and mass work and political work. So, more often than not, they are concerned only about their professions and put, for instance, technical and military work before everything else. Meanwhile, as many Party members do not often undertake Party and mass work and political work, the Party's ties with the masses of people and its leadership over them have been weakened. Obviously, it is a great loss for the Party.

In order to rectify these shortcomings and have Party members play a greater role among the people, the Draft Resolution on Party Consolidation proposed eight qualifications, including "In addition to his or her regular work, every Party member must undertake work assigned by a Party organization. Otherwise, he or she cannot be a Communist." This stipulation accords with the Party Constitution and is necessary. Without it, some Party members would attend only to their own occupation and not undertake any Party or mass work, or do any political work.

Party members should do Party and mass work and political work assigned by a Party organization. They may serve as leaders of Party committees or leading Party members' groups at different levels, conduct education in the Party or propaganda among the masses, recruit new Party members, work in mass organizations or do social service work — to be assigned as appropriate by the Party organization, to which they belong, in light of the time they can spare, their ability and objective needs. Party organizations should check up on the work and give guidance. With the exception of professional revolutionaries, who concentrate on leading Party and mass work, and certain individual cases, it is compulsory for all Party members to take at least one job outside their social occupation and to do it well. Some comrades may be very busy in their work and can hardly find time, but it should be possible for them to spare a few hours every week or every month at least. So, we make it one of the requirements for Party members.

## V . OPPOSE REDUCING MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENTS

Some comrades raise questions, suggesting lowering membership requirements. I am afraid I cannot agree with them.

They argue that in the past there were many people who were not qualified or were quite confused in their thinking when being admitted into the Party, but they became fine Communists through education and tempering in struggle. “Can we not do as we did before?” they ask.

Our answer is no. In future, candidates who do not qualify should receive education and tempering outside the Party. They cannot become Communists until they meet the requirements. We must not admit them hastily. It is true that after joining the Party, members should continue to be educated and tempered and the Party will help some unqualified members to become qualified. But if we continue a wrong practice, trouble will crop up and our Party will find itself in a passive position. This has happened to a number of local Party organizations. Of course, when we hadn’t yet gained revolutionary victory, such practices were permissible, especially among those who for a long time had led a hard life under the supply system. However, these practices will no longer be allowed. Now that we have all the favourable conditions for educating and tempering those who wish to enter the Party, there is no need whatsoever to admit them before they are qualified and then educate and temper them.

Some worry that raising membership qualifications would discourage the initiative of some Party organizations in recruiting new members. I think this is likely, so we must guard against such deviation. Leading Party organs at all levels should carry out regular inspections and criticize, supervise and give guidance to organizations that should grow slack in recruitment and Party building. That is to say, they must recruit new members, especially in areas where there are none or very few. They should also, in light of actual circumstances, fix the time and numbers for recruitment. However, at the same time they must adhere to the requirements and strict procedures for recruitment and conduct adequate examination and education.

## VI. WILL UNDULY HIGH QUALIFICATIONS BE SET FOR PARTY MEMBERSHIP

While stressing the need for higher qualifications for Party membership, some Party organizations may set them unduly high.

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People in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union once suggested that a good mastery of the Party's programme should be one of the qualifications for membership. That suggestion was criticized by Comrade Stalin.<sup>34</sup> The Soviet Party had a detailed Party programme that only university professors could master and Party members from among ordinary working people would find hard to master. Therefore, such an unduly high qualification proved inappropriate. Our Party doesn't have a detailed programme, only a simple one. Although after explanation Party members from among ordinary working people can acquire a rough idea of the programme, which is essential, it is still difficult for them to master it.

As far as Party members from among the working people are concerned, the important thing is helping them raise their class consciousness in the course of class struggle instead of dogmatically demanding they recite Marxist-Leninist words and phrases. Some people in our Party favour such demand. According to them, Party members who have learned more dogmas by rote are more politically aware than others. This is inappropriate, too. However, I do not mean that we don't have to educate Party members in line with Marxist-Leninist principles. On the contrary, today there is urgent need for them to have such education.

Some of our Party members pay much attention to trifles — unprincipled, trivial matters concerning other people's personal lives that have nothing to do with politics. They placed stress on them and make inappropriate demands on Party members. We should guard against that undesirable practice, too.

A serious problem that is plaguing Party members and non-Party activists engaged in production is endless meetings and too many social activities. Many Party members working in factories daily spend two to four hours or even longer on activities after Work. The same is true of Party members in the countryside and in schools. It is particularly true of cadres and model workers in grass-roots organizations. Party members and non-Party activists hold too many concurrent posts, and, without proper scheduling and organization, activities and meetings waste too much of their time. To solve this problem, Party committees at all levels must consult the departments concerned and exercise effective readjustment and control. They must see to it that no Party member or activist spend too much time on such activities; otherwise he cannot keep his enthusiasm for long. While it is necessary to require that all Party members who have regular social

occupations spend a certain amount of time on various activities, it is obviously unreasonable to ask them to spend too much time on these activities for nothing.

Under the supply system it was often beyond the ability of Party members not engaged in production to solve the financial problems of their families. Some of them, finding no way to support their parents and wives, applied to go back home to do farm work. Our Party should sympathize with them and consider their applications. They are entitled to our permission if they really have no alternative. Under normal circumstances it is inappropriate to ask our Party members to ignore their families unnecessarily.

In short, it is wrong to lower qualifications for Party membership, and it is also wrong to make inordinately high demands. We must take into account the members' true difficulties.

## VII. WHAT SHOULD WE DO ABOUT UNQUALIFIED PARTY MEMBERS?

After raising the standards for Party membership, what should we do about those who have already joined the Party but remain unqualified? To help them measure up to the standards, during Party consolidation we should test those who have not undergone a thorough test and educate those who have not received adequate education. I believe that in this way we can bring quite a number up to standard. If those unwilling to accept education or still below standard after education are undesirable elements, they should be expelled from the Party. Otherwise, we should decide each case on its own merits, explicitly pointing out to him in what respects he is unqualified before asking him to withdraw from the Party. If he is unwilling to withdraw, we may set requirements and fix a time limit. When we examine his problems again after this period and find him still unqualified, we can ask him a second time to quit the Party. Our purpose is, on the one hand, to protect the inviolability of the Party members' qualifications and, on the other hand, not to hurt the members' feelings. To do otherwise will not serve the purpose and, worse, it will have an adverse effect on good Party members and the masses. At the same time it is necessary to educate and wait patiently. We should consider

the members' demands and not hurt their feelings. It is not right to treat them in a simplistic and rude manner.

In Party consolidation and in dealing with the problems of Party members, we should uphold the Party's principles and, under ordinary circumstances, win the approval and support of all good Party members in primary organizations and the masses outside the Party. In other words, only when these people are on the side of the Party, can problems be solved properly. We can and must get the masses outside the Party to help with Party consolidation and Party building and listen to their comments and suggestions.

### VIII . SET MORE RIGOROUS REQUIREMENTS FOR PARTY MEMBERSHIP

In Party consolidation and Party building we should draw two clear lines: a line between the enemy and ourselves and a line between Party members and the masses, or between the vanguard and the classes. As the two lines are different in nature, we must use different methods to make distinctions. After making distinctions, we should adopt different approaches. On no account should we mix the lines up. This is the principle we uphold.

It is not easy to be a Communist Party member. One must first meet all qualifications, make up one's mind and receive adequate education. After joining the Party, one must continue self-improvement through study, work and struggle. Only in this way can one, under the leadership of the Party, render better service to the people. Therefore, not just any worker, peasant or intellectual can enter the Party; only the most advanced and the most determined ones among them can become Party members. This is why being a Communist Party member is a great honour.

Fifty years ago Lenin waged a firm struggle to establish an advanced revolutionary party of the proletariat and set high standards for its members. Afterwards, that struggle went on steadily within the ranks of the Soviet Communist Party. It thus became the most advanced party of the proletariat in the world. Also, it led the Russian proletariat and working masses to victory in the revolution and established the first socialist state. In line with Lenin's principles for party building and the experience of the Soviet Communist Party, the Chi-

nese Communist Party, since its founding, has conducted a constant struggle to uphold high standards for Party members. Our Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong have persisted in this struggle of principle at all times. Thus the Chinese Communist Party, leading the Chinese working class and the Chinese people, won victory in the revolution and founded the People's Republic of China. Our Party has become a great, glorious and correct Communist Party. In the years ahead we should continue to work hard to maintain high standards for Party membership.

## THE PARTY'S TASKS ON THE PROPAGANDA FRONT

*May 23, 1951*

I have gone through the questions you comrades raised and read some minutes of the discussions. Many of the questions were answered during the discussions, so I should like to talk about a few of the more important ones.

### I. EVALUATION OF OUR PARTY'S PROPAGANDA WORK IN THE PAST

Marxism-Leninism was embraced by China's advanced persons as soon as it was brought to China. Their study and dissemination of the theory of Marxism-Leninism led to formation of the Chinese Communist Party. The founding of the Chinese Communist Party was made possible by the growth of the Chinese working class, the development of international proletarian revolutionary movements, the victory in the October Revolution in Russia and, a direct factor, the study and dissemination of Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese Communist Party won victory in the revolution after almost thirty years of struggle. In the course of this long-drawn-out and arduous revolutionary struggle we spread Marxism-Leninism over a vast area, simplifying its tenets for popular consumption and giving them Chinese national form. It was a tremendous and difficult job. To introduce, practise and apply the tenets of Marxism-Leninism among the Chinese people, especially among the working people, we had to

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Gist of a summary report delivered at the First National Conference on Propaganda Work of the Chinese Communist Party.

make them easier for the people to understand; otherwise it would have been impossible for us to spread them in China and have the working people embrace them. Marxism-Leninism originated in Europe. Thanks to dissemination efforts by our Party, it was given Chinese national form and was closely integrated with the practical life and struggle of the Chinese working people. Consequently, Marxism-Leninism became a powerful weapon and standard for the Chinese working people in their revolutionary struggles. In addition, we have enriched and developed Marxist-Leninist theory in an extremely profound sense, adding many new weapons to its arsenal. These new weapons were very useful to the revolutionary struggles of the people in countries in the East, especially the colonies and dependencies. That is to say, thanks to the Chinese Communists' absolute loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, their correct application of these principles and their integration of the principles with the practice of the Chinese revolution, they have most effectively disseminated Marxism-Leninism among the Chinese people and achieved marked success in this regard.

Within our Party it must be pointed out that the credit for this success should primarily go to our leader and outstanding Marxist-Leninist propagator, Comrade Mao Zedong. Comrades doing propaganda work should take Comrade Mao Zedong as a fine example in disseminating Marxism-Leninism.

The Chinese nation has always been a nation of culture and theory. Thanks to our Party's study, dissemination, application and creative development of Marxism-Leninism, we have raised the theoretical level of the Chinese nation to an unprecedented height. We have not only done this, but also changed the face of China. In other words, Marxism-Leninism has indisputably achieved a victory of historic significance among the Chinese people. Moreover, it has become increasingly accepted by people in other East countries.

More than a hundred years have elapsed since the emergence of Marxism. Over those years it continually scored victories. The October Revolution in Russia was a great victory for Marxism-Leninism, followed by another great victory in the international communist movement — victory in the Chinese revolution. I think this is the correct way for us to evaluate the success and results of our efforts to disseminate Marxism-Leninism in the past.

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## II . THE CURRENT SITUATION FOR OUR PROPAGANDA WORK

The situation today is completely different from what it was in the past. Victory in the Chinese revolution has provided us with better conditions for spreading Marxism-Leninism. First of all, no one bans its dissemination. In past decades propagation of Marxism-Leninism was forbidden; repression was so severe that anyone who said, "I support Marxism-Leninism," or shouted, "Down with imperialism!" in the street would be thrown into jail and might even face execution. In those days dissemination of Marxism-Leninism was prohibited by laws and decrees. Those who propagated Marxism-Leninism in China suffered a great deal — many were persecuted, being imprisoned or even sentenced to death. Yet many Communists used ingenious methods to propagate Marxism-Leninism. For dozens of years they kept up this work in areas under the rule of Chiang Kai-shek or Japanese invaders. Some wrote, some spoke; if they couldn't reach large numbers of people, they spoke to individuals; if they couldn't approach strangers, they approached people they knew: their friends, relatives, schoolmates, colleagues or anyone they considered reliable. That was how they conducted propaganda work. Now the situation has changed; the Chinese revolution has been victorious and all the laws and decrees forbidding propagation of Marxism-Leninism have been repealed. Those who spread Marxism-Leninism will no longer go to jail; instead, they will be praised by the masses and will be honoured as model workers if they do a good job. Today, in the practical revolutionary struggles to oppose imperialism and feudalism and in class struggle, hundreds of millions of people in China are receiving education in Marxism-Leninism and their class consciousness is rising to an unprecedentedly high level. The chains on their minds have been or are being broken. Some people have raised their consciousness and embraced Marxism-Leninism after receiving class education and recalling the oppression they experienced in the old society; others who did not suffer oppression have also awakened politically and come to believe in Marxism-Leninism after listening to others tell of their miserable experience. However, if class consciousness is based only on perceptual knowledge and personal experience, it is inadequate; it must be raised to the theoretical level. Our Party members, in particular,

must meet this requirement. One's level of class consciousness will rise only after one has participated in practical struggle and studied the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The broad masses are studying and embracing the new idea of Marxism-Leninism on a wide scale. This is extremely favourable for propagating Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Our propagandists should take advantage of this situation to improve propagation of Marxism-Leninism and raise the political consciousness and theoretical level of the working people, making the Chinese nation a nation with the highest theoretical level in the world.

In his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Only when the people have such a state [people's state] can they educate and remould themselves by democratic methods on a countrywide scale, with everyone taking part, and shake off the influence of domestic and foreign reactionaries (which is still very strong, will survive for a long time and cannot be quickly destroyed), rid themselves of the bad habits and ideas acquired in the old society, not allow themselves to be led astray by the reactionaries, and continue to advance — to advance towards a socialist and communist society." He also pointed out that nationwide, universal education should be carried out not only among the people but also among the reactionaries, the former educated by democratic methods and on a voluntary basis, the latter by compulsory methods.

What should we use to educate the people? The ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism. Using Marxist-Leninist ideological principles to educate the people in the entire country is a basic political task for our Party. If we want to march towards socialism and communism, we must first lay a sound ideological foundation; that is to say, we must educate ourselves and people all over the country with the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. This is the task of the Party's propaganda work in today's situation and conditions. It is a great, arduous and glorious task that will take a long time to accomplish.

When we educate our people, we must use Marxist-Leninist viewpoints and methods, not others. In using Marxist-Leninist viewpoints to educate the people, we must, first of all, sweep away imperialistic and feudalistic ideologies. As for non-Marxist, non-proletarian ideological systems, namely those of the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and peasant class, we should criticize them, but not eliminate them, for they cannot be eliminated. And our policy still

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permits the existence of the economies of the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and peasant class, and what's more, we shall encourage their development. Since we acknowledge the existence of their economies, we have to admit the existence and lawfulness of their ideologies. Today these classes have some good ideas; for example, politically they oppose imperialism and feudalism; but their ideology as a system is incorrect. Their ideas would get China nowhere, and bourgeois ideology will lead China to capitalism rather than socialism. Therefore, we must get rid of imperialistic and feudalistic ideologies and criticize all non-proletarian ideologies. Only in this way can we establish the leadership of Marxism-Leninism — the ideology of the working class. The establishment, consolidation and strengthening of the ideological leadership of Marxism-Leninism, or of the working class, is a prerequisite for strengthening the leadership of the working class politically and economically.

Can we do without refuting bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology? No. Because the question of which will win — the bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology or the proletarian ideology — will remain unsettled. If we allow the former to prevail among the Chinese people, the bourgeoisie will subsequently gain the upper hand politically and economically, and the Chinese revolution will fail. So we must criticize the ideology of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie and point out its mistakes, although we cannot declare it illegal right now. Only in this way can the ideological leadership of the working class be established, which will ensure victory to the working class politically and economically, and to Marxism-Leninism in China.

### III . HOW TO IMPROVE THE PARTY'S PROPAGANDA WORK IN FUTURE

Our Party's propaganda work is still not up to the present tasks, so it must be improved. Some Party members believe that handling routine matters well is sufficient and that it is unnecessary to carry on propaganda among the people and propagate Marxism-Leninism. This view is incorrect. Propaganda work is ideological work. Ideological struggle is a prerequisite for all revolutionary struggles. If we do not engage in ideological struggle and disseminate Marxism-Leninism, people will not wage revolutionary struggle of their own

accord. According to provisions of the Party Constitution, all Party members are duty-bound to propagate Marxism-Leninism among the people. Every Party member should explain and propagate the Party's stand and policies among the people, disseminating the Party's basic viewpoints and using Marxist-Leninist viewpoints to oppose all erroneous ones. Our Party as a whole has been doing propaganda work since it was founded. That is why our propaganda work has been crowned with such great success, the revolution has been victorious and the people believe in what the Communist Party stands for and in Marxism-Leninism. In future we must continue to do the same. Those in charge of practical work should explain things relating to the work they are doing and at the same time propagate the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism.

To accomplish the propaganda tasks mentioned above, we need to overcome many shortcomings. Some of our Party members are poor in theoretical knowledge. It would be difficult for them to propagate Marxism-Leninism to other people when they themselves do not know what it is. Therefore, in order to do propaganda work well and raise his theoretical level, every Party member is required to study first.

At present we have only a small number of people doing propaganda work; our propaganda organs are not adequate and our propagandists are not competent enough. This is a weak point on our part. The propaganda organs must be strengthened by increasing manpower and material resources. We should not rely solely on special propaganda organs, but should encourage all Party members, non-Party activists and communists outside the Party to participate in propaganda work. It won't do to rely only on a few professional propagandists from the Propaganda Department to do the work. Our Party's propaganda work has never been done that way. Instead, we have always relied on the entire Party membership and on communists, Marxist-Leninists and activists outside the Party. Only in this way can we do the work well. Then what are the tasks of our Propaganda Department? Its main tasks are to analyse situations, make plans, issue directives, distribute propaganda materials, summarize experience drawn from propaganda work, examine the contents of propaganda against the principles of Marxism-Leninism, review propaganda methods to see whether they are suited to the needs of the masses, and investigate propaganda organs to make sure they are adequate. From now on, therefore, the Propaganda

Department should regularly (once in a few months or half a year) summarize and study propaganda work throughout the Party. The same thing should be done by propaganda departments at all levels. The propaganda department is responsible for analysing experience regularly, making assignments and drafting directives. But the issuance of directives should be undertaken by the Party committee, in order to arouse all the Party members to do propaganda work. Success in the work of the propaganda department hinges on its mobilization of the Party membership. If mobilization is done well, the work of the propaganda department as a whole will be successful. But, if only the few people in the propaganda department are involved in propaganda work, no matter how hard they try, their work will never be satisfactory. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen the propaganda organs by increasing personnel and budgets, but it is more important to improve work methods and correct erroneous views.

In propaganda work we should make the best use of the media, such as a network of propagandists, newspapers, periodicals, publishing, dramas, the cinema, fine arts, music, broadcasting and schools. We must improve and take advantage of the media. This involves complex and enormous work. One of the major tasks of the Propaganda Department is to exercise leadership over the media. To accomplish this task, it has to work out plans and correct any tendency to let things drift. At present, many things are done without leadership and even many of the inner-Party periodicals are published without a plan. Our newspapers lack ideological content and say little about Marxism-Leninism. This situation must be improved. Marxism-Leninism should be taken as the guide to make every propaganda task successful. Also, the number of existing means of propaganda, including movies, dramas, other forms of literature and art, and popular publications in particular, is scanty. Therefore, we must introduce more means of propaganda and education, especially ones that cater to the needs of workers and peasants.

To sum up, we must arouse and guide all Party cadres and members as well as activists outside the Party to do what they can and need to in the field of propaganda and education. The Propaganda Department should serve as a planning, command and leading organ to involve the entire Party membership in propaganda work. There are many professional propagandists specialized in the work, in editing newspapers, in the performing arts, and in painting. We

should mobilize, unite with, organize, direct and educate them and criticize any incorrect views. In addition, there are large numbers of amateur and volunteer propagandists. The Propaganda Department should also plan their work, giving them the main points of propaganda and guiding them to work well. This is precisely what we have ignored. The Propaganda Department can do a good job if it regards itself as a professional organ to draft directives, make plans, check up on work, sum up experience, provide guidance and materials, supply equipment and handle organizational affairs.

#### IV . THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PROPAGANDA WORK AND CENTRAL TASKS

Our propaganda work cannot be divorced from current central tasks. In fact, it aims at guaranteeing the completion of all central tasks. Propaganda work must be co-ordinated closely with the central tasks set forth by Party committees at all levels. If it is separated from the Party's central tasks, it will surely fail. Provincial, county or other Party committees always have a central task for a particular period of time. If we start propaganda work after the central task has been completed, the work will be useless. Since every central task and practical endeavour carried out under the leadership of the Party has political significance and is in the fundamental interest of the people, we must tell the masses about its political significance, explaining why we must do it, how we shall go about it, what the result will be, and whether it can be dispensed with. Only thus can we perform our central and practical tasks well and raise the political consciousness of the masses. While we are carrying out a particular task, people may come up with all kinds of wrong ideas and misgivings, and counter-revolutionaries may spread rumours. This makes it all the more essential for us to educate the masses in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles and the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. For this reason, central tasks of propaganda should be in line with central tasks of practical work. Propaganda departments should mobilize the media to serve the central tasks and guarantee their completion. Then they will be welcomed, not disliked, by Party committees, which will realize the necessity of propaganda work.

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If the secretary of a Party committee ignores propaganda work, fails to use the media to guarantee the completion of central tasks and practical work, attaches no importance to the propaganda department and even sends the head of the department to carry out central tasks, he is undoubtedly wrong. But I think there are very few such Party secretaries. More often than not, people in the propaganda departments do not know how to make use of the media and mobilize all forces to conduct propaganda among the masses, in order to facilitate the completion of central tasks. They need to improve their work in this respect. Of course, when propaganda departments have made arrangements for their own work, they can undertake some of the central tasks. It is necessary for their people to join the masses in practical struggle. Otherwise, people in propaganda departments will have no perceptual knowledge at all, and as a result they will not be able to effectively propagate either Marxism-Leninism or the central tasks. However, they should not abandon their own work. So long as they do their own work well and help fulfillment of the central tasks, the Party committees will realize that their work is important, heed their problems and refrain from sending them to do other work.

Of course, our propagandists should explain things not only with regard to current central tasks, events and policies, but also the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism. So propaganda work can be divided into two parts: propagation of current central tasks, events and policies and propagation of the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism. The Propaganda Department should set up a special institution to take charge of theoretical education. Today our Party is not paying enough attention to education in basic theories. Improving work in this area should be an important task for our Party and the Propaganda Department. We must spread education in basic theories widely among Party members and activists outside the Party as well as among people in society at large. This work cannot bring about immediate results. "It takes a hundred years to rear people." It may also clash with current central tasks; we should solve this problem properly. Education in basic theories should be closely co-ordinated with propagation of the current central tasks, and neither should be emphasized at the expense of the other. We must oppose the tendency to overlook theoretical education and study. Propagation of basic theories cannot be done solely by the Propaganda Department. The Propaganda Department should formulate plans, examine and sum up work, and

possibly publish a magazine and write some articles, but its chief task is to mobilize the entire Party membership to participate in the work. Education in basic theories should be integrated with reality so that it will not become empty talk. We should apply basic theories when explaining things about practical work and integrate propagation of basic theories with practical work. They should be closely related to each other. It is wrong to sever theory from reality or to combine them mechanically or rigidly. We have a tough job, but we have to do it if we want to be Party members and Marxist-Leninists; we have to use our brains and think about and study it carefully so as to do it well.

#### V. ESTABLISH PERMANENT PROPAGANDA ORGANS AND WORK

It is necessary to set up permanent propaganda units so that the work can be done at all times. Many important things have to be explained to the masses. We have to tell them about the situation at home and abroad, major events in economic development, the Party's central tasks and the reasons behind current policies. The people want to know all these things, so we should always keep them informed. In addition, we have to regularly use our propaganda to denounce counter-revolutionary propaganda. We have also to criticize erroneous views and ideas among the masses, dispel their misgivings and straighten out their confused thinking. If our propaganda work fails to keep pace with the situation, problems will surely arise. Therefore, we must do propaganda work regularly among the people so as to inspire their confidence, heighten their political consciousness and promote our work. It is also a form of democracy to keep people informed of domestic and international events, explain our policies, expose counter-revolutionary propaganda and discuss and refute erroneous ideas. If we do not inform the masses of major domestic and international events and consult with them about our policies, listening to their opinions, there will be no democracy. We should encourage people to concern themselves with major domestic and international events and our Party's policies, because the more concerned they are about these matters, the more advanced their thinking

will be. They will put forth many questions and suggestions, making it all the more necessary for us to improve our propaganda work.

Why didn't we propose the establishment of regular propaganda work before? Because we were in the midst of fighting where nothing was stable and communications were inconvenient, making it impossible for us to establish regular Party propaganda work on a nationwide scale. But we can do it now. In cities radio broadcasts can be heard every day, there are many newspapers, communications are re-established and stability prevails in the country. Therefore, so long as we set up propaganda units and put people in charge of propaganda work, we shall be able to establish regular Party propaganda work. Of course, we cannot achieve this goal overnight; we have to proceed step by step and exert ourselves. As for the pace and scale of the work, the local authorities should decide according to actual conditions.

In the past we were used to rush jobs. When a question arose and needed propaganda, we would rush it and be done with it. So, the Party's propaganda work among the people was not constant. We should correct this tendency in future. We should also pay attention to the content and method of propaganda, which should be decided by the propaganda department in the light of the specific time and place and approved by the Party committee. The main points of propaganda should be discussed by the Party committee or at least gone over by the secretary of the Party committee before they are made known to the public.

So much for the establishment of permanent propaganda organs and work.

## VI . PAY ATTENTION TO IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND OPPOSE LIBERALISM

Now we must pay attention to ideological struggle and the ideological leadership exercised by the Party among the people and oppose liberalism. The Party is plagued by liberalism. For instance, some counter-revolutionaries spread the rumour that Chiang Kai-shek had arrived in Shanghai and occupied Tianjin and Beijing; the Yi Guan Dao Society<sup>35</sup> spread rumours far and near, creating a general panic. Where were our Party members when the rumours were being

spread? Instead of opposing and rejecting them, they merely reported the matter to their superiors asking for instructions as to what to do about it. The rumours were out-and-out counter-revolutionary propaganda and were illegal! No instructions were needed. Every Party member who hears a rumour should immediately condemn it and find the rumourmonger. We Party members should have the highest degree of ideological vigilance and oppose liberalistic tendencies and attitudes. Within our Party only one ideology is legal — the proletarian ideology, Marxism-Leninism. Outside the Party non-proletarian and non-Marxist-Leninist ideology is legal, but it must be criticized and its mistakes pointed out. Different approaches should be adopted inside and outside the Party. We must also keep an eye on certain non-proletarian or anti-Marxist-Leninist ideology that is under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism. Party members should be sensitive to this. In short, we should pay attention to ideological struggle both inside and outside the Party.

Today many old views have been shaken and new ones are being accepted by the people. These old views, the feudal ones in particular, must be refuted ideologically and theoretically. We must use new views — Marxism-Leninism, dialectical materialism and historical materialism — to explain some questions mistakenly interpreted in the past, such as superstition and fatalism, and refute the old views. The media of ours, including newspapers and periodicals, have not done much in this area.

Today there is a greater necessity for ideological and political work, and the ideological leadership of the Party needs to be further strengthened, because the present situation is different from that of the past — the revolution of the Chinese people has been victorious and we are confronted with more complicated and arduous tasks. Since economic development has been started on a large scale, many Party members have to undertake more practical work, such as the management of factories, trade, banks and railways and the application of agricultural technologies. If we bury ourselves in practical work to the neglect of the study of politics and Marxist-Leninist theory, we shall be in danger of departing from politics and basic theories and allowing non-proletarian ideology to spread. Therefore, all Party members must study Marxism-Leninism, policies and our Party's basic theories and propagate Marxism-Leninism.

On the whole our Party's propaganda work has been quite successful, but there are also many shortcomings. We must sum up ex-

perience, add to our achievements and use all methods to gradually overcome the shortcomings. We must truly propagate Marxism-Leninism in every part of the country and to everyone in the country, educate the people in Marxism-Leninism, enhance their class consciousness and raise their ideological level, so as to lay an ideological foundation for building socialism and realizing communism in our country. So long as our Party members are clear-headed, all the people will have faith in our Party and will, under the leadership of the Party, advance step by step towards final victory.

## INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS IN STATE-OWNED FACTORIES AND THE BASIC TASKS OF TRADE UNION WORK

*1951*

All factories and mines represent man's struggle with nature; that is, they are the mechanisms or implements of production. So the sole function or mission of factories and mines is for men to use them for production. This constitutes a contradiction and antithesis between mankind, factories and mines and nature.

When capitalists own factories and the products and thus exploit and oppress the direct producers — the workers, class contradictions between labour and capital exist in the relations of production among the people in the factories. These contradictions are so antagonistic in nature that they cannot be reconciled. Because of such contradictions, the workers' initiative is dampened and the productive forces cannot operate at full capacity. Sometimes they have to lie idle or even be destroyed.

When a state led by the working class is established, factories are nationalized and democratic reform is introduced, class antagonisms and the relationship of exploitation of man by man no longer exist, as in the case of our state-owned factories today. Relations between the factory administration and the workers have changed fundamentally into those between comrades. Therefore, they can and should be united as one and give full play to their abilities in waging struggle

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Notes made in May and June 1951 when reading Deng Zihui's "Report to the Enlarged Meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the Federation of Trade Unions of South-Central China" and Gao Gang's "On the Identity of the Stand of the Management and Trade Unions in State-Owned Factories". Some passages quoted from the two reports were deleted when included in this book.

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against nature and developing production. The steady expansion of production will make it possible to continually raise the living standards of the working class and other working people. These are the basic reasons for the superiority of socialist state factories over capitalist ones.

It is true that there are no longer any class contradictions in the state factories, but are there other contradictions? Since everything is composed of contradictions, the state factory inevitably is a structure of contradictions, too. What, then, are the basic contradictions in state factories? They are contradictions between the factory administration and the workers, between the public interests and the private interests. Entirely different from the class antagonisms in capitalist factories, these contradictions are non-antagonistic in nature and can and ought to be reconciled or resolved through mediation. Nevertheless, they are undeniable, true contradictions and exist as objective reality. It will take a long time and serious effort for us to readjust and cope with these contradictions. The various relations in the state factories evolving from these contradictions represent completely new socialist relations of production. As the new relations grow steadily, a new superstructure in our country and society will take shape.

Since class contradictions and the relationship of exploitation have been rooted out in China, the state factories don't have to deal with them or the problems they cause. Today we have to cope with new contradictions and relations, that is, contradictions and relations between the factory administration and the workers as well as various problems that arise from them. These relations have already come into existence in China and will continue to grow substantially for a long time to come. Almost all the problems in our state factories today have emerged from or are connected with them. If we fail to deal with this question correctly, we cannot expect to correctly deal with any other problems in our state factories. However, since these contradictions and relations are those within the ranks of the working class and the people, we should deal with them in a spirit of comradeship, conciliation and unity.

Thus it can be seen that in general contradictions fall into two categories: fundamentally antagonistic and therefore irreconcilable and fundamentally non-antagonistic and therefore reconcilable. In observing problems we must distinguish between the two types of contradictions. We cannot regard antagonistic and irreconcilable contradictions as non-antagonistic and reconcilable, and vice versa. Con-

traditions within the working class — for instance, the contradiction between the state factory administration and individual workers — belong to the second category. If we consider these contradictions antagonistic and irreconcilable and adopt a hostile, uncompromising approach towards them, we shall commit a grave error.

What principles and policies should be followed in handling this contradiction? People from opposite standpoints will adopt opposing principles and policies.

On one side are the counter-revolutionaries, enemies of the working class and the people. Opposing the working class and other people, taking advantage of the antagonistic features of contradictions and of every weakness they can find in the two opposites, they sow dissension and stir up struggle and disunity between the opposites, so as to facilitate their counter-revolutionary sabotage. On the other side are the Communists, politically awakened members of the working class and other people. Standing with the working class and the people, they take advantage of the unity of opposites and every strong point of each of the opposites to promote reconciliation and compromise (through proper struggle). In this way the two opposites achieve unity and combine their efforts for production. This method conforms to the policy proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong of considering both public and private interests in state factories.

When the political awareness of the managerial staff, trade union workers and worker masses is not high enough, when they haven't yet acquired a clear understanding of all facets of this question, and when the advanced elements fail to persuade the majority of a state factory and therefore make mistakes in handling the question, friction, conflicts and even strikes and a slowdown in production may occur. Worse still, when counter-revolutionaries and bad elements succeed in sowing dissension among them, the situation may become serious. Since the struggle of opposites is absolute and unconditional, non-antagonistic, reconcilable contradictions might change into antagonistic ones for a period of time if either of the two opposites should fail to handle the conflicts appropriately. So, when conflicts occur, the trade unions and the administration should try to resolve them as quickly as possible by meeting the workers' rational demands that can be met and persuading the workers politically. Most important, they should remove the roots of conflict.

It is, therefore, essential for workers to organize trade unions, which will represent them in negotiating with the administration, me-

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diating all sorts of problems concerning the two opposites and signing collective contracts and other agreements. This type of contradiction will be resolved ultimately when we have a communist society. Then, a factory director will be the same as a worker: There will simply be a division of labour without the need for the director to assume any special responsibilities. Then, the special role of the trade unions will have disappeared, because there will be no point in having them.

Therefore, both now and during the long socialist stage in future, the role of trade unions in state factories is essential. In protecting the overall interests of the working class and the people as a whole, the trade union workers and the managerial staff have or should have identical standpoints and positions. They have the same standpoints and positions with regard to problems concerning the basic interests of the working class. But they may hold mutually contradicting views and positions when it comes to handling specific day-to-day problems. They negotiate, mediate these problems and sign contracts on behalf of their own side. That is to say, they have common and identical interests and views on issues concerning the overall interests of the working class, yet on individual issues relating to their respective interests they run into some contradiction of interest that should be settled in real earnest. In other words, while they share basically the same overall interests, they have contradictions stemming from individual or partial interests; the latter should be subordinate to the former.

People's stand on a problem is determined by the position they take in the contradiction related to that problem. Standing either beyond and above the contradiction or taking the side of one of the opposites, they decide what policies, attitudes and methods to adopt: utilizing the law of unity of opposites to promote its settlement or taking advantage of the law of struggle of opposites to hasten conflict or clash. People who have the same standpoints in a contradiction will take the same position; otherwise they will take opposing positions. Even if when they have different positions but if they adopt a policy of reconciliation, it will facilitate settlement, with the two opposites complementing each other. Because cooperation and reconciliation in all contradictions are mutual, they are conditional, whereas accelerating conflict in a contradiction needs only the effort of one side and is thus unconditional and absolute. All sorts of contradictions in the universe affect and restrict one another. Among

them the principal contradictions play a decisive role, while the rest occupy secondary and subordinate positions. Therefore, when dealing with any problem, people should not consider their position vis-à-vis the given contradiction alone, but should, above all, consider their position vis-à-vis the principal contradiction that plays the decisive role, then proceed from the latter position to formulate the basic policies to solve the problem and, from the former position, to decide on specific measures and approaches. In handling any problem, therefore, people should simultaneously take into consideration many other relevant problems and their positions regarding these problems and determine which is principal.

Another basic problem should be clarified in trade union work, that is, the different views taken by the Communist Party — the vanguard of the working class — and by the workers with regard to the trade unions.

We often say that trade unions serve as a bridge, linking the Party with the workers, that they are a Communist school for the workers and one of the chief pillars of society supporting the people's government, and that they play a major role in economic development and in reinforcing the leadership of the working class in the state apparatus. All these views are correct. Also they explain why we attach great importance to trade union work and help the workers organize trade unions. Communist Party members involved in trade union work should never stray from these basic tenets; otherwise they will make mistakes.

However, it should be understood that these views belong only to the vanguard; they are the demands they make on the trade unions and the goals they expect to achieve. Only the Communists and politically awakened people can appreciate these demands and goals, not the ordinary workers, particularly those who are backward, and on no account can we require them to do so. The trade unions are not organizations of the workers' vanguard. They cannot represent the worker masses and play the important political roles we mentioned above until they build themselves into organizations composed of advanced, ordinary and even backward workers. Without the participation and enthusiasm of the masses the trade unions will fail to perform their basic function.

What are the points of departure and the aims of ordinary and, especially, politically backward workers in joining the trade unions and becoming actively involved in all sorts of union work? They are not

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joining to help construct a bridge between the Communist Party and the workers, attend Communist schools or help set up a social pillar for the people's government. Often they have a very simple aim or point of departure: to have the unions attend to the immediate interests of their everyday life. To protect their and other ordinary workers' interests, they unite and organize. If for any reason the trade unions are unable to help them achieve this objective or abandon the basic task of protecting the workers' interests, these people will separate themselves from the trade unions or try to find other ways to protect their interests. In that case the trade unions will find themselves divorced from the workers.

From this we can see that since the levels of political awareness of the vanguard of the working class and of the worker masses are different, they have different views of and make different demands on the trade unions and have different aims in organizing trade unions. We should understand this difference of viewpoint. Nevertheless, there is nothing to worry about, for we can work to integrate the different demands and aims. This is a fundamental and regular task for all Communist Party members and advanced workers doing trade union work.

It is not only the responsibility but also the ultimate objective in all endeavours for Party members to protect the interests of and bring more benefits to the workers and all other working people — including their immediate, fundamental, individual, partial, temporary and long-term overall interests. Therefore, the Communist Party favours uniting the workers in the trade unions under the auspices of which to protect their own legitimate and inviolable interests. At the same time, all Party members working in trade unions must show the greatest concern for the economic, political and cultural interests of the workers in even the smallest matters. They should do their best to meet the workers' demands, so long as they are not harmful to this country led by the working class, to its economic development or to the interests of the rest of the working people, i.e., the fundamental and long-term interests of the entire working class. Only through unremitting efforts to take care of and protect all the workers' legitimate and inviolable interests can the members of the Communist Party and the advanced elements of the workers unite with the great majority of workers, including those who lag behind politically, and earn their faith in trade unions and in the Party members. And only when the trade unions and the Party members and advanced elements

in the trade unions have gained ever-mounting trust from the workers and united ever more workers around themselves and under their leadership, can they make the trade unions a bridge linking the Communist vanguard with the workers, kindle the workers' enthusiasm to participate in building the state apparatus and in economic development, and become one of the major social pillars supporting the people's government. In doing so the vanguard will be able to apply the principles and spirit of communism and all the experience gained by the workers in struggle to educate them and turn the trade unions into Communist schools. The demands and aims of the workers will then be integrated with those of the Communist Party. In other words, the trade unions must base their work on the ordinary workers' expectations and try to fulfill all their rational demands that can be fulfilled, then they'll gradually raise the workers' political awareness and achieve the Party's requirements and aims. Realization of the Party's advanced requirements and aims will be the result of correct, long-term trade union work by Party members and advanced workers. By "correct" work we mean it should never deviate from the ordinary workers' demands on the trade unions. While constantly protecting the workers' various legitimate and inviolable interests, the Party members and advanced workers cannot give way to the backward workers' unjustifiable claims, which would impair the overall, long-term interests of the working class. They should incessantly persuade and educate the workers and help raise their political awareness, until the latter finally reach the level required by the Communist Party. In this sense, the Party members' work in trade unions is important and arduous.

## SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING CO-OPERATIVES

*1951*

To explain some questions concerning co-operatives,<sup>36</sup> I should like to deal with the rural supply and marketing co-operatives and not specific problems in the work of other co-operatives. This is because the rural supply and marketing co-operatives perform relatively complicated tasks. On the one hand, or first and foremost, they organize the peasants as producers, helping them sell their surplus produce and supplying them with farm implements and other means of production. On the other hand, they organize the peasants as consumers, supplying them with the means of subsistence. Once the tasks of the supply and marketing co-operatives have been clarified, it will be easy to expound on the particular problems of other co-operatives.

Peasants in the rural areas wish the co-operatives or state-operated economic departments chiefly to do the following four things for them:

1. Help them sell their surplus products at favourable prices;
2. Supply them with good-quality means of production at a time when they need them and at reasonable prices;
3. Supply them with good-quality means of subsistence at a time when they need them and at prices lower than market prices; and
4. Provide them with credit services so that they can save money and obtain loans at reasonable interest rates.

Experience has proved that the supply and marketing co-operatives are not in a position to provide credit services, which must be handled exclusively by banks. This is because any failure to collect loans

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in time would affect capital turnover of the co-operatives, upset their plans, impair credit services and obstruct the execution of contracts. The co-operatives should and must undertake all but the fourth item. If they are not strong enough to handle them all for the time being, they should first do the marketing, then the supplying. With regard to the latter, they should pay special attention to the supply of the means of production, because this is difficult, requiring a large amount of capital but bringing in little or even no profit, and because the peasants need them in great quantities only once or twice a year, whereas it takes several months or even a year to produce them, thus causing considerable funds to lie idle. Some people may be unwilling to deal with such supplies or be prone to neglect the job unless the co-operatives give it special attention. I think the state should give more aid and even subsidies to the co-operatives in this regard. Otherwise, it will be hard for them alone to succeed. If after successfully attending to the three items the co-operatives have enough efforts and to spare, they may provide their members with welfare services in medicine, public health, educational facilities, etc.

In my opinion, successful handling of the three items represents the basic task of the rural supply and marketing co-operatives, the fundamental aim of establishing the co-operatives, the basic reason for peasants to join the co-operatives and the basic, indispensable aim of all the work of the co-operatives. When the co-operatives, proceeding from these requirements of the peasants (including the advanced, not so advanced and backward ones), aided, co-operated and guided by state-operated economic departments, successfully handle the three items, they will achieve the following: the co-operatives and state-operated economic departments will be able to bring huge quantities of farm products under their control, thus supplying factories with raw materials in great quantities and meeting urban needs, and help the state sell manufactured goods in large amounts; the co-operatives will serve as a bridge linking state-operated economic departments closely with the vast numbers of small peasant producers, make themselves and the peasants allies of state-operated economic departments, and prevent both peasants and state-operated economic departments from being exploited by merchants as the middlemen; and last but not least, the co-operatives will encourage their Communist Party members and other advanced elements to educate the peasant masses in the spirit of collectivism, helping them understand and accept the principles of socialism. It must be recognized that

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through the successful handling of the three items the co-operatives will play a significant economic and political role in the country. If they do not handle the three items or fail because of incorrect methods used, they will not play such a role but will achieve undesirable results. It must also be recognized that the Communist Party and advanced elements are conscientiously establishing co-operatives precisely in order for them to play such an important economic and political role. This serves the long-term, fundamental interests of the masses and, therefore, is the basic political principle guiding the work of the co-operatives. In other words, the Communist Party must establish co-operatives and guide them in pursuit of this principle, so as to enable them to play their significant role. From this we can see the difference between the ordinary masses and the Communist Party, the vanguard. The ordinary people, the backward ones in particular, join and concern themselves with the co-operatives in order to fill the first three of their requirements. They do not understand, or do not sufficiently understand, the significant economic and political role played by the co-operatives, namely, bringing goods and materials under their control, selling industrial products, linking state-operated economic departments with the peasants, serving as allies of the state-operated economic departments, educating the peasants in the spirit of collectivism and freeing them from being exploited by middlemen. So, it is not because of this role that the peasants join and work hard in the co-operatives. The vanguard — the Communist Party members and other advanced elements — however, know or ought to know the role and should try to achieve the economic and political goals by fulfilling the three requirements of the masses. The ordinary people have different aims, therefore, from the vanguard in establishing co-operatives. Besides the aim of meeting the preliminary, vital requirements of the masses, the vanguard cherishes a higher aim that represents the long-term interests of the whole. The vanguard is obliged to combine these two aims constantly and appropriately — they should work both to meet the justified requirements of the masses and to achieve their advanced economic and political goal. In other words, they should pay attention to both private and public interests. Lacking an adequate understanding of the differences in outlook between the vanguard and the masses, many comrades pay no attention to the vital requirements of the masses and their immediate aim in joining the co-operatives or to the higher aim or obligation of the vanguard, thus going astray in their work and

divorcing themselves from the masses for lack of concern about the fundamental, long-term interests of the masses.

What should the co-operatives do to fulfill the three requirements of the peasants?

Looking back, we can see that the three matters were handled by merchants before we set up the co-operatives and state trading establishments. The merchants handled them in such an unpopular manner that the peasants suffered miserably and infinitely at their hands, their sole aim being to reap profits and larger profits. They did only what would prove profitable and nothing that would be unprofitable, no matter how hard the peasants requested. They choked the peasants, refusing to buy the products the peasants wanted to sell immediately and sell the products the peasants needed badly until they could earn larger profits. As a result, the peasants suffered great losses, many of them going bankrupt, while the merchants lined their pockets. These were the basic principles, the capitalist methods, whereby the merchants dealt with the three matters. Although they handled them unintentionally, they did so objectively, and even though they were so unpopular, the peasants, having no alternative, needed and “welcomed” them. The peasants could not do without the merchants as they needed to buy and sell. Hence, we can draw this conclusion: In the past the merchants did the three things for the peasants unintentionally but so badly that they inflicted enormous losses on the peasants; they were dishonest to the peasants and so enjoyed no credit among them.

Why do the peasants want the co-operatives instead of merchants to handle the three matters? Because they want them done successfully and in their favour. This is the peasants’ aim in setting up co-operatives as well as the preliminary aim of the Communist Party in helping the peasants establish co-operatives (though in addition to this preliminary aim of meeting the needs of the peasants, the Party has a higher aim: to guide the peasants towards a planned economy). These are the basic differences between the Communist-led co-operatives and the merchants in dealing with the three matters. If it weren’t for these differences, the peasants would see no need for co-operatives and, therefore, no co-operatives could be set up; even if they were established, to the peasants they would look no different from the merchants.

Merchants are still handling these matters in rural areas. Under the leadership of the Communist Party peasants are establishing co-

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operatives to deal with the three matters. Whoever handles them better, to the satisfaction of the peasants, will win their support. Therefore, this is a major political question as to whom the peasants will side with — which, needless to say, will determine who defeats whom.

What must the co-operatives do if they want to perform better than the merchants, satisfying and favouring the peasants and at the same time benefiting the state and the leadership of the working class? In my opinion, to be successful the co-operatives must adopt a series of methods different from the capitalist ones adopted by the merchants.

First, the co-operatives, in all their operations and work, must make it their immediate, omnipresent aim to be true to the peasants and try wholeheartedly to do a good job in all three areas. This is a basic point distinguishing the co-operatives from merchants.

Second, since the aim of the co-operatives is to wholeheartedly help their members sell products and supply them with the means of production and means of subsistence of good quality and at favourable prices, profit should not be the co-operatives' sole or primary aim but a supplementary one or one of the necessary conditions for running the co-operatives successfully. It is also wrong to place reaping profits on a par with running the co-operatives successfully, giving them equal emphasis. The former must be subordinate to the latter.

Third, the co-operatives should and must earn an appropriate and reasonable profit from business even though profit is not their sole or primary aim. To be specific: 1) They should, regardless of profit, do everything in their power to help the peasants buy materials or sell products to meet the peasants' urgent need. 2) When they have scarcely enough manpower or financial and material resources to meet their members' requirements, they should refrain from doing anything that may bring in immense profit but has nothing to do with marketing products or supplying materials for their members. 3) Profits should be controlled appropriately and distributed among co-operatives at higher and lower levels so as to restrict excessively high profits, by transferring superprofits gained by a co-operative at a higher level from the marketing of certain goods and materials to a co-operative at a lower level. (Soviet experts advised us to do so, saying that this system was practised in the Soviet co-operatives. Some of our co-operatives have tried the system and found it feasible. I thought the transfer of superprofits would cause too much trouble, but experience has proved that this is not the case — it is quite simple to

transfer superprofits from higher co-operatives to lower ones. So far no co-operatives have tried to transfer superprofits to their members. But in selling goods for their members on a commission basis, some co-operatives have made it a rule that if the selling price is higher than expected, the difference will be made up; otherwise, the original price will remain unchanged. They usually pay the members some money in advance, making up the rest according to the price at which the goods are sold, and collect service charges. This indicates that it is practicable for the grass-roots co-operatives to transfer to their members the superprofits gained from the sale of goods.)

Fourth, the three methods mentioned above are the basic conditions needed to ensure fulfillment of the peasants' three requirements and represent the basic differences between co-operatives and capitalist merchants. Besides, the members hope their co-operatives will give them more dividends, although this is not their principal requirement or aim, since the peasants have already benefited from the successful handling of the three matters and from prices almost daily and monthly. Therefore, even if the co-operatives give their members small or no dividends, they will neither weaken the members' support and concern nor divorce themselves from them. According to comrades from the All-China Federation of Co-operatives, few co-operatives in north China give their members dividends, or very little if they do, but the number of members is increasing rapidly and they maintain close ties with the co-operatives, because the latter have concentrated on handling the three matters and have achieved some success. Since profit is not the co-operatives' primary aim, distribution of dividends is naturally not their main job. However, I am in favour of giving members some dividends in accordance with the number of shares they hold in the co-operatives, because the members will thus concern themselves about the profits and losses of the co-operatives, which will be for the good both of the co-operatives and of the members. (At a congress of co-operatives held in Shunyi County,<sup>37</sup> Hebei Province not long ago, enthusiastic members put forward hundreds of proposals, but none of them was about profits and losses.) As too large a proportion of funds for dividends depletes the co-operatives' accumulation funds, the proportion should be small. At the same time, distribution of profits can (but does not have to) exclude members' welfare funds, public welfare funds and funds for cultural and educational undertakings for the time being. This will make it possible to expand accumulation funds and

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raise the proportion of dividends. The dividends distributed to the members according to their shares should be no more than 30 or 40 per cent of the co-operatives' profits, but no less than 50 per cent of the profits should be allotted to accumulation funds. The rest should go to the staff of co-operatives as bonuses. Under these conditions, I don't think distribution of dividends or the proportion of dividends will change the basic nature of the co-operatives.

Fifth, as far as the shares of co-operatives are concerned, I think their cost should, in principle, be determined in accordance with the amount of products the members want to sell and of the means of production and subsistence they need. The shares can be divided into two categories. One is for co-operative production, under which peasants join the co-operative and pay for shares on a household basis. The more land a household tills and the more products it wants the co-operative to sell, the more shares it should buy. Households can be divided into three to five classes. The other category is for co-operative consumption, under which peasants pay for shares on an individual basis, each peasant buying at least one share and each share having the same value. Thus, families with more members and greater consumption will buy more shares. The method of buying shares on a household basis is not egalitarian but quite rational in principle — the more one takes, the more one has to give; the less one gives, the less one takes; and he who gives nothing takes nothing. But as this is something new, we lack experience. Not knowing whether it is practicable, I should like to submit it to the peasants for discussion. They will find practicable and rational methods. According to comrades from the All-China Federation of Co-operatives, a small number of families with many members are too poor to buy shares for all their members. Accordingly, such families have rights to fewer things — for example, the co-operative will supply them with fewer goods and materials. This is a point that merits attention. There would be more such families if they were also to buy shares for production according to the classes they belong to. Therefore, we must discuss the matter with the peasants to work out practicable methods. We should show concern for poor families and try to help solve their problems. For example, we could allow them to pay for their shares in instalments or with labour service or home-made products. The All-China Federation of Co-operatives is going to implement a regulation that exempts children under sixteen from

buying shares if their parents and elder brothers have done so and allows them goods and materials according to children's rations. I think this regulation is good. Some people in the countryside are said to be willing to buy more shares in co-operatives, but they are very few as far as I know. There would be even fewer such people when the peasants begin to buy shares on a household and individual basis as I mentioned above. Therefore, this is a question of no consequence. There will be no harm if the peasants buy more shares, and the co-operatives cannot depend on this to increase their funds either. So, the co-operatives can accept money for more shares paid voluntarily by peasants and give them more dividends accordingly, on condition that all the basic principles of the co-operatives are adhered to. However, they should not place the hope of increasing funds on this, nor should they spread among these peasants and others the idea: the aim of the co-operative is none other than reaping profits for you, and so the more shares you hold, the more dividends you are hopefully to get.

Sixth, the co-operative should treat members and non-members quite differently. Otherwise, the members will be discontented, the non-members will not join the co-operative, the masses will not care about it and the co-operative will come to a standstill, unable to play its significant economic and political role in the country. How should the co-operative treat its members and non-members differently? By giving priority to its members in selling their products and supplying them with goods and materials at favourable prices? By distributing dividends to the members in accordance with the number of shares held? Or should the two be given equal emphasis? This is a controversial question. I prefer the first method. We have plenty of practical experience to indicate which method is best. To my knowledge, when co-operatives were scattered, the majority in north China adopted the second method, very few the third, and still fewer the first. At the time, few co-operatives made noticeable progress, and many of them failed. Later on, they began to adopt the first method. At present, the overwhelming majority of co-operatives in north China and many other places have by and large effected the first method. All that have effectively implemented this method have seen rapid development — the scope of operation has expanded and their funds have increased. As a result, their members are more than satisfied with them, and fewer co-operatives have failed. Now most co-operatives have adopted the following method: Except for services per-

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formed by the co-operative on behalf of the state (including the purchase of products and the granting of credits), to which members and non-members have equal access, members take precedence over non-members in all other services offered by the co-operative. Lacking funds and manpower to handle everything the members want it to do, the co-operative has to concentrate on serving its members. To be specific, it can help only its members sell goods or must give precedence to the selling of their goods, while purchasing from non-members only badly needed goods and materials. So far as the supply of goods and materials is concerned, the co-operative can supply them only to its members or give precedence to them, selling only slow-selling goods and materials to non-members or merchants. In addition, most co-operatives sell goods to their members at prices lower than market prices, with some more than 20 per cent lower. After obtaining low-priced goods, the co-operatives usually ration them and sell them to their members at reasonable prices. In this way members profit from their co-operatives daily and monthly and are satisfied with them, whereas non-members, unable to buy goods from the co-operatives and experiencing difficulty selling their own products, apply for admission. After undergoing rapid development and considerably expanding the scope of operation, the co-operatives find it all the more essential to handle only matters required by their members. Therefore, they still cannot do business with non-members at prices different from those for members. This is true of most co-operatives. As for the co-operatives' shortage of funds, it can be solved gradually through the efforts of the contented masses and assistance of the state — there is no alternative. The reason the second method is less advisable than the first is that dividends can be distributed to members only once or twice a year, so it is difficult for members to derive tangible benefits from their co-operatives. Moreover, the second method makes it easier for those in charge of dividends to engage in embezzlement and more difficult for the masses to exercise supervision, serving no education purposes among the masses. As for the third method, it is generally not practicable, because our main efforts should be devoted to sale of products and purchase of materials only, not to distribution of dividends, too.

Seventh, now that the co-operatives have gradually been established nationwide and become economic organizations consisting of vast numbers of people (in some places they consist of almost the entire

population there), defining the organizational and business relations between co-operatives and between co-operatives at lower and higher levels is a question of great importance. In the past, some higher co-operatives ran a number of retail shops, resulting in bad relations with lower co-operatives, while others, not engaged in any operations but responsible for providing guidance, were unable to lead or help lower co-operatives in terms of operations. Later it was decided that higher co-operatives should serve lower ones by handling wholesale only, helping lower co-operatives sell their native products, leaving the retail to the grass-roots co-operatives. As a result, both their relations and operations improved. However, how to get higher and lower co-operatives working in an organized, planned and unified manner remains a problem to be solved. Co-operatives in some places have begun to work according to plan on a trial basis, but generally speaking, the co-operatives are not well organized. Consequently, they are competing with each other in buying and selling the goods that are highly profitable and readily marketable, but are unwilling to handle other goods, so they are not on good terms with each other. I think co-operative trading should gradually be organized and planned, but this can be done only if the co-operatives and state-run trading departments share the work and co-operate with each other under unified state trading plans. By and large, state trading departments and co-operatives are co-operating well at present, with each obtaining great help from the other. I think the situation in future will be like this: Trade in rural areas and small cities will mainly be handled by the co-operatives; trade in large and medium-sized cities will mainly be in the hands of state stores. Since neither the co-operatives nor the state stores are strong enough, they can share the work only in some areas of services.

Eighth, implementation of the co-operatives' organizational system is also a prerequisite for ensuring that the co-operatives do their work in a correct manner. The co-operative should make all its operations known to its members. It should keep its members informed of, among other things, purchase and sale prices, expenses and profits. The members and supervisory committee should check up on them whenever necessary, hold elections at regular intervals and offer criticism and suggestions freely. All this will keep the co-operative under the supervision and control of its members. In addition, all Communist Party members should join the co-operatives in their localities and work hard. They and other advanced elements should

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try to turn the co-operatives into schools that educate the masses in the spirit of collectivism and should use every marked achievement scored by the co-operatives as an example to explain to the masses that the collective economy is superior to the individual economy and private capitalist economy.

I think the majority of the supply and marketing co-operatives should and can adopt all the methods mentioned above, which are different from those of merchants’.

Besides what I have spoken of, the co-operatives have a series of problems concerning their business accounting that have yet to be conscientiously and satisfactorily solved. The problems include how to check on funds, utilize funds (some co-operatives have spent so much of their fixed funds buying a building or a factory, using all the money paid by their members for shares, that they have no money left for business), cut back expenses and use of materials, make their staff work more effectively, reduce staff and place members and their family members in the service of the co-operatives. The co-operatives have been making earnest readjustments in these respects and have achieved success; some have been quite successful. In addition, co-operatives in different regions have been most successful in exchanging goods and materials, buying products in remote areas, placing orders directly with factories and sending salesmen or sales groups to remote areas. All these methods, plus the preferential treatment given by the state in taxation, prices, transport and loans, have enabled most of the well-run co-operatives to sell goods to their members at prices lower — sometimes much lower — than market prices and earn substantial profits; only a few have suffered losses. Sustained efforts should be made in this regard in the days to come.

Some demand that co-operatives be expanded rapidly and considerably and that their trade be organized so that they can facilitate the state’s economic statistics and planning. Nobody is against it, but the question is how to expand them rapidly and considerably. In my opinion, the best way is to follow the methods I have mentioned; only when the co-operatives are expanded in such a way can they be consolidated. These methods should generally be adopted if co-operatives are to be set up in new areas. We used to establish co-operatives by trying to talk peasants into buying apportioned numbers of shares. This practice should not continue. According to Comrade Cheng Zihua,<sup>38</sup> the co-operatives are increasing quickly. Last

July, when the National Conference of Co-operative Workers was held, there were 20 million co-operative members across the country. This figure may not be entirely accurate. Some members were compelled to buy their proportions of shares. Statistics for June this year indicate 50 million members, expected to reach 80 million by the end of the year. These two figures are much more accurate and reliable than the first. In the past, co-operative cadres did not have much to do and some of them did not work contentedly, but they are fully occupied now. Each co-operative consists of two departments, one in charge of organization and the other, operation. The former is kept too busy when so many people apply for setting up or joining co-operatives, while the latter finds it difficult to keep up with the co-operative's pace of expansion — it cannot meet the members' growing needs for goods, and there is more business than it can handle. This is the outcome of implementation of some of the methods I mentioned above. As to putting co-operative trading on a planned basis, that remains a problem to be solved gradually in the future.

Until many of the co-operatives' methods are authorized and explained systematically, it will be only natural to find some confusion in the work of a co-operative, inconsistency and lack of definition of policies concerning members and non-members. Nevertheless, the co-operatives have done a great deal to help their members sell products and to supply goods to them and have gained a wealth of positive experience. There are, however, some irresponsible co-operatives. Here I shall not dwell on the worst ones that are engaged in speculation and embezzlement against the law. There are co-operatives that almost divorce themselves completely from their members, showing little or no concern for the members' material needs and conducting 70 to 100 per cent of the business with non-members. They deem it their sole responsibility to earn some money to divide among the members as dividends. Therefore, they do whatever is profitable, or highly so, even if it has nothing to do with selling members' products and supplying goods to members. Although they have earned some legitimate profits and distributed some dividends to members, it should be recognized that their methods are no different from those of law-abiding merchants and have had the same effect on the economy. The only difference between them and merchants is that their funds come from the shares bought by many labouring people. Some co-operatives, however, have major shareholders, with a few members holding the bulk of shares. The members are not happy with these

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co-operatives, and their staff have malpractised to a considerable extent. If these co-operatives are regular traders, there is nothing bad about that, because they have helped people exchange goods and materials. But they are not good co-operatives if their trading is judged by the standards for co-operatives. In my opinion, their practice should not be followed.

All private commercial undertakings beneficial to the national economy and people's wellbeing serve the people objectively. Trade carried out by the co-operatives also serves the people. There are differences between these two kinds of trade, which should be clearly distinguished. Well, then, what are the differences and how do we distinguish them? What I have in mind are the methods I mentioned above. That is to say, the two kinds of trade have different aims, principles and methods.

It is said that some co-operatives in north and northeast China used to serve as agents or subsidiary departments or branches of state trading corporations, devoting most or all of their efforts to doing things the corporations asked them to do instead of to meeting members' needs. True, the co-operatives should do everything entrusted to them by the state, but they should do only what is compatible, or basically compatible, with their own tasks and activities. If what they do is at odds with their basic obligations to members and contrary to their rules and regulations, they will divorce themselves from the masses. This is another tendency, but not the mainstream.

On the one hand, the supply and marketing co-operatives should draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and private capitalist trade (this should be primary), while on the other hand, they should be different from state economic departments (though the two are closely allied). This determines the fundamental nature of co-operatives — they are collective economic organizations of the labouring people. Their active and fruitful activities will strengthen the position of the small peasant proprietors (from among whom capitalists and bourgeois elements emerge daily and hourly)<sup>39</sup> and, at the same time, even more the position of the state economy and the state. Therefore, the economy of the co-operatives is a semi-socialist economy that is largely socialist in composition.

These are my views relating to the supply and marketing co-operatives.

## CONGRATULATORY SPEECH AT THE SECOND NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE OF CHINA

*June 23, 1953*

Dear Delegates, Comrades,

Since it was founded in 1949, the New Democratic Youth League of China,<sup>40</sup> led by the Chinese Communist Party and nurtured by the fine and enduring traditions of the revolutionary youth movements in China, has developed into a powerful vanguard of the Chinese youth. During the past four years this brave and vigorous contingent has assisted the Party and contributed its share to the revolutionary war for the liberation of our great motherland, the great struggle to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea,<sup>41</sup> a series of social reforms, and the rehabilitation of the national economy on all fronts. The Chinese Communist Party and its great leader Comrade Mao Zedong attach great importance to the work performed by the Youth League and are very concerned about its maturity and progress, its role as an assistant and reserve force of the Party, and also its achievements in uniting the youth across the country in the construction of the country. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Zedong, I wish to extend our warm greetings to all the delegates attending the Second National Congress of the New Democratic Youth League of China and I wish the congress complete success.

This congress is held at a time when our great motherland is entering the new stage of planned development after having rehabilitated the national economy. In the new historic period the Chinese people are confronted with new historic tasks — namely, to industrialize the

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country step by step and, then gradually to complete the transition from new democracy to socialism. As an assistant and reserve force of the Party, the New Democratic Youth League should rally around the Party and work hard in the forefront of industrialization. League members from all walks of life should take an active part in all kinds of construction, bring their initiative and originality into play, take the lead and play an exemplary role among the masses of Chinese youth. They should be boundlessly loyal to the country and the people, rely on and maintain close ties with the masses around them, and make great efforts to fulfill and overfulfill industrial and agricultural production targets.

As an assistant and reserve force of the Party, the Youth League should encourage its members to study Marxism-Leninism well and enhance their communist awareness. League members should diligently study the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Comrade Mao Zedong's works and acquire scientific knowledge, especially the advanced science and technology of the Soviet Union. They should also study the policies of the state and the Party and acquire all branches of vocational knowledge, always bearing in mind Lenin's teaching: Learn, learn and learn again. This is the major task of League members.

As an assistant and reserve force of the Party, the Youth League should urge its members to work hard to achieve organizational solidarity and purity as well as political integrity. League members should learn how to apply criticism and self-criticism in combating all unhealthy practices that impair the cause of the people and the Party. In addition, they should further develop their sense of discipline and organization; foster an unfailing loyalty to the motherland, the people and the Party's cause; persevere in hard work and plain living, and carry forward the work style of seeking truth from facts and maintaining close ties with the masses. They should strive to consolidate the Youth League politically, organizationally and ideologically, so that it will become the backbone of the Chinese youth movement and inspire the youth throughout the country to work as a shock force on various fronts.

As an assistant and reserve force of the Party, the Youth League should bring patriotism and internationalism into full play and closely integrate the great cause of defending and building the country with that of safeguarding world peace. League members should follow the shining example of the Lenin Communist Youth League of the

Soviet Union in joining hands with the youth of countries in the peaceful, democratic and socialist camp and the advanced youth of other countries of the world and forge ahead courageously to safeguard world peace and work for the glorious future of mankind.

Comrades! Comrade Stalin once said, "The youth are our future and our hope."<sup>42</sup> Our Party and our country have boundless faith in and hope for the youth. We are fully convinced that the New Democratic Youth League of China, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, will successfully unite the youth throughout the country, so that all may contribute their share to the building up of the great motherland.

Comrades! The Central Committee of the Party hopes that you will fully discuss at the present congress the tasks the Party has assigned to the Youth League for the new historic period and that you will, in the communist spirit of criticism and self-criticism, analyse your experience in work, carry forward your merits, overcome your shortcomings and mistakes and in the meantime learn from the advanced experience gained by the Soviet Union in its work among the youth, so as to educate all the League members and improve their work.

Study the theory of Marxism-Leninism assiduously!

Long live the great unity of the youth of China!

Long live the great unity of peace-loving and democracy-loving, youth all over the world!

## IMPROVE THE PARTY'S UNITED FRONT WORK

*July 18, 1953*

Departments of united front work of the Party at various levels, under the leadership of the Party committees at the corresponding levels, have in general done a lot of work and achieved success. The Party Central Committee recently discussed united front work and expressed satisfaction with the work done, but it also held that efforts should be made to strengthen united front working bodies at central and local levels, that is, at central, provincial, municipal and autonomous regional levels, including working bodies of a number of counties. Where necessary, working bodies for the united front should be established in counties. The ones already established and needed should be retained; but some that are rarely, if ever, needed and have little or no work to do should not be kept.

Within the Party some comrades believe that the Party's united front work is not really necessary, that it makes no difference whether or not we continue to do the work. Others hold that from now on united front work can be considered less important than it used to be and its scope reduced. Still others think the work should be suspended. These views are at variance with those of the Central Committee, hence they are incorrect. The Central Committee holds that as it was necessary in the past, united front work is necessary at present and will remain so for a fairly long time to come. We should try to improve this work. Why? Because, though the Chinese people have

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Speech delivered at the National Working Conference on United Front Work convened by the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee. Liu Shaoqi revised the record of the speech at the time. He revised it again when the speech was included in the *Collection of Documents on United Front Policies* compiled by the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee in 1956. This article includes all the revisions made.

won complete victory in their revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, imperialism still poses a threat to us, Taiwan is not yet liberated and remaining forces of the landlord class and bureaucrat-capitalist class are still around and want to stage a comeback. In order to deal with them, we must unite with all people that can be united with, hence the need of the united front. This is one reason. Another reason is that China is still backward and has very little industry to begin with, heavy industry in particular. In order to end this backwardness, build up and industrialize the country and go over to socialism, we should also unite with all people that can be united with, hence, again, the need of the united front.

Today we have two alliances: That of workers, peasants and other labouring people, which constitutes the mainstay for our front, is most important and has a vital bearing on our destiny. This alliance also determines whether revolution can be victorious, political power can be consolidated, our country can be industrialized and socialism can be realized. The other alliance is between the labouring people and some exploiters and their representatives who can be allied. This means alliance with the national bourgeoisie and the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie and their intellectuals and political representatives on the basis of the alliance of the workers, peasants and other labouring people. In addition, this alliance includes a small number of members of the upper class of minority nationalities and public figures in religious circles. It is what we call the People's Democratic United Front. In order to achieve our great goal, we need not only a consolidated alliance among labouring people, but also an alliance with some of the exploiters. The latter, however, is subordinate to and serves the former. There is a common acceptance within the Party for an alliance of labouring people, yet some Party comrades differ on the issue of an alliance with some of the exploiters. The united front work we refer to now is chiefly alliance with some exploiters.

The Party's general line or general task is to gradually realize socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of our country, transforming the present society into a socialist one over a fairly long period of time. In order to realize this general line or fulfill this general task, we must do a great deal of work, such as large-scale industrial construction, large-scale co-operative transformation of agriculture, co-operative transformation of the handicraft industry, development of state and co-operative commerce, and the transforma-

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tion of capitalist industry and commerce under a policy of utilization, restriction and transformation mainly by means of state capitalism. So long as a good job is done in these fields of endeavour, China will become a socialist country that has abolished capitalism and the exploiting classes and will never produce new exploiting classes.

It will take a considerably long period of time to accomplish this task. No matter how we wish to shorten the period, a long time the job will take. In too short a time it would be impossible for us to accomplish it, and we would become impetuous. We must do a lot of arduous work, including political and economic work, and united front work forms an important part. The major task of our People's Democratic United Front is to unite, educate and transform the national bourgeoisie and the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie and their intellectuals and political representatives and to improve work among all nationalities in our country. There are two aspects to our work in this area. The primary one involves educating and organizing the labouring people of the minority nationalities; the other involves doing united front work among upper-class elements of the minority nationalities.

The Party's united front work is an indispensable part of the struggle to realize the Party's general line or fulfill its general task and constitutes one aspect of the general struggle. Under the present circumstances in China the Party's united front work is a special and absolutely necessary form of class struggle.

There are two ways to industrialize our country: the capitalist and the socialist. China must be industrialized and must take the socialist, not the capitalist, road.

We must eliminate all exploiting classes when we take the socialist road, making Chinese society a socialist one. There are two ways to abolish exploiting classes. One is to deprive them of their property, which we did when we were eliminating the landlord class and bureaucrat-capitalist class in the past. The Soviet Union and East European people's democracies also used this method to eliminate their exploiting classes, including the landlord class and the bourgeoisie. The other method is that of gradual transformation, through the united front, which means that we guide capitalists, who are willing to submit to socialist transformation or are not resolutely opposed to it, to the socialist road through both unity and struggle, through education, reasoning, criticism and self-criticism and making arrangements for them with regard to their political activities, work and

daily life. We must divide the bourgeoisie into two groups: those who are willing to submit to socialist transformation and those resolutely opposed to it. We should lead the former along the road to socialism. We should eliminate the latter as we did the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class. Fortunately, we are familiar with this method, which is simpler and easier and presents no problem. Comrade Mao Zedong once said, “there is no need to fear rebellion by the national bourgeoisie”.<sup>43</sup> The question is whether there isn’t some other way to keep them from resolutely opposing socialist transformation or to persuade them to submit to such a transformation. Some among them (perhaps only a handful) are certainly bent on opposing it. If we are not aware of this, we shall make mistakes. However, others (perhaps a large number) may follow us along the socialist road, if we adhere to the correct united front policy, which will benefit both them and us. We have gained the upper hand both politically and economically, and so long as our policy is correct and our work well done, they will feel it is beneficial to them to follow us. So, they will be willing to submit to socialist transformation.

From a general point of view, the Party’s united front work is only one aspect of the general struggle to fulfill the Party’s general task and is supportive and supplementary work. But, when it comes to eliminating the existing exploiting classes in China, united front work, or peaceful transformation, may be the chief approach we should use, and direct deprivation of property a secondary method. So united front work can serve the fulfillment of the Party’s general task or general struggle and play a major role in eliminating the existing exploiting classes.

Some say that doing united front work invites trouble. It does invite trouble, but it also saves trouble. It is troublesome to do united front work, but big trouble can be avoided if, through our united front work, the majority of the bourgeoisie and the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie and their intellectuals and political representatives do not rebel against socialism but instead submit to and serve it. It is only partly true that doing united front work invites trouble. Such a view is one-sided. The other side is that it saves trouble, and big trouble at that. The entire truth is that it invites small trouble, but saves big trouble.

Why should and can we use the united front to transform the majority of the national bourgeoisie? The reason is that members of the national bourgeoisie in colonial and semi-colonial China were

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discriminated against and oppressed by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Basically they never had political power in their hands and they were weak in character. In the past they co-operated with us in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism, and after liberation they have participated in the people's democratic regime and national construction and are willing to accept state capitalism in matters of accepting orders placed by the state for processing materials or supplying manufactured goods and establishing joint state-private enterprises. In future most of them will probably submit to socialist transformation. With regard to these members of the bourgeoisie Comrade Mao Zedong said, "The people and their government have no reason to reject anyone or deny him the opportunity of making a living and rendering service to the country, provided he is really willing to serve the people and provided he really helped and did a good turn when the people were faced with difficulties and keeps on doing good without giving up halfway."<sup>44</sup> So long as they do not rebel and are willing to follow us, we have no reason to reject them. But, if they give up halfway, cease to co-operate with us and rebel, we shall have good reason to reject them.

More important, in the eyes of the bourgeoisie we enjoy great superiority politically, economically and internationally. Under these conditions the bourgeoisie cannot but follow us towards socialism. If they do not follow us or give up halfway, it will be bad for them.

Therefore, united front work is necessary to the Party and the people and it should be improved in future.

Let's look at the matter conversely. What will happen if we abandon the Party's united front work and ceased co-operation with the national bourgeoisie and the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie? Our relationship with them and with their intellectuals and political representatives, and with the upper-class elements of the minority nationalities would be broken off. They might oppose us and rebel. This would create great difficulties and big trouble, landing us in a passive position for a considerably long period of time, from which it would be very hard for us to extricate ourselves. For instance, at a certain time in some localities an ultra-Left policy was adopted towards the national bourgeoisie. As a result, a number of private enterprises closed down and workers lost their jobs. This put us on the spot. If private enterprises throughout the country, which employ 3.8 million workers and shop assistants, closed down in large numbers and their employees were left jobless, we would be

in an even more difficult position. Also, if the upper-class elements of the minority nationalities fell out with us and rose in rebellion, we would be in great trouble. Such things did happen in the past. In order to put down rebellions in areas inhabited by minority nationalities, we expended large amounts of money and manpower and people got killed. Some say united front work will cost money, time and energy and it is not worth the cost. Well, if we do not do it, that may cost us more money, more time and more energy, and more people will die.

It should be made clear that our political alliance with exploiters is solely in the interest of workers, peasants and other labouring people. United front work serves the interests of the working class and other labourers. In order to emancipate itself, the working class must liberate the labouring people as a whole. For the emancipation of the working class and other labouring people, it is necessary to transform exploiters. It is not that we like exploiters, but that to emancipate the working class, we have to put ourselves to the trouble of transforming exploiters. The working class cannot win liberation unless it emancipates mankind. Therefore, doing united front work is not for any other purpose but to serve the interests and emancipation of the working class and other labouring people. This is our stand on united front work.

So the conclusion is: united front work cannot be dispensed with; it is a necessary component of the Party's work and will remain so for a long time to come. It is wrong to abandon united front work, and it is also wrong to look down upon it.

United front work is a form of class struggle and it is glorious revolutionary work. Some comrades think united front work consists of only entertaining and seeing off guests, so it is not revolutionary work and not indispensable. This view is incorrect. If comrades engaged in united front work know only about entertaining and seeing off guests, and they wine and dine merely for the sake of wining and dining and know nothing about the purpose of the work, they cannot do a good job. We should drive it home to them that they are working for the Communist Party, for the working class, for the labouring people, for the industrialization of the country and for the smooth transformation of our society into a socialist one. United front work is revolutionary work, a special form of class struggle, that involves both unity and struggle. It is an honour for comrades to be engaged in united front work.

It is said that some comrades, including a number of comrades doing united front work, are not clear about the hows and whys I have mentioned above and do not understand the necessity for united front work. They have not worked out the proper size of departments of united front work and the number of cadres needed. We must explain things clearly to them. So long as the ideological problem is solved and the task is clearly set forth, organizational problems can easily be solved, because the question of organization will always be solved in line with necessity and possibility.

I hope greater achievements will be scored in our united front work.

## WORK FOR STRENGTHENED UNITY OF THE PARTY

*February 6, 1954*

Our Party at present is fundamentally united, consolidated and sound. Not only we and people throughout the country recognize this, but our enemy also cannot fail to observe this. When we demand strengthened unity of the Party and reveal defects within the Party to the public, we do not mean to repudiate this basic condition but, rather, to start from it. The fact that the Party is basically united, consolidated and sound by no means indicates that our Party has no shortcomings; on the contrary, it provides a favourable condition for the Party to examine and overcome these shortcomings. In the draft resolution the Political Bureau analysed two aspects of the current situation in the Party.<sup>45</sup> In my view, the shortcomings pointed out in the draft deserve full attention of all the comrades present here, leading cadres of Party committees at and above provincial and municipal levels, senior leading cadres of the armed forces, and Party organizations at various levels.

In the draft the Political Bureau points out that we still follow a policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie, that we are still surrounded by the petty bourgeoisie like by a big ocean, and that in the large Party of ours the members are not well educated in Marxism-Leninism and the ideological and political background of some Party cadres is complicated. Is all this true? I don't think anybody among us will dispute these facts. But what do they mean? For one thing, they threaten unity of our Party. Since the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie surround us, it is likely that their ideology will spread among weak members of our Party and, being irreconcilable with

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Excerpt from a report delivered at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

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our Party's ideology, corrode, disintegrate and divide our Party. Inadequate education in Marxism-Leninism and complicated ideological and political background of some Party cadres make it possible for the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie to erode our Party with their ideology.

It also notes in the draft that a number of cadres, even some senior cadres, do not fully understand the importance of Party unity, collective leadership and a Central Committee enjoying solid, enhanced prestige. It points out that a considerable number of Party cadres have developed an extremely dangerous arrogance. They are dizzy with their achievements, have clean forgotten about the need of being modest and the spirit of self-criticism Communists must have, exaggerate their role, and stress their personal prestige. They consider themselves first in the world, can stand only flattery and not criticism and supervision, suppress and even retaliate against those who criticize them, and go so far as to regard the areas and departments under their leadership as their capital and independent kingdoms.

Comrades! Is all this true? Do comrades in the Party fully understand the importance of Party unity and collective leadership? Aren't there a considerable number of cadres who have become arrogant? If during the initial period of socialist construction in China people become arrogant, reject criticism and supervision, then what will become of them in a few years or a dozen years? Numerous examples in history show how arrogance disrupted the victors' unity and brought them to a tragic end. They were closely united when they were under enemy suppression, but once the enemy's direct suppression was overthrown, many of the victors became arrogant and disunited. Such things were hardly avoidable in the past, but our Party's class foundation and historic mission make us entirely different from victors of the old times. Ours is a Communist Party of the working class. Our ultimate aim is to eliminate exploitation and classes, finally to abolish state power and the Party itself. That is why our unity can be consolidated. We at all times oppose any Party member who permits the lofty mission of ardently and diligently serving the people to degenerate into the contemptible individualism of the bourgeoisie. The Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee, held in March 1949, particularly warned all Party cadres against arrogance after victory in the revolution, because arrogance might lead to individualism, impair and

jeopardize Party unity, and seriously damage the Party's cause. We must always bear in mind that we have taken only the first step in our ten-thousand-li march and that we are still surrounded by a vicious enemy, who is ready to injure us once we are off our guard and disunited. Whenever possible, the enemy will attempt to eliminate us. Under such circumstances unity is the life of the Party. Any damage to Party unity assists the enemy. When members in the Party become arrogant and individualistic and when their arrogance and individualism are not resolutely checked by the Party, they will, as time goes on, haggle over position in the Party, scramble for power and personal gain, develop improper relations among people, form a small clique and even help the enemy undermine and split the Party. Therefore, the Political Bureau feels it has an absolute responsibility to warn the entire Party membership and arouse them to overcome such a danger, even if it is only in an embryonic stage. It also demands that comrades who have made such mistakes correct them quickly and thoroughly. If it ignores those mistakes and lets them spread freely, it will be committing a crime against the Party and the people.

Considering various conditions both inside and outside the Party, the Political Bureau thinks it appropriate and absolutely necessary for the Central Committee to adopt this resolution. The resolution will serve greatly to enhance the political consciousness, vigilance and resistance of all Party members, which conforms entirely to the interests of people throughout the country and of socialist construction and transformation. In the draft resolution concrete measures are proposed that will help not only strengthen unity but get all Party members to disdain, combat and repudiate views and deeds that disrupt unity.

For the purpose of strengthening Party unity the Political Bureau deems it necessary to point out that it is wrong for some Party comrades to believe that so long as they consider themselves to be in the right, they may ignore the Party's democratic centralism, the principle of collective leadership, Party discipline, Party leadership and the Party Constitution. These comrades must understand that violations of the Party's democratic centralism and discipline are tantamount to undermining Party unity, which in turn harms the Party's ultimate interests and endangers the Party's very survival. Therefore, they must realize that their views and actions are totally wrong and must be corrected at once. Our Party should wage a resolute struggle

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against anyone who sticks to his erroneous views and actions, so as to curb violations of the Party's democratic centralism and discipline and disruption of Party unity.

Without a doubt Party unity must be based on Marxism-Leninism and on correct political and organizational principles. So long as our comrades abide by the Party Constitution and the stipulations in the draft resolution, the Party allows different views to be raised and discussed within it. To strengthen Party unity we must not allow democracy, criticism and self-criticism to be reduced within the Party, but must ensure that they are conducted to the full extent. All comrades need help from others. If a comrade has shortcomings and has made mistakes, it is a loss to the Party. Everyone else has the responsibility to help him overcome his shortcomings and correct his mistakes. Party unity means to develop just such mutual help in a comradely fashion, enabling each comrade to progress in the united, harmonious, big family and encouraging him to do the Party's work well and help promote the cause of revolution.

However, as it is pointed out in the draft resolution, in our Party the principle of criticism and self-criticism is not always smoothly implemented. This situation must change, since it hinders the Party's progress, impairs its ties with the masses and jeopardizes its unity. The Party's task, as pointed out time and again by the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, is to continue to make progress by conducting criticism and self-criticism out of a desire to consolidate and strengthen Party unity, by struggling against suppression of critical views, and by firmly adhering to the precepts of "Say all you know and say it without reservation," "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words," and "Correct mistakes if you have made any and guard against them if you have not." In this way we can correct mistakes and overcome shortcomings in our work, enhance our understanding of Marxism-Leninism, lift Party spirit and strengthen Party unity. Without a doubt unity thus achieved is genuine unity, which will serve greatly to increase the combat effectiveness of the entire Party and improve our work towards new victories.

Of course, there are people in the Party who do lip service to criticism and self-criticism, and in practice they regard these as suitable only for others and their work, not for themselves and their own work. Such views are totally wrong. There are also people who do not want to tighten Party discipline, promote Party unity and help other comrades progress through criticism and self-criticism; instead,

taking advantage of criticism and self-criticism, they want to weaken and disrupt Party discipline so as to undermine the Party's unity and prestige. The Party can absolutely not allow such an attitude. We should carry out criticism and self-criticism, using the weapon correctly. At the same time, it should help people who have such wrong ideas and attitudes to realize their mistakes and correct them promptly.

The Political Bureau maintains that it is essential to abide by the effective and correct principle relating to criticism and self-criticism, the principle often cited by the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong: "To proceed from the desire for unity and achieve unity through criticism and self-criticism." We should adopt the attitude of "helping others" and "curing the sickness to save the patient" when dealing with comrades whose shortcomings or mistakes are not serious and with ones who, though they have relatively serious shortcomings and mistakes, are willing, after criticism and persuasion, to put the interests of the Party above those of their own and to correct their mistakes and mend their ways. We must carry out serious criticism or necessary struggle against their shortcomings and mistakes in view of actual situations. Yet we should arrive at unity by starting from the desire for unity and conducting criticism or struggle. We should not prevent these people from correcting their mistakes, still less intentionally exaggerate their specific partial, temporary and less important shortcomings and mistakes and regard the as systematic and serious ones. That is not starting from the desire for unity and therefore cannot arrive at unity, only to the detriment of the Party. This is one aspect of the matter.

As for the other aspect, concerning people in the Party who purposely undermine Party unity, oppose the Party stick to their mistakes, and even engage in factional, divisive and other harmful activities within the Party, the Party has to wage merciless struggle, meting out severe punishment and, if necessary, expelling them from the Party. Only by doing so can Party unity be upheld and the interests of the revolution and the people be defended.

In order to strengthen Party unity, repudiate words and deeds that harm it, crush imperialist and counter-revolutionary conspiracies to undermine our Party unity, combat hostile acts and ideas of people who have sneaked into the Party, and correctly distinguish nuances in inner-Party struggle so as to adopt the proper policy, cadres, particularly senior cadres, of the entire Party must maintain sharp revolu-

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tionary vigilance and political sensitivity. In his speech “Rectify the Party’s Style of Work”, Comrade Mao Zedong called on Party comrades to develop a good nose: “They should take a sniff at everything and distinguish the good from the bad before they decide whether to welcome it or boycott it.” This should remain our motto.

Comrades! Unity of the entire Party hinges on unity of the Party Central Committee, unity of leading comrades at and above the levels of provincial and municipal Party committees, and unity of senior leading comrades of the armed forces. In our endeavour to strengthen Party unity these comrades are holding the major responsibility. Therefore, they should set an example by strengthening unity among themselves, and work hard in all Party organizations and among all Party members to strengthen unity of the entire Party. As long as our Party is united as one, we can certainly unite with the working class as a whole and with the labourers and people throughout the country in crushing any conspiracy and sabotage on the part of enemies both at home and abroad, thus ensuring victory in the great cause of socialist construction and transformation.

## REPORT ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

*September 15, 1954*

Fellow Deputies,

The framing and adoption of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China is an event of enormous historic significance in the political life of our country. The most important task of the First Session of the First National People's Congress is to frame and adopt the Constitution of China.

The Draft Constitution now submitted to the congress has been worked out after much serious preparation.

The Committee for Drafting the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, was formed by the Central People's Government Council on January 13, 1953. In March 1954 this committee accepted the first draft of the Constitution submitted by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Serious discussions of this draft, participated in by more than eight thousand people, representing the various democratic parties, people's organizations and people of all sections of society, were then organized in Beijing and all other major cities in the country. For more than two months these people actually took part in the drafting of the Constitution. The Draft Constitution, a revision of the first draft, was made public by the Central People's Government Council on June 14, 1954 for people all over the country to discuss. These dis-

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Delivered at the First Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, the report was first published in the *People's Daily* on September 16, 1954 and included in *Documents of the First Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China* published by the People's Publishing House in June 1955. The third of the four parts of the report, which deals with the views expressed on the Draft Constitution during nationwide discussion, is not included in the present book.

cussions also lasted for more than two months and more than 150 million people took part. The people expressed their warm support for the Draft Constitution and at the same time suggested many amendments and revisions. In light of these suggestions, the Committee for Drafting the Constitution of the People's Republic of China made further revisions of the original draft, which were later discussed and adopted at the 34th meeting of the Central People's Government Council on September 9, 1954; hence the present Draft Constitution now submitted to the congress.

I am now going to report to the congress on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China on behalf of the Committee for Drafting the Constitution.

## THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS AN EPITOME OF HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

In drawing up the Constitution, we have worked on a basis of facts. But what are these facts? That we Chinese people have won complete victory in our long-drawn-out revolutionary struggles against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; that our people's democratic state, led by the working class and based on an alliance of workers and peasants, has been solidly established; that the socialist sector in China's economy has now assumed a position of vigorous leadership; and that our country has embarked on a systematic socialist transformation and is in gradual transition towards a socialist society.

From these facts it naturally follows that our Constitution must be a people's democratic constitution. It is a socialist constitution, not a bourgeois one.

The Draft Constitution we have submitted is the epitome of the historical experience of more than a hundred years of heroic struggles waged by the Chinese people; it also epitomizes historical experience on the question of constitutions and the constitutional movement in modern China.

The Chinese people lived many years under the dark rule of imperialism and feudalism. Over a hundred years ago foreign capitalists began to invade China, exposing the utter incapacity of China's feudal rulers at that time to defend the country. The more serious aggres-

sion and oppression from outside grew, the more despotic the domestic regime became. From then on, China, great nation though it was, practically lost its status as an independent state in its foreign relations, and the broad masses of Chinese people were subjected to untold suffering. Yet it was at this point that the Chinese people began to wage a valiant revolutionary struggle against foreign capitalism and domestic feudalism. To save China and reshape its destiny, many Chinese progressives began their quest for truth. They diligently studied bourgeois politics and culture of the West, thinking these Western bourgeois ways could save China. Then they attempted to model China's state and social systems on the pattern of the Western capitalist countries.

One of these attempts was the Reform Movement that followed China's defeat by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. It was conducted by a group of reformists headed by Kang Youwei, who wanted China to have a constitution that would allow capitalism to develop without fundamentally changing its feudal system.<sup>46</sup> Their principles won the approval and support of many people at the time. Though they were reformists, their Reform Movement, judged by the standards of those days, was progressive and thus incurred the enmity of reactionaries. In 1898 their activities were repressed by the reactionaries headed by Empress Dowager Ci Xi.<sup>47</sup>

China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 aroused a broad mass movement. Simultaneously with the Reform Movement of the Kang Youwei group other revolutionary groups emerged, including one headed by Sun Yat-sen. After the failure of the Kang Youwei group they formed the *Tong Meng Hui* (the Chinese Revolutionary League) in 1905.<sup>48</sup> Unlike the reformists, these people cherished the idea of establishing a bourgeois democratic republic and waged a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the rule of the Qing Court. To that extent they were a great stride ahead of the reformists.

The Qing Court was hard put to hold out in face of the rapid expansion of the revolutionary forces. In an attempt, however, to maintain their rule, deceive the people and head off revolution, the rulers of the Qing Court announced a "preparatory period for constitutionalism" about fifty years ago and in 1908 promulgated the "outline constitution". The "outline constitution" was chiefly designed to maintain feudal autocratic rule, while ostensibly acceding to some of the people's demands. The people, however, put no trust in these promises, nor did they believe that this sort of "constitutionalism" could

improve the conditions of their country. In fact, they rejected this fraudulent “constitutionalism”. The revolutionaries led by Sun Yat-sen were firmly against it, whereas the reformists headed by Kang Youwei came out in its support. As a consequence, the latter were opposed by the revolutionary groups and rejected by the people.

The revolutionary group headed by Sun Yat-sen insisted on the realization, through revolution, of the democratic constitutionalism they hoped for, that is, democratic constitutionalism of a bourgeois character. Under the historical conditions of the time they were correct in pursuing that line, which represented the demand of the people. Under their leadership the Revolution of 1911,<sup>23</sup> which was of great historic significance, broke out.

This revolution, which broke out on October 10, 1911, overthrew the rule of the Qing Dynasty, put an end to China’s feudal monarchy, which had lasted for over two thousand years, established the Republic of China and the provisional revolutionary government in Nanjing headed by Sun Yat-sen, and introduced a Provisional Constitution in the nature of one for a bourgeois republic that had progressive significance.<sup>49</sup> This revolution imbued the people with the idea of a democratic republic, making the people recognize that any word or deed that ran counter to this idea was utterly impermissible. The revolutionaries in those days, however, had their shortcomings. They did not have a thoroughly anti-imperialist and anti-feudal programme, nor did they mobilize and organize on a broad basis popular forces on which they could rely. So, they could not win a complete victory over imperialism and feudalism. In the end the revolution failed, and the reactionaries, led by Yuan Shikai, seized power.<sup>50</sup> From then on China was successively controlled by different cliques of the northern warlords.<sup>51</sup> The Provisional Constitution was torn to shreds. The “Republic of China” became merely an empty name. The revolutionaries, led by Sun Yat-sen, carried on their struggle against the northern warlord government, but without success.

Under the rule of the northern warlords the situation in China went from bad to worse. All the principal imperialist countries in the world scrambled for pickings in China. Civil wars between warlord cliques backed by their respective imperialist masters continued for years. Utter confusion prevailed. One warlord after another seized the reins of power in Beijing. In order to maintain warlord rule, the nominal president, Cao Kun,<sup>52</sup> the last of the northern warlords, proclaimed in 1923 a sham “constitution”, which the people

promptly rejected. Regarding it as a fake, both the Kuomintang, led by Sun Yat-sen, and the Chinese Communist Party were against it. The government of Cao Kun collapsed only one year after the proclamation of this fake constitution.

In the years before and after the Revolution of 1911 those who were determined to save the country could seek a way out for China only along capitalist lines. It was only after the First World War and the October Socialist Revolution in Russia that the Chinese people came to see the steady decline of Western capitalism and the rising of socialism with its bright radiance. On May 4, 1919, a great revolutionary movement against imperialism and feudalism broke out in China. The working-class movement in China began to surge. Progressives among the Chinese people became firmly convinced that socialism, rather than capitalism, would solve China's problems. This well-founded belief held by the progressives was soon accepted by the masses. In 1921 the Communist Party of China — the Marxist-Leninist party of the Chinese working class — was founded. After that a new situation was created for revolution in China, and the Chinese revolution became a people's democratic revolution led by the working class, that is, a new-democratic revolution, forming part of the world socialist revolution and receiving the support of the socialist Soviet Union.

At that time Sun Yat-sen, great revolutionary that he was, came to understand from the experience he had gained in long years of struggle that in order to save China, "we must arouse the masses of the people and unite in a common struggle with those nations of the world that treat us as equals."<sup>53</sup> Finally he boldly adopted the three great policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers. He reorganized the Kuomintang and formed an alliance with the Chinese Communist Party to fight against imperialism and feudalism. Thus, a new phase of revolutionary struggle began.

In 1927, when the revolutionary Northern Expedition carried out jointly by the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party was advancing towards victory, the Kuomintang, dominated by Chiang Kai-shek, renounced Sun Yat-sen's policies and betrayed the revolution. After that the responsibility for leading the Chinese revolution fell completely on the shoulders of the Chinese working class and its party, the Communist Party of China. Subsequently, the Chinese revolution manifested a depth, thoroughness and mass scale absolute-

ly unparalleled in all previous revolutionary movements. During the Agrarian Revolutionary War, the War of Resistance Against Japan, and the People's War of Liberation the Chinese people gradually created strong revolutionary armed forces of their own, built vast revolutionary base areas, where they established people's democratic governments based on a united front, carried through various social reforms and enriched their experience in revolution. Revolutionary struggles over the years have shown that the path from new democracy to socialism, as pointed out by the Chinese Communist Party, is the only path leading to China's salvation. This path has earned profound faith of the people throughout the country. After the conclusion of World War II the Chinese people finally defeated the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, which was supported by U.S imperialism, and, in 1949, achieved the great victory in the people's revolution.

The Kuomintang government headed by Chiang Kai-shek was the last of the reactionary governments that had successively ruled China in the past. That government had never even wanted a constitution, but when it was at its last gasp, it attempted to save itself with the help of a bogus constitution. This constitution, concocted by the Kuomintang government in 1946, was resolutely opposed by the Chinese Communist Party, the democratic parties of China and the Chinese people as a whole.<sup>54</sup> Like other reactionary governments in the past Chiang Kai-shek's regime finally collapsed, less than three years after his bogus constitution was announced. Meanwhile, the Chinese Youth Party,<sup>55</sup> the Chinese Democratic Socialist Party<sup>56</sup> and other counter-revolutionary parties that had supported this bogus constitution were discarded by the people. This must still be fresh in the memories of all deputies present here.

For the last hundred years or so the bitter struggle between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in China has never ceased. On the question of state system this bitter struggle has been reflected in the demand of three different types of forces for three different types of constitutions.

First, the bogus constitutions concocted by the Qing Dynasty, the northern warlords and Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. These reactionary rulers of the feudal and comprador classes were opposed even to bourgeois democracy and never really wanted a constitution at all. And it was only when their reactionary regimes were tottering under the impact of revolutionary forces and their doom was in sight that

they hastily concocted fraudulent constitutions in the hope of prolonging their moribund reactionary rule behind the decorative facade of a bourgeois constitution. Naturally, they failed.

Second, the type of constitution yearned for by the Chinese national bourgeoisie for many years in the past, that is, the constitution of a bourgeois-democratic republic. The Provisional Constitution that came out of the Revolution of 1911 and that was immediately scrapped by Yuan Shikai was the only one of this kind in Chinese history.

Although many nations in the world did establish bourgeois republics after abolishing feudalism, a bourgeois republic in semi-colonial and semi-feudal China was mere illusion. Since the Chinese bourgeoisie was incapable of leading the people to defeat the combined forces of foreign imperialists and domestic reactionaries, it could not turn China into a bourgeois republic and consequently could not produce a bourgeois constitution in China.

Third, the constitution of a people's republic led by the working class and based on an alliance of workers and peasants, that is, the constitution we are about to enact.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out long ago that after victory in the people's revolution led by the working class, the republic to be established would not be a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on an alliance of workers and peasants. This people's republic, led by the working class, would lead China to socialism, not to capitalism.

The truth is this: the bogus constitutions drawn up by reactionary ruling cliques of the feudal and comprador classes without exception failed to hoodwink the people and were rejected by them, and those who had a hand in these bogus constitutions and those who actively supported them were cast aside by the people. As a matter of fact, successive reactionary regimes collapsed soon after producing their bogus constitutions, and their so-called constitutions became mere scraps of paper. Moreover, over scores of years quite a few people in China tried hard to bring into being a bourgeois constitutional government, but nothing was accomplished. Any genuine constitution for China can be only a people's democratic and socialist constitution. Only such a constitution conforms to the interests of the vast majority of the people and enjoys their support.

That is why we say that the Draft Constitution we now present is the epitome of the historical experience of the Chinese people's

revolutionary struggle over more than a century as well as the epitome of the historical experience of Chinese constitutionalism in modern times.

Also, of course, our Draft Constitution is the epitome of the new historical experience gained since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

In 1949 the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference adopted a Common Programme that has served as a provisional constitution.<sup>12</sup> This Common Programme summed up the experience of the revolution in the past, especially the experience gained in the people's revolutionary base areas. It proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China and defined the fundamental policies the People's Republic of China would carry out in different fields of endeavour. The Common Programme has persistently been carried out by the Central People's Government and the local people's governments at all levels.

Although the People's Republic of China has been in existence only five years, it has undergone vast changes.

First, China is no longer a colony or dependency under the domination of foreign imperialism. It has become a truly independent state. At the opening session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949 Comrade Mao Zedong solemnly declared, "The Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up." For more than a hundred years the Chinese people made untold sacrifices to free themselves from domination by foreign imperialism. Their aspirations have come true. The great nationwide movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea conducted since 1950 has further strengthened the position of our country as an independent state. It has assumed its place as a great power in the international arena. Together with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, China has become a strong bulwark of world peace.

Second, the age-old grip of feudalism on China is now ended. The system of feudal exploitation, which was once the cause of China's stagnation, backwardness and humiliation, has been completely uprooted in most parts of our country by a nationwide mass movement.

Third, China has put an end to the long period of chaos. It has achieved internal peace and an unprecedented unification of the entire mainland. The various nationalities in China, no longer discriminated

against and mistrustful of each other as in the past, are closely united in the common struggle against imperialists and public enemies in their midst, as well as on the basis of equality, friendship and mutual assistance among them.

Fourth, China has to a great extent ended the people's lack of political power, attaining a high degree of democracy. The people have organized themselves through great mass movements, such as the agrarian reform<sup>9</sup> and other social reforms, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries,<sup>57</sup> and resistance to U.S. aggression and aid to Korea. An enormous number of people who used to be indifferent to affairs of state are now taking an active part in political activities of the country. People throughout the country have keenly realized that the people's congresses are the best form of political organization for administering their own country.

Fifth, thanks to the fervent enthusiasm and initiative shown by the people in their work since liberation and thanks to aid from our great ally, the Soviet Union, our country has, in a very short time, rehabilitated the national economy, which had been ruined by the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries, and embarked upon socialist construction and socialist transformation. Socialist economy has in practice proved beyond all doubt its vast superiority to capitalist economy. It is daily growing and consolidating its leading position in China's economy. The practical steps and concrete measures towards socialism taken by our state have won the support of the masses. Since 1953 we have been carrying out, in line with our objective of building socialism, the First Five-Year Plan to develop the national economy and have already achieved successes.

All this shows that our country has taken big strides ahead during the last five years and that once state power is in the hands of the people, who are organized and given leadership, it creates an invincible force that will free them from a life of misery, enable our country to forge ahead and improve the material and cultural life of the people. It also explains why our country and government enjoy the support and confidence of all the people as well as the sympathy and support of peace-loving people throughout the world.

Modern Chinese history shows that our people have long debated a fundamental question: Which is China's way out, capitalism or socialism? The tremendous changes that have taken place in our country over the last five years have provided an illuminating answer. Life in this period has fully proved that the only correct path for our

country is to pass from the present society, with its complex economic structure, to a society with a unitary, socialist economic structure; that means transition from the present new-democratic society to a socialist society.

Is there any other way for China, in light of the conditions prevailing today?

The U.S. imperialists and the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique tell us that China should return to its old colonial and feudal rule. They say that our people are “living a dark life” and that they must come back to “liberate” us, overthrow the People’s Republic of China and resurrect their reactionary rule. That is to say, our people must again be placed under the sanguinary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. As we all know, the people of China, liberated after more than a hundred years of struggle, will never allow their country to revert to this old tragic path, but U.S. imperialists, the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique and the enemy agents and counter-revolutionaries on the mainland insist that China return to the old path. The U.S. imperialists are still occupying Taiwan, and the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique is still holding out in Taiwan, riding roughshod over the people there and all the time plotting its return to the mainland. So, we are still facing the real danger of a reactionary comeback; it would be a mistake for anyone to overlook this danger. People throughout China, therefore, must always be on their guard, make great efforts to strengthen their national defence, and wage a resolute struggle to liberate Taiwan and wipe out the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique once and for all.

Is it still possible for China to take the capitalist road and develop capitalism, so that it may become a capitalist state? Some backward people may perhaps entertain such an illusion, but it is a most mistaken and dangerous illusion. Comrade Mao Zedong has said, “There are bourgeois republics in foreign lands, but China cannot have a bourgeois republic.”<sup>58</sup> Today, the Chinese people, led by the working class, will not allow capitalism to swamp this country; still less will they permit the people’s democratic dictatorship, led by the working class, to be turned into a bourgeois dictatorship. World capitalism is already on the decline and the most developed capitalist countries have all now reached a dead end, while the socialist Soviet Union and the people’s democracies have become prosperous and strong. Our people, led by the working class, are building socialism; the face of our country is changing; the people’s material and cultural life is improv-

ing. This being the internal and international situation, will the Chinese people give up their bright, prosperous future of socialism to take the capitalist path, which leads to suffering and privation? Of course they will not. Therefore, those who have such illusions should immediately reject them. Those who do not wish to stop dreaming and who stick to their illusions will possibly be guided by the imperialists onto the dangerous path. This is because since they insist on China's taking the capitalist road, they are bound to link up with the imperialist countries, which will never allow China to become an independent capitalist country, and will merely turn China into a colony under imperialist, feudal and comprador rule. That was the path taken by the traitor Chiang Kai-shek.

Is there any other course for China? Some people may come up with the idea of maintaining the status quo: taking neither a capitalist nor a socialist road, but something containing both socialist and capitalist elements, which means continuing the conditions under which we now live. We all know that China is in a transition period in the course of building a socialist society. This period in our country is called the new-democratic period, a period during which our economy is characterized by having both socialist and capitalist sectors. Some people hope this situation will be maintained permanently and think it would be best not to make any changes at all. They say that the Common Programme is quite sufficient; why should we have a constitution? In recent years we have often heard talk about "consolidation of the new-democratic order". This kind of talk reflects the idea of maintaining the status quo. But is there any real possibility of doing this? It is impossible for the two conflicting relations of production, socialist and capitalist, to develop side by side in a country without interfering with each other. China will change into either a socialist state or a capitalist state; to keep China from changing means to halt the movement of a thing — this is absolutely impossible. As I have already said, the road along which China could change into a capitalist state is barred. So, the only bright, broad road open to China is the road to socialism. And this road it must take, because this is dictated by the inexorable law governing China's historical development.

It can, therefore, be seen that China's advance along the socialist road is fixed hard and fast. There is no other road for China to take.

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Since its founding the People's Republic of China has been traversing along the road to socialism. The Preamble to the Draft Constitution states: "From the founding of the People's Republic of China to the attainment of a socialist society is a period of transition. During the transition the fundamental task of the state is, step by step, to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and, step by step, to accomplish the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce." Since 1953 China has been in a period of planned economic development with socialism as its goal. It is, therefore, essential for us now to take another step forward on the basis of the Common Programme, to adopt a constitution like the one now submitted to you, in order to set down in legal form the fundamental task of our country in the transition period.

To bring about the socialist industrialization and transformation of our country is an extremely arduous and complicated task. To carry out such a task, we need to mobilize the forces of all the people, develop the initiative and enthusiasm of the masses and, under a correct and highly centralized leadership, overcome all kinds of difficulties. Therefore, we need, on the one hand, to further promote the people's democracy and extend its scope and, on the other hand, to attain a highly unified leadership of the state. For this purpose we must adopt a constitution much more comprehensive than the Common Programme, a constitution such as the one now being submitted to you.

During discussion the people heartily acclaimed the Draft Constitution because it correctly summed up the historical experience of our country. This Draft Constitution is the product of the people's will and represents their interests. It is also a product of the enormous changes that have occurred in China.

The people also acclaimed the Draft Constitution because it correctly drew upon the experience of other countries. While drafting the Constitution, the Committee for Drafting the Constitution referred to all constitutions, past and present, of the Soviet Union as well as to the constitutions of the people's democracies. It is obvious that the experience of the advanced socialist states, headed by the Soviet Union, has been of great help to us. So, our Draft Constitution embodies the experience of our own country and that of other countries. It is not only the product of the people's revolutionary

movement in China, but also a product of the international socialist movement.

Such is the historic significance of our Constitution.

### SOME EXPLANATIONS ABOUT THE BASIC CONTENT OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Now I should like to give some explanations of the basic content of the Draft Constitution under four headings.

#### 1. THE CHARACTER OF OUR STATE

Article 1 of the Draft Constitution stipulates, "The People's Republic of China is a people's democratic state led by the working class and based on an alliance of workers and peasants." The Preamble and many other articles of the Draft Constitution clearly indicate that a broad people's democratic united front still exists under our country's system of people's democracy.

The proposition that only by relying on the leadership of the working class would the Chinese people be able to win liberation from the oppression of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism has long since been proved. But after the people won victory, a new question arose, namely, would the working class continue to be as capable and confident in leading national construction as it had been in the past? Some people may have adopted a wait-and-see attitude on this question in the beginning, but the past five years have fully proved what unusual talent the working class possesses in leading the country. To secure the fruits of victory already won by the Chinese people, it is necessary to further consolidate and strengthen the working-class leadership of the state. Without such leadership success in socialist construction and transformation would be unthinkable.

Continued consolidation and strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance is the basic guarantee of successful leadership by the working class. This was as true in China's revolutionary wars of the past as it is in its national construction today. The worker-peasant alliance of our country, tempered in the revolutionary wars against imperialism and feudalism, has been further strengthened, not weakened, since

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the founding of the People's Republic of China. In the course of gradual transition to a socialist society the peasants are bound to change and have, in fact, begun to do so. The change takes the form of a gradual transformation of individual peasants leading a precarious life into socialist co-operative peasants. Only when the working class leads the peasantry along this path of co-operation can the peasants' living conditions improve steadily and the worker-peasant alliance become closer and firmer.

Among the working people of our country are a large number of urban and rural workers engaged in individual handicrafts or non-agricultural labour. They rely for their living entirely or essentially on their own labour. The working class must do its best to unite with these working people as it does with the peasantry in the common task of building socialism. To unite with them is part of the task of the worker-peasant alliance.

The fact that our state is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance shows the fundamental character of our state. It shows that China is a people's democracy. People's democracies are entirely different in character from capitalist countries. In capitalist countries, however much they prate about "democracy", it is, after all, the bourgeoisie who rule, although they constitute only a tiny fraction of the population. Here, in our country, the true masters of the state are the overwhelming majority of the people.

The intellectuals of our country played a very important part in revolutionary movements of the past, and they will play a still more important role in building socialism. Coming from different social classes, intellectuals cannot by themselves form an independent social class. They can, however, when they align themselves with the working people, become intellectuals of the working people or, when they align themselves with the bourgeoisie, bourgeois intellectuals. A handful of them, aligning themselves with the overthrown feudal and comprador classes, have become reactionary intellectuals. Our state must pay attention to rallying all intellectuals except the handful of reactionary intellectuals who hold fast to their reactionary position and carry on activities against the People's Republic of China. It should help them to remould their ideology and encourage them to devote their ability to the building of socialism. Comrade Mao Zedong long ago said, "Provided they serve the people creditably, all intellectuals should be esteemed and regarded as valuable national and social assets."<sup>59</sup>

The Preamble to the Draft Constitution points out: “This people’s democratic united front will continue to play its part in mobilizing and rallying the whole people in common struggle to fulfill the fundamental task of the state during the transition and to oppose enemies within and without.” This signifies the important role to be played in the transition period by the people’s democratic united front led by the working class and composed of the various democratic classes, democratic parties, and people’s organizations. This united front means an alliance based on, and broader than, the worker-peasant alliance, an alliance between the working people and all non-working people with whom co-operation is possible. It is a mistake for some people to hold that since we are building socialism, it is no longer possible and necessary for such an alliance to continue.

In the transition period our country still has its national bourgeoisie. It is recognized that in any society where exploiting and exploited classes exist the class struggle persists. But owing to special historical circumstances in our country — that it was formerly a nation oppressed by foreign imperialism — there was not only a conflict between the Chinese working class and the national bourgeoisie; there was also an alliance between them that still exists today. The national bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the working class, joined the national and democratic revolution in the past. In the last five years, led by the state, it also took part in patriotic movements and in economic rehabilitation. Through the serious struggles against the “three evils”<sup>60</sup> and the “five evils”,<sup>61</sup> many capitalists have raised the level of their political understanding and demonstrated their willingness to accept socialist transformation. This makes it possible for the state to adopt the policy of step-by-step socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, and we are now carrying out the transformation. In the transition period the national bourgeoisie still plays an important role in the national economy. It can make a definite contribution to the state in such areas as expanding production, improving management of enterprises and production techniques, and training skilled workers and technicians, as well as by accepting socialist transformation. In the transition period the national bourgeoisie has a definite status politically.

In our society there are patriots of other classes, especially among the minority nationalities, and the state should also make special efforts to unite with them.

This shows that the present united front of our country still has a broad basis.

The Chinese Communist Party has long pointed out that the great revolutionary unity of the people of the entire country under the leadership of the working class is essential not only to the Chinese people's democratic revolution but also to the realization of socialism, for imperialism still confronts us. At the same time, in our country there are actually only two roads for the people to choose: either to be enslaved again by imperialism or to bring about socialism. Only by advancing towards socialism can China achieve independence, install democracy and attain prosperity and strength. In such a situation it is possible for all patriots who are unwilling to accept colonial slavery to unite under the leadership of the working class and take the socialist road. Under conditions of continually strengthened leadership of the working class and alliance of workers and peasants, the broader the unity of the people within the bounds of possibility, the greater the benefit to the cause of socialism. Therefore, our Constitution should be one that guarantees great unity of the people throughout the country for the building of a socialist society.

## 2. STEPS TO BE TAKEN IN THE TRANSITION TO A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Article 4 of the Draft Constitution stipulates: "The People's Republic of China, by relying on the organs of state and the social forces, and by means of socialist industrialization and socialist transformation, ensures the gradual abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society."

To ensure implementation of the principle laid down in Article 4, many provisions are made in other articles under the heading of General Principles. These provisions define both the general objective of building a socialist society and the concrete steps to be taken to build such a society.

In China's transition period many different economic sectors still exist. Ownership of the means of production at present falls mainly into the following categories: state ownership, that is, ownership by all the people; co-operative ownership, that is, collective ownership by the working masses; ownership by individual labourers; and capitalist ownership. The task of the state is to strengthen and extend the first two categories, that is, the socialist sector of the economy, and to

gradually transform the latter two categories, that is, the non-socialist sector of the economy. Therefore, the state “ensures priority for the development of the state sector of the economy” and pays special attention to the gradual building of heavy industry, the main economic foundation of socialism. It “encourages, guides and helps the development of the co-operative sector of the economy” and encourages and guides the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce “into various forms of state-capitalist economy, gradually replacing capitalist ownership with ownership by all the people.”

These provisions in the Draft Constitution are of course not based on imagination but on changes in social and economic relations that have actually taken place since the founding of the People’s Republic of China and on the experience of the masses. All are therefore practicable. With regard to these provisions, I should like to discuss the following questions:

The first is the question of forms of transition. As we know, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce is a very arduous task. We cannot hope to accomplish this transformation overnight. We have to proceed step by step in light of the experience and political consciousness of the masses and in accordance with what is possible under actual conditions. Our experience has proved that socialist transformation of either agriculture and handicrafts or capitalist industry and commerce may have transitional forms and that it is a prime necessity to adopt flexible and varied transitional forms.

The chief transitional form for the socialist transformation of agriculture and handicrafts is the co-operative, based on partial collective ownership by the working masses, such as the agricultural producers’ co-operatives that have begun to emerge in our countryside in the past few years, whereby land is invested as shares by the members and management is unified.<sup>62</sup> Under China’s historical circumstances the gradual, widespread employment of this transitional form, i.e., a semi-socialist co-operative economy, can lead individual labourers smoothly to collective ownership by the working masses.

The transitional form for the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is state capitalism. Under China’s historical circumstances we can carry out the gradual socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce through various forms of state capitalism. State capitalism in a state led by the working class is entirely different in nature from state capitalism under bourgeois rule.

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As Lenin said, "State capitalism is capitalism which we shall be able to restrain, and the limits of which we shall be able to fix."<sup>63</sup> In a state-capitalist economy capitalist ownership has not yet been abolished and capitalists can still make profits, but they can no longer make as much profit as they wish. Through the transitional form of state capitalism favourable conditions can be created for the eventual replacement of capitalist ownership with ownership by all the people.

That these transitional forms are specified in the Draft Constitution is of immense significance to the socialist transformation of our country.

Next, I shall speak on the question of building a socialist society in a peaceful way. During the nationwide discussion of the Draft Constitution not a few people asked, "Why does the Preamble to the Draft Constitution state that our country's system of a people's democracy will ensure that China peacefully abolish exploitation and build a socialist society?"

In our country, except for a very few areas, the system of feudal exploitation has been eliminated completely in the course of the revolutionary war and land reform, but in order to build a socialist society, it is also necessary to eliminate the system of capitalist exploitation. This is a step further in social change. In a capitalist country, in order to carry through this social change, the working class and the rest of the labouring people must proceed by way of revolution to overthrow the state system of bourgeois dictatorship. Political and economic conditions in our country, however, are entirely different from those of capitalist countries. China has set up a state system of a people's democracy led by the working class. It already possesses an ever-growing socialist state-owned economy, which has become the leading force in the entire national economy. Capitalist economy is no longer dominant here. Consequently, our socialist revolution differs from that in capitalist countries. We can proceed with gradual socialist transformation by means of existing state apparatus and social forces. Moreover, as I mentioned earlier, we have in our country an alliance of the working class and the national bourgeoisie. For this reason, to eliminate the system of capitalist exploitation in China we do not have to adopt the methods used in carrying out land reform in 1950-52, when we launched a broad mass movement over a short period of time and eliminated the feudal land system at one stroke. The socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce will be realized gradually over a relatively long period of

time through various forms of state capitalism. We shall give capitalists the time necessary to accept the transformation gradually, under the leadership of the state and the working class. Of course, struggles are bound to occur. There are struggles now, and there will be struggles in the future. Even at present some capitalists are engaged in unlawful pursuits and some others oppose socialist transformation. For this reason, the Draft Constitution provides, "The state forbids capitalists to engage in unlawful activities that injure the public interest, disrupt the social-economic order, or undermine the economic plan of the state." The idea that there is no longer class struggle in our country is completely wrong. Punishment will have to be meted out to capitalists who engage in unlawful pursuits or disruptive activities. It is inconceivable that there should be no complicated struggle as we pass from the restriction of capitalist exploitation to its elimination, but our aim can be achieved by peaceful struggle, through the control exercised by administrative organs of state, the leadership given by the state sector of the economy, and supervision by the worker masses. The capitalist, provided he realizes the march of events, provided he is willing to accept socialist reform, and provided he does not act against the law or wreck the property of the people, can enjoy the concern of the state and will receive proper arrangements for his life and work in the future; nor will he be deprived of political rights. There is a great difference between this and our policy towards the class of feudal landlords. The leadership of the working class in the state, the solid alliance of workers and peasants, the leading position of a socialist economy in the national economy as a whole, the united front within the country, together with a favourable international situation, are the necessary conditions for China to abolish exploitation and build a socialist society in a peaceful way.

As for socialist transformation in areas inhabited by minority nationalities, we must pay full attention to the special characteristics in the development of the nationalities concerned. I shall deal with this question later.

Now, the question of the rich peasant. During the nationwide discussion of the Draft Constitution many people asked, "The Draft Constitution states, 'the policy of the state towards the rich-peasant economy is to restrict and gradually eliminate it.' How should we understand this?"

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We all know that the rich-peasant economy is capitalist economy in the countryside; the rich peasants are the last remaining exploiting class there. In China the rich-peasant economy has never been well developed; land rented out by the rich peasants was redistributed under land reform. Since this reform the rich-peasant economy has been greatly restricted as a result of the development of producers' co-operatives, supply and marketing co-operatives and credit co-operatives, as well as by the policy of state monopoly of purchase and marketing of grain and other principal farm products.<sup>64</sup> Though a small number of new-type rich peasants have emerged in the countryside, the rich-peasant economy has, in general, not grown but declined. The average land holding of the rich peasant at present is only twice as big as that of the ordinary peasant. Most of the rich peasants who formerly hired labour now no longer do so, or do so very seldom. The ones who practise usury are decreasing in number; and the ones who engage in trade are subject to rigid restrictions. In our country it is therefore possible to gradually eliminate capitalism in the countryside through the building of co-operatives and restraining of the development of the rich-peasant economy. Struggle is of course unavoidable. Disruptive activities by the rich peasants cannot be overlooked. In many areas rich peasants are known to have opposed unified purchase and marketing by the state and to have undermined the mutual-aid and co-operative movement. Rich peasants guilty of disruptive activities must be punished. However, in view of the general political and economic situation of our country, it will not be necessary to start a special movement, as in land reform, to eliminate the rich peasants. In future, rich peasants who have already given up exploitation may be allowed to join co-operatives on certain conditions and continue to reform themselves, provided the agricultural producers' co-operatives have been consolidated and agreement has been obtained from the peasants.

During the nationwide discussion of the Draft Constitution quite a few people asked, "The Draft Constitution provides that the state protects the right of capitalists to own means of production and other capital according to law, but it also provides that the state will carry out the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and gradually replace capitalist ownership with ownership by all the people. Is this not a contradiction?"

Whatever contradiction there may be simply reflects the fact that contradictions exist in real life. During the transition period in our

country we have not only socialism but also capitalism. The contradiction between these two different kinds of ownership is a contradiction that exists objectively. At the present stage capitalist industry and commerce are, on the one hand, beneficial to the national economy and people's wellbeing and, on the other, harmful to them. Herein lies the contradiction — in the very existence of capitalist industry and commerce. To resolve the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, our policy is to permit the existence of capitalist ownership, utilize capitalist industry and commerce where they are beneficial to the national economy and people's wellbeing and restrict them where they are harmful to them. Transitional forms will be employed to create conditions for the gradual replacement of capitalist ownership with ownership by all the people. The concrete steps for transition to a socialist society laid down in the Draft Constitution are aimed at correctly resolving this contradiction.

We think the policy and methods we have adopted to build socialism are correct for the specific conditions of our country. Proof of this can be found in the negative examples, namely, our enemies' clamour and comments in the foreign bourgeois press.

The imperialists and the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan very much dislike seeing us build socialism in China. They slander us every day. And no wonder! It is all because we have done the right thing.

Some bourgeois newspapers in other countries have discovered to their disappointment that the road our country is taking, as laid down in our Draft Constitution, is "the road that the Soviet Union has traversed." True, the road we are taking is exactly the road traversed by the Soviet Union. About this we have not the slightest doubt. The Soviet road is the road all humanity will eventually take, in accordance with the laws governing historical development. To by-pass this road is impossible. We have always believed that Marxism-Leninism is universal truth.

In order to undermine our cause of building socialism, our cunning enemies hired certain people who, like Trotskyites and Chenites (Chen Duxiu), pretend to be Left but attack our concrete steps and measures for carrying out the socialist transformation of our country. They allege that we have "not made a thorough job of it," that we are "too compromising" and that we have "departed from Marxism". With such nonsense they try to confuse the people. They suggest that we sever our alliance with the national bourgeoisie and imme-

diately deprive them of all they possess. They also complain that our agricultural policy is going “too slowly”. They want us to break our alliance with the peasants. Aren’t such ideas sheer nonsense? If we did what they want, it would please only the imperialists and the traitor Chiang Kai-shek.

The Chinese people have not only set themselves the goal of building socialism but mapped out practicable steps to achieve it. This inevitably causes great displeasure to their enemies, but is it not all too plain that what the enemies dislike most is precisely the best thing for the Chinese people?

### 3. OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM OF PEOPLE’S DEMOCRACY AND THE PEOPLE’S RIGHTS AND DUTIES

Article 2 of the Draft Constitution says: “All power in the People’s Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the National People’s Congress and the local people’s congresses.” This provision and those contained in other articles specify that the political system of our country is that of people’s congresses. In light of the experience of political construction gained over long years in our people’s revolutionary base areas and the experience of the Soviet Union and other people’s democracies, our Common Programme five years ago decided on this kind of political system for our country. Now, summing up the experience of our state organs and of all levels and circles of the people’s conferences<sup>24</sup> in the past five years, the Draft Constitution spells out more distinctly the political system of our country, which is bound up with the fundamental nature of our state. It is the political system that the Chinese people are adopting to ensure their country’s advance along the road of socialism.

The system of people’s congresses is the proper political system for our country, because it helps the people exercise their own power and participate regularly in running the state, thereby bringing into full play their initiative and creativeness. Clearly, if the political system does not enable the masses to use their abilities in running the state, it will be impossible to mobilize and organize them effectively for the building of socialism.

Our people’s congresses at all levels are based on universal suffrage. The Draft Constitution states that citizens who have reached

the age of eighteen have the right to vote and stand for election whatever their nationality, race, sex, occupation, social origin, religious belief, education, property status, or length of residence. Owing to various prevailing circumstances, in our country's elections it is still necessary, in accordance with the law, to deprive feudal landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists for a given period of their right to vote and stand for election; to specify that the number of deputies relative to population differs in proportion between town and country; to adopt a multi-level electoral system; and to use the show-of-hands method in most grass-roots level elections. Our electoral system will gradually be improved, and when conditions are ripe, our country will adopt the system of completely universal, equal, direct and secret ballot. The present electoral system, however, is appropriate to present conditions in our country and the most convenient to the people. It takes into special consideration the minority nationalities and various democratic classes by providing for appropriate quotas of deputies to represent them. People's congresses at all levels formed by such elections are fully representative of the people's will and are thus people's representative organizations of a highly democratic character.

According to the provisions of the Draft Constitution, the exercise of supreme state power is completely unified in the National People's Congress, while all the administrative organs of state, from the State Council to the local people's councils, are elected and supervised by the organs of government authority, that is, the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses, and may be removed by them. The administrative organs of state, therefore, can under no circumstances act independently of the people's congresses or against their will. The functions and powers of the head of state in our country are jointly exercised by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the Chairman of the People's Republic of China, elected by the National People's Congress. This conforms to the actual situation of our country and is based on our experience in building up the supreme organ of state authority since the founding of the People's Republic of China. Ours is a collective head of state. Neither the Standing Committee nor the Chairman of the People's Republic of China has powers exceeding those of the National People's Congress.

No important affairs of state are to be decided by any single person or small number of persons. Since the people's congresses are instituted as the basic political system of our country, all important

questions must be submitted to them for discussion and decision. Important questions affecting the nation as a whole must be discussed and decided upon by the National People's Congress, or by its Standing Committee when the National People's Congress is not in session, while important questions of a local character must be discussed and decided upon by the local people's congresses. Thus the people's congresses of our country are organs of state authority, capable of making decisions on important questions and supervising their implementation.

Paragraph 2 of Article 2 of the Draft Constitution declares: "The National People's Congress, the local people's congresses and other organs of state practise democratic centralism." Our system of democratic centralism is explained by the unified and concentrated exercise of state authority by the people's congresses. A reactionary publication issued in Hong Kong asserted that our "system of people's congresses is a system of concentration of power by the central authority." These reactionaries seem to think they have found something to attack us with. However, we Marxist-Leninists have long declared that we stand for centralism. The question is, what kind of centralism — the despotic centralism of a handful of big feudal lords and capitalists or the democratic centralism of the people led by the working class? These two systems of centralism are diametrically different. In the Draft Constitution we have combined a high degree of centralism with a high degree of democracy. Our political system has a high degree of centralism, but it is based on a high degree of democracy.

People subjected to oppression cannot fully concentrate their will and strength. Precisely for this reason the Chinese people in the past were ridiculed as being like "loose sand". The revolution concentrated the people's will and strength, and having liberated themselves and set up their own state, the people naturally concentrated all their will and strength on building up their state apparatus, making it a powerful weapon. The stronger the people's state apparatus, the more powerfully it can defend the people's interests, protect their democratic rights and ensure the building of socialism.

When Comrade Mao Zedong discussed the political system of our country in his work *On Coalition Government*, he stated clearly: "It is at once democratic and centralized, that is, centralized on the basis of democracy and democratic under centralized guidance." That is our principle.

Now a number of people mistakenly assume democracy and centralism to be two absolutely opposite things that cannot be combined. They think that where there is democracy there cannot be centralism, and where there is centralism there cannot be democracy. When they see the political unanimity of the people as is manifested in our organs of state and find a highly unified leadership throughout the country, they try to show that “there is no democracy” here. The trouble with them is that they simply do not understand what people’s democracy means and consequently have no idea what centralism on the basis of people’s democracy means.

The common interests of the people and their unity of will are the starting point of the work of the people’s congresses and all other organs of state. Therefore, it is possible in all these organs to arrive at political unanimity based on democracy. Political unanimity does not mean a lessening or elimination of criticism and self-criticism. On the contrary, criticism and self-criticism are most important expressions of our democratic life. In the work of all organs of state in our country there are bound to be shortcomings and mistakes. Therefore, full scope must be given to criticism and self-criticism at the sessions of the National People’s Congress, at the sessions of the local people’s congresses, at meetings of all organs of state and in their daily activities. We must use the weapons of criticism and self-criticism to advance the work of the organs of state, constantly correcting shortcomings and mistakes and fighting bureaucratism, which spells departure from the masses, so that the organs of state can maintain regular and close contact with the masses and correctly reflect their will. If there are not full criticism and self-criticism, political unanimity of the people can be neither achieved nor maintained. Suppression of criticism in the organs of state is against the law.

From a bourgeois viewpoint it is impossible to understand our country’s political system. Many foreign bourgeois papers have commented on the political system provided for in our Draft Constitution. Some people have shown surprise at the broad powers of our people’s congresses, saying, “One cannot but feel surprised, in particular, at the formidable functions and powers of the National People’s Congress.” Others argue among themselves as to whether the role of the Chairman of the People’s Republic of China is comparable to that of a French or an American president. These commentators invariably try to judge our system by the political systems of the bourgeois countries or make all sorts of statements based on their warped

imaginations. The pity is that they miss the greatest and fundamental point — they fail to see the tremendous change that has occurred in Chinese history, that is, the Chinese people, led by the working class, have become the masters of their own country.

Still other foreign bourgeois commentators attack our system of centralism and the collective spirit of our people, alleging that “there is no individual freedom” in China and that we “ignore personal interests”. I, therefore, wish to say a few words on the question of whether a high degree of centralism and collective spirit of the people impair the personal interests and freedom of the masses.

Many articles in the Draft Constitution provide for citizens’ freedoms and rights. The Draft Constitution stipulates that citizens enjoy freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of procession and of demonstration and that the state guarantees the citizens’ enjoyment of these freedoms by providing the necessary material facilities. The Draft Constitution declares: “Freedom of the person of citizens of the People’s Republic of China is inviolable. No citizen may be arrested except by decision of a people’s court or with the sanction of a people’s procuratorate.” “The homes of citizens . . . are inviolable, and privacy of correspondence is protected by law. Citizens . . . enjoy freedom of residence and freedom to change their residence.” The Draft Constitution also stipulates that citizens have the right to work and to education and that the working people have the right to rest and leisure and to material assistance in old age and in cases of illness or disability. Furthermore, it provides that the state shall gradually extend the material conditions, which are still inadequate, to guarantee the citizens’ enjoyment of these rights. The Draft Constitution also provides that citizens enjoy freedom of religious belief. Our state being in a position to concern itself with the freedoms and rights of every citizen is, of course, determined by our state and social systems. The people of no capitalist country enjoy, or can enjoy, as broad a measure of personal freedom as do our people.

Some foreign commentators find it strange that while we safeguard the people’s democratic freedoms and rights, we also suppress all counter-revolutionary activities and punish traitors and counter-revolutionaries. Of course, anyone who expects our Constitution to ensure freedom for the activities of traitors and counter-revolutionaries is bound to be disappointed. As for the foreign imperialists and their hangers-on, who would like to enslave us, our Constitution and laws will never give them the slightest loophole. Is it not precisely because

we have deprived the traitors and counter-revolutionaries of their freedom that the people have genuine freedom?

Other foreign commentators find it strange that while we safeguard freedom of religious belief for our citizens, we punish imperialist elements and traitors who engage in counter-revolutionary activities under the cloak of religion. Of course, anyone who expects us to protect the freedom of imperialist elements and traitors who carry out subversive activities against the Chinese people's democratic power is likewise bound to be disappointed. As provided in the Draft Constitution, our state will, as it has in the past, effectively safeguard freedom of religious belief for its citizens, but safeguarding freedom of religious belief is quite a different matter from safeguarding freedom of counter-revolutionary activities; these two just cannot be confused. Nor, similarly, will our Constitution and laws ever provide the slightest facility for people who engage in counter-revolutionary activities under the cloak of religion. There is nothing difficult to understand in this reasoning.

Under the capitalist system the state safeguards the interests and freedom of only the tiny exploiting-class minority and takes away those of the overwhelming majority of the people. Here in our country things are just the opposite. We permit no one to impair the interests and freedom of the majority, the public interests of the country and society, for the sake of the interests and freedom of any individual or individuals. For this reason, Article 14 of the Draft Constitution declares: "The state forbids any person to use his private property to the detriment of the public interests." In our country the so-called freedom to impair the public interests is, of course, restricted or prohibited, but our state does fully concern itself with and care for the interests of the individual. The public interests of our country and society cannot be separated from the interests of the individual. Socialism and collectivism cannot stand aloof from the individual's interests. Our state gives every protection to the public interests of the country and society. These public interests are the very foundation on which the individual interests of the people can be satisfied.

Ours is a state capable of inspiring the people to take an active part in the public activities of the country and society. It enables the masses to take a collective viewpoint and voluntarily fulfill their obligations to society and the country in their public activities. This is proof that our system of people's democracy corresponds to the interests of the people. Can the people possibly lose their personal

interests and individual freedom because they have a collective spirit and fulfill their obligations to society and the country? Of course not. Under the system of people's democracy and socialism the people can see for themselves that personal interests are inseparable from the public interests of the country and society and that they are identical. Under the system of people's democracy and socialism the people enjoy full democratic rights and have at the same time full obligations. Since it is the people who fully exercise state power, they fulfill their obligations as the masters of the state.

In our country the people's rights and duties are in complete harmony. No one has duties without enjoying rights, and no one enjoys rights without duties. The Draft Constitution provides that all citizens abide by the Constitution and the law, uphold discipline at work, keep public order and respect social ethics. It also provides that citizens have the duty to respect and protect public property, to pay taxes and perform military service according to law. The Draft Constitution also provides: "It is the sacred duty of every citizen of the People's Republic of China to defend the homeland." All the duties laid down in the Draft Constitution must be performed by every citizen without exception. These provisions will further heighten the people's solemn sense of duty towards their great motherland. Since ours is a country of the people, and the interests of the country and the people are completely identical, naturally the people consider their duty to the country something they must carry out. No one who shirks these duties can avoid public censure.

The people of our country want to devote their strength to defending their motherland, to constantly strengthening the system of people's democracy and to participating in the great cause of building socialism, because the freedoms and rights of the people will become more secure and broader as their motherland becomes more prosperous and powerful, their system of people's democracy stronger, and their socialist cause further developed.

#### 4. THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL REGIONAL AUTONOMY

The Preamble to the Draft Constitution and many of its articles define the relations of equality, friendship and mutual help among all nationalities within the country and guarantee the right of all minority nationalities to autonomy.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China the system that oppressed nationalities has been abolished. A new relationship has been established among the nationalities within the country — one of equality, friendship and mutual help. Political, economic and cultural undertakings have begun to develop in minority-nationality areas, and the life of the people there is steadily improving. Our country has already become a great family of free and equal nationalities. The Draft Constitution incorporates experience in this field and makes provisions going beyond those of the Common Programme on national regional autonomy and on the political, economic and cultural development of the minority nationalities.

Our country is a people's democratic state led by the working class, and it is therefore able to apply the spirit of complete democracy and national equality to solving the nationalities question and effecting genuine co-operation among the nationalities within the country. We firmly believe that only by enabling the minority nationalities to take an active part in the political activities of the entire country, granting them, in accordance with the principle of national regional autonomy, the right to be their own masters and to administer their internal affairs, can the barriers and discrimination among the nationalities, inherited from the past, be broken down and ties of mutual trust and unity be progressively strengthened.

The Draft Constitution clearly states that irrespective of nationality or race all citizens of our country enjoy equal rights. It also declares it illegal in our country to discriminate against or oppress any nationality. It affirms that all the nationalities have freedom to use and develop their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own customs or ways. The Draft Constitution thus legalizes the principles of people's democracy and socialism that our country has already applied to the nationalities question and specifies the concrete measures to be taken in accordance with them.

The Draft Constitution reflects the identity of interests among all nationalities in our country. For more than a hundred years these nationalities, both the Han and its fraternal nationalities, suffered oppression from foreign imperialism. The imperialists resorted to all sorts of intrigues to disrupt the ties formed over the long course of history among the nationalities of our country. They tried to carry out a "divide and rule" policy of aggression. The establishment of the People's Republic of China freed all the nationalities of China from imperialist oppression, but the imperialists are still vainly schem-

ing in every possible way to split the nationalities, so as once again to enslave them. In view of these imperialist plots of aggression, all nationalities in our country must heighten their vigilance and give the imperialists no opportunity to carry out their schemes. The nationalities must strengthen and consolidate the unification of the motherland and unite closely in a common effort to build a great motherland. The Draft Constitution declares the People's Republic of China to be a single multi-national state and all national autonomous areas to be inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China. Obviously, a provision of this kind is essential and fully corresponds to the common interests of all nationalities in our country.

Through its various provisions the Draft Constitution ensures all minority nationalities the genuine right to exercise autonomy in areas where they live together. The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas not only exercise the general functions and powers of ordinary local organs of state, but also administer their own local finances according to the Constitution and within the limits of the authority prescribed by law; they organize their local public security forces in accordance with the military system of the state and draw up regulations governing the exercise of autonomy and other special regulations to suit the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the nationality or nationalities in a given area. The form of each organ of self-government in each national autonomous area may be determined in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the people of the nationality or nationalities enjoying regional autonomy in that area. In performing their duties, organs of self-government shall employ the spoken and written language or languages commonly used by the nationality or nationalities in the given area. In an area the size of a township where minority nationalities live together, although it is impossible and unnecessary to establish an organ of self-government to exercise all the aforementioned autonomous rights, a nationality township should be set up to meet the special needs of the nationality or nationalities living there.

It must be pointed out that chauvinism and local nationalism are both wrong. Both ways of thinking are harmful to the unity of the nationalities of our country and to the practice of national regional autonomy. From the Preamble of the Draft Constitution it is clear that not only imperialism and public enemies among the nationalities but also chauvinism and local nationalism must be opposed if the unity of the nationalities is to be further strengthened.

The Han nationality makes up the overwhelming majority of the population of our country. For historical reasons the Han nationality is better developed in the political, economic and cultural fields than the others, but this by no means entitles it to any special privilege or to putting on airs towards its brother nationalities. On the contrary, it has a special obligation to help all of them in their development. Although all the minority nationalities have won their right to national equality, they cannot immediately overcome their original economic and cultural backwardness simply by their own strength and in their present circumstances. It is, therefore, very important for the Han nationality to help them. The Han people must give their sincere and devoted assistance in economic and cultural fields to their brother nationalities. In particular, the Han cadres sent to work in the minority-nationality areas must devote every thought to development of the local economy and culture and the raising of local people's living standards. They must wholeheartedly serve the minority nationalities, help consolidate their internal unity and patiently help increase the ability of the cadres of the nationalities in these areas, so that they themselves can assume leadership in all work in the areas. Influenced by the reactionary ruling class of the past, some people, even cadres, of the Han nationality still have vestiges of Han chauvinism in their thinking — showing no respect for the customs or ways of the minority nationalities and their spoken and written languages; refusing to acknowledge their freedom of religious belief and right to administer their internal affairs; even though working in their areas, showing no respect for cadres from among the minority nationalities, neglecting to consult them about work, disbelieving that, through practical work, they will be able to improve their ability to handle various matters; and so on. There is no doubt that these Han chauvinistic views and deeds will jeopardize the unity of the nationalities. This is impermissible under our state system. The people and cadres of the Han nationality must constantly try to overcome Han chauvinism. On the other hand, among the minority nationalities there is a kind of local nationalistic outlook. Like Han chauvinism, it is another relic of the past, harmful to unity among the nationalities and totally destructive of the interests of the nationality itself. Therefore it must also be overcome.

The building of a socialist society is the common objective of all nationalities within our country. Only socialism can guarantee to each and every nationality a high degree of economic and cultural

development. Our state has the duty to help all nationalities in China take this path to happiness.

Each nationality, however, has a different historical background. It certainly cannot be assumed that all the nationalities within the country can arrive at socialism at the same time and by the same means. The Preamble to the Draft Constitution says: "In the course of economic and cultural development the state will concern itself with the needs of the different nationalities and, in the matter of socialist transformation, pay full attention to the special characteristics in the development of each." This means that when and how the socialist transformation will be carried out will be determined in the light of the different stages of development of the nationalities concerned. In all these matters the people of the various nationalities and their leaders who are in close contact with them must be permitted to take the time to think matters over and make their decisions as they see fit.

Socialist transformation among certain minority nationalities will begin later and may take more time than in areas where Han people live. By the time socialist transformation is under way among these minority nationalities, the work of building socialism will probably have achieved great success in most parts of the country. By then conditions for socialist transformation among these nationalities will be more favourable, because the state will have greater material strength to help them. The people of the minority nationalities will also be willing to take this path once they have seen the benefits brought about by the successes of socialism in most parts of the country. Even if a small number of people worry lest socialist transformation jeopardize their personal interests, the state will adopt the necessary policy to assure their livelihood. Thus socialist transformation may take a longer, gentler, more gradual course in areas inhabited by minority nationalities. In areas where democratic reforms have not yet been completed, moderate measures can be taken, so that these areas advance gradually towards socialism. Everyone in our country and among the minority nationalities who supports the people's democratic system and rallies in the big family of the motherland has his own bright future and prospects in the socialist society. That is certain.

The above is an elaboration of the basic content of the Draft Constitution.

### Conclusion

Fellow Deputies!

It has been demonstrated during the nationwide discussions that our Draft Constitution represents the interests of all nationalities in China and is based on facts. When the people were discussing the Draft Constitution, they expressed opinions such as the following: "The Draft Constitution has recorded what all the Chinese people have done under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Zedong; it has also set down what has been started and what should and can be done in the future." "How we should move on to socialism is clearly shown in the articles of the Draft Constitution." "The Draft Constitution means greater political, economic and cultural development for the minority nationalities." The masses think that the Constitution we have drafted is "a guarantee for a happy life" and that "every article of it is in the interest of the people". That is the conclusion the people have drawn from the Draft Constitution, and it is obviously a correct one.

Our Draft Constitution, after its adoption by the National People's Congress, will become our country's fundamental state law. This Constitution expresses the experience and long-cherished hopes of the people. It will, therefore, certainly play a tremendous, dynamic role in the life of our state and inspire the people in their struggle to defend and increase the fruits of victories, crush all enemies who should try to wreck our social and state system, promote the sound and stable development of our construction work and accelerate the building of our country.

Every person and every organ of state, without exception, must observe the Constitution. Deputies to the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses and all state functionaries are servants of the people. All organs of state are at the service of the people. They have, therefore, a special responsibility to observe the Constitution and ensure its observance.

The Chinese Communist Party is the core of the leadership of our country. The position the Party occupies can never entitle Party members to enjoy any privileges in the life of the state, but only to undertake heavier responsibilities. Communist Party members must be exemplary in observing the Constitution and all other laws. All of them should maintain close ties with the masses and unite with all

democratic parties and people outside the Party to implement the Constitution.

The promulgation of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China will bring elation and inspiration not only to the people throughout the country, but also to our friends in all other countries of the world. People's China has many friends in the world. The great Soviet Union and the people's democracies are our close friends. The peace-loving people of all lands are our friends, too. The support they have given to our cause is one of the prime factors for our victory. That is why they rejoiced at our victory. The victory in the Chinese revolution is of worldwide historic significance. The victory in socialist construction and socialist transformation in China will also be of worldwide historic significance. Our Constitution has already laid down China's fundamental policy in international affairs, which is to work for the noble cause of world peace and the progress of humanity. All the achievements that have been or will be made by our country contribute to the common cause of all peoples of the world, the cause of peace and progress. To fight for lasting world peace is indispensable if China is to carry out socialist construction.

The promulgation of our country's Constitution is a result of the great victory that crowned the long, common struggle waged by all nationalities in China, but this is not to say that once the Constitution is introduced, all its articles will automatically go into effect. No. The Constitution is, on the one hand, the epitome of our past struggle and, on the other, a fundamental law on which to proceed with our present struggle. It specifies what is legal or legally obligatory and what is illegal and prohibited as regards the most important aspects of the life of our state. After the promulgation of the Constitution things that contravene the provisions of the Constitution will not disappear of themselves, but the Constitution provides us a powerful weapon and enables us to wage an effective struggle to wipe them out. The Constitution decrees that China be transformed into a socialist society. This of course does not mean that a socialist society will come ready-made or that we can wait for it with folded arms. A long road still stretches before us, one that is inevitably beset with difficulties and full of twists and turns. Surely it will not be all easy-going. The significance of the Constitution is great, and greater still is the task it entrusts to us. Only by arduous struggle, hard work and persistent and conscientious study to overcome the various kinds of difficulties in our path shall we be able to reach our goal.

Therefore, we must not, even in the smallest degree, be conceited and complacent over such achievements as we have already scored. Conceit and complacency do nothing but harm to any individual, class, political party or nation. While extolling the enactment and promulgation of our Constitution, people of all nationalities in our country must strengthen their unity, be modest and conscientious, guard against arrogance and impatience and, taking the path mapped out by the Constitution and led by the Chinese Communist Party, make further efforts to ensure the fullest implementation of the Constitution and the building of our country into a great socialist land.

## ENCOURAGE BIRTH CONTROL

*December 27, 1954*

Should our Party and our public health and propaganda departments encourage or oppose birth control? Some people oppose it, and some of them have written articles against it. Now we must reaffirm one point, which is that the Party favours birth control. Why does the Party favour it and not oppose it? Lenin explained the reasons for this. After victory in the revolution the economy of the Soviet Union had to be restored and developed; life was very hard, particularly the life of the proletariat. It was impossible to have more children. Since the economy was not developed, difficulties could not be surmounted in the absence of birth control. It was only later, when the Soviet Union succeeded in its socialist construction, that it began to praise “heroic mothers” and encourage more births. More births were encouraged especially after the end of the Second World War, since the population had been reduced and much uncultivated land was waiting to be utilized. Then it was advantageous to increase the population. Why did the Soviet Union first control births and later encourage births? Because the situation had changed. Should China praise “heroic mothers” and encourage more births? No. We should not, and I don’t think we should do it in future either; probably we can never do so. In the days when we were in northern Shaanxi we raised the slogan “Both people and livestock should prosper.” As far as I know, at that time the infant mortality rate in northern Shaanxi was very high, 50 per cent of the newborns dying. Because people demanded that this situation change, we raised

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Concluding speech delivered at a meeting of leading members of the Second (Culture and Education) Office of the State Council, the Ministry of Public Health, the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Commerce, the Propaganda Department under the Central Committee of the CPC and the All-China Democratic Women’s Federation to discuss the question of birth control.

the slogan "Both people and livestock should prosper." We certainly did not encourage more births. What we did was to try to reduce the infant mortality rate. Also, because some people did not endorse new methods of midwifery, we had to publicize such methods. Even in those days, however, the slogan was not spread among the cadres. That was when we were in the countryside. Now we are in the cities and things here are completely different. We have six hundred million people, and each year many more are born than die. Each year more than twenty million people are born across the country, an increase of more than ten million people after deaths are taken into account. It is not likely that China will suffer population scarcity because of family planning. Today there are six hundred million people. Is it possible that later there will be fewer and fewer? I don't think it is possible. The population all over the world is increasing, China's most rapidly, with an annual average increase of 2 per cent. If we do not introduce birth control, the increase will be even more rapid. Are there any difficulties because of the increase in population? There are many difficulties, and they cannot be remedied all at once. For instance, there are not enough grain, cloth and pharmaceuticals in Beijing. In this respect the state shoulders a huge burden, and many individuals also have difficulties. In short, more births create more difficulties. Parents, families and children all will suffer, and so will society and the state. Clothing, food, medicines, schools and so on are all insufficient, and they cannot be provided all at once. Therefore, we should encourage birth control and not oppose it. None of the reasons for opposing it can hold water. It is wrong to say that birth control is inhumane. Some say birth control will create a bad impression, but this is beside the point.

How do we publicize birth control? It is not necessary now to do so openly through the newspapers, but we can use word of mouth. First we should issue instructions within the Party<sup>65</sup> and publish them in the Party journal, so as to unify thinking within the Party and help cadres arrive at an identical understanding. The Ministry of Public Health can produce pamphlets on birth control techniques in the form of general knowledge of public health, and these need not be published in the newspapers either. The Medicinal Corporation's contraceptive pharmaceuticals and instruments will find a ready sale, so they need not be advertized. However, it is necessary to explain the reasons clearly to medical personnel working in public health departments and hospitals so as to clarify their thinking.

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The Ministry of Public Health should have specific regulations on such matters as abortion and sterilization. Tubal ligation is now performed only on those who have given birth to six children at least. The limit is too liberal. Especially for people with diseases, it is best to have no children. There are also difficult births; it is said that in Shanghai a woman who gave birth to three children by Caesarian section wanted a tubal ligation, but the doctor refused to do it. Actually, ligation should be given to such people before the third birth.

The supply of contraceptive pharmaceuticals and instruments should not be viewed as a commercial question; this is a necessity and a question of policy. Commercial and production departments should do their best to satisfy demand. State control is necessary. It is also necessary to place orders with private factories. There are difficulties in expanding production, but they can be overcome. This business will not lose money, but it should not earn too much. If we cannot produce enough, imports are allowed; imports can be made from the Soviet Union and the people's democracies; imports are also allowed from capitalist countries, and even buying from Hong Kong is not prohibited. Now people in the countryside are complaining; they do not know how to practise birth control, nor do they know if childbirth is avoidable. There is a lot of infanticide, especially among poor peasants. From this we can see that the peasants as well are demanding birth control. Comrades engaged in women's work should adopt appropriate measures and tell them how to control birth. Of course, we should not carry out a propaganda and mobilization movement for birth control in the countryside now.

Following today's discussion you can draft a report and, after submitting it to and obtaining the approval of the Central Committee, publish it in the Party journal. Comrade Lin Feng<sup>66</sup> should be responsible for the drafting of the report, and Comrades Xu Yunbei of the Ministry of Public Health,<sup>67</sup> Gong Yinbing of the Ministry of Light Industry,<sup>68</sup> Wang Lei of the Ministry of Commerce,<sup>69</sup> Fan Changjiang of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee,<sup>70</sup> and Kang Keqing of the Women's Federation<sup>71</sup> should participate. The day-to-day work should be the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Health.

LETTER TO COMMITTEE  
MEMBER ZHANG NANXIAN

*April 7, 1955*

Dear Committee Member Zhang Nanxian:<sup>72</sup>

Your letter (with an enclosure) of March 2 has been received. The suggestions you made are very important ones.

The Communist Party and the People's Government work for the people. They did good things for the people in the past and will continue to do so in the future. Calling on the people to have faith in the Communist Party and the People's Government is a good thing, but the people will not truly believe in a policy formulated by the Communist Party and the People's Government unless they see with their own eyes that it works for them. Therefore, in the course of implementing a policy we should explain to the people what it is we are doing, what we hope to accomplish, and so forth. Sometimes we may have to wait for their political awareness to reach a certain level before we do anything. In any case, we must not be impatient or encourage blind obedience.

It is a prime right of the people to recall by law their representatives or government personnel. This right should, therefore, be exercised when necessary. We need more propaganda work in this area, as was done in Jianli County, where articles were published in newspapers to educate cadres and, in fact, the people as a whole, enabling them to exercise this right.

In a large country as ours with so many government departments, the overwhelming majority of our cadres are fine, and a small number of them are unfit — this is a fact. Even fine cadres need regular supervision, however; without it some, indeed, will probably become unfit. For this reason the performance of all those who work in state organs should be supervised, not only by the masses, but also by

supervisory and procuratorial organs at all levels, which need to be strengthened so that they may carry out their duties more effectively.

I am very concerned about the condition of your eyes. Be sure to have a good rest and read less so that your vision will be restored to normal as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,  
Liu Shaoqi

## ON THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF CAPITALIST INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

*November 16, 1955*

Recently, when the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce<sup>73</sup> was in session, Comrade Mao Zedong talked twice to the capitalist participants about the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. We haven't discussed the question with the local comrades, and opinions on it differ in the Party. As things stand now, we are going to carry out the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in an all-round way and accomplish it in two or three years in accordance with an overall plan, as we are going to do in the co-operative transformation of agriculture, and basically turn capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises into joint state-private enterprises. Confronted with this task, it would be bad if our Party failed to achieve unified thinking and understanding at this crucial moment; Party leadership would be thrown into a passive position. For this very reason the Central Committee decided to convene the present conference.

At present, capitalists are on tenterhooks, so are the petty bourgeoisie and peasants. Our task is a tremendous one, because we are to change the two forms of ownership — from individual ownership by small producers to collective ownership and from capitalist ownership to state ownership, or ownership by all the people. Accordingly, many people will be involved — peasants, handicraftsmen, traders and pedlars, and capitalists. As we are to change their ownership and

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Speech delivered at a conference on the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce held by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and attended by representatives from Party committees of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.

their way of life and habits, they feel restless, not knowing what to do and wondering what tomorrow will bring. In Comrade Mao Zedong's words, the capitalists' hearts are like a well in which seven buckets are being drawn up and eight dropped down — in a word, unsettled.<sup>74</sup> At this crucial moment our failure to explain the relevant principles and policies of the Party, mistakes in our policies, and agitation by counter-revolutionaries may cause considerable trouble. We should, therefore, step up work in this regard. Now only the working class has not been involved, for it is a class of proletarians, possessing neither land nor capital. There are tens of millions of people like this in China. In building socialism we must rely on them and seek their advice. So, without dictatorship or firm leadership of the proletariat, it will be impossible for us to change the two forms of ownership and establish socialism.

Establishing socialism means replacing capitalist and private ownerships with ownership by all the people and ownership by the collective. As long as we adhere firmly to this principle, we are acting in basic accordance with Marxism-Leninism and will avoid making grave mistakes. The methods, forms and length of time for changing these two forms of ownership, abolishing capitalist ownership in particular, can be decided upon in light of the objective conditions of different countries.

Our Party will carry out peaceful transformation, that is, abolish capitalist ownership by a method of redemption. This method is different from the one by which we eliminated feudal ownership. With regard to the landlord class, we overthrew it and confiscated its property. Yet, with regard to the bourgeoisie, we shall resort to the method of redemption. Generally, capitalist ownership can be abolished in the following three ways: First, confiscation, which was adopted by the Soviet Union and East European countries. Second, making it bankrupt, by which capitalists are denied assignments, raw materials and opportunities to conduct business as a result of monopoly by state-run shops and factories. Although this is not called confiscation, it is a dead end for the capitalists. Third, redemption. The ultimate objective of all the three methods is to bring about ownership by all the people. Now let us discuss which method we should apply. Is it good for us to adopt the method of confiscation? We might have done it in 1949, if we had wanted to, and we could now. The question is whether this method is good. When we say that there is a difference, instead of unanimity, of opinion within the Party, we are re-

ferring to this question. I am afraid many cadres still take a wait-and-see attitude, believing that the capitalists' capital will be confiscated sooner or later. Many comrades still favour confiscation. There are also many comrades who advocate the bankruptcy method, maintaining that since the capitalists are to be made bankrupt, why bother to give them opportunities to conduct business; why not do it at one stroke? But we are applying the redemption method. We make no secret about it, explaining it to the capitalists. By this method we shall not buy out capitalists' factories with cash or bonds. Instead we shall allow the capitalists profits for a period of several years or more than ten years according to the policies of "giving each of the four horses a share of the fodder"<sup>75</sup> and of paying a fixed rate of interest<sup>76</sup> for their assets. Eventually, when the period expires, their factories will be completely under ownership by all the people. Which of the three methods is best? I hope you comrades will discuss this question so as to arrive at a unanimous understanding. Otherwise, with class struggle so intense and over five hundred million people ill at ease, it would be very dangerous for our Party membership to have divergent thinking and understanding, with one group of people favouring one method and another group another method. Therefore, this is a question of vital importance.

Confiscation is not good. In 1949, when there was no socialist economy in China, if we had confiscated the capitalists' assets, we would have made a mess of everything, which would be harmful both economically and politically. The capitalists were willing to co-operate with the Communist Party and accept its leadership in running their factories. Consequently, we did not have any reason to confiscate their factories and run them ourselves. Moreover, since at that time the agrarian reform had not yet been completed, most of our cadres were in rural areas, and we could not send any more cadres to the cities. Didn't some of our comrades suggest that we squeeze out the capitalists in 1950? Comrade Mao Zedong, however, said that we must not hit out in all directions and that it was both quite undesirable and dangerous to attack the capitalists in the cities when we had yet to overthrow the landlords in the countryside.<sup>77</sup> Therefore, we were absolutely right to make some concessions in readjusting industry and commerce at that time. Both politically and economically it was right not to confiscate in 1949. Well, should we apply that method now? We are even less justified in doing so today. Now that the capitalists have accepted leadership of the Communist Party,

established the Federation of Industry and Commerce, joined the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference,<sup>78</sup> supported the Constitution and endeavoured to fulfill the orders placed by the government for processed materials and manufactured goods (though some of them have been guilty of the "five evils"<sup>79</sup>), we shall lose our credit, suffer politically and fail to hold our ground if we suddenly adopt the method of confiscation. At the same time, this method will impair the struggle against imperialism, the domestic class struggle or even the economy. The bankruptcy method is just as bad. The capitalists would suffer heavy losses when their "pots and pans are smashed". Comrade Mao Zedong has said that if we make the capitalists bankrupt and turn them into beggars, we shall have to provide relief to them and remould them through labour. It is unavoidable that both capitalists and landlords have to remould themselves and become labourers. Marx said that the proletariat could not emancipate themselves until they emancipate the whole of mankind. This would be the bitter fate of the proletariat if the Communist Party were fatalist. In short, no matter which method we adopt — confiscation, bankruptcy or redemption — our ultimate goal is to accept the capitalists and help them remould themselves into labourers. Therefore, redemption, the united-front method, is the best method. Just as Marx put it when addressing the British working class, under given circumstances the working class would get off cheapest if it bought out the bourgeoisie.<sup>80</sup>

Is it possible to transform capitalist industry and commerce peacefully? This depends on actual conditions. Marx said that under given conditions such transformation was possible. Now we have such conditions, and to a full extent. Internationally, there is the Soviet Union, and contact between China's national bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie in other countries has been severed. It is hard to say that they maintain no connections at all, but it is certain that their economic and political relations have been severed by and large. Our domestic conditions are as follows: Politically, we have the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party, the mighty people's democratic dictatorship and the consolidated alliance of the workers and peasants. In addition, our agriculture and handicrafts have gone co-operative. As a result, the national bourgeoisie has been encircled and is compelled to take the socialist road. Economically, the socialist sector is enormously superior to the capitalist sector. If the capitalists reject socialist transformation, they will come to grief

and go bankrupt. If they accept, they will be subject to unified planning and thus able to make a living. Therefore, both international and domestic conditions have created a situation in which the capitalists have to accept socialist transformation. In the meantime, we are applying the redemption method, by which we allow the capitalists profits, jobs and the right to vote and give them social positions. Under such circumstances, plus the education we are conducting among them, it is possible that the capitalists will accept peaceful socialist transformation.

At present, you comrades have the task of educating the capitalists, explaining to them the principles and policies of the Party and assuring them that they will have a bright future if they take the socialist road. You should gain a clear understanding and do a careful study of what they are thinking about, their problems and worries. Ministers of relevant ministries, directors of bureaus, governors of provinces, mayors and secretaries of Party committees across the country should convene more conferences at which to make reports and explain socialism to capitalists of all persuasions.

You should train a number of backbone progressives among the bourgeoisie. Each city should have scores or hundreds of such bourgeois, who are not only unafraid of “sharing their property with others” but also determined to do so and willing to conduct propaganda among other bourgeois to exert some influence on them. This is an important question raised by Comrade Mao Zedong.<sup>81</sup> In other words, in order to abolish capitalist ownership, we cannot resort solely to compulsion, but must also resort to education and the united front. We must bring about changes within the bourgeoisie by training a number of capitalists who vigorously support socialism. If this is done, things will be easier to handle. Well, isn't it enough for us to have many Communists and activists in the working class? Why do we need progressive capitalists? You comrades should be aware that they can play a role that Communists and activists in the working class cannot. Just now Comrade Chen Yun<sup>82</sup> said the reports made by the two Chens,<sup>83</sup> both vice-premiers, were not as good as what the capitalists' wives said. Therefore, the activists among the capitalists and their wives and children who support socialism and help propagate it are valuable to us. They could help us a lot in today's class struggle. This is an important matter. You should realize its importance; otherwise you will not handle the matter enthusiastically. You will have to deal with it, for you are so required by the directives

of the Central Committee. But if you do it listlessly, you will not be doing it conscientiously.

Is it possible to transform capitalists and their agents into labourers, workers or functionaries in economic departments of the state? I understand that some of the comrades within our Party are sceptical about the possibility and even think this runs counter to Marxism-Leninism. When capitalists become labourers, they will work in the fields, in factories, in government departments or teach in schools. Many capitalists used to manage factories and so did their agents. Of course, some capitalists are good at nothing, but many others are very capable, astute and skilled, and they are even superior to our own comrades in management. If we can persuade them to run factories in a socialist way instead of in a capitalist manner, they will do a good job. So, what's bad about that? It is likely that after going through remoulding some of the capitalists will manage factories better than our own comrades. Of course, if we have some bourgeois in our government departments, the struggle to eliminate remaining capitalism will be more complex and take much longer time.

It will take a fairly long time to persuade the bourgeois to accept socialist remoulding. We should not confiscate their property at one stroke or suddenly make them bankrupt, but spend a number of years gradually making them change their habits and way of life, so that in the end, when they no longer receive interest payments, they will have no difficulty making a living and becoming used to it. As Comrade Mao Zedong put it, "A melon falls off its stem when it is ripe," and "A channel is formed when water flows."<sup>84</sup> Will the united front be necessary in the future? After the classes have been eliminated, a united front will still be necessary, because it will be of benefit both domestically and internationally if all of us, including many former capitalists and other parties, are united.

We should draw up an overall plan for the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and accomplish it step by step rather than in a sweeping manner. All sectors must make concerted efforts towards this end, and Party committees must provide more effective leadership in this regard. We are now at a crucial moment. Whether or not we win the struggle against the bourgeoisie depends on whether or not we can introduce joint state-private ownership in all trades. Of course, we have waged struggles before against the bourgeoisie, mainly in the movements against the "three evils"<sup>60</sup> and the "five evils".<sup>61</sup> After that we slackened our efforts in this area.

In the future we shall wage more struggles; the one to introduce joint state-private ownership will determine success or failure and cause qualitative and decisive changes. It is a question of which will finally win — socialism or capitalism — in our struggle against the bourgeoisie. This question has yet to be solved. Then, on what does solution of this question hinge? On co-operative transformation in agriculture and handicrafts and joint state-private ownership in capitalist industry and commerce. When all this is done, the question will be solved. Therefore, we should pay close attention to the introduction of cooperative transformation of agriculture and handicrafts and socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. On no account should we be careless or casual on this question. You comrades should exert yourselves, be cautious, avoid departmentalism and individualism and unite as one so as to achieve success. In this way, socialism will win decisive victory over capitalism.

## ON HOW TO BE A GOOD WRITER AND OTHER QUESTIONS

*March 5, 1956*

### AMATEUR WRITERS

Most young people should write in their spare time. They should be allowed to practise writing on the job and should not be transferred to professional writing too soon; otherwise, their jobs would be affected. Also we cannot be sure that they can work as professional writers. We must consider whether it will benefit literary creation to make writing their career.

If, after investigation, the Writers' Association decides certain people are really capable of writing and can write with assurance, you should assist them, providing them with opportunities to write and making sure they have time for literary creation. If they cannot quit their jobs for a long time, they may take short vacations to do their writing.

If we find that some comrades engaged in practical work really have the talent for writing (because literary and artistic work differ from other work and demand special talent), they can be made professional writers. We have a good many secretaries of prefectural and county Party committees and directors of departments and bureaus across the country. If any of them has a gift for writing, he should be transferred to professional writing. We shall benefit more from a writer than from a director. Whenever you learn that a certain prefectural Party committee secretary or a certain county magistrate is truly experienced in and has a talent for writing, you can transfer

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A talk with Zhou Yang and Liu Baiyu, leading members of the Chinese Writers' Association, during the second enlarged council meeting of the association.

him to professional writing and help him improve himself in literary and artistic work.

### HOW TO BE A GOOD WRITER

To be a good professional writer, one should be well read. One should know natural sciences, such as physics (including atom bombs, for we are now in the era of atomic energy), chemistry, algebra, geometry and infinitesimal calculus. One should also know history and world literature, understand at least one foreign language and be able to read the original. One must know foreign languages to be an outstanding writer. Lu Xun, for example, had a rich store of learning. Our fine writers should become as outstanding as he was. Having been trained in the course of revolution, many of our writers have rich experience in struggle and maintain close ties with the masses, but they do not have much learning. As “indigenous writers”, they know something about the common people, but little about the world. They should not rest content with being such writers. Both our young and professional writers should be rich in knowledge, for one’s educational level determines one’s ability to write. Those who have a gift for writing should be made professional writers and enabled to learn history and literature, so that favourable conditions will be created for them to become outstanding writers.

### MINIMIZING WRITERS’ ADMINISTRATIVE WORK

Administrative work for writers is so important that without it the contingent of writers cannot be organized. Some non-writers should be transferred to this kind of work, replacing writers holding administrative posts.

How many people are there in the Writers’ Association? (Zhou Yang replies, “Fewer than a thousand in the association and its branches.”) There are not so many, and a large number of them are young, so it will be hard to find among them people who can be spared for administrative work. Therefore, some people doing Party and govern-

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ment work should be transferred for that purpose to lighten the burden on writers.

### EDITING OF LITERARY WORKS

Only writers can edit literary works. This kind of work should be taken seriously and editors given more material and other benefits. Editing is creative work at a higher level. Since an editor has to read and appraise works by writers, his work is creative even if he himself does not write. (Zhou Yang says: "Editors should also go among the people.") I agree.

### WRITERS' OBSERVATION OF LIFE

To observe life, writers should do some practical work, even if for only a very short period of time. Anyone who has not led or run a rural co-operative has no experience at all to speak of and will find it difficult to portray co-operative transformation of agriculture, nor can he write about the contradictions and conflicts involved.

### CRITICISM OF LITERARY WORKS BY THE PARTY, GOVERNMENT AND LEADING COMRADES AND THE ATTITUDE WRITERS SHOULD TAKE

In some cases, political interference in literary work by the Party and government is necessary and therefore justified, but in others it is done in a crude manner or is unjustifiable. What if a writer's work is rejected? What if his play is not allowed to be staged or published? What if he is told to revise his work? Writers hold great store by the views of the Party and government, but as they lack an adequate understanding of life, they feel at a loss what to do. From now on, when such interference is officially representative of the views

of an organization, there should be an official decision and an official document, whether it is issued on behalf of a Party committee or the government. If a writer does not agree with the views of that organization, he can send both the official decision and his own views to the Central Committee, the Ministry of Culture, the Propaganda Department or the Writers' Association. If an organization has made an official decision, the writer must obey it until it is rescinded or altered, because he is first of all under the leadership of the local Party committee and cannot behave anarchically. If the organization proves to be wrong, we can issue a circular on what it has done or publish it in the press. In short, no matter who, a director of a cultural bureau or a secretary of a Party committee, exercises such interference, he should produce an official document rather than make oral statements. Oral comments are of no effect.

We should cherish new works, although they are somewhat formalistic and rather immature, therefore not fully to the taste or up to the standard of the masses, who as a result complain about them. All the same, we should cherish these works because they are new.

Writers must allow others to criticize and comment. Free debate means that everyone can have his say. Comments made by leading officials should be regarded the same as those made by readers or audiences and thus respected. However, writers do not have to make revisions based on the comments to which they do not agree. But it is not advisable for them to prevent leading comrades from expressing their opinions of a given work. Why should they not have freedom of speech just because they are leading officials? This cannot do. They can express their views, and writers on their part are free to decide whether or not to accept those views and revise their work accordingly. If a writing is politically wrong, a decision should be made and an official document issued. Of course, this is quite a different matter. Any views not expressed in an official document can be rejected as coming from individuals. The other day I met Comrade Cao Yu<sup>85</sup> and said that *Thunderstorm* was performed better when we were in Yan'an than it is now. Maybe I was wrong, but should that deprive me of the freedom of speech in the days to come? Since there are two different opinions, they can both be expressed. (Chen Yi<sup>86</sup> said: "Writers should have their independent views and styles.") I quite agree.

### WRITERS' ENTHUSIASM FOR SOCIALISM

Nowadays, workers and peasants are very enthusiastic about socialism. However, some writers — intellectual engineers of mankind — are not. Though they are few in number, attention should be paid to this problem. If a writer is not enthusiastic about socialism, he must be enthusiastic about something else.

## SOME IDEAS ABOUT WORK IN LITERATURE AND ART

*March 8, 1956*

### I

The question of whether or not we should change private professional troupes into state-operated ones requires study. Before any decisions in this regard are made, no change should be effected with these troupes. We can first turn them into “joint troupes”, similar to co-operatives and led by Party members, Youth League members and activists. Attention should be paid to improving the troupes’ internal relations and to remoulding them through their internal forces. First, the work of troupe members should be encouraged with material benefits, so that they will care about their work in view of their material life. They should not neglect the fruit of their work, ignoring whether the audience likes it or not, just because their troupes are to be run by the state. It is an objective socialist law that workers be concerned about the fruit of their work. State-operated troupes should do the same. Second, actors and actresses should be treated differently. Good actors and actresses should be granted higher pay, while the ones who are not so qualified should get lower pay. The contract system should be applied with them. Actors and actresses have the right to sign or refuse to sign a contract. Giving performances in people’s homes is a practice of private troupes in the old days.<sup>87</sup> If we allow it today, we would be looking down on our artists.

If the several thousand private troupes are all changed into state-operated ones, troupe members will lose their enthusiasm. This is

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Remarks made after hearing a report by the leading Party members’ group of the Ministry of Culture.

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not the way to help them go forward, but to pull them backward. It is a "Left" practice to change troupes into state-operated ones when they should become co-operatives. If a change does not insure obvious superiority, we should refrain from introducing it or at least not hasten to do it. We shall allow private professional troupes to exist for a certain period of time. For instance, within the period of two or three five-year-plans we can encourage them to compete with state-operated troupes and see which attracts the greater audience and is more popular among the people.

Individual labourers should be properly organized. Some individual labourers, such as those in repair trades, will exist for a long time. We should help manufacturers of musical instruments to form co-operatives. Where possible, the production of stationery should be undertaken by co-operatives; otherwise, it can be done by individual labourers. The question involved here is to find a form of organization that best suits their characteristics. As to itinerant artists, we can ask them to register and grant them licences. Storytelling is also individual work. We should allow storytellers to move from place to place, but should get them organized properly according to their activities to facilitate their mental labour. As for how to organize them properly, we can consult with them. Their organization should not always ask them to attend meetings. Nationwide meetings should be held once or twice a year at fixed intervals. Their meeting should take a national form and they can spend a day entertaining themselves. When members of the organization have difficulties, we should refer them to the departments concerned for help. We should also help them arrange for political study and enable them to listen to reports wherever they go. More political and ideological work should be done among them. Literature and art organizations should give them all the help they can. Since it is not appropriate for them to get together, we should not force them to join collective activities, but should adopt a more flexible approach.

We should attach importance to the sale of goods on commission. For instance, bookstalls can operate in this way (including leasing). A number of salesmen can be appointed, and they will get commissions according to the quantity of goods sold. This is in fact a way of paying them salaries. People purchasing commodities and retailing them have their own capital, which should not be eaten up. They can benefit from the differences between wholesale and retail prices, which can serve as salary. In rural areas goods can be sold

by pedlars, who can go their rounds once a month or just visit regular customers or fixed places.

## II

Our policy is to “let a hundred flowers blossom and weed through the old to bring forth the new.” However, we cannot “bring forth the new” grudgingly, because the reform of literature and art calls for diligent efforts, just as a woman cannot give birth to a child if she is not pregnant. The policy of “letting a hundred flowers blossom” means allowing all literary and art forms to coexist. For example, both modern and traditional forms should be encouraged.

In the play *The Fisherman Kills the Despotical Landlord*, the actor and actress wear patched clothes. This is not good, because people like to see good-looking people and pretty clothes. Therefore, there is no need to be too realistic in this regard. No big changes should be made in transforming plays. If a play contains something harmful, it should be transformed; otherwise, it should be kept intact. Some old plays are highly instructive and should not be changed indiscriminately. New literary and art workers who go to traditional opera troupes to transform old plays should not be impetuous. They should wait until conditions are ripe; as the sayings go, “when a melon is ripe it falls off its stem” and “where water flows, a channel is formed.” None of the plays should be transformed prematurely or so much as to make them become unrecognizable. Beijing opera has a very high artistic level. It should not be slighted or altered indiscriminately, nor should it be extinguished. It is wrong to pursue a policy of slighting, neglecting and suppressing it in place of a policy of supporting, assisting and developing it. If the audience cannot follow a Beijing opera, caption slides may be projected, but the language spoken in the days it portrays should not be changed. Of course, when a melon is ripe, it falls off its stem without being picked. The same is true of the transformation of plays and of all other matters.

If you want to pick an unripe melon, you are subjectivist. At present, subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing all exist. I suggest that you study Comrade Mao Zedong’s *Talks at the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art*. Rectification will be carried out in the literary and art circles.

Reflecting modern life should not be forced. It is also difficult for foreign operas to do so, though there are a few that do. We should encourage local operas to display their specific advantages fully and play their own role. We should not neglect troupes that cannot put on modern plays. Audience tastes vary. Some people like to see a full-length play; others like to see only a part, while the majority of people like to see a play that has an interesting plot. Peasants enjoy seeing a long play presented over a number of days. Scenes selected from a local opera can help people relax, and they will appreciate it heartily. Successful recreational activities and entertainment can help bring out people's initiative for socialism. *Swan Lake* can arouse the interest of the audience. *Notre Dame de Paris* has a high artistic level and is instructive as well.

We should retain and advance the good things of our own country and absorb the good things of other countries. We should introduce films from all other countries, including the United States, films that are progressive and harmless. We can import harmless films that give us information, but we should not import harmful ones.

New operas are fine. For instance, *The White-Haired Girl* is very popular with audiences; even foreigners are moved by the story. Does China have a history of operas? Yes. The operas *The Grape Fairy* and *The Sparrows and Child* are good. Previously, for modern schools we learned from Japan. At that time some songs selected from the Singing Movement were very popular; Li Jinhui<sup>88</sup> first introduced them into operas. We should not look down upon creations of the Li school. It presented this artistic form on stage with great courage. Later there was *Melody of the Countryside*. *The White-Haired Girl* marked development and progress and was well received by people in other countries. In future we should produce more operas like *The White-Haired Girl* and also stage Western operas.

### III

We should attach importance to the question of literary and art criticism. First, we should encourage and promote criticism; second, the criticism should be as correct and proper as possible; and third, when making criticism, we must adopt different attitudes towards different people and our criticism should be helpful to them. It is

impossible to prevent leading comrades from making comments after they have seen a play. But what if their comments bring pressure to bear on the persons concerned? Well, if they just make some casual remarks, the people concerned need not accept these remarks as criticism, but if they make formal comments, the people concerned should make things clear to them. Of course, the decision of an organization should be accepted, and we have no alternative but to adhere to the decision of the organization. Otherwise, people will be at a loss as to what to do. Some remarks are correct; others are not necessarily so. Non-professionals should adopt an open-for-discussion attitude when they make comments and should refrain from setting themselves above the writers. Our writers and artists should respect the comments and suggestions of the masses, but that does not mean that they must accept every one of them. Otherwise, if changes are made continually at the suggestion of one person after another, their works will lack form and individuality.

#### IV

It is good that a large number of works written by amateurs have been published. There will be more in future. Because amateur writers are familiar with real life, they can produce many fine works that reflect reality. They are very promising. The Writers' Association should cherish them, train them and adopt an attitude of welcome, help and support. Our policy should be to allow them to take some time to write while engaged in their regular work, or they can leave their jobs for a while to devote themselves to writing. This is how we should deal with accomplished amateur writers. Our professional writers should also take part in other work depending on each one's specific conditions. A secretary of a provincial Party committee is not likely to produce dynamic works. Professional writers should observe how a provincial Party committee exercises leadership, by attending Party meetings systematically from the upper to the lower levels when possible. They should plunge themselves into the thick of life. Writers who were formerly secretaries of provincial or prefectural Party committees or cadres of the army should be encouraged to write more and should be given certain honours. Anyone likely to become a qualified writer should be allowed to write, provided he

takes another position and does other jobs. He should never separate himself from life. Leading departments should pay attention to the ideological problems of the writers and at the same time enable them to display their own character and style.

## CONGRATULATORY SPEECH AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ADVANCED PRODUCERS

*April 30, 1956*

Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, I should like to extend my warm congratulations to the National Conference of Advanced Producers and to the advanced producers and workers of the country both present and absent.

Since the second half of last year there has been a great upsurge in the co-operative transformation of agriculture in China's rural areas. Following in its wake, the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and the handicrafts industry across the country has also reached a high tide. All this means that China has been undergoing a most extensive and profound socialist revolution. This revolution has scored a decisive victory, which has greatly encouraged the initiative of the Chinese people for socialist construction and promoted the rapid development of the entire national economy and culture. As you know, peasants all over the country are exerting unprecedented effort towards the gradual realization of the great twelve-year plan for agricultural development (1956-67).<sup>89</sup> Among them a large number of model workers have emerged who, united with all the other peasants, have become the mainstay of the agricultural front. Meanwhile, there has been a great upsurge of socialist construction on the industrial and other economic fronts and on the cultural front and in various departments, and large numbers of advanced producers and workers have come to the fore from among the workers, who have initiated the movement of advanced producers

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and are leading all the other workers and the intellectuals in the struggle for fulfilment of the great plans for socialist construction with greater, faster, better and more economical results. You are the representatives of these outstanding members of the working class.

The common objective of the Chinese people is to turn China into a great socialist country with powerful industry and agriculture and a high level of education. As our country is still backward in economy, science, education and technology, we have to wage a long, arduous struggle by mobilizing all the positive factors that can be mobilized before we can gradually eliminate our backwardness and accomplish our great historic task. Today, the advanced producers on all production fronts and the advanced workers in various departments constitute the most positive factor in China's socialist construction. We should attach the greatest importance to this factor.

The people are the makers of history. In the final analysis, the history of human society is the history of production, the history of producers. Production is always in a state of development, with new technology constantly replacing old. Accordingly, at all times and in all production departments there are always a few relatively advanced producers who use comparatively advanced skills to attain larger quotas. As time goes on, more and more producers will come to master advanced skills and reach their quotas. In this way, the production level formerly maintained by only a few advanced producers will be attained by all other producers, thus raising the production level of society as a whole. Any major technological innovation will lead to a major transformation of the technology of production and a tremendous upsurge in production as well. Therefore, advanced producers are pioneers in the development of the economic activities of mankind and in the development of the history of human society.

In former times, however, advanced producers were not always cherished by society; they were usually looked down on by the exploiting classes. Only when an invention of the advanced producers was beneficial to the exploiters did they utilize it, but they treated the invention as being under their own patent and prevented others from studying and making use of it. When an invention was disadvantageous to the exploiters or, out of ignorance, they could not appreciate its value, the invention was often suppressed and the inventor attacked. Thus in the old society application and development of the experience and inventions of advanced producers were always subjected to all kinds of restrictions. The opposite is true of the socialist

society, where it is the labourers, not the exploiters, who are the masters. In the socialist society people are not forbidden to study and use the experience of advanced producers; the advanced producers are urged to bring their talents into full play and other producers are encouraged to conscientiously study and use their experience, because the interests of socialist society and those of the advanced producers are identical. In a socialist society the contradiction between the advanced and the backward still exists, but it is not antagonistic. The basic method used in the socialist society to resolve this contradiction is to help raise the level of the backward producers to that of the advanced ones through the conscious efforts of the labouring masses, education and criticism. Led by advanced producers, tens of millions of labourers are working hard to eliminate backwardness — this constitutes a motive force for the steady progress of socialist society. Precisely because of this, advanced producers have been able to bring about such a powerful mass movement in our era and have attained such an honoured position in our society. As we all know, Comrade Mao Zedong once said that model workers had three roles to play: a leading role and the roles of backbone and bridge. That is to say, under the system of a people's democracy, advanced producers are not only the pioneers but also the nucleus of the masses and an important link between the state and the people. They form an indispensable part of the leading force of the society and state; without them, there would be no completely correct leadership.

Comrades! You have gathered here for a national conference of advanced producers, and the Party and government attach enormous importance to the conference. This fact shows that we resolutely support your inventions on all production fronts and support the national movement of advanced producers; that we stand firmly beside you and ask the entire working class to work as you do; and that we resolve to surmount all obstacles in order to swiftly make the advanced level of production you have attained the level of the entire society and to continue the effort to attain a still higher level of production.

It requires the joint efforts of advanced and other producers and production leaders to develop the movement of advanced producers and enable it to reach this goal.

Every advanced producer should firmly maintain his own advanced production skills and quotas and try to spread his advanced skills so as to help others reach higher production quotas. Advanced

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producers should not only continue to be advanced but also make great efforts to help the backward become advanced. For this purpose, they should try to help others by all possible means and constantly strive for still greater progress. To remain advanced for only a short period of time will not bring everlasting honour to anyone, and conceit can only make one lag behind others. Continuous progress comes only from constant study and endeavour.

Every producer should learn from advanced producers and catch up with them by quickly raising his level of production to the advanced level. This is something he can and must do. We should like to ask: Why should producers under similar conditions fail to accomplish what advanced producers have accomplished? Why can't units with similar conditions do what advanced units have done? Obviously, the only reason some people refuse to keep up with the advanced producers lies in their inertia and fecklessness. In essence, this inertia means to keep production and the country backward. Therefore, we should criticize those who are unwilling to emulate the advanced or use all kinds of excuses to defend their backwardness, and make sure they change their attitude without fail. Only in this way can we raise at an early date the entire society's level of production to the level of its advanced producers, so as to promote production in as short a time as possible.

Every production leader should firmly support the movement of advanced producers and treasure all advanced experience and inventions of practical value. That is to say, first, he should meticulously appraise, study and summarize the experience of advanced producers so as to determine whether or not it can or should be popularized and work out effective methods for spreading it. Second, in order to utilize this experience on a broad scale instead of paying lip service to it, he should adopt all necessary technological and organizational measures — for example, organizing demonstrations of and teaching and training classes for advanced methods of operation, improving the existing equipment, labour structure and rules of operation, and investigating the economic, technological and ideological problems that made some people unwilling to learn from advanced experience in order to solve them. The more of this kind of practical work one does and the better one does it, the more one will achieve in promoting the movement of advanced producers. To be sure, this calls for painstaking and meticulous effort, but whoever shirks it cannot become a leader in the socialist cause.

It is a pity that in our socialist cause one does find such leaders. They have what we call a bureaucratic tendency. If we are to develop the movement of advanced producers, we must combat this tendency.

The bureaucratic tendency hindering the movement of advanced producers manifests itself in several ways. Some who have the tendency are, in fact, displeased with or opposed to the movement. They are content to remain backward, regarding backward technology and quotas as advanced or inalterable, at least for the time being. Many of our advanced producers have castigated these people and educated them by confronting their wrong views with facts. We must continue to oppose this tendency. The tendency is manifested in another form among people who verbally do not oppose the movement of advanced producers or do not wish to oppose it and in fact warmly support it, but are content with idle talk and general appeals, awarding banners to the advanced producers, having reports written about them and making them representatives of all types. However, they rarely try conscientiously to create conditions that will allow the advanced producers to make further progress. They seldom analyse or spread the advanced producers' experience in real earnest, making no effort to extend the emulation movement from a few advanced individuals to entire workshops, from advanced workshops to entire factories, or from advanced factories to entire trades. Instead, they try to keep the advanced producers busy with social contacts, isolate them from the masses, prevent them from making further progress and subject them to the danger of becoming backward themselves. We must correct this bureaucratic method of leadership.

The bureaucratic tendency manifests itself in yet another prevalent form: a lack of concern for the immediate interests of the workers and staff members. In a socialist society the interests of the state, the collective and the individual labourer are identical, with no irreconcilable contradictions among these interests. Workers in state, joint state-private and co-operative enterprises, functionaries in state organs and in cultural, educational and public health establishments, and peasants in co-operatives all work for the interests of the state and collective, and at the same time they work directly for their own individual interests. The state's interests are the common interests of the labourers as well as their fundamental interests. It is certainly wrong to pit the interests of the individual against those of the state and collective and pursue the improvement of living standards in isolation from the development of production. Conversely, it is also

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wrong to pay attention only to increasing production and to furthering the interests of the state and collective to the neglect of the individual interests of the labourers. It is entirely correct and necessary to demand that the income of individuals be increased and that their living standards be improved on the basis of increased production. This is the only way to constantly arouse the initiative of the labourers and lay a solid foundation for the movement of advanced producers. The trouble is that at present the leaders of some enterprises and institutions place a lopsided emphasis on the raising of labour productivity and an increase in production, paying no attention to increasing the income of labourers when possible and necessary, to improving their living standards or to sufficiently rewarding those who have achieved marked results in production and other work. This tendency must be corrected without fail.

Only by firmly relying on the joint efforts of advanced and ordinary producers and production leaders, resolutely overcoming bureaucratic tendencies in the leadership, and correctly handling the relationships among the interests of the state, the collective and the individual and bringing those interests close together can we promote an extensive and sustained development of the advanced producers' movement and constantly raise the level of our country's production, science, education and technology.

Comrades! Ours is a people's democracy. In all work we should adhere to the line of relying on the masses and combine the efforts made at higher levels with those at lower levels. Without the enthusiasm, initiative, wisdom and strength of the masses no leadership by a few people can be correct, effective or consolidated. In turn, we shall be able to overcome all difficulties so long as we, not in word but in deed, keep in close touch with and rely on the masses. We have before us a most difficult task: to turn an economically and culturally backward country with a population of six hundred million into an advanced, industrialized and powerful socialist state. When we accomplish this task, we shall greatly help strengthen the entire socialist camp and preserve world peace. In order to reach this goal, all you representatives should shoulder the same enormous and glorious duty as we. We hope that all of you, all the advanced producers and workers you represent, all the advanced people among the peasants, handicraftsmen, officers and men of the People's Liberation Army and other patriots will, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and the State Council, maintain close ties

with the masses and lead them in catching up with advanced levels and making continued progress. Then we shall assuredly be able to fulfill our common historic task.

Long live the successes of our country's great plans for socialist construction!

Long live the Chinese working class that is striving for socialism!

Long live the great Chinese people!

## POLITICAL REPORT AT THE EIGHTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

*September 15, 1956*

Comrades,

Eleven years have passed since the Seventh National Congress of our Party.<sup>90</sup> In these years two great historical changes of world-wide significance have taken place in our motherland. In 1949 our Party led the people in overthrowing the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and establishing the People's Republic of China. In the second half of last year and the first half of this, our Party led the people to total and decisive victory in the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. These two victories have brought about a series of fundamental changes in our country's internal and external relations.

Except from Taiwan, which is still occupied by U.S. aggressors, all the foreign imperialist forces that sat on the backs of the Chinese people for the last hundred years have been driven out. China has become a great independent, sovereign country.

The bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie — tool of foreign imperialism — has been eliminated as a class from the mainland of China.

In all but a few localities the feudal landlords have also been eliminated as a class. The rich peasants are being eliminated as a class. Landlords and rich peasants who used to exploit the peasants

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are being reformed; they are making a fresh start in life and becoming people who live by their own work.

The national bourgeois elements are in the process of being transformed from exploiters into working people.

The broad masses of the peasantry and other individual working people have become socialist working people engaged in collective labour.

The working class has become the state's leading class. Its ranks have expanded; it has a much deeper class consciousness and its educational and technical levels have been raised greatly.

The intellectuals, who have changed their outlook, are now organized as a force in the service of socialism.

All the nationalities in our country have come together to form one great family of united fraternal nationalities.

The people's democratic united front, led by the Communist Party, has been further broadened and consolidated.

Our country has taken its place in the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, which is striving for a lasting peace and for the progress of mankind; it has forged unbreakable ties of friendship and co-operation with the great Soviet Union and the people's democracies. In the victorious War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea,<sup>41</sup> our people checked the rage and ferocity of the imperialist aggressors. In international relations our country stands resolutely for the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.<sup>91</sup> China's international position has been elevated.

These changes not only have aroused unprecedented revolutionary enthusiasm among the six hundred million people of our country, but will inevitably have great appeal to the oppressed nations and exploited peoples internationally.

The task confronting the Party now is to turn China into a great socialist country as quickly as possible by relying on the hundreds of millions of working people who have been liberated and are now organized, uniting with all the forces at home and abroad that can be united with, and turning to full account all conditions that are favourable to us.

In order to fulfill this gigantic task, we should correctly sum up the experience gained in past struggles, complete the socialist transformation of our country, strengthen our socialist construction, improve and perfect the political life of our country, correctly handle international affairs, and further consolidate our Party. Discussion

of all these questions at the congress and the decisions reached thereon will give impetus to the Party and the people of the country to achieve new and still greater victories on the basis of victories already won.

## I. THE PARTY'S GENERAL LINE IN THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

Eleven years ago the Seventh Congress placed before the Party the task of "boldly rousing the masses to action, expanding the people's strength, and uniting with all the forces in the country that can be united with, in order to defeat the aggressors and build a new China." That task was fulfilled in 1949.

The reactionaries themselves often choose the road to ruin. The policy adopted at the Party's Seventh Congress was to call on the Kuomintang to form a coalition government with the democratic forces of the country. As early as the first years of the War of Resistance Against Japan our Party reached agreement with the Kuomintang on united action against Japan. After that, especially following conclusion of the war of resistance, our Party time and again conducted peace negotiations with the Kuomintang in an effort to avert civil war and bring about social and political reforms in China by peaceful means. In 1946, together with several other democratic parties, we reached agreement with the Kuomintang concerning peace and reconstruction of the country,<sup>92</sup> but subsequently the Kuomintang reactionaries, supported by U.S. imperialism, launched a major civil war throughout the country in an attempt to wipe out the forces that represented the Chinese people, that is, the Chinese Communist Party and all other progressive democratic forces. They miscalculated. While our Party was working for peaceful reform, it did not let itself be caught off guard or give up the people's arms. Our policy was as follows: If the Kuomintang wanted peace and was willing to carry out reforms in conditions of peace, then that was beneficial to the people and we would strive for it with all our might. However, we knew that whether or not the desire for peace would be fulfilled depended not on us but on the ruling class at the time. If the Kuomintang reactionaries insisted on forcing war on the people, we had made sufficient preparations; we would mobilize the people's

forces to defeat them and compel the instigators of war to reap what they had sown. That was precisely the verdict of history: Those who had wanted to wipe out the people's forces were themselves wiped out by the people's forces.

Unlike the reactionaries, the people are not warlike. Even during the war, wherever it was possible to achieve peaceful liberation, as in the case of Beijing, Suiyuan,<sup>8</sup> Changsha, Kunming, western Sichuan, Xinjiang and Tibet, we tried to achieve it by getting in touch with people concerned and conducting negotiations with them, and we did succeed in our efforts. But when the people were compelled to take up arms, they were completely justified in doing so. To have opposed the people's taking up arms and demanded that they submit to the attacking enemy would have been to follow an opportunist line. Here, the question of following a revolutionary or an opportunist line became a major issue involving the question of whether or not our six hundred million people should capture political power when conditions were ripe. Our Party followed the revolutionary line and today we have the People's Republic of China.

Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China the working class, in firm alliance with several hundred million peasants, has won the power to rule nationwide, the party of the working class — the Chinese Communist Party — has become the leading political party in the country, and the people's democratic dictatorship has in essence become a form of dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, it has become possible for the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China to be transformed directly, by peaceful means, into a proletarian-socialist revolution. The establishment of the People's Republic signified basic completion of the stage of bourgeois-democratic revolution in China and the beginning of the stage of proletarian-socialist revolution: the beginning of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

What are the basic characteristics of the period of transition in China?

First, China is industrially backward. In order to build a socialist society, we must develop socialist industry, above all, heavy industry, so as to transform China from a backward agricultural country into an advanced industrial country. This, however, will take a fairly long period of time.

Second, in our country the allies of the working class consist not only of the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, but also of the

national bourgeoisie. Thus, in order to transform our old economy, we must use peaceful means of transformation in the case not only of agriculture and handicrafts, but also of capitalist industry and commerce. This needs to be done step by step; this too needs time.

On the basis of actual conditions in our country the Central Committee has defined the Party's general line in the period of transition: to gradually accomplish socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce over a fairly long period of time. This general line of the Party was first put forward in 1952, when the period of rehabilitation of the national economy had come to an end. It was accepted by the National People's Congress in 1954 and written into the Constitution of the People's Republic of China as the fundamental task of the state in the transition period.

The Party's general line during the transition period is a beacon guiding our work in every field. Wherever we deviate from it, we shall make Right or "Left" mistakes. In the last few years a Right deviation has been found mainly among people who were satisfied merely with what has been achieved in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, wanted to call a halt to the revolution, refused to admit the need for the revolution to evolve into socialism, were unwilling to adopt a suitable policy to restrict capitalism in both town and country, and had no faith in the Party's ability to lead the peasantry along the road to socialism and to lead the people throughout the country in building socialism in China. A "Left" deviation has been found mainly among people who demanded that socialism be achieved overnight, demanded that the national bourgeoisie be eliminated as a class by means of expropriation or the capitalist industry and commerce be made bankrupt by discriminatory means, refused to admit that we should adopt gradual measures to advance towards socialism, and had no faith in our ability to attain the goal of socialist revolution by peaceful means. Our Party resolutely criticized and repudiated these two erroneous deviations. It is obvious that had our Party accepted any of these views, we would not have been able to build socialism and would not be successfully building socialism as we are doing today.

In 1953, in accordance with the general line for the transition period, our country began to carry out its First Five-Year Plan for development of the national economy. At first the Party Central Committee estimated that accomplishing the fundamental tasks of

the transition period would require the span of three five-year plans. Our experience in implementing the First Five-Year Plan has confirmed that China's industrialization will require that long a period or even a little longer. However, the task of socialist transformation will basically be completed during the First Five-Year Plan period and, with the exception of a few localities, will entirely be completed during the Second Five-Year Plan period.

## II. SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION

We have achieved a decisive victory in the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce in our country.

According to statistics for June this year, 110 million, or 91.7 per cent, of the 120 million peasant households in China have joined agricultural producers' co-operatives,<sup>62</sup> 35 million households are in elementary co-operatives and 75 million, or the great majority, are in advanced co-operatives. Mutual aid and co-operation in animal husbandry have also progressed.

Individual craftsmen throughout the country have joined producers' co-operatives of various forms, 90 per cent in industrial producers' co-operatives, producers' groups or supply and marketing co-operatives. Individual fishermen and salt producers, and transport-service labourers working on their own have, in the main, been drawn into co-operatives.

Most of capitalist industry and commerce in the country has come under joint state-private operation by whole trades. Individual tradesmen have generally formed themselves into co-operatives that purchase for the state or co-operative trading networks or act as their commission agents.

All these achievements have come mainly during the upsurge of socialist transformation in agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce that began in the second half of 1955. This upsurge in socialist transformation is not a fortuitous phenomenon; it is the logical outcome of the development and maturing of various social conditions in China since 1949.

After the establishment of the People's Republic the People's Government confiscated all enterprises operated by bureaucrat-capital,

which had controlled all the economic arteries of our country. These enterprises, including the Japanese, German and Italian concerns in China taken over by the Kuomintang government following victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, were turned into socialist, state-owned enterprises; the state came into possession of the largest banks, practically all the railway lines, most of the iron and steel works and other key sections of heavy industry and certain essential departments of light industry. This laid the foundation for the socialist sector to secure a superior position in the economy.

Subsequently the People's Government made a major effort to develop state-owned industries, state-owned transport services and other state-owned enterprises. In 1949 the output value of state-owned industries amounted to only 26.3 per cent of the total value of industrial production; by 1952 it had climbed to 41.5 per cent, and by 1955 it was up to 51.3 per cent.

The People's Government transformed all private banks and banking houses into unified, joint state-private banks under the leadership of state banks. All bank credit and insurance businesses and all transactions in bullion and foreign currency are now concentrated in the hands of the state. The People's Government has introduced a system of control over foreign trade and foreign exchange. It has also established a nationwide, uniform and powerful network of state trade and trade through the supply and marketing co-operatives, gained control of the principal industrial raw materials and the supply of principal commodities, gradually nationalized wholesale trade, and consolidated socialist trade's leading position in the country's market.

The development of a strong socialist economy in our country has laid the material basis for the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, but to accomplish the task of socialist transformation, we must also adopt policies and measures suited to conditions in China, so that the masses of our peasants and handicraftsmen will gladly embark on collective economic undertakings and the national bourgeoisie will not be too reluctant to accept socialist transformation.

What policies and measures have we adopted? Now I should like to give a brief account of the transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, respectively.

First of all, let us take up the socialist transformation of agriculture.

We launched the movement for co-operative transformation of agriculture on the basis of thorough land reform. In carrying out the land reform, our Party did not take the simple, easy way of merely relying on administrative decrees and of “bestowing” land on the peasants. For three solid years after the establishment of the People’s Republic we applied ourselves to awakening to the fullest possible extent the class consciousness of the peasants, particularly of the poor peasants, following the mass line for fully arousing the peasant masses; we accomplished land reform through the struggle waged by the peasants themselves. Was it necessary for us to spend so much time on it? We consider that the time spent was absolutely necessary. Because we used such a method, the peasant masses stood on their own feet, got themselves organized, closely followed the lead of the Communist Party and the People’s Government, and firmly took the reins of government and the armed forces in the villages into their hands. Thus, the land reform succeeded not only economically in eliminating the landlords as a class and weakening the rich peasants to a great extent but also politically in overthrowing the landlord class and isolating the rich peasants. The masses of awakened peasants held that it was despicable of landlords and rich peasants to conduct exploitation. Favourable conditions were thus created for the subsequent socialist transformation of agriculture, greatly shortening the time needed to effect agricultural co-operativization.

In old China 60 to 70 per cent of the rural population were poor peasants and farm labourers. They were, respectively, the semi-proletarians and proletarians of the countryside, who readily accepted the leadership of the working-class party. They have shown great enthusiasm not only in the bourgeois-democratic revolution but also in the socialist revolution. The economic position of the peasant masses improved after land reform, and many poor peasants and farm labourers became middle peasants. However, 60 to 70 per cent of the rural population remained poor or lower-middle peasants, caught in the bind of too large a rural population for too little land, the average arable area per head in the country being only three *mu* (approximately one fifth of a hectare) and in many places in the southern part of the country only one *mu*, or even less. Since there was no guarantee for the peasants that they could achieve prosperity by continuing with individual farming, poor and not so well-off peasants, who constituted the great majority of the

rural population, responded to the Party's call, willing to follow the path of agricultural co-operativization.

Following land reform we immediately on a broad scale set about establishing mutual-aid organizations for agricultural production that contained the rudiments of socialism — organizations in which the peasants engaged in collective labour. Inasmuch as the mutual-aid teams achieved better results than the individual peasants working on their own, 40 per cent of the country's peasant households joined the mutual-aid organizations in 1952, and by 1954 the number had risen to nearly 58 per cent. In 1952, on the basis of these mutual-aid organizations, the Central Committee of the Party began to systematically promote semi-socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives — an elementary type of co-operative characterized by the pooling of land as shares and a single management but with land and other principal means of production still privately owned by the members. There were only some 300 such co-operatives at the end of 1951, but having proved their great advantages over mutual-aid organizations, their numbers increased by the first half of 1955 to 670,000, involving approximately 17 million peasant households. In the second half of 1955 the agricultural producers' co-operatives began to go forward by leaps and bounds, thanks, as we all know, to the correction made by the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong of Right conservative ideas within the Party that had tended to stifle the peasant masses' enthusiasm for agricultural co-operativization. The elementary co-operatives were subsequently reorganized, in large numbers, into the advanced type, which is socialist in character and capable of organizing production in a more effective way. In these advanced co-operatives the land and other principal means of production change from private to collective ownership.

Experience has proved that the step-by-step approach taken by our Party was appropriate, for it enabled the peasants to benefit continuously from the movement for agricultural co-operativization, to gradually accustom themselves to the ways of collective production, to forsake more naturally and smoothly private ownership of land and other principal means of production and accept in its stead collective ownership. In this way losses that might have resulted from sudden changes were averted or greatly reduced.

In the movement for agricultural co-operativization the Party's class policy has been for poor peasants and former poor peasants who, since land reform, have become lower-middle peasants to be

put in favourable positions to exercise leadership in the co-operatives and unite firmly with the middle peasants. The well-to-do, or comparatively well-to-do, middle peasants constitute a minority in rural areas, but they still exert considerable influence on the lower-middle peasants and even on the poor peasants. Generally, the well-to-do middle peasants support the Communist Party and the People's Government, and a great number of them "stood up" in the land reform, but when it comes to agricultural co-operativization, they inevitably waver. The key to consolidating the alliance with the middle peasants is steadfast adherence to the principle of voluntariness and mutual benefit in the movement for agricultural co-operativization. This principle holds good for everyone without exception; for the middle peasants it is of still greater significance. The Party not only forbids the dragging of reluctant middle peasants into the co-operatives, but stipulates that in the early stage of development the co-operatives admit poor and lower-middle peasants first and, as a general rule, not accept comparatively well-to-do middle peasants as members. Furthermore, the Party requires that both before and after they join co-operatives, no interests of the middle peasants shall be infringed upon and none of them shall be taken advantage of, particularly in matters concerning their means of production. It goes without saying that the middle peasants are also not allowed to infringe upon the interests or take advantage of the poor peasants. The state's correct policy with regard to grain has also had a favourable effect on the middle peasants. By introducing in 1953 a system of state monopoly of purchase and marketing of grain and other principal farm products<sup>64</sup> and by fixing reasonable prices for such purchases and supplies, the state has, in the main, put an end to capitalist profiteering in these commodities on the market. Again, in 1955, the state fixed the amount of grain to be purchased and corrected the mistake of purchasing 3.5 million tons of grain in excess of need the year before, thus relieving the peasants of their fears that the state might commit excessive purchases. Because the Party adopted the policy of firmly uniting with the middle peasants and because the middle peasants realized the futility of following the path of capitalism and recognized the superiority of the co-operatives, which was made more and more obvious by the rise in production, the masses of middle peasants at last stopped wavering during the high tide of the co-operative movement and eagerly applied for membership.

As for former landlords and rich peasants, the Party has consistently over the last few years paid attention to leading the peasants in forestalling and combating any of their activities that would harm the co-operative movement. In the initial stage of agricultural co-operativization landlords and rich peasants were barred from co-operatives. Only after the movement proved successful did the Party decide to permit them to work in the co-operatives on the basis of equal pay for equal work but with different status, depending on the conditions in each case. The purpose of this was to reform them, so that they could make a fresh start in life.

By virtue of all these policies we have been able, in the main, to succeed in the socialist transformation of agriculture less than four years after land reform was completed throughout the country, organizing no million peasant households all over the country into approximately 1 million elementary and advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives of varying sizes.

Next, let us take up the socialist transformation of the handicrafts and other sections of the individual economy.

Beyond the very limited field in which they can market their own products, individual handicraftsmen have to rely on state trading departments, supply and marketing co-operatives and capitalist enterprises for raw materials, marketing and capital loans. Most of them lead a difficult life, with nothing to fall back on in the event of illness, injury or death. Their production techniques are mostly backward, and they risk being ousted by modern machinery, so they hope to organize themselves and overcome their difficulties under the leadership of the state sector of the economy. In the interest of the national economy as a whole, much of our handicraft production must be preserved and expanded, mainly to satisfy the immense needs of the home market but also partly to meet export requirements. China also has a considerable number of individual fishermen, salt producers, small tradesmen, pedlars and transport-service labourers working on their own whose conditions are very similar to those of the handicraftsmen.

The socialist transformation of handicrafts, fisheries, salt production and transport services generally takes the form of co-operation. Over the last few years the co-operative movement in these fields has achieved some success. By 1955 the proportion of handicraftsmen in handicraft producers' co-operatives had reached 29 per cent, but the big development in the co-operative movement

for handicrafts and other sections of the individual economy came in the first half of this year. Some of the newly formed co-operatives passed through the transitional stage of producers' groups, but most were set up directly during the high tide of the co-operative movement earlier in the year. Apart from these, a small number of handicrafts as well as a small number of sailing junks and animal-drawn carts operated along capitalist lines have been turned into joint state-private concerns along with the rest of capitalist industry and commerce.

Small tradesmen and pedlars are individual working people in the realm of commerce. In the socialist transformation they have generally taken the road of co-operation, forming themselves into co-operative stores or groups, although a few have been drawn into joint state-private management along with the rest of capitalist commerce. The co-operative groups formed by the small tradesmen and pedlars act as commission agents and do purchasing for state trading departments and the supply and marketing co-operatives. Their way of management will follow the old practice of dispersed and mobile operations to suit the consumers' convenience, and features peculiar to their management that conform to social needs will be preserved as of old.

Lastly, we come to the question of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

The big bourgeoisie who held a dominant position in our country were chiefly the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie. As already mentioned, they were eliminated as a class early in the revolution. In old China there were contradictions between the national bourgeoisie and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. During the bourgeois-democratic revolution the national bourgeoisie had a dual character: on the one hand they were willing, under certain conditions, to take part in the struggle against imperialism and the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang; on the other hand they often tended to vacillate and compromise in the struggle. Since the founding of the People's Republic they have expressed support for the people's democratic dictatorship, the Common Programme<sup>12</sup> and the Constitution, expressed their willingness to continue to oppose imperialism, and endorsed land reform, but they also have a strong desire to develop capitalism. Therefore our policy towards the national bourgeoisie remains as in the past: simultaneously uniting with them and struggling against them, attaining unity through strug-

gle. That is to say, the working class maintains its political alliance with the national bourgeoisie on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. Economically, there are two sides to capitalist industry and commerce: a positive side, which is beneficial to the national economy and the people's wellbeing, and a negative side, which is not beneficial. Because of this, the state has adopted a policy of using, restricting and transforming capitalist industry and commerce. In accordance with this policy, the working class has established an economic alliance with the national bourgeoisie in which the state sector of the national economy exercises leadership over the capitalist sector, thus, through various forms of state capitalism, gradually transforming the capitalist system of private ownership into the socialist system of ownership by all the people.

The state must adopt the policy of using capitalist industry and commerce not only because the national bourgeoisie can accept this policy, but also because it is an economic necessity during the transition period. In the early days after the liberation of our country, we were confronted with the tremendous task of restoring our national economy, which had been seriously damaged by imperialism and the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang. At the same time, because of a very backward economy and a preponderance of small producers, it was necessary for us to make use of all available economic forces to rehabilitate and build up our national economy. While giving priority to the development of the state sector of the economy over the past few years, we have carried out a policy of "taking into account both public and private interests and benefiting both labour and capital" and given equal treatment, by and large, to the private sector in the allocation of raw materials and certain other matters. In this way, workers in privately owned factories were saved from unemployment, and capitalists were able to make some profit. Thanks to this policy, capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises beneficial to the national economy and people's wellbeing were able to keep going and even expand to some extent. Facts prove that, during the period of restoring and building up our national economy, capitalist industry and commerce have in many respects served as an auxiliary to the state sector of the national economy. Implementation of the policy of using capitalist industry and commerce enabled the state to obtain more industrial products, which were exchanged for grain, industrial raw materials and other agricultural products from the peasants, and to have a constant and

fairly adequate supply of goods and materials on the market; this facilitated stabilization of prices. Of course this policy does not, by any means, allow capitalism to develop unchecked. The state must restrict capitalist industry and commerce not beneficial to the national economy and people's wellbeing. The policy of restriction is inseparable from the policy of utilization.

Since restrictions placed by the state on capitalist industry and commerce clashed with the narrow class interests of the bourgeoisie, it was inevitable that many capitalists opposed or violated those restrictions. The struggle between restriction and counter-restriction has been the chief form of class struggle in our country for the past few years, reflecting the principal class contradiction in our country — the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Since the founding of the People's Republic the state and the capitalist sector of the economy have clashed repeatedly over restrictions concerning scope of activity; taxation; market prices; terms for orders placed by the state with private enterprises for processing materials and manufacturing goods, for state monopoly on purchasing and marketing, and for selling on commission; and working conditions for the workers. The chief struggle in this respect was waged in the spring of 1950 against profiteering in order to stabilize commodity prices and in 1952 against the "five evils", namely, against bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information. The struggle was waged because many capitalists were engaged in unlawful activities detrimental to the national economy and people's wellbeing and resolute measures had to be taken to stop them. During this struggle, however, we tried to avoid and correct the mistake of imposing too rigid or too many restrictions on the capitalist economy. The basic policy of the Party and the state has been through the struggle to completely isolate from the masses as well as from other members of the bourgeoisie the few capitalists who persisted in illegal activities and to rally together the great majority of the capitalists willing to abide by the laws and decrees of the state.

The aim of the state's policy of utilization and restriction is the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. This transformation consists of two steps: the transformation of capitalism into state capitalism and the transformation of state capitalism into socialism. What is state capitalism under the leadership of a state where the proletariat holds power? "State capitalism," said Lenin,

“is capitalism we shall be able to restrict, the limits of which we shall be able to fix.”<sup>63</sup> In the transitional form of state capitalism we allow the national bourgeoisie a necessary period of time to gradually accept transformation, under the leadership of the state and the working class. In industry, since the state controlled most of the industrial raw materials, a method was introduced in 1950 whereby private industrial enterprises were supplied with raw materials, orders were placed with them for processing and manufacturing goods, and their goods were purchased and marketed exclusively by state enterprises. Thus, as an initial step, private industry was transformed into industry of state capitalism. By 1954 a further step was taken in the planned transformation of capitalist industry in the form of joint state-private operation of enterprises, and most of the important, large-scale, privately owned industrial enterprises were converted to joint state-private management. In commerce, since the state controlled the sources of all the important agricultural and industrial products through state and co-operative commerce, it has been possible to wholesale goods to private commercial enterprises according to terms laid down by the state and get them to act as retail distributors or commission agents for the state. By 1954 the number of commercial enterprises assuming this elementary form of state capitalism — enterprises serving as retail distributors or commission agents for the state — had already increased considerably. With the ground thus laid, when, in the period between the autumn and winter of 1955, the high tide of agricultural co-operativization blocked the way for the development of capitalism in the countryside once and for all and so effected a basic change in the alignment of class forces in our country, conditions were ripe for converting capitalist industry and commerce by whole trades to joint state-private management. Such joint state-private management of whole trades is the highest form of state capitalism in our country and constitutes a major step of decisive importance in turning capitalist ownership into socialist public ownership.

In order to achieve socialism through state capitalism, which is a peaceful means of transition, we have adopted a policy of gradual redemption in nationalizing the means of production privately owned by the bourgeoisie. Before the conversion of private enterprises to joint state-private management by whole trades, redemption took the form of distribution of profits, portioning out to the capitalists part of the profits (say, one fourth) according to the net earnings of

the enterprises. Since conversion, redemption has taken the form of payment of a fixed rate of interest, i.e., for a certain period the state pays, through the special companies for whole trades, a fixed rate of interest on the capitalists' investments. Furthermore, with regard to capitalists and their representatives, jobs have been offered by the government departments concerned for those who are able to work, and proper arrangements have been made or relief provided for those who cannot, so as to ensure their livelihood. This is also a necessary measure of redemption. Both Marx and Lenin pointed out that, under certain historical conditions, a policy of redemption by the proletariat towards the bourgeoisie is permissible and advantageous. This has already been borne out by practice in our revolution.

In the course of transforming capitalist industry and commerce we have combined the transformation of enterprises with the remoulding of individuals. That is to say, while the enterprises are being transformed, we educate and help the capitalists remould themselves gradually, enabling them to change from exploiters into working people earning their own living. The chief aim of our policy of simultaneously uniting with the national bourgeoisie and struggling against them, attaining unity through struggle, is to reeducate them. Restrictions imposed on the capitalist sector of the economy and struggles against unlawful activities of the bourgeoisie were important practical education. Readjustments in consideration of overall planning and of all the parties concerned, enabling the capitalists to play their respective roles, were also important practical education. We welcomed those who adopted a positive attitude in the course of socialist transformation. As for those who remained sceptical, we explained things to them and indicated our willingness to give them time. Against those who resisted we waged whatever struggles were necessary, always with the object of remoulding them. Such a policy of using different measures in different cases was also important practical education. In addition, we have used such means as giving talks, holding discussion meetings and conducting classes among capitalists, organizing capitalists and members of their families to study, and encouraging capitalists to practise criticism and self-criticism among themselves — all for the purpose of educating them and helping them solve their ideological problems. Our aim is to raise the ideological level of the progressives among them — that is, those who support socialist transformation — and encourage

the middle groups and backward people to gradually change their attitude and follow the example of the progressives, thereby splitting up the diehards. In short, our aim is to rally the majority and weaken resistance for the benefit of socialist transformation.

The policy of utilization, restriction and transformation of capitalist industry and commerce by the state and every measure taken on the basis of it are not the result of wishful thinking or arbitrary decisions, but the product of a study of actual conditions and situations and of consideration of what the national economy and people's wellbeing urgently demand. This policy and the measures taken for its implementation are supported by the people, and the capitalists can find no good reasons for rejecting or opposing them. It can now be stated with conviction that except very few diehards who still attempt to put up resistance, the overwhelming majority of the national bourgeoisie can accept socialist transformation in the economic sphere and gradually change into true working people.

Our work in the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce has not been without shortcomings and mistakes; our policy has not been mature from the very beginning, and some deviations have occurred in the course of its implementation. Nevertheless, the extremely complex and arduous historical task of converting a system of private ownership of the means of production into a system of socialist public ownership has basically been accomplished in our country. The question of who will win in the struggle between socialism and capitalism has now been solved.

This does not mean, however, that our task in socialist transformation has been completed. Many urgent and important problems remain for us to tackle. What are our tasks from now on?

In agricultural co-operativization we have to win over, on the principle of voluntariness and mutual benefit, a small number of peasant households that haven't joined the co-operatives and guide the transformation of elementary co-operatives into advanced ones. We must be patient, however, and give them time; coercion or commands in any form will not be allowed. The most urgent problem awaiting solution now is to enable about a million co-operatives to increase their output and the income of their members. Some co-operatives that were rather hastily set up must still solve many problems or reorganize. Most of the co-operatives lack experience in leading scores or hundreds of peasant households in collective pro-

duction, so the Party must help the cadres in these co-operatives gain such experience as quickly as possible. Many co-operatives pay far too much attention to collective interests and management, ignoring the interests and freedom of individual members and overlooking household sideline occupations. Such mistakes must be quickly corrected. To effectively arouse the members' enthusiasm for production and consolidate the co-operatives, the co-operatives must be run industriously, economically and democratically and the members must receive better ideological education in socialism and collectivism. Peasants who until a short time ago had been working on their own have now become members of co-operatives; this is indeed a tremendous change in the life of hundreds of millions of peasants. Co-operatives' cadres must fully realize the significance of this change, prudently assume the important leading posts entrusted to them by the co-operative members and wholeheartedly serve members' interests. They should be aware that co-operatives can be consolidated only when the members truly feel they are the masters and when their income increases every year.

In the transformation of handicrafts and other former sections of the individual economy, problems arising during the development of different kinds of co-operative organizations must be tackled separately, taking into account the characteristics of the different trades and applying different forms. It would be wrong to ignore different concrete conditions and follow a set approach for all cases. A number of co-operative organizations will, under suitable conditions, become state enterprises or be amalgamated into state enterprises; others will maintain collective ownership of the means of production for a long time; still others will, under the administration of socialist enterprises, keep their original form of management, retaining the profits and bearing the losses themselves. All co-operatives must maintain and develop all the fine traditions the original individual economy had in production and management. After co-operation the quality of handicraft products must by all means be improved and not be allowed to deteriorate, and their variety must be extended, not reduced.

Problems arising during transformation of capitalist industry and commerce should likewise be solved on an individual basis, taking into consideration the characteristics of the different trades and the needs of different aspects of the economy. Casual application of a set method to different cases must be avoided to prevent losses.

Systematic educational and organizational work should be conducted among the workers and staff of enterprises, so that they will fully understand and carry out their tasks in the transformation of enterprises, in production, and in uniting with and educating the capitalists and their representatives. Outstanding workers and office staff should be chosen to take part in enterprise management. Proper arrangements should be made for the work and livelihood of capitalists and their representatives; amicable working relations should be established between them and state representatives; and the political education of capitalists and their representatives should be strengthened. Since many of them are experienced in management, possess technical knowhow, understand consumer needs, know the workings of the market, and are proficient in making careful and detailed calculations, our enterprise personnel must, besides helping reeducate them, learn earnestly from them, absorbing their useful experience and knowledge as part of our social heritage. The transformation of capitalist industry and commerce has now only reached the stage in which private enterprises have been converted into joint state-private management by whole trades; we must prepare to transform these enterprises into state enterprises of a fully socialist character at some opportune moment in the future.

Only when we have accomplished the various tasks mentioned can the question of socialist transformation in our country be thoroughly solved. We are convinced that our Party, working as ever in unity with all the people, will be able to accomplish these tasks in the not too distant future, so as to provide the socialist construction of our country with the most favourable conditions for development.

### III. BUILDING OF SOCIALISM

#### IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND PREPARATIONS FOR THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Three years and eight and a half months have elapsed since we embarked on our First Five-Year Plan for the development of our national economy. By next year we shall have fulfilled this plan and drawn up the Second Five-Year Plan covering the period from 1958 through 1962. The central task now confronting our Party and

all the people is to work hard to overfulfill the First Five-Year Plan and make vigorous preparations for the Second Five-Year Plan.

The First Five-Year Plan has been a tremendous success. Even our enemies cannot deny that.

We have greatly developed industrial capital construction. In the past few years we have expanded our iron and steel base in the Northeast; started building new iron and steel bases in Inner Mongolia and central China; built and expanded a number of power stations, coal mines, oil wells, nonferrous metallurgical and processing works and mines, chemical works, factories producing building materials, machine-building works, and light industrial factories. The First Five-Year Plan provided that construction start on 694 above-norm projects<sup>93</sup> in the field of industrial construction, 455 of which were to be completed in the five-year period. Actually, some 800 projects can be started and nearly 500 completed in this period. Investments in capital construction in the first three years of the plan plus the sum planned for this year already amount to 35.5 billion yuan, or 83 per cent of the total planned five-year investment of 42.7 billion yuan.

The First Five-Year Plan has provided for a 90.3 per cent increase in the total value of industrial production in the five-year period. This target will be exceeded. The total value of industrial output provided for in this year's annual plan has already reached the figure set for 1957 in the Five-Year Plan. Furthermore, this year's planned output figures for steel, steel products, metal-cutting machine tools, cement, automobile tires, cotton yarn, cotton piece goods, paper, etc. have all surpassed the targets set for 1957. Thanks to the development of heavy industry, China has begun producing lorries, jet planes, and power-generating equipment with a capacity of 6,000 to 12,000 kw. By 1957 we shall be producing about 60 per cent of all the machinery and equipment needed for economic development in our country.

In agriculture, it is also possible to surpass the targets set in the First Five-Year Plan for total value of agricultural production and output of staple food and industrial crops. The plan provides for a 23.3 per cent increase in 1957 over 1952 of the total output value of farm and sideline products. Owing to severe natural disasters, the increase in 1953 and 1954 was scanty, but 1955 saw a 14.8 per cent increase over 1952. Despite relatively severe floods, drought and

windstorms again this year, grain output can, thanks to agricultural co-operativization, still reach the level set for 1957.

In water conservancy, a series of projects have been undertaken in the past three years in the Huaihe River valley, along the middle reaches of the Yangtze (Changjiang), and along many other rivers. Preparations for construction of the Sanmen Gorge multi-purpose water-conservancy project on the Yellow (Huanghe) River have been made. Many minor water-conservancy projects have also been completed in various rural areas.

In transport, the targets set in the First Five-Year Plan to build more than 4,000 kilometres of railways and 10,000 kilometres of main highways will be surpassed this year.

Rapid increase has also been registered in domestic and foreign trade, education, culture and public health.

Initial improvements have been made in the living standards of workers and other employees. It is estimated that this year, compared with 1952, the average wages of workers and other employees throughout the country will increase by 33.5 per cent. Annual payments by the state and individual enterprises for labour insurance and for medical services, culture, education and welfare facilities for workers and other employees amount to approximately 13 per cent of total annual wages, or about 4.4 billion yuan over four years. Living quarters built by the state for workers and other employees in the past three years and planned for the current year cover more than 50 million square metres of floor space.

It should be pointed out that, owing to objective limitations, it will not be possible to reach the targets set in the First Five-Year Plan for a few products, such as crude oil, edible vegetable oils and cigarettes, but the First Five-Year Plan as a whole will be overfulfilled.

Though we may overfulfill the First Five-Year Plan in both our total investment in capital construction and construction projects, we must mobilize the necessary financial and material resources and redouble our efforts to complete construction plans for certain important projects. As for other above-norm projects, we must also make every effort to fulfill the plan as far as possible.

Although the various heavy industrial departments have surpassed their production plans, we must continue our efforts to ensure the better fulfilment of the country's capital construction plan by producing more iron and steel, machinery, equipment and building.

materials, and by correspondingly increasing the output of coal, electricity, petroleum, nonferrous metals, chemicals and such. At the same time, related questions of transport and urban construction must also be solved.

In the field of agriculture we must also make great efforts to increase the output of grain and cotton and to see that agricultural and commercial departments take effective measures to increase as quickly as possible the output of oil-yielding crops, the number of pigs and other domestic animals, and the output of certain sideline occupations, which have not increased fast enough in the past few years and, sometimes, have even shown a drop.

As soon as we have fulfilled the First Five-Year Plan, we shall immediately start on the second. Therefore, it is necessary that the present congress discuss and adopt the Party's proposal concerning this second plan. Comrade Zhou Enlai will make a special report on the proposal on behalf of the Central Committee.

What are the basic tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan?

The Central Committee of the Party holds that, in order to satisfy the needs of expanded socialist production in our country, fulfill the task of socialist industrialization, help strengthen international cooperation among the countries in the socialist camp and promote a common economic upsurge in all the socialist countries, we should, taking advantage of our large population and rich resources, build a basic integrated industrial system within the period of three five-year plans. Accordingly, the basic tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan are, briefly, as follows: (1) to continue industrial construction centred on heavy industry, promote the technical transformation of our national economy and lay a firm foundation for the socialist industrialization of our country; (2) to continue socialist transformation and consolidate and extend the system of collective ownership and ownership by all the people; (3) to develop, while expanding capital construction and completing socialist transformation, the production of industry, agriculture and handicrafts and, correspondingly, transport and commerce; (4) to train qualified personnel for construction and improve scientific research so as to meet the needs of socialist economic and cultural development; and (5) to strengthen national defence and increase people's material and cultural well-being while expanding industrial and agricultural production.

Generally speaking, during the period of the First Five-Year Plan we have not been able to make heavy and precision machinery

ourselves and, therefore, cannot ourselves supply many major projects with the main equipment. Domestic steel products have not been able to keep up with demand in either quantity or variety; we cannot yet produce many kinds of high-grade alloy steel; the non-ferrous metals industry has only a limited range of products; our radio-engineering industry is still very weak; and we have practically no organic synthetic chemical industry to speak of. In the second five-year period we should build up weak or missing branches of industry. We should redouble our efforts so that, by 1962, we shall be able to produce approximately 70 per cent of the machinery and equipment needed for our economic development, including some heavy and precision machinery. As for fuels, petroleum output falls far short of demand. We must gradually improve this situation.

During the Second Five-Year Plan period we should enlarge the scale of geological prospecting so as to unearth a greater variety and greater quantities of resources; capital construction too must press ahead on a larger scale. During this period investments in capital construction will be approximately double what they were in the first five-year period. Besides continuing the construction of bases for the iron and steel industry in northeast and central China and Inner Mongolia, new industrial bases will be established in the area of the Sanmen Gorge, in the Gansu-Qinghai area, in Xinjiang, and in southwest China. When the capital construction plan for the second five-year period is completed, many of our machine-building and metallurgical works, power stations, coal mines, petroleum enterprises, chemical works and factories producing building materials will have modern, advanced technical equipment.

Production should be greatly increased in the various branches of heavy industry. By 1962 the output of steel must be raised from the 4.12 million tons planned for 1957 to 10.5 to 12 million tons; coal, from 113 million tons to 190 to 210 million tons; and electricity, from 15.9 billion kwh to 40 to 43 billion kwh.

Light industry, must, likewise, grow at a relatively high rate. By 1962 the output of cotton yarn should increase from the 5 million bales planned for 1957 to 8 to 9 million bales; edible vegetable oils, from 1.79 million tons to 3.1 to 3.2 million tons; sugar, from 1.1 million tons to 2.4 to 2.5 million tons; and machine-made paper, from 650,000 tons to 1.5 to 1.6 million tons.

In order to meet the requirements of the national economy as a whole, during the Second Five-Year Plan period agricultural pro-

duction should be raised to a higher level along the line laid down in the Draft National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-67).<sup>89</sup> In 1962 the output of grain should be about 250 million tons; of cotton, about 2.4 million tons; furthermore, we should try to surpass these targets. Steps should be taken to increase the output of soya beans, oil-yielding crops, sugar-yielding crops, and other industrial crops and sideline products. Among sideline products special efforts should go into developing pig breeding.

It is necessary to continue to expand rail, road, and water transport and telecommunications facilities. Existing lines of communications should gradually undergo necessary technical transformation. We must continue to rationalize the transport system, fully exploiting the potentialities of the existing facilities. At present there is a heavy strain on certain railway lines. We must improve this situation. During the second five-year period 8,000 to 9,000 kilometres of railways will be built; the Lanzhou-Xinjiang Railway will be extended to the Chinese-Soviet border, and trunk lines will link the provinces in the northwest and southwest.

In order to increase the variety of materials and equipment, we must fully utilize our own technical personnel, improve research and design of products, and manufacture new products. It is wrong to neglect our own technical personnel and not make the best use of them and train them.

According to preliminary estimates, our national income at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan should be about 50 per cent larger than it's expected to be at the end of the First Five-Year Plan. In addition to bigger capital accumulations for the state, people's standard of living will be improved to a fair extent. Within the five-year period the number of workers and other employees will increase six to seven million. Their average wages will increase by 25 to 30 per cent, as will the total income of peasants. Supplies of grain, cloth and other important consumer goods, such as edible oils, sugar, kerosene and coal, will also increase.

This brief outline shows that the Party's proposal for the Second Five-Year Plan envisages a tremendous and rapid development of our national economy. According to this proposal, fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan will provide the necessary conditions for basic completion during the Third Five-Year Plan of the general task for the transition period.

The growth rate in the Second Five-Year Plan proposed by the Central Committee of the Party is both forward-looking and feasible. It must be forward-looking, or we shall let slip the good opportunities we have today and fall into the error of conservatism. It must also be feasible, or it will not enable the economy to develop in correct proportions and will put too great a burden on the people or result in dislocation between the different branches of the national economy, making it impossible to fulfill the plan and causing waste. This would be an error of adventurism.

It is obvious that the Second Five-Year Plan calls for a bigger investment than the first. Our national economy has developed, and, along with it, our financial situation has improved, but we must be aware that our funds are still limited; we must use them as effectively and economically as possible. One important way of increasing our fund for construction is to economize more on military and administrative expenses. The Party Central Committee had already decided on this policy in 1950, but it was not carried out earlier because of the outbreak of the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea. Though in recent years we have made great efforts to economize on these expenses, the estimated expenditure on national defence and for administrative purposes will still account for 32 per cent of all state expenditure in the first five-year period; appropriations for economic construction and cultural development will amount to approximately 56 per cent. During the second five-year period the proportion going to military and administrative expenses must be reduced to about 20 per cent so that the proportion of expenditure on economic and cultural development can be raised to 60 to 70 per cent. In economic and cultural development it is, nevertheless, imperative that funds be spent rationally and with due emphasis on certain key fields. Thus, in the second five-year period the technical transformation of our national economy must be centred, first and foremost, on heavy industry, particularly the machine-building and metallurgical industries. In the meantime, we must continue to practise economy and eliminate waste in all enterprises and state organs and in society as a whole. Waste, in all circumstances, is a hindrance to the development of production and the improvement of living standards. We have just begun our national construction, so it behooves us to try all the harder to save every bit of money we can for construction and to use it to the best advantage. We shall have to export part of our consumer goods in exchange for machinery

and equipment needed in industrial construction. We shall have to bear with certain temporary difficulties in our daily life for the sake of our future happiness. It is the Party's long-term policy in building socialism to carry on national construction, run enterprises and co-operatives, and handle all other affairs in an industrious and economical way. This is also the principle that must be followed in drafting and implementing the Second Five-Year Plan.

Now, I am going to give a brief account of some of the experience we have gained in the past few years in industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education as well as some of the problems we must now try to solve.

## INDUSTRY

In this field, I shall deal here with only a few relatively important questions, namely, the relationship between heavy and light industry, the geographical distribution of industries, the quality of products and construction work, the living conditions of workers and other employees, and leadership in enterprises.

The industrialization of our country is based upon the development of heavy industrial production, that is, production of industries manufacturing the means of production. In old China the output value of such industries made up a very small proportion of the total industrial output value, and in 1949 it amounted to only 26.6 per cent. This is an indication of the backwardness of China's productive forces. The Party's policy of socialist industrialization calls for a fundamental change in this situation and ensures that priority will go to development of industries manufacturing the means of production. In 1952 the output value of these industries was 35.6 per cent of the total industrial output value; by the end of the First Five-Year Plan it will probably rise to more than 40 per cent.

In order to develop our national economy according to plan, we must carry through the policy of giving priority to the development of heavy industry. Some comrades want to lower the growth rate of heavy industry. This line of thinking is wrong. I should like to ask: If we do not very quickly establish our own indispensable machine-building industry, metallurgical industry and other related branches of heavy industry, what are we going to equip our light industry, transport, building industry and agriculture with? Nothing.

And we shall not be able to get the things we need — machines, steel products, cement, electric power and fuel, and our national economy will remain permanently backward. It is obvious that we cannot afford to lower the growth rate of heavy industry.

Other comrades put undue emphasis on the importance of developing heavy industry and want to lower the growth rate of light industry and other branches of the national economy. This line of thinking is also wrong. They do not realize, firstly, that if light industry does not grow in correspondence with the ever increasing consumer demand, commodities will be in short supply, and this, in turn, will affect the stability of commodity prices and of the market. In the countryside in particular, if the supply of industrial products is insufficient to exchange at stable and reasonable prices for farm produce, the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance and the development of agricultural production may be affected adversely. Secondly, light industry needs comparatively small investments, and enterprises in this field can be established in a relatively short time, so the turnover of capital is relatively quick, and funds can be accumulated relatively rapidly. Furthermore, we can use the funds accumulated by light industry to develop heavy industry. This shows that, funds, raw materials and market permitting, appropriate development of light industry will not hamper but, on the contrary, benefit the building up of heavy industry.

As for geographical distribution of industries, we must pay attention to co-ordination between the coastal regions and the interior, between large enterprises on the one hand and medium-sized and small ones on the other, and between state enterprises run by the central authorities and those run by local authorities.

During the First Five-Year Plan period we have gradually shifted the emphasis of our industrial development to the interior in order to achieve a rational distribution of the productive forces, give industrial enterprises better access to natural resources and secure a balanced development of the industry and the national economy as a whole. This is changing the abnormal conditions of pre-liberation days when more than 70 per cent of China's industries were concentrated in the coastal provinces. It does not mean, however, that we can deny or in any way ignore the part played by industries in the coastal provinces. We must take full advantage of the favourable conditions in these provinces and properly develop the industries there, so as to help develop industries in the interior and thus ac-

celerate the nation's industrialization. During the period of the First Five-Year Plan Liaoning, Shanghai, Tianjin and other industrial areas have made outstanding contributions in this respect. In the second five-year period, in addition to maximum use of the industrial bases in northeast and east China, we must appropriately utilize the facilities of Hebei, Shandong and south China in developing industry.

In the second five-year period we must plan the construction and renovation of small and medium-sized enterprises so that they coordinate with the building and operation of large ones, in that way accelerating industrial development, strengthening co-operation between industries, enlarging the variety of products, and facilitating full utilization of our resources and existing enterprises, particularly the large number of joint state-private enterprises.

We must properly co-ordinate the initiative of various economic departments under the central authorities with that of local economic organizations. In the past, some central departments did not pay enough attention to the development and unified planning of local industries, thus making it impossible for them to tap their potentialities rationally. On the other hand, some local authorities blindly built and expanded certain industries, regardless of whether there was enough equipment in the country to spare for them and without taking into account the limited resources and other economic conditions in the localities. This also caused loss to the state. Both these deviations must be corrected.

To fulfill the state production plan, we must improve the quality of products in light and heavy industry and in state enterprises run by the central and local authorities. In the same way, to fulfill the state construction plan, capital construction departments in industry, transport and every other field must try to improve the quality of engineering work. This is one of the most urgent problems in our socialist construction.

The superiority of socialism should be displayed not only in the quantity and speed, but also in the quality, of our economic achievements. We have turned out quite a number of heavy and light industrial products of fine quality and have also completed quite a number of projects of fine quality. However, outdated equipment and low technical level, the lack of proper standards for finished products or of proper technological regulations, failure to introduce a strict system of quality inspection and technical supervision, and particularly undue emphasis placed by leading bodies of some en-

terprises on quantity of products and speed of construction to the neglect of quality — all have resulted in below-standard quality for quite a number of products and projects. Certain products failed to measure up to required specifications and had to be classified as shoddy goods. Defective operation of state monopoly on the purchase and marketing of products and a certain amount of confusion in the transformation of private industry and commerce dulled the sense of responsibility of many light industrial enterprises with regard to product quality and even led to serious cases of quality deterioration. All this has caused losses to the state and the people; we must put an end to such things without delay. Enterprises with unsatisfactory technical level and outdated equipment must take effective measures to quickly master techniques and gradually update equipment. All enterprises should establish reasonable standards for finished products and adequate technological regulations. All factories, mines and construction sites that do not have strict inspection systems should immediately establish departments and systems to check quality and provide technical supervision and should work out appropriate measures for dealing with substandard products and inferior engineering work. The quality and supply of raw and semi-finished materials should be radically improved. Light industrial products should be strictly graded and priced according to quality, and for a certain number of products a system of selective purchasing should be put into practice gradually. Even more important is to explain to all workers and other employees concerned the need to guarantee and raise quality, so that those who lack a sense of responsibility for quality can rid themselves completely of this wrong attitude.

Gradual improvement, based on increased production, in the living standards of workers and other employees is an important factor in generating greater enthusiasm of the masses of workers and other employees. What are the problems that call for solution with regard to improving their living standards? First and foremost, we should see to it that their wages are gradually increased on the basis of increased production; we should adhere strictly to the principle of “to each according to his work” to improve the wage system and the reward system. Second, we should effectively improve work safety measures and labour protection. Third, we should ensure and improve the supply of nonstaple foods. Fourth, we should gradually increase welfare facilities for workers and other employees and earnestly try to solve their housing and other urgent problems. Fifth, we should

see that they have time to look after their domestic affairs and have enough rest as they are entitled to.

Many of their problems are hard to solve in a short time, so the workers and other employees have to wait until greater achievements are scored in socialist construction. We have to work hard and should not concentrate on individual, immediate interests at the expense of national, long-term interests. This must be made clear to them. However, it is also wrong to stress national, long-term interests to the point of neglecting the individual and immediate interests of workers and other employees. Some problems in their lives can and must be solved. They remain unsolved only because leaders of enterprises, trade union organizations and departments concerned have not tried seriously to solve them. So, we must resolutely oppose such bureaucratic indifference to the welfare of the masses.

These principles concerning living conditions apply to workers and other employees in all enterprises as well as to state employees.

Whether or not workers' and other employees' initiative is given full play depends largely on whether the system of leadership or the leaders' work of the enterprise is sound. What do we mean by sound leadership in enterprises?

A system that combines collective leadership with personal responsibility, with the Party as the nucleus, should be set up in all enterprises. All major problems should be decided collectively and decisions should be reached through joint effort; all day-to-day affairs should be handled according to the principle of division of labour and fixed responsibility. The leaders of enterprises, Party organizations, administrative departments, and trade union and Youth League organizations in enterprises should be able to explain clearly to the masses the immediate tasks confronting their enterprises; they should know how to rouse the masses to start socialist emulation and advanced-worker campaigns and to put forward rationalization proposals, so as to help constantly improve the work. Leading personnel of the various organizations within the enterprises should keep in close touch with the masses, identify themselves with the rank and file, understand their feelings and demands, and actively help solve their problems.

Improvement of enterprise leadership is not merely the concern of the enterprises themselves; it is also the concern of state organs at higher levels. However, it should be pointed out that these state organs have more often than not exercised excessive and too rigid control over the enterprises, thereby hampering the enterprises' initia-

tive and flexibility and causing unwarranted losses. We must make sure that, under the state's unified leadership and plans, enterprises have appropriate decision-making powers regarding management of planning, finance and personnel, deployment of workers and office staff, welfare facilities, and so on. This does not mean, however, that the higher state organs should slacken their leadership. In fact, a number of higher state organs did not keep in close touch with the enterprises, and their leadership was often ill-timed and too general. The leading organs of our economic departments should try diligently to do their job well; they should refrain from meddling in what is outside their jurisdiction or can be ignored. Only by combining strong leadership at the higher state organs with the enterprises' own initiative can we forge ahead rapidly with our work.

## AGRICULTURE

The proposal for the Second Five-Year Plan outlined immense tasks for increasing agricultural production and the peasants' income. How are we to fulfill these tasks?

We are carrying out agricultural co-operativization without farm machinery. The proper and gradual mechanization of agriculture in our country can come about only with progress in the country's industrialization and in accordance with farming conditions in different localities. It is estimated that by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan only one-tenth of the arable land will be cultivated by machines. As in the first five-year period, land to be brought under cultivation will amount to only some tens of millions of *mu* [1 *mu* = 0.067 hectares — *Tr.*], that is, approximately one-twentieth of the original arable land. By 1962 the amount of chemical fertilizer produced in China will be only enough to provide, on average, each *mu* of crop area with 1.5 kg at most. Under these circumstances increased agricultural production in the second five-year period will still rely mainly on the ability of agricultural producers' co-operatives and peasants to raise per-*mu* yields by such means as building water-conservancy works, applying more manure to the land, ameliorating the soil, improving seed, using new types of farm tools on a wider scale, increasing the area sown to more than one crop a year, improving cultivation methods, and preventing plant diseases and insect pests.

We should note that such measures open up tremendous possibilities for increasing farm output. With regard to water conservancy, for instance, irrigated area currently amounts to only one-third of all the cultivated land in the country, but water sources for irrigation can be found in many parts of the remaining two-thirds of the land. With regard to fertilizer, supplies of natural fertilizers such as night soil, animal manure and green manure, all of which are of great value in increasing yields, are abundant, but in quite a number of places these sources of manure have not yet been fully utilized. China's countryside, furthermore, has tremendous reserves of manpower organized in agricultural co-operatives. If we press ahead persistently and properly with these measures, we have every possibility of reaching the targets for increased output envisaged in the proposal for the Second Five-Year Plan.

It is still a very important task to increase the output of grain and cotton in the second five-year period. It is also an important task to increase yields of other industrial crops and the output of animal husbandry and sideline occupations. According to statistics, the output value of various industrial crops, animal husbandry and sideline occupations, even when the output produced in sideline occupations for the peasants' own consumption is excluded, amounts to some 50 per cent of the total value of agricultural products in the country, which approximates or exceeds the percentage accounted for by grain and is therefore of vital importance to the peasants' income. These industrial crops and the products of animal husbandry and sideline occupations are furthermore of tremendous importance to light industry and to the supply of nonstaple foods and products for export. Take pig breeding, for example. In the second five-year period we expect to increase the number of pigs from the 138 million planned for 1957 to some 250 million in 1962, because pigs supply meat for towns and villages throughout the country, manure for farm crops, and meat and bristles for export. We must do all we can to promote pig breeding. All local Party organizations, local governments and departments in charge of agriculture, therefore, should provide more effective guidance to the cultivation of industrial crops and promotion of animal husbandry and sideline production. In light of local and state needs and guided by central and local authorities' plans, they should help agricultural producers' co-operatives map out suitable comprehensive plans to increase production of grain, industrial crops, animal husbandry and sideline occupations. In promoting sideline occupa-

tions, they should take into account the necessary division of labour between the collectively managed co-operatives and individual domestic arrangements, so that the enthusiasm and initiative of both can be given proper scope. At present, many co-operatives tend to neglect or even unreasonably restrict their members in managing their own household sideline occupations. This deviation should be set right.

A correct price policy has to be implemented to increase the production of industrial crops and promote development of animal husbandry and sideline occupations. Our price policy since the founding of the People's Republic has, in general, been correct and mindful of the peasants' interests, but some mistakes have nevertheless been made in its implementation. During the past few years production of certain industrial crops, pig breeding, and other sideline occupations did not increase fast enough or even decreased, partly because purchase prices for these products were fixed at a rather low level. Prices set too low should be properly readjusted after investigation and study.

To ensure development of agricultural production, it is important to make sure that, along with development, the income of the peasants is increased. The Party Central Committee requires that co-operatives throughout the country in their first few years, under normal harvest conditions, increase the income of 90 per cent of their members; afterwards, on the basis of expanded production, the members in general should be able to increase their income every year. To this end, it is necessary not only for the state to have correct tax and price policies, but for the co-operatives to fix a correct ratio between the co-operative's reserve fund and the members' personal income. The co-operatives should therefore refrain from arbitrary increases in production or management expenditures or in the amounts going to reserve or welfare funds; at the same time state taxes should be held at an appropriate rate. We should firmly adhere to a distribution policy that takes into proper account the interests of the state, the collective and the individual.

## COMMERCE

In keeping with industrial and agricultural development, our country has also achieved noticeable success in domestic and foreign trade during the First Five-Year Plan period. In domestic trade, the

volume of retail sales, according to this year's plan, will be 66.3 per cent more than in 1952. During the past few years we have stabilized commodity prices, increased the exchange of goods between town and country and met the needs of the people. In foreign trade, the total value of imports and exports this year will be 65 per cent greater than in 1952. Before liberation China mainly imported consumer goods. Since 1950 over 90 per cent of its imports have been means of production. Our foreign trade has ensured the equipment and materials needed for national construction and developed China's economic co-operation and bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union, the people's democracies and other countries.

According to preliminary estimates for the Second Five-Year Plan, the volume of domestic retail sales in 1962 will, on the basis of further development of the national economy, be about 50 per cent more than in 1957, and the total value of import and export will also increase greatly.

The socialist transformation of private commerce having, in the main, been completed, a unified socialist market has come into existence, and socialist commerce is now playing an extremely important role in the national economy, for it is the medium through which industrial consumer goods and a portion of the means of production and the marketable portion of agricultural products are distributed to departments of industrial production, agricultural producers' co-operatives and the masses of consumers. Our country's commercial work will be still heavier in the future, owing to the growing purchasing power of the people, their increasing demands for consumer goods, especially for nonstaple foods, the rapid development of agricultural co-operativization and industrial construction, and the daily increasing demands of foreign trade for export products. Commercial departments must, in accordance with the needs of the people and export requirements, do all they can by means of price policy and purchasing measures to help improve the quality and quantity of industrial and agricultural products. They should continue to expand the commercial network, increase the circulation of commodities, improve the purchase and supply of industrial and agricultural products, and see to it that the commercial network is so arranged as to facilitate both the procurement of commodities and the sale of goods to the people.

The further development of commerce demands in particular that earnest efforts be made to improve co-ordination between purchasing

and marketing, correctly implement the price policy and properly re-adjust the prices of certain commodities.

Many measures concerning purchasing and marketing taken during the period when capitalist enterprises were utilized, restricted and transformed must now be changed, to be replaced by measures that suit existing economic conditions in our country. Before capitalist industry and commerce were changed over to joint state-private management by whole trades, state commercial enterprises placed orders with capitalist enterprises for processing and manufacturing goods and purchased and marketed all their products. As for agricultural products, apart from the monopolized purchase by the state of grain, cotton, and oil-yielding crops, supply and marketing co-operatives were entrusted with making unified purchases, or the state commercial departments themselves made direct purchases, of the greater part of the remaining products. City and town markets were strictly controlled, uniform prices were fixed for commodities, and restrictions were placed on the scope of certain commercial activities of private merchants. These measures were at the time necessary and effective, but their implementation also resulted in some undesirable effects, as mentioned earlier: The quality of some industrial products deteriorated and variety decreased; the output of some farm and sideline products decreased; the exchange of some commodities was hampered. We must overcome these defects. We should improve the present system of market control and abolish restrictions that are too strict and rigid. Within the confines of the unified socialist market, we should permit a free market to develop to a certain extent under state guidance, supplementing the state market.

For twelve years before liberation our country was in the grip of severe inflation, and commodity prices fluctuated constantly. In view of this, the Party's basic policy after liberation was to stabilize commodity prices. That is to say, regardless of whether certain commodity prices were reasonable or not, the first imperative was to stabilize the prices of various commodities at the levels then prevailing. After this had been done, certain absurdly unreasonable commodity prices were readjusted. This basic policy of our Party was correct, and its implementation was successful. It served to promote the growth of the country's industrial and agricultural production. Nevertheless, there have been many mistakes and shortcomings in implementing the price policy. Commercial departments should analyse their past

experience and, acting under the principle of continued stabilization of commodity prices, work out a more comprehensive price policy and price structure suited to present conditions and beneficial to industrial and agricultural production. An important principle governing our price policy is to fix purchase prices so they help increase production. In order to improve the quality of industrial and agricultural products, products must be graded and prices fixed according to quality in both purchasing and marketing. If the difference between buying and selling prices of local products is too big, it should be suitably reduced. The difference between wholesale and retail prices of low-priced small articles should be suitably increased. All attempts to extract excessive commercial profit in violation of the state's price policy must be strictly prohibited.

Commercial work is so important that all those engaged in it should learn how to handle it better. We should make a careful study of all useful commercial experience and train cadres and experts according to plan, so as to raise China's socialist commerce to a still higher level.

## CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Culture and education occupy an important place in socialist construction as a whole. During the past few years they have made great headway in our country. The enrollment in institutions of higher learning has increased from 116,000 in 1949 to 380,000, as planned, in 1956; in secondary schools, from 1,268,000 to 5,860,000; and in primary schools, from 24,390,000 to some 57,700,000. The number of books printed has risen from over 100 million copies in the early days of liberation to 1,600 million this year; during the same period the number of hospital and sanatorium beds has risen from 106,000 to 339,000.

The Second Five-Year Plan provides for an increase in enrollment in institutions of higher learning of about 100 per cent; enrollment in secondary vocational schools and senior and junior middle schools will increase correspondingly. The plan also requires intensified training of specialists and development of scientific research, to facilitate mastery of the world's latest scientific achievements. Our scientists have already drawn up a preliminary overall plan for the development of science from 1956 through 1967.<sup>94</sup> The plan projects

it will take about twelve years to reach advanced world levels in urgently needed branches of science and technology. We should firmly support all scientific research bodies and institutions of higher learning in their concerted effort to realize this aim.

To enable science and art to flourish and serve the cause of socialist construction, the Party Central Committee has put forward a policy of “letting a hundred flowers blossom, a hundred schools of thought contend.” The more scientific truth is subjected to debate, the clearer it becomes, while art must allow for diversity of style. The Party should not rely on administrative orders to exercise its leadership in questions of an academic or artistic nature; it should promote free discussion and free emulation to foster the development of science and art.

To bring our cultural revolution to fruition, we must do our best gradually to wipe out illiteracy. Furthermore, financial resources permitting, we should gradually expand primary education, with a view to introducing universal compulsory primary education in different areas by stages within twelve years. At the same time, we should continue to improve general and technical education for workers and other employees and general education for government functionaries whose educational level is low. We should help minority nationalities who have no written language to create one.

We should inculcate our intelligentsia and all our people with socialist, Marxist-Leninist ideology and criticize feudal and bourgeois ideologies. We have done extensive work along these lines during the past few years, and this has contributed greatly to the success of socialist transformation in our country, but we all know that it is more difficult and takes a longer time to change old ideologies than to transform old relations of production. We must continue to improve our work on the ideological front. In criticizing feudal and bourgeois systems of thought we should exercise great care to preserve whatever is of use to people from our past cultural heritage.

In order to accomplish the various tasks in culture and education, we should expand and strengthen the ranks of intellectuals. We should train an enormous number of new intellectuals, especially of labouring-class origin, in the schools and, for cadres, through spare-time education. At the same time, we should enlist the service of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals in building socialism and learn from them. However, we should not allow their bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas to corrupt the ranks of the proletariat. Instead,

we should make every effort to help them become new intellectuals closely linked to the working people. Thanks to our Party's systematic work over a long period of time, a great majority of our intellectuals have already formed a close alliance with the workers and peasants; a considerable number have become believers in communism and have joined our Party. Our task from now on is to carry through the policy of uniting, educating and remoulding the intellectuals and to make better use of them, so that they will render still more effective service to the great cause of building up our motherland.

#### IV . THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE STATE

The fundamental question of the revolution is the question of state power. Why is it that we have been able to basically change the face of our country and score such tremendous achievements in socialist transformation and construction within the short space of seven years? Is it not because we have succeeded in leading the working class and the broad masses of people to seize political power throughout the country? Is it not because ours is an entirely new type of state power, that of a people's democratic dictatorship?

In order to develop on a large scale socialist construction, which has already started, and complete the socialist transformation in our country, we must continue to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship and improve the work of the state.

The state we founded, like other socialist countries, is the most democratic, efficient and consolidated in the history of mankind. The founding of the People's Republic of China has lifted several hundred million people from the status of slaves, hitherto humiliated and injured, suffering from cold and hunger, to that of masters. Their life and liberty are now guaranteed, their labour is honoured, and men and women are equals. Large numbers of outstanding workers, peasants, women and youth participate in state administration, thus forming state organs that serve the people industriously and honestly. Our country is united as never before. Thorough democratic reform, victory in the suppression of counter-revolutionaries,<sup>57</sup> achievements in socialist transformation, development of socialist construction, and other measures taken by the People's Government have given our society unprecedented stability.

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All states in the world are, in essence, class dictatorships. The question is which class exercises dictatorship over the other classes. All landlord-bourgeois states are instruments whereby the minority rules over the majority, exploiters rule over the labouring people. The great achievement of the Russian October Revolution is that it reversed this situation for the first time, turning the state into one in which the majority rules over the minority, the labouring people rule over the exploiters. Although our revolution has many of its own characteristics, Chinese Communists regard their cause as a continuation of the great October Revolution. Our people's democratic dictatorship is a dictatorship of the masses, led by the working class, over the reactionary classes, reactionary cliques and exploiters who oppose the socialist revolution. Our democracy belongs not to a minority but to the overwhelming majority — to the workers, peasants and all other labouring people, as well as to all those who support socialism and love their country.

The people's democratic dictatorship in our country has gone through a period of bourgeois-democratic revolution and is passing through a period of socialist revolution. Before nationwide victory in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, a people's democratic dictatorship had already been established in the revolutionary base areas. This dictatorship performed the mission of a bourgeois-democratic revolution because it accomplished reforms only in the feudal land system. It did not change the ownership of means of production by the national bourgeoisie or individual ownership by the peasants. After the founding of the People's Republic the people's democratic dictatorship began to shoulder the task of transition from capitalism to socialism. That is, it had to change private ownership of means of production by the bourgeoisie and small producers into socialist, public ownership and completely eliminate the exploitation of man by man. Such state power, in essence, can only be a dictatorship of the proletariat. Only when the proletariat, through its vanguard, the Chinese Communist Party, has employed this weapon of state power without the slightest hitch and rallied closely around itself all the working people and all other forces ready to accept socialism and implement jointly the proletariat's policy, and on the one hand has directed economic and cultural activities towards socialist transition and on the other hand suppressed the resistance of reactionary classes and cliques and guarded against intervention by foreign imperialists, will it be able to fulfill this serious, complex task.

Obviously, since our peasants and national bourgeoisie, without the leadership of the proletariat, were unable to gain victory even in the stage of bourgeois-democratic revolution, what social force other than the proletariat can take on such a responsibility of leadership in the stage of socialist revolution? Without the firm, far-sighted, impartial and selfless leadership of the proletariat, even poverty-stricken peasants cannot really move towards socialism, much less the bourgeoisie, to which, by nature, socialism is utterly alien. That our bourgeoisie has accepted socialist transformation with a fanfare of gongs and drums is something of a miracle, proving the great strength of the correct leadership of the proletariat and the absolute need for a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Some people may ask, "Since our people's democratic dictatorship at the present stage is in essence a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, why is it that other classes, other parties and democrats having no party affiliation participate in exercising state power? Why is it necessary for a people's democratic united front to continue to exist in our country?"

We must realize that dictatorship of the proletariat requires not only that the proletariat exercise strong leadership over state organs, but also that the people participate in state organs. Neither can be dispensed with. The proletariat can establish dictatorship by the great majority over reactionary classes and achieve socialism only by allying with people capable of embracing socialism. Is this not perfectly clear? "The dictatorship of the proletariat," said Lenin, "is a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the working people (petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these strata. . . an alliance for the final establishment and consolidation of socialism."<sup>95</sup> The scope of the class alliance referred to by Lenin may vary depending on historical conditions, but without a doubt the dictatorship of the proletariat is always a definite form of class alliance.

The worker-peasant alliance is the basis of the people's democratic dictatorship and of the people's democratic united front in our country. Over 80 per cent of our population are peasants. It would be impossible to achieve socialism without an alliance with the peasantry. In the course of protracted revolutionary struggles our Party entered into flesh-and-blood relations with the peasantry. Since the founding of the People's Republic we have paid attention to the further streng-

thening of these relations: in the land reform, in the movement for mutual aid and co-operation, in guiding agricultural production and economic and cultural affairs in the villages, and in the formulation and implementation of tax, grain and price policies. The peasantry occupies an important position in the political life of our country. Practically all the working personnel in the numerous state organs in rural areas throughout the country are peasants. However, we must admit that in our work attention paid to the concrete interests of the peasantry has been insufficient. Since agricultural co-operativization the worker-peasant alliance has entered a new, more advanced stage, but at the same time, overestimation of the present economic capacity of the agricultural co-operatives by many Party organizations and state organs and their abuse of the "conveniences" resulting from co-operativization have given rise once more to a tendency towards authoritarianism in rural work. In order to further consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, we must resolutely overcome these shortcomings.

This policy towards the peasants likewise applies to handicraftsmen, shopkeepers, pedlars and other individual labourers who have recently joined co-operatives of different kinds. They, too, form an important social stratum in our country. Because they live and work separately, our contact with them has been rather inadequate. They have now organized themselves and face many urgent problems that have to be solved. We must take effective measures to strengthen our relations with them and pay proper attention to their economic and political interests.

The national bourgeoisie occupies a special position in our people's democratic dictatorship and in our people's democratic united front. During the War of Resistance Against Japan certain representatives of the national bourgeoisie were already in government organs in the revolutionary base areas. Since this was during the period of bourgeois-democratic revolution, it was easy to understand. Since the founding of the People's Republic even more representatives of the national bourgeoisie and its parties have been taking part in the organs of our state, under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Furthermore, they have maintained a political alliance with the working class and the Communist Party in the building of socialism. Why is this? What can be the meaning of such an alliance today, when socialist transformation has already been achieved in the main? Isn't it something of a burden?

True, the national bourgeoisie, including big, middle and small capitalists and bourgeois intellectuals and excluding the bureaucrat-capitalists, constitutes the smallest class in our society. Furthermore, this class is very weak both politically and economically. However, now and in the past it has always had considerable influence and played an important role in our society. This is because, historically, it developed modern industry, led the old democratic revolution, participated in the new-democratic revolution to a certain degree, and, under the particular conditions after the founding of the People's Republic of China, accepted the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party and, later, socialist transformation. It is also because, at a comparatively early date, this class acquired modern culture and gained some knowledge of technology and management of modern enterprises. Even today it is a class comparatively rich in modern knowledge and includes a comparatively large number of intellectuals and specialists. During the past few years the national bourgeoisie has taken part in the rehabilitation of the national economy. It has participated in, or given support to, such struggles as land reform, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, and the Movement to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea. It has thus helped us isolate the enemy to the greatest possible extent and has added to the strength of the revolution. In the course of socialist transformation, the alliance of the working class with the national bourgeoisie has facilitated education and remoulding of bourgeois elements. In the future we can continue uniting, educating and remoulding them through this alliance, so that they will place their knowledge in the service of socialist construction. Thus, it can readily be seen that it is wrong to regard this alliance as a futile encumbrance.

In recent years most of the national bourgeoisie have experienced the profound change of socialist transformation. Our task is to maintain and improve our co-operation with them, drawing on their abilities and expertise and helping them further remould themselves. Such co-operation should, as in the past, involve simultaneously uniting with them and struggling against them. Class struggle will continue until socialist transformation is complete. Even after that, there will be struggles between socialist and capitalist stands, viewpoints and methods over a long period of time. Our principal ways of conducting such struggles are education and persuasion. Compulsory methods of reform are adopted, depending on the specific circumstan-

ces in each case, only for the few individuals who are hostile towards socialism and violate state laws.

The democratic parties in our country were organized mainly during the War of Resistance Against Japan, and their relationship with our Party has long been one of co-operation. When the People's Republic of China was founded, they took part in the People's Government. Thereafter, they came gradually to support the cause of socialism. It is our view that, from now on, a policy of long-term co-existence of the Communist Party and the democratic parties and of mutual supervision should be adopted. The social basis of China's democratic parties is the national bourgeoisie, the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals of these classes. After completion of socialist transformation, members of the national bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie will form part of the socialist working people, and the democratic parties will become the parties for these working people. Since remaining bourgeois ideology will linger for a long time in their minds, the democratic parties will need over a long period to keep in touch with them, represent them, and help them remould themselves. At the same time, since the democratic parties and the Communist Party will coexist for a long time, the parties will be able to supervise each other. Our Party is not motivated by self-interest; it places itself wholeheartedly in the service of the people. We still have shortcomings. It is certain we shall have shortcomings in the future, and it is likely we shall make mistakes. Of course, to overcome these shortcomings and mistakes, we must, first of all, encourage more vigorous self-criticism within our Party and rely on supervision by the working people as a whole, and we should also try to derive benefit from supervision and criticism by members of all democratic parties and by democrats without party affiliation.

Representatives of the democratic parties and democrats without party affiliation occupy important posts in many of our state organs. There are also a large number of non-Party people working in our government organs, schools, enterprises and armed forces. This situation requires that Party members establish good relations and work in co-operation with them. We raise this issue because some Party members insist that everything be "of one colour"; they are unwilling to have non-Party people working in state organs, do not consult with them when circumstances require, and do not respect the authority that goes with their posts. This is a sectarian viewpoint.

Communists, at any given time, constitute a minority of the people. Therefore they have the obligation to co-operate with non-Party people under all circumstances. The Party must educate unco-operative members into speedily overcoming such shortcomings. This, at present, is one of the important tasks in consolidating the people's democratic united front.

With the triumphant advance of the socialist cause in our country, the scope of our people's democratic united front will become ever broader. We should persist in uniting with individuals from the upper strata of the minority nationalities, patriots in religious circles, and other patriots who are influential in society in one way or another. We should continue to unite with patriotic Chinese living abroad; they, too, are a component part of the united front. In short, our task is to mobilize all positive factors to contribute to the building of socialism.

It can thus be seen that the broadest united front and the broadest patriotic unity do not impair our proletarian dictatorship but aid its consolidation and development.

Our state system combines a high degree of democracy with a high degree of centralism. This system has shown its superiority in our country during the last few years. Of course this does not mean that the work of the state is perfect and flawless. In their work many of the state organs and their functionaries often depart from the correct principles of our state system; they obstruct the vigour and strength of our state system instead of turning them to full account. Nor do we mean that our state system has perfected itself in every respect. It will take a fairly long time for it to mature and perfect itself gradually.

What major tasks now confront us in improving our state administration?

In keeping with the new situation in socialist transformation and socialist construction, an important task for the state today is to extend democracy and carry on the struggle against bureaucratism.

Bureaucratism can be found among people in many of our state organs, who are far removed from the masses, do not understand and suppress the opinions of their subordinates and the masses and pay little attention to the wellbeing of the masses. People guilty of bureaucratism isolate themselves from the masses and reality, seriously hinder the growth of democracy in the country, hamper popular initiative and impede the advance of socialism. We must earnestly

and systematically improve the work of state organs, trim and simplify their organizations, clearly define every government worker's responsibility, and help functionaries, who busy themselves exclusively with holding meetings and signing documents, never contacting the people or studying relevant policies and the actual situation, change their ways. We should work out specific measures to ensure that leading members of all departments of the Central People's Government and provincial and municipal governments frequently visit subordinate organizations, acquaint themselves with the conditions there, check on the work done and listen to opinions. We must see to it that these things are put into practice.

The struggle against bureaucratism will be a long one, but we are fully confident that, under our people's democracy, we shall gradually eliminate vices of bureaucratism, because our state is poles apart from exploiting-class states, in which a minority of the people oppress the majority, and because our system does not protect bureaucratism but opposes it. In order to combat bureaucratism effectively, we must enforce strict supervision of the work of the state through several channels at once.

First, we should provide more effective Party leadership and supervision of state organs. Party committees at all levels should, from time to time, check on the work of Party organizations within government organs at all levels. Apart from this, all departments under Party committees should be responsible for constant supervision of Party organizations and Party members in the government departments concerned.

Second, we should reinforce supervision by the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee of the departments of the Central People's Government and supervision by all local people's congresses of all local government organs. To this end, inspection by the people's deputies should be improved, so that they can extensively collect the opinions of the masses. The people's congresses at all levels should do better in examining, criticizing and discussing the work done by the governments.

Third, we should reinforce mutual supervision of subordinates and superiors within government organs at all levels. In the struggle against bureaucratism the state supervisory organs should fully carry out the role assigned to them.

Fourth, we should strengthen supervision of state organs by the masses and low-ranking government workers. Criticism and exposure

from below must be encouraged and supported. Those who suppress people offering criticism or take revenge against critics must be duly punished.

Another important necessity in state administration today is proper readjustment of the administrative powers and functions of the central and local authorities. This also accords with the need to extend democracy and overcome bureaucratism.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, in order to establish and consolidate national unity, we opposed departmentalism, concentrating in the hands of the central authorities many affairs within its province as we should. This was absolutely necessary, but during the past few years some departments under the central authorities have taken on too many jobs and imposed too many or too rigid restrictions on local departments, ignoring special circumstances and conditions in the localities. Even when they should have consulted with the local authorities they did not do so. Some departments issued too many formalistic documents and forms, imposing too great a burden on local authorities. This not only hampered the work of the local authorities, but dissipated the energies of the central authorities and fostered the growth of bureaucratism. It is unthinkable that in such a big country the central authorities could take on all the jobs of the state and do them well. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary for the central authorities to delegate some of their administrative powers and functions to the local authorities. For much of the work of the state, such as that dealing with agriculture, small and medium-size industries, local transport, local commerce, primary and secondary education, local health services, and local finance, the central authorities should simply establish general principles and policies and map out general plans, leaving the actual work to the local authorities to carry out in a manner suitable for a particular place and a particular time. Some of the cadres working in the central organs should be sent to work in the localities. The provinces, municipalities, counties and townships should be given a definite range of administrative powers and functions. In line with this principle, the central authorities, in conjunction with local authorities, are now analysing the problem and will draw up a concrete plan and have it put into practice step by step. In this way, the initiative of both the central and local organs will find full expression, both central and local authorities will have essential flexibility, and they can also more conveniently carry out mutual

supervision. This is of great importance in advancing socialist construction on every front in our country.

It is an important task in conducting state affairs to deal correctly with questions concerning the minority nationalities. We should redouble our efforts to help the minority nationalities progress economically and culturally, so that they can play a positive role in the country's socialist construction.

Among the minority nationalities great changes have taken place in the past few years. In most areas democratic reform and socialist transformation have already won decisive victories. Of the more than 35 million minority-nationality people in China, 28 million inhabit areas where socialist transformation has basically been completed; 2.2 million inhabit areas where it is under way; and nearly 2 million inhabit areas where democratic reforms are being conducted; thus only some 3 million still inhabit areas where democratic reforms have not yet been started. In the future, in regions still awaiting democratic reforms and socialist transformation, we should continue to pursue the prudent policy we have been pursuing all along. That is to say, all reforms must be deliberated carefully and settled through consultation with the people and the public leaders of the nationality concerned and in accordance with the wishes of the nationality itself. Reform should be carried out through peaceful means, without violent struggle. After members of the upper strata of the minority nationalities have stopped exploiting and oppressing the working people, the state will take appropriate measures to see that their political treatment and living standards are not impaired and will convince people of the need for co-operation with them for a long time to come. As for religious beliefs in minority-nationality areas, we should persistently pursue a policy of freedom of religious belief and never interfere in such matters during social reform. We should help those with a religious vocation to find proper solutions for any livelihood difficulties they may face.

The key to modernizing the minority nationalities, besides carrying out social reform, is to develop modern industries in their areas. During the First Five-Year Plan period the state has established a number of industrial bases in some minority-nationality areas and started a number of large-scale modern industries and transport services. It will continue to do so during the Second Five-Year Plan period. This accords with the common, fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities in the country. The people of Han nationality

and of all minority nationalities should work hard together for complete realization of this state plan. At the same time, to meet the special needs of the minority peoples, central ministries and departments, provincial governments and governments of autonomous regions should gradually start up a number of local industries in areas inhabited by the minority nationalities, observing the principle of keeping within the objectively feasible and economically rational. In all such industries, whether under the central or local authorities, the minority nationalities should be helped to form their own working class and create their own scientific, technical and administrative personnel. Only thus can they fairly rapidly reach modern levels of development in all fields.

Owing to historical conditions, the minority nationalities need enormous aid from the Han people to carry out social reform and economic and cultural development. Hence continued improvement of relations between the Han and minority peoples and cadres is of particular importance. At present, the key to improving these relations lies in overcoming Han chauvinism.

In the past few years a great many Han cadres have been working in areas inhabited by the minority nationalities. Most of them faithfully followed the Party's policy towards nationalities, accomplished the tasks assigned to them by the Party, and earned the appreciation of the minority peoples. However, some Han cadres did not respect the authority and opinions of minority-nationality cadres and instead of patiently helping the minority nationalities run their own house, simply took everything into their own hands. These shortcomings and mistakes indicate a tendency towards Han chauvinism in the minds of some comrades.

As all the nationalities in China have together created China's history and culture, so too in future will they certainly build our great socialist motherland together. China's minority nationalities have not all reached the same level of development, but it is absolutely not true that all are backward in all fields. Some have attained the same or roughly the same level as the Han people; others have reached a higher level in one respect or another, and the Han people should learn from them. Each nationality has its strong points. The idea that the minority nationalities are good at nothing and inferior in every way to the Han nationality is a manifestation of Han chauvinism.

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To overlook the important part played by the minority nationalities in the socialist construction of our country is another manifestation of Han chauvinism. Although the minority-nationality peoples constitute only 6 per cent of the country's total population, the areas they inhabit amount to roughly 60 per cent of the country's total area. Many of these areas are rich in various kinds of industrial resources. It is obviously wrong to think that China can become a great socialist country through the efforts of the Han people alone — without the concerted efforts and active participation of the minority nationalities.

All such Han chauvinistic tendencies and views must be infallibly corrected. Only by overcoming any slightest manifestation of Han chauvinism will it be possible to successfully eliminate sentiments of local nationalism among the minority nationalities and enable all the fraternal nationalities to unite all the more closely in our big family of a people's democracy.

In order to consolidate our people's democratic dictatorship, preserve order for socialist construction, protect the people's democratic rights, and punish counter-revolutionaries and other criminals, an urgent task facing our state is to begin systematic codification of a fairly complete set of laws and to put the legal system of the country on a sound footing.

During the revolutionary war and in the early days following liberation the only expedient way to weed out remaining enemies, suppress counter-revolutionary resistance, destroy reactionary order and establish revolutionary order was to draw up temporary laws, in the nature of general principles, in accordance with Party and government policies. During this period the chief aim of the struggle was to liberate the people from reactionary rule and free the productive forces from the bondage of old relations of production. The principal method of struggle was to lead the masses in direct action. Such general-principle laws were thus suited to the needs of the time. Now, however, the period of revolutionary storm and stress is past, new relations of production have been set up, and our struggle has become one aimed at safeguarding the successful development of the productive forces. Consequently, a corresponding change has to be made in the methods of struggle, and a complete legal system becomes an absolute necessity. Everyone in the country, in order to maintain a normal life and foster production, must be convinced that as long as he does not violate the law, his civil rights are guaranteed

and shall not be encroached upon by any organization or individual. If his civil rights are unlawfully encroached upon, the state will intervene. All state organs must strictly observe the law, and our public security departments, procuratorial offices and courts must observe the system of division of function and mutual supervision in legal affairs.

The counter-revolutionaries are bent on undermining our state and our construction and endangering the security of the people, so it is the duty of our state organs to suppress and weed them out. In 1950 we led a nationwide struggle for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and dealt their activities a severe blow. In 1955 we carried out a campaign against counter-revolutionaries in society at large and ferreted out those hidden in public organizations throughout the country. As a result of these large-scale mass campaigns, social order has been greatly improved and national security strengthened.

In dealing with counter-revolutionaries and other criminals, we have all along followed the policy of combining punishment with leniency. All who make honest confession, repent their crimes and perform meritorious services receive lenient treatment. As everyone knows, this policy has achieved great results. Since the second half of last year this policy of combining punishment with leniency, the upsurge of socialist transformation, and the enhanced political consciousness and better organization of the masses have made it increasingly difficult for counter-revolutionaries to carry out their activities. As a result, a sharp split has taken place among the counter-revolutionaries. Whole batches of them have given themselves up to the government. This proves, on the one hand, that counter-revolutionaries are still at large and it is absolutely wrong to think we can relax our vigilance and, on the other hand, that so long as our policy is correct, counter-revolutionaries can be wiped out, and it is groundless for people to believe that counter-revolutionary activities are getting more serious.

Our public security organs, procuratorial offices and courts should continue to wage a determined struggle against counter-revolutionaries and other criminals, but, as already mentioned, this struggle must be conducted with strict observance of the law, and, in view of the current situation, further steps must be taken to put the policy of leniency into practice. The Party Central Committee holds that, with the exception of a handful of criminals who have to be con-

demned to death in response to public indignation at their atrocious crimes, no offenders should be given the death penalty, and while serving their terms of imprisonment, they should be accorded absolutely humane treatment. All cases involving the death penalty should be decided upon or sanctioned by the Supreme People's Court. In this way we shall finally achieve our aim of completely abolishing the death penalty, and this is all to the good of socialist construction.

Furthermore, in order to defend our country, we should continue to strengthen our national defence and our national defence army — the glorious Chinese People's Liberation Army. The People's Liberation Army should try to raise its fighting capacity to a higher level, guard our frontiers and coasts vigilantly and defend our territorial integrity.

Our motherland's territory of Taiwan is still under the occupation of the U.S. imperialists, which constitutes a most serious threat to the security of our country. The liberation of Taiwan is entirely China's internal affair. We are willing to bring Taiwan back to the embrace of the motherland through the peaceful means of negotiation and avoid the use of force. If force has to be used, it will be only when all possibilities for peaceful negotiation have been exhausted or peaceful negotiations have failed. Whatever means we adopt we shall win ultimate victory in the just liberation of Taiwan.

## V. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In order to make our country a great socialist state, we must unite not only with all the forces at home that can be united with but with all the forces throughout the world that can be united with and work to bring about favourable international conditions.

What is the international situation right now?

Generally speaking, the present international situation is favourable to our socialist construction, because since the Second World War the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace have grown to an unprecedented extent, whereas the policy pursued by the imperialist aggressive bloc of active expansion, opposition to peaceful coexistence and preparation for a new world war has become increasingly unpopular. Under these conditions the

world situation can only lead to a relaxation of tension; lasting world peace is beginning to become a possibility.

There was no other socialist country in the world when the people of the Soviet Union embarked upon their socialist construction after the October Revolution, but today as the people of our country are carrying on socialist construction, conditions are fundamentally different. Since the Second World War not only has the Soviet Union become more powerful, but many new socialist countries have come into being in Europe and Asia. The socialist countries, including China, have a combined population of over nine hundred million — one-third of the world's total population — and are linked together geographically as one vast expanse of land, forming a big family of fraternal, socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union. Fraternal friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation are constantly being developed and consolidated. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have re-established friendly relations with the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. China has also established diplomatic relations and developed friendly intercourse with that country.

At the present time, the socialist countries are mobilizing all their peoples in the service of peaceful socialist construction; their industry and agriculture are forging ahead at a rate the capitalist countries can hardly equal. In our foreign relations we firmly follow our consistent policy of peace and advocate peaceful coexistence, friendship and co-operation among all nations. We believe in the superiority of the socialist system and we are not afraid to engage in peaceful competition with capitalist countries. Our policy accords with the interests of all the peoples of the world. All forces that love peace, demand national independence and work for social progress will have our sympathy and support. The socialist countries enjoy ever increasing prestige among peoples throughout the world and are exerting an ever greater influence on developments in the international situation. The socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, have become a stout bulwark in the struggle for lasting world peace.

The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held last February, was an important political event of world significance. It not only drew up the Sixth Five-Year Plan of gigantic proportions, decided on many important policies and principles for further development of the cause of socialism, and repudiated the personality cult, which had had grave consequences inside the Party, but also advocated further promotion of peaceful coexistence and

international co-operation, making an outstanding contribution to the easing of world tension.

The strength and solidarity of the socialist countries constitute a most favourable international condition for the socialist construction of our country.

Another development of great historic significance since the Second World War is the extensive victories gained in the movement for national independence. Besides the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China, which have already taken the road to socialism, a number of countries in Asia and Africa have shaken off colonial bondage and achieved national independence. These nationally independent countries, our great neighbour India included, have a total population of more than six hundred million, or one-fourth of the human race. The overwhelming majority of these countries are pursuing a foreign policy of peace and neutrality. They are playing a growing role in world affairs. The success of the Asian-African Conference at Bandung<sup>96</sup> and new developments in national independence movements in many Asian and African countries, especially the recent world-shaking event — the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company by Egypt<sup>97</sup> — prove that the movement for national independence has become a formidable world force. In the past, most of the countries in Asia and Africa were colonies or semi-colonies of imperialism and were converted by the imperialists into rear areas for preparing and waging wars. Now these countries have become forces opposing colonialism and war and upholding peaceful coexistence. In the meantime, the struggle against colonialism is spreading in Latin American countries. The imperialists are doing their utmost to hold back the rising tide of the national independence movement, but this tide cannot be held back. It will, in the end, sweep over the whole of Asia, Africa and Latin America, thus terminating the rule of colonialism once and for all.

There can be no doubt that the existence of the socialist countries and their sympathy and support for the national independence movement have greatly facilitated the development of and victory in this movement. At the same time, the upsurge of the national independence movement has weakened the imperialist forces of aggression. This is favourable to the cause of world peace and therefore favourable to the peaceful construction of the socialist countries. That is why friendship and co-operation between the socialist countries and

the nationally independent countries conform not only to their common interests but to the interests of world peace as well.

These great historical changes run counter to the desires of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. U.S. monopoly capital, taking advantage of the favourable position it gained as a result of the wealth amassed during the Second World War, has engaged in frantic expansionist activities since the war, first and foremost gaining control over the vanquished countries — Germany, Japan, etc. — and seizing the spheres of influence of Britain, France and other countries in Asia and Africa, doing its utmost to dominate the world. It has organized military blocs, established military bases, created international tension and prepared for a new war. U.S. imperialism describes all these activities as “defence against communist aggression”, but, after all, lies cannot cover up facts. Aggression is utterly incompatible with socialism. In socialist countries the class depending upon aggression, colonies and foreign markets for its fortune has been eliminated, and the social roots of aggression against foreign countries have, therefore, been completely destroyed. In imperialist countries, however, groups dependent upon aggression to make their fortunes will never, of their own accord, desist from aggression. The facts are very clear to the people of the world. The Soviet Union, China, and the other socialist countries champion the principle of peaceful coexistence and the development of economic and cultural relations between the East and the West, and these countries have taken the lead in reducing their armed forces and military expenditures. U.S. imperialism is doing just the opposite; it continues its arms drive, opposes the development of East-West relations, and fears peaceful coexistence as much as it does doomsday. At this very moment U.S. armed forces are occupying China’s Taiwan and overrunning the territories of Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and the countries of Western Europe, all thousands of kilometres away from the borders of the United States.

The use of the slogans of “defence against communism” and “fighting communism” as a smoke screen to cover up the attempt of a country to dominate the world was already prevalent even before the Second World War. Naturally the imperialists nurse extreme hatred for the socialist countries, but they also know that the socialist countries, strong and united as one, cannot be shaken. Therefore, the main activities of U.S. imperialism at present are actually, under the pretext of “fighting communism”, to suppress its own people and,

as far as possible, control and interfere in the vast areas lying between the socialist countries and the United States.

These activities of the U.S. imperialists have met with increasing opposition from all quarters and have further intensified the inherent contradictions within the capitalist system itself. The countries and peoples that once suffered or are suffering from colonialism are becoming increasingly aware that U.S. imperialists are today the biggest and most predatory colonialists. In Asia and Africa an ever growing number of nationally independent countries have adopted the policy of peace and neutrality, refusing to join the aggressive military bloc of the United States. This has put a powerful check on the colonial expansion of U.S. imperialism. Among the Western nations, too, an ever larger number have gradually come to realize the real damage done to them by the expansionist policy of the United States. Neutralist tendencies on the part of these nations are also growing with each passing day. They refuse to let themselves be tied to the American war chariot and they favour, instead, peaceful coexistence with socialist countries. Britain and France, the two major allies of the United States, once hoped to maintain their vested interest by relying upon the power of the United States. But in fact, trailing after the U.S. policy of arms drives and war preparations has only exposed them to penetration by American influence, while the heavy burden of military expenditure has an increasingly harmful effect on the development of their national economies. This has in turn intensified dissatisfaction with and opposition to American monopoly and domination on the part of the major allies of the United States and has particularly intensified the contradictions between Britain and the United States. At the same time, among the broad masses of the people in various Western countries, the movements for peace and democracy, in opposition to the U.S. policy of arms drives and war preparations, are expanding on an ever wider scale. The American people themselves have gradually come to realize what back-breaking burdens this policy has imposed on them and the peril of war it has brought. Even inside the ruling circles of the United States some sober-minded people are becoming more and more aware that the policy of war may not, after all, be to America's advantage.

The foreign policy pursued by the ruling circles of Britain and France has now landed themselves in a morass of contradictions and confusion. Under the impact of the existing international situation as a whole, Britain and France have to some extent expressed their

desire for peaceful coexistence, yet still attempt to cling to the privileges of colonialism. They are unwilling to abandon the policy of resorting to force and the threat of force against the national independence movements. This has been clearly shown particularly by developments since the government of Egypt took back the Suez Canal Company. The British and French governments plan to resort to military intervention to violate the sacred sovereignty of Egypt and seize the Suez Canal again. The United States supports the aggressive actions of Britain and France on the one hand, while on the other, it attempts to take advantage of the situation to seize their interests in the Middle East. The struggle between the imperialist policy of aggression and the movement of nationally independent states against aggression is being intensified in the Middle East. Egypt has widespread sympathy all over the world. Public opinion throughout the world demands a peaceful settlement of the dispute over the Suez Canal. If, instead of following the road of peaceful settlement, Britain and France choose to carry out armed intervention, they will not only meet heroic resistance from the Egyptian people and the people of Arab countries, but inevitably arouse resolute opposition from the people in the socialist camp, Asia, Africa, Latin America and Western countries as well as from the people in Britain and France themselves. The world is heading for peace. The policy of armed intervention on the question of the Suez Canal, and indeed on all other questions relating to the national independence movement, can result only in utter failure.

There can be no doubt that the imperialists will continue to create tense situations, that they will continue to oppress all peoples whom it is within their power to oppress, and that the danger of war still exists. We shall be making a mistake if we slacken our vigilance on this point. In its struggle for peace and progress mankind has still to traverse a most tortuous and devious path, but the overall outlook for the world is a bright one. Given the solidarity and concerted efforts of the forces of the socialist countries and the forces for peace and democracy the world over, lasting peace for the world and the cause of human progress will eventually triumph.

Our firm and steadfast policy in international affairs is to work for world peace and human progress. In the past few years our efforts in this respect have been fruitful.

During their revolutionary struggle the Chinese people had the support of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, headed by

the Soviet Union. Shortly after the founding of the People's Republic of China, we concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the great Soviet Union.<sup>11</sup> Events over the past few years have shown that the great alliance between China and the Soviet Union is a main pillar of peace in the Far East and the world. The Soviet Union has given great assistance to socialist construction in our country, and the people's democracies in Europe and Asia have also given us help in various ways. The Chinese people will never forget this comradely assistance from fraternal countries. Such assistance has been and will always be indispensable to us. The unity and friendship between China and the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, built upon a foundation of a community of objectives and mutual assistance, are unbreakable and will last forever. To further consolidate and strengthen this unity and friendship is our supreme international duty and is the basis of our foreign policy.

China has itself suffered from the scourge of colonialism. China's territory, Taiwan, is even now under the control of the United States. The Chinese people deeply sympathize with and actively support all oppressed peoples and all countries suffering from aggression in their struggle against colonialism and for national independence. Every victory won in this struggle, whether in Asia, Africa or Latin America, will further strengthen the forces of peace.

China has much in common, in terms of past experience and present circumstances, and cherished hopes, with other countries of Asia and Africa that have just freed themselves from colonial rule. In international relations in general and in our mutual relations in particular we all share the desire for mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. These common desires are embodied in the five principles initiated by China and India. Acting on these principles, we have already established ties of friendship and co-operation with many Asian and African countries, thereby promoting peace in this area.

On the basis of the five principles we are trying, in the first place, to establish good-neighbour relations with all neighbouring countries. We have profound and traditional friendship with these countries and there is no dispute between us that cannot be settled. Certain questions left over from the past exist between our country and some

neighbouring countries. The imperialists are trying their utmost to take advantage of this situation in order to undermine and disrupt our efforts to develop or establish friendly relations with neighbouring countries, but this attempt is doomed to failure. All issues between China and its neighbouring countries can be settled by peaceful negotiation in accordance with the five principles. The development or establishment of friendly relations between China and its neighbouring countries is in our interest as well as theirs.

China has already established normal relations with a number of Western countries in Europe.

China is prepared to establish normal diplomatic relations with all countries that have not yet established diplomatic relations with it. We believe that the establishment of such relations will be beneficial to both sides.

Our policy of peaceful coexistence based on the five principles does not exclude any country. We have the same desire for peaceful coexistence with the United States, but the United States has been consistently hostile to our country. It has occupied our territory of Taiwan, sent spies into our country to engage in subversive activities, imposed an embargo on our country, done its utmost to bar us from international affairs, and insolently deprived us of our rightful place in the United Nations. Despite all this, our government has made efforts to settle our disputes with the United States by peaceful negotiation. We have repeatedly proposed a conference between the foreign ministers of China and the United States to ease as well as eliminate the tension in the Taiwan area. Our efforts in this connection are solely for the purpose of easing international tension and by no means signify acquiescence in aggression. As people all over the world know, the Chinese people will not hesitate to make sacrifices to safeguard the independence and security of their motherland, but even now the attitude of the United States government towards us is far from realistic or reasonable. What is the result? Despite the fact that the U.S. imperialists have resorted to all kinds of vicious means to disrupt our country and have attempted to isolate us, the great New China stands firm on its feet in this world. Justice is on our side; worldwide sympathy is with us. It is not we who are isolated, but the U.S. imperialists. If the U.S. imperialists do not want to suffer further setbacks, their only way out is to adopt a realistic, reasonable attitude towards our country. All this is no longer a secret, even to the Americans themselves.

The Chinese people and all the peoples of the world need peace. They all want to promote economic and cultural relations and friendly contacts with one another. In the past few years the Chinese people have participated in all kinds of international activities beneficial to world peace. We have developed economic and cultural exchanges with the peoples of various countries and developed contacts with the people's organizations and public figures of different countries. Though we have come up against many man-made obstacles in all these activities, every day we are winning more friends all over the world. Facts prove that the iron curtain is not on our side; our doors are wide open to all.

Such is the basic policy we have followed in dealing with international affairs. We shall continue to carry out this policy.

## VI. THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY

During the period from the Seventh to the Eighth National Party Congress, our Party, along with the victory in the revolution and the changes that have taken place in China, has also undergone great changes. It now exercises leadership across the land and enjoys a very high prestige among the people. The Party has grown, with a membership of 10.73 million, of whom 14 per cent come from the ranks of the workers, 69 per cent from the peasantry and 12 per cent from the intellectuals. Party organizations are spread throughout the country and among the various nationalities as well. The overwhelming majority of Party members have been tempered in great revolutionary struggles. Even members who joined the Party after 1949 — more than 60 per cent of the entire membership — are, in the main, outstanding activists who have come forward in the mass revolutionary struggles and socialist construction of the last few years. On the whole, the Party has maintained closer ties with the people, has gained richer and more comprehensive experience in its work, and is more strongly united than ever before.

As I have said earlier, the cause of socialism in China cannot do without the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is realized through the leadership of the party of the proletariat — the Communist Party. The leadership strength of the Chinese Communist Party stems from Marxism-Leninism — its ideological weapon, its correct political and

organizational lines, its rich experience in struggle and work, and its ability to crystallize the wisdom of all the people and turn that wisdom into a unified will and disciplined action. Not only in the past, but in the future too, the leadership of such a party is essential in order to enable China to deal effectively with complex domestic and international affairs. This view is shared by the people of all strata and all the democratic parties in our country as a result of their experience gained in life.

Nevertheless, in socialist construction a few comrades have tried to weaken the leading role of the Party. They confuse Party leadership in terms of principles and policies in various spheres of state affairs with purely technical matters; they think that since the Party is still a layman on the technical side of these things, it should not exercise leadership over such work, while they themselves can go on taking arbitrary action. We have criticized this wrong view. In all work the Party should and can play a leading role ideologically, politically and in matters of principle and policy. Of course, that does not mean the Party should take everything into its own hands or interfere in everything. Neither does it mean that it should be content to be the layman about things it doesn't understand. The Party calls on its cadres and members to study diligently in order to master the things they do not understand in their work, for the more they study, the better they shall be able to lead.

As I have said before, the line followed by the Party since its Seventh Congress has been proved correct by facts, but that does not mean that in shouldering the increasingly heavy tasks of today the Party will have no difficulties or make no mistakes. In the socialist transformation and construction and the political life of the country, we have made mistakes of a temporary nature and of limited scope. In handling international affairs we have not been entirely free of shortcomings and mistakes either. Therefore, one of the tasks confronting the Party leadership is to study and analyse past mistakes and draw lessons from them, so as to avoid making mistakes in future, avoid as far as possible repeating past mistakes, and prevent small mistakes from developing into big ones.

To enable our Party to continue exercising correct and sound leadership in future, the main thing is for Party organizations and Party members to avoid making ideological mistakes. There are struggles in our Party between correct and wrong ideology and between the correct and the wrong line. These struggles are reflections

of class struggle and various social phenomena. Since China has been a country in which the petty bourgeoisie constitutes the majority of its population, the feelings and sentiments of this class often influence us and constantly exert pressure on us. The bourgeoisie likewise influences us in various ways. Therefore, the Party has to conduct constant inner-Party education so as to prevent the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies from impairing its political purity. Our mistakes have not only social roots, but also ideological roots. If a person does not understand that a correct view can be based only on an objective, all-round reflection of reality, but instead insists on acting according to his own wishful thinking, he is bound to make mistakes, great or small, even though his intentions are good. In order to prevent mistakes, therefore, he has to acquire an accurate knowledge of objective reality and correctly differentiate between right and wrong.

In view of the fact that nine out of ten of our members joined the Party after the Seventh Congress, we think it would not be without practical value to review briefly the basic past experience gained by the Party in effectively overcoming the wrong line with the correct one.

During the thirty-five years of its existence our Party has four times made serious mistakes in its line: namely, the mistakes of Chen Duxiu's Right opportunist line in the first half of 1927<sup>98</sup> and the mistakes of the "Left" opportunist line on three occasions in the following seven years.<sup>99</sup> But during the twenty-one years since the Zunyi Meeting of January 1935<sup>100</sup> our Party, under the leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, has not made any mistakes in its line. How can this historic change be explained? Quite obviously, not merely by the length of the Party's existence or the amount of experience gained by the Party, for the mistakes committed by the Party between 1931 and 1934 were more serious than the "Left" mistakes committed twice before. Nor can the change be explained merely by the personal calibre of the leader of the Party in a certain period, for the majority of the leaders who had previously made mistakes did good work later for the Party. The history of the Party leads us to this conclusion: the amount of experience gained by the Party and the choice of leaders do have an important bearing on whether the Party makes mistakes, but more important is whether rank-and-file Party members and, primarily, high-ranking cadres can, in different periods, apply the Marxist-

Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to the analysis of experience in struggle, hold fast to the truth and correct mistakes. This is the primary criterion by which the level of Marxist-Leninist understanding of Party cadres is judged. The higher their level of Marxist-Leninist understanding, the greater their ability to distinguish between right and wrong opinions and good and bad leaders and their ability in work.

Before 1934 the Party had accumulated rich experience, but its leading body at the time did not make a serious study of it. True, the Party on several occasions repudiated wrong lines, but it did so merely by taking disciplinary measures against leaders who had made mistakes, instead of making a correct analysis of these mistakes or pointing out that these mistakes had stemmed from their ideological understanding; thus it failed to help the Party cadres raise the level of their understanding. Particularly during the years from 1931 through 1934, when the “Left” opportunists, headed by Wang Ming,<sup>101</sup> Bo Gu<sup>102</sup> and other comrades, held sway in the Party, the leaders failed to learn lessons from mistaken lines followed on several occasions in the past; worse still their dogmatic way of thinking and their high-handed, arbitrary way of doing things increased the mistakes of subjectivism and sectarianism to dimensions unheard of in the history of our Party. They adopted extremely adventurist policies in both political and military affairs, completely disregarding the actual conditions of the various classes in China at that time and ignoring the relative strength of ourselves compared with that of the enemy. In inner-Party life, too, they completely wrecked the democratic system and waged unbridled struggles. Their mistaken leadership caused serious defeats in the revolutionary struggles and resulted in the loss of 90 per cent of the revolutionary base areas and of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Red Army, and of practically all the Party organizations and revolutionary organizations led by the Party in Kuomintang areas.

Things have been different since 1935, however, when the majority of high-ranking Party cadres raised their level of political understanding by learning from their failures. After that, instead of meting out severe punishment to comrades who had made mistakes, the Party Central Committee continued to assign them to suitable leading posts, patiently waiting for and helping these comrades to recognize their mistakes ideologically. Furthermore, the Central Committee systematically helped all Party cadres to gradually grasp the principle

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of integrating Marxist-Leninist theory with practice and to understand the principle that our subjective knowledge must conform to objective reality. Thanks to great improvement in the Party's ideological and organizational work, the Party's cause developed rapidly. In order to help all Party cadres, including comrades who had made mistakes, to earnestly study the historical experience of the Party and master correct methods of thought and work, so as to make fewer mistakes, the Central Committee, seven years after the Zunyi Meeting, launched the famous Party-wide Rectification Movement to combat subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing.<sup>103</sup> In the course of the movement all Party cadres carefully examined their own ideology and work and the Party's leadership in ideological, political and organizational matters and conducted sharp criticism and self-criticism — all in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. This truly raised the level of many Party cadres' Marxist-Leninist understanding and increased their ability to distinguish between right and wrong within the Party. Large numbers of cadres began to understand the mistakes caused by dogmatism, which represents a divorce from reality, and the mistakes of empiricism, which represents a divorce from theory. They adopted a style of work based on maintaining close ties with the masses, conducting investigations and studies, and seeking truth from facts. They were thus able to make their work both inside and outside the Party conform better to reality and to avoid making major mistakes.

The historical experience gained by our Party fully demonstrates that the key to the Party's smooth advance and avoidance of major mistakes lies in overcoming subjectivism ideologically.

At the present time subjectivism still exists to a serious degree in the thought and work of many cadres, causing many otherwise avoidable losses in our work. We are now confronted with new conditions and new tasks and must solve many problems that are more complicated than those of the past and unfamiliar to us. Under such circumstances subjectivist mistakes will inevitably increase if we rest content with praise for our past victories and do not endeavour to raise the level of our Marxist-Leninist understanding, acquire new knowledge and gain professional proficiency at new jobs. At the same time, since the great multitude of new Party members have not yet received adequate training in Marxism-Leninism, they are prone to fall under the influence of subjectivism and dogmatism.

In order to effectively combat subjectivism, it is necessary to systematically raise the Marxist-Leninist level of our Party. Firstly, we should urge our cadres, primarily our high-ranking cadres, diligently and systematically to study Marxism-Leninism. They will thus become adept at applying the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method in observing and solving problems in actual life and better able to keep their bearings, distinguish between right and wrong in complex situations, study and analyse their own working experience with the aid of Marxist-Leninist theory and derive from experience knowledge of the laws governing the development of things. Secondly, we should encourage new Party members to learn how to integrate theory with practice, to gradually acquire an understanding of the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, a basic knowledge of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Party's history and the present state of our socialist construction, and realize what damage may result from subjectivism, including dogmatism and empiricism. With regard to those who are intellectuals, we should particularly help them to recognize the danger of dogmatism. Thirdly, we should improve the theoretical work of the Party. It is essential that we quickly rally people both inside and outside the Party who are engaged in scientific Marxist-Leninist research to study major problems and basic experience in China's socialist transformation and construction, current international problems, basic Marxist-Leninist theory and other branches of science closely connected with Marxism-Leninism. This series of studies should be in line with the pressing needs of the practical work of the Party and also with the pressing need to conduct education among the large numbers of Party members and young people in Marxism-Leninism and show them how to integrate theory with practice.

In order to effectively combat subjectivism, the Party's leading organs at all levels should considerably improve investigation and research into actual conditions. The mistakes of Right conservatism, impetuosity and rashness, of trying to do things by coercion and command that have occurred in the Party's work in the past few years have all stemmed from lack of earnest effort to analyse correctly actual conditions and sum up the experience of the masses. Like certain workers in state organs referred to earlier, quite a few people working in the Party have begun to get conceited and complacent. Ensconced in their offices, they indulge in empty talk, instead of making investigation, and formulate policies on the basis of their impressions,

unwilling to listen to their subordinates, check on how Party decisions are being carried out and whether these decisions have proved correct in practice, and take pains to study new things and correctly further their development. The Party should enable them to become keenly aware of the damage caused by subjectivist methods of work, as described above, and help them learn how to conduct conscientious investigations and studies of conditions among the masses and employ the working method of “from the masses, to the masses”, and realize that all this is indispensable if they are to continue to hold leading posts in the Party.

In order to have the Party’s leadership conform as much as possible with objective reality, facilitate the summing up of the experience and opinions of the masses and reduce the possibility of making mistakes, Party organizations at all levels must without exception adhere to the Party’s principle of collective leadership and broaden democratic practice within the Party. All important questions must be thoroughly discussed by the proper collective bodies before decisions are made, and free argument and debate of diverse views must be allowed, so that various opinions from the masses, both inside and outside the Party, may be reflected to a comparatively full extent, in other words, so that the various aspects of objective reality in the course of development will be reflected to a comparatively full extent. Every leader must be good at listening patiently to and taking into careful consideration opinions contrary to his own and resolutely approve opposite views if reasonable, or whatever is reasonable in them; he must continue to work amicably with and never turn his back on any comrade who, prompted by correct motives and following normal procedure, may have expressed an opinion contrary to his own. Only in this way can we achieve collective leadership and Party unity in deed, not only in name, and assure that the Party’s organization will improve and its cause prosper.

The question of thorough application of the Party’s principle of collective leadership and extension of inner-Party democracy is given full attention in the new draft of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China put forward by the Central Committee. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping is going to give a detailed explanation of the draft constitution, there is no need for me to dwell on it here.<sup>104</sup> The draft constitution includes some new provisions with regard to the rights of Party members and Party organizations at lower levels. The draft guarantees Party members the right to give full play to their creative

ability in work and, while unconditionally carrying out Party decisions, the right to reserve and submit their own views to a leading body of the Party if they should disagree. It provides that all questions of a local character or questions that need to be decided locally be handled by local organizations, so as to find solutions appropriate to local conditions, and if a Party organization at a lower level finds that a decision made by an organization at a higher level does not suit the actual conditions in its locality or department, it should request the latter to modify the said decision. The draft further provides that Party congresses at and above the county level have a fixed term and meet once a year. These provisions will certainly give a powerful impetus to the initiative of Party organizations at all levels and of the entire membership.

Naturally, the extension of democratic practice in our Party will not in any way weaken the Party's centralism; it will strengthen it. The Party members' full display of their initiative will not in any way weaken Party discipline; it will enhance it. Similarly, our Party's principle of collective leadership does not in any way negate the need for personal responsibility or the important role of leader; it is the guarantee that a leader can play his personal role in a correct and most effective way. As everyone knows, the reason the leader of our Party, Comrade Mao Zedong, has played the great role of helmsman in our revolution and enjoys high prestige in the entire Party and among all the people of the country is not only that he knows how to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution, but also that he maintains a steadfast faith in the strength and wisdom of the masses, initiates and advocates the mass line in Party work, and upholds the Party's principles of democracy and collective leadership.

A correct attitude towards comrades who have made mistakes provides one of the necessary conditions of correct Party leadership.

It is easy to take severe disciplinary measures against comrades who have made mistakes, even to the point of expelling them from the Party, but if the ideological cause of the mistakes is not removed, such measures not only cannot ensure that the Party will not repeat the same mistakes, but may lead to more serious mistakes. When the "Left" opportunist line held sway in the Party, the practice of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" in inner-Party struggle resulted only in obscuring the line between right and wrong and in a loss

of vitality within the Party; it sapped the effective strength of the Party and brought great losses to its cause.

After correcting the mistakes resulting from the opportunist lines of Wang Ming, Bo Gu and other comrades, the Central Committee, headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, also radically altered the wrong forms of inner-Party struggle.

First of all the Party draws a strict line of demarcation between the question of right and wrong within the Party and the question of the counter-revolutionaries, degenerates and other bad elements who have sneaked into the Party.

It adopts a firm attitude towards and weeds out the counter-revolutionaries who have sneaked into the Party, alien class elements who persistently engage in splitting and disruptive activities inside the Party, and other incorrigibly corrupt and degenerate elements. It is true that some counter-revolutionaries and other bad elements have sneaked into our ranks. We have weeded out some of them, and we shall continue to keep a close watch on such people and weed them out. Yet the fact is that these people are very small in number. Since our Party came to power, however, a tendency to corruption, violation of laws and discipline and moral degeneration has developed to a certain extent. We must resolutely put an end to this state of affairs. In the past we conducted a mass struggle against corruption, waste and violation of laws and discipline and, later on, smashed the anti-Party bloc of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi, who conspired to seize the leadership of the state and Party.<sup>105</sup> In future too we must wage a constant struggle, ideological and organizational, against corruption and degeneration and constantly expel incorrigibly corrupt and degenerate elements from the Party.

However, the Party steadfastly adheres to the following principles in dealing with any comrade who has made mistakes in his work owing to a faulty ideology: “Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and cure the sickness to save the patient” and “achieve clarity in ideology and unity among comrades”. Emphasis is on ideological education; disciplinary action is not to be resorted to rashly. It is necessary to criticize the comrade’s mistaken ideas in a practical manner and analyse the cause of his mistakes. This is the way to help him and continue to unite with him, so that we can carry on our work together. Although it may be necessary to take appropriate disciplinary action against comrades who have made serious mistakes in their work or transfer them to more suitable posts, it is

essential patiently and in a comradely fashion to help them see and correct their mistakes, so that we can achieve unity with them. In short, a comrade who has made a mistake must be allowed to stay in the Party and correct his mistake, provided the mistake permits of correction within the Party and he is ready to make the effort; there should be no abuse of organizational powers by taking inappropriate disciplinary measures against him. If rough and crude methods are used to rectify mistakes of an ideological nature, not only will these mistakes remain uncorrected and likely to be repeated, but the feeling of harmony that should exist in the Party is bound to be impaired, and ordinary differences of opinion may develop into an organizational split.

When the Party has helped its members raise the level of Marxist-Leninist understanding, improved the investigation and study of the actual situation, broadened democracy within the Party, and adopted a correct policy regarding mistakes in work, Party unity and solidarity are bound to grow stronger day by day, and this, of course, is to the advantage not only of the Party, but of the entire working class and the people of the country, since the Party is their core of leadership.

We must vigorously unite the entire Party, precisely in order to build the solidarity of the entire working class and the people of the country on a firm foundation. The source of all our strength lies in our ability to rely closely on the working class and on the people. In order to turn China into a great socialist country, we must do our utmost to continue to cement solidarity between the Party and the masses.

The overwhelming majority of the people of our country have already organized themselves. The various people's organizations are the essential links between the Party and the masses. In addition to the co-operatives organized by the peasants, which I dealt with previously, the most important people's organizations are the trade unions, the Youth League and the women's federations.

Our trade unions now have twelve million members and play an important part in national construction. The Party should improve its leadership over the work of the trade unions and, through them, help the working class become an organized, politically conscious, and well educated and skilled class, and rally the worker masses closely around the Party. In socialist construction trade unions should, on the one hand, use education and persuasion, socialist emula-

tion drives and campaigns for advanced workers to rally the workers to bring about a constant rise in labour productivity and, on the other hand, warmly concern themselves with the wellbeing of the masses, develop their function of supervision and struggle valiantly against bureaucratism in all enterprises, which manifests itself in violation of laws and discipline, in infringement of the interests of the masses, and in ignoring of the wellbeing of the masses. Neglect of either side of this twofold task is wrong and should be corrected.

The New Democratic Youth League of China,<sup>40</sup> with a membership of twenty million, will soon be renamed the Chinese Communist Youth League. Thanks to the Youth League's fruitful efforts over the past few years, shock forces for socialist construction are constantly emerging from among our energetic young workers, office staff, peasants, scientists and technicians, and all other young intellectuals. They form a vast reserve of new recruits for the Party. Led by the Party, the Youth League should carry on ideological and organizational work more vigorously among its members and the masses of young people and overcome the defects of some of its organizations that fail to adopt a work style suited to the characteristics of youth and refuse to give full play to the enthusiasm and initiative of the young people through education and persuasion.

Our Party has all along concerned itself with and supported the women's emancipation movement; it has made the complete emancipation of women one of its important objectives. The women of our country now occupy a more and more important position in industrial and agricultural fields and in many professions. Women cadres at various posts are rapidly becoming an impressive force. The Party should continue to give them every encouragement in their desire to advance, help women overcome certain special difficulties in taking up work, and assist them in improving their skills. The Party should also correct any ideas of discrimination against women either inside or outside the Party and introduce new values in social and family life based on the equality of men and women and the protection of women and children. The Democratic Women's Federation, with branch organizations throughout the country, is a popular women's organization. The Party should concern itself with these organizations and help them in their work, through them cementing the ties between the Party and the masses of women.

In order to bind the ties between our Party and the people still closer, we must improve our work in every field among the masses.

Constant education in wholehearted service to the people must especially be given to all cadres and Party members. An important hallmark of a good Party member and a good leader is that he is familiar with the living and working conditions of the people, concerns himself with their wellbeing and knows what lies uppermost in their minds. He sticks to hard work and plain living and shares the people's joys, sorrows and hardships. He can accept their criticism and supervision and does not put on airs in front of them. He consults with the masses when problems arise, and the masses willingly tell him what they have to say. As long as our Party is made up of such members, our strength will be forever inexhaustible and unconquerable.

Just as at home our Party relies on the support of the people, so internationally we rely on the support of the international proletariat and the peoples of all countries. Without the great internationalist solidarity of the proletariat of the various countries, without the support of the world's revolutionary forces, our socialist cause cannot advance to victory, nor can that victory be consolidated after it is won.

We must continue to cement our fraternal solidarity with the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries; we must continue to learn from the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties of all other countries with regard to revolution and construction. In our relations with all fraternal parties we should show the warmth of our feelings and take a modest attitude. We must resolutely oppose any dangerous inclination towards chauvinism or bourgeois nationalism.

The Chinese revolution is part of the world's proletarian revolution. In our achievements are the fruits of the struggle of the working class and working people of all countries. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China avails itself of this opportunity to extend heartfelt thanks and pay its respects to the fraternal parties of all countries and, through them, to the working class and working people of their countries and assure them of our lasting solidarity with them.

Let all comrades of our Party be forever united! Let us be forever united with the people of our country, with the working class of all countries and with the peoples all over the world! Our great cause of socialism will definitely triumph! No force in the world can stop us from winning victory!

## ON GRADUATES OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS TAKING PART IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

*April 8, 1957*

Since liberation there has been great development in the sphere of education. In 1949 primary school pupils numbered only some 24 million, secondary school students 1.26 million, and students in institutions of higher education 110,000 or so, but now we have more than 63 million primary school pupils, about 5.97 million secondary school students and more than 400,000 college and university students. Nevertheless, we are still unable to make secondary school education universal under the limitations of various circumstances. It goes without saying that the development of higher education, which is not to be made universal, is subject to more limitations. Hence, a fairly large number of primary and secondary school graduates will have to stop to engage in production. This is a question of common concern for people all over the country at present.

People have asked: Is it normal for so many primary and secondary school graduates to be unable to go to schools of a higher grade? Will this phenomenon last long or just briefly? Is it a good thing or a bad thing? Will more or fewer graduates be unable to go on to schools of a higher grade in future? They think the government has made mistakes in its educational work and blame it for setting too low a target for enrollment this year.

Yes, we did make some mistakes in our educational work last year. One of the major ones was to enroll too many students, which

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Speech delivered at a forum attended by representatives of secondary school students in Changsha, Hunan Province, on March 22, 1957 and published as an editorial in the *People's Daily* on April 8 after examination and approval by the author.

caused many difficulties. I don't mean we could enroll more students this year if we hadn't enrolled so many last year. It is normal for the greater number of senior middle school graduates and a small number of primary and junior middle school graduates to go on to schools of a higher grade this year. The situation of last year and for a few years before, in which almost all graduates of senior middle schools entered colleges or universities and most of the junior middle school graduates were enrolled by senior middle schools, was a temporary and special situation resulting from the fact that secondary school education lagged behind higher education; in other words, there were not enough graduates of senior middle schools to fill the institutions of higher education. The changed situation this year shows that education is back to normal. It will remain the same for a long time. The task ahead is, first and foremost, to make primary school education universal, so that all children of school age will have the chance to go to school. If this task is fulfilled, we'll have about one hundred million primary school pupils, and each year we'll have more than ten million primary school graduates. While universalizing primary education, we shall continue to expand junior and senior middle school education and higher education. However, for a long time to come, the general trend will be for increasing numbers of graduates of primary and secondary schools to engage in production instead of continuing their schooling. That is to say, with each passing year more and more graduates of primary and junior and senior middle schools will have the chance to pursue advanced study, but at the same time more and more graduates will have to take part in productive labour. What does this situation indicate? It indicates that China will have more and more intellectuals and that the Chinese people's educational level will gradually be raised, which, undoubtedly, is a good thing for the state, the people and the cause of education.

Now the graduating students in all parts of the country are busy with their preparations for entrance examination, and teachers in all schools are working hard to help them. What they are doing is correct. All school authorities and Party and government leaders should give a hand and not interfere, but graduating students, their teachers and especially their parents should be fully aware that there are two possibilities for the graduates — to be enrolled or not to be enrolled by schools of a higher grade. If they can go to schools of a higher grade, that is fine, but they should be mentally prepared for the other

possibility so that they can take it easy when they fail, instead of feeling frustrated or ashamed. We should not look down upon these students but try to help them to find jobs. Of course, finding jobs is an arduous task nowadays, it calls for close co-ordination between the parents of graduates and the state. It is the policy of our state to do overall planning and make proper arrangements for everyone in China. Therefore, Party and government organs and youth organizations in all localities should take a responsible attitude and do their best to make overall arrangements, on the merits of each case, for graduates of primary and secondary schools who cannot go to schools of a higher grade.

The problem facing us now is what arrangements to make for them. We could establish more primary and secondary schools jointly run by the people in urban and rural areas or organize the students into self-study groups or continuation classes, to help them prepare for productive labour or higher-grade schools in future. This is, indeed, one possibility, but it can involve only a very small number of graduates and, moreover, these people will still face the problem of looking for jobs after graduation. So the best solution is to create jobs for them. What jobs can we create? We all know that state organs, institutions and enterprises are simplifying their structures, making readjustments with their personnel. In a couple of years these organs and units may recruit a very small number of staff from ex-servicemen and graduates of secondary technical schools and senior middle schools, and some enterprises may recruit a tiny number of apprentices. Also, service trades in some cities (including barbers, tailors, bars and restaurants) and certain handicrafts will need a small number of apprentices and workers. But so far as the country as a whole is concerned, it is the rural areas, especially jobs in agricultural production, that can absorb quite a large number of people. So we should get most graduates of primary and secondary schools into agricultural production, which is the basic way out for them. Here I shall dwell on problems in this connection.

Some people are afraid that since there is already surplus labour in the countryside, school graduates will have nothing to do there. But the truth is that labourers, particularly educated ones, are needed not only in rural areas where co-operativization has been virtually realized — in vast, sparsely populated northeast and northwest China, and in some rural areas where there is much land to be cultivated, but also in rural areas where the technical transformation of agricul-

ture has been launched and diversified economic undertakings have been organized. Some people hold that agricultural production needs only primary school graduates, not secondary school graduates, because in the past few years they have seen that many graduates of primary and secondary schools have entered industrial production, whereas a large number of primary school graduates, very few junior middle school graduates and no senior middle school graduates at all have engaged in agricultural production. But they are wrong. The fact is that at that time it was impossible for us to send more secondary school graduates to do farm work because we had only a small number of them and they had first to be sent to institutions of higher education and into industrial production to meet the needs there. Now things have changed. The number of secondary school graduates has increased, and we can thus satisfy the needs of both industrial and agricultural production and, moreover, give more consideration to the needs of the latter for a certain period of time.

Now that agricultural production needs graduates and there are enough to send, is there any problem in sending the graduates, especially those from secondary schools, to do farm work in the countryside? Yes, there is. This is because school authorities conduct political education and do ideological work in isolation from reality and the conditions of the students and thus fail to help them fully understand the need and possibility for them to take part in agricultural production. In the past, educational and administrative departments didn't pay due attention to education in labour and the necessity for graduates of primary and secondary schools to enter industrial and agricultural production. In 1953 and 1954 they strengthened this education, but slackened their efforts later on. Even at that time they talked more about general principles and less about concrete practice. As a result, many ideological problems on the part of the students have not been solved and erroneous views have not been criticized or correct ones fostered. Quite a number of students are passive towards and even averse to going to the countryside. Of course, successful ideological work will bring about a change in their attitudes.

Some people say that farming is "disgraceful" and "unpromising". Some young people orally accept the idea that labour is honourable, but when they are asked to farm, they consider it beneath them. Recently some people have remarked, "The peasants are leading a hard life," but when they or their children were asked to go and help the peasants expand production and raise their living

standard, they said such work was “unpromising”. To put it in a nutshell, they meant that farming was “beneath them” and “dishonourable”. Their views are completely wrong. Quite a number of students’ parents are engaged in farming; can they say their parents are disgraceful? Many families have been peasants for generations; can they be regarded as disgraceful? There are more than five hundred million peasants in China; can we say they are all disgraceful? It is a sheer insult to them. What impudence to say that the work done by more than five hundred million peasants out of six hundred million people is “disgraceful”, “mean”, “unpromising”, “dishonourable”! What kind of view is it? Is it the view of the labouring people, the proletariat or Marxism? No, certainly not. It reflects the notion that “all occupations are base and only book learning is exalted”,<sup>106</sup> a view held by feudal literati and officialdom, by feudal aristocrats and by the bourgeoisie.

It is this view or its influence that has led to ideological confusion among young people, hence the contradiction between their words and their deeds. They give verbal support to manual labour but in practice attach importance to mental labour only. They pay lip service to manual workers but think highly of mental workers only. They recite in abstract terms the concept that labour produces material wealth and spiritual civilization and creates mankind and its history, but actually they don’t acknowledge or understand that man’s manual labour is the foundation of mental labour, nor do they acknowledge or understand that man’s production activities are the fundamental, practical activities, the determinant of all his other activities. They grade labour and labourers, regarding mental labour as “above” manual labour and mental labourers superior to manual labourers. Thus they want to be mental rather than manual labourers. Failing that, they would rather be workers in big industries than apprentices, handicraftsmen, barbers, tailors, cooks or least of all, peasants.

You all know that in the near future we shall universalize primary education and eliminate illiteracy. After that we shall concentrate on universalizing junior and even senior middle school education, so that the educational level of people throughout the country will be raised to that of graduates of junior or even senior middle school. After forty years’ effort the Soviet Union has compulsory education equal to the level of China’s junior middle school and has begun to universalize senior middle school education. In some socialist countries in Eastern Europe and in some capitalist countries, universal junior

middle school education has been achieved. In these countries young workers, peasants, barbers, tailors and cooks are all graduates of secondary schools. Is it possible for all the Chinese people, after graduation from junior or senior middle schools, to serve as mental labourers and not manual labourers such as workers, apprentices, peasants, barbers, tailors and cooks? Probably not. Since most secondary school graduates in the Soviet Union now and in China in future have or will become workers and peasants and only a few are continuing or will continue their study, why should all secondary school graduates go on to schools of a higher grade? Shouldn't just a small number of them do so and a larger number serve as manual workers?

The antithesis between mental and manual labour has long existed in class society, but in the Soviet Union the economic base underlying the antithesis was eliminated long ago, and so was the antithesis. In China, with socialist transformation basically completed, we have also achieved this by and large. The great future for the Soviet Union, China and the rest of the world lies in the realization of communism. We can imagine that at that time everyone will receive higher education (future universities will not be like today's); everyone will be a university graduate and both a mental and manual labourer. But can we say that, after the elimination of the fundamental differences between mental and manual labour, we shall no longer need division of labour, or workers, peasants, barbers, tailors and cooks? We cannot. Since division of labour is necessary and it is not "disgraceful" for university graduates in a communist society to engage in such occupations, why are graduates of secondary schools "disgraced" and "unpromising" if they are assigned to farming or to similar jobs in line with the principle of division of labour in society?

After graduation from junior or senior middle school, quite a number of young people look down upon workers, apprentices, peasants, barbers, tailors and cooks and consider themselves "a cut above them". Having read a few books, they become conceited rather than modest, and despise manual labourers instead of respecting them. A girl student said in a letter, "It is quite unfair to require girls with a fair complexion to farm and to carry earth and night soil with a shoulder pole." With their own hands the working people bring up their children and send them to school, and after having received some education, these children think it "unfair" to be ask-

ed to farm and carry earth and night soil. What use are such youth to the working people? Fewer of them would be more beneficial. All this shows that students are far from getting away from the influence of conceit — the deep-rooted bad habit of Chinese intellectuals. They do not know that they should respect labour and labouring people, so that they assume great airs before them, just because they have received education for many years in the schools of New China. The reasons the students behave like this are that China, not well developed culturally, has only a small number of intellectuals and that, especially, political education in schools is weak and divorced from reality. As Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out:

There are many intellectuals who fancy themselves very learned and assume airs of erudition without realizing that such airs are bad and harmful and hinder their own progress. They ought to be aware of the truth that actually many so-called intellectuals are, relatively speaking, most ignorant and the workers and peasants sometimes know more than they do.<sup>107</sup>

Comrade Mao Zedong went on:

Therefore, I advise those who have only book learning and as yet no contact with reality, and also those with little practical experience, to realize their own shortcomings and become a little more modest.<sup>108</sup>

Primary and secondary school graduates who have acquired some book learning should determinedly and readily throw themselves into production, especially into agricultural production, so that they can acquire practical knowledge of the struggle for production, integrate book learning with practical knowledge and make greater progress.

To this end it is essential for them, first and foremost, to get rid of wrong views and ideas relating to farming and to change wrong attitudes towards manual work. If they themselves have such wrong views, they should first correct them. If other people have, they should help them. This is the attitude a progressive youth should take. If we disseminate our wrong views or do not resolutely refute those who express such views, this manifests that we are backward ideologically and politically. If school leaders in charge of Party and administrative work, teachers and staff, people in charge of youth work, or parents of students, especially parents who are government functionaries, allow these views to spread among students without

conducting debate, education and criticism, it shows that they are weak in ideological work and low in their political consciousness. Recently, local authorities have paid attention to education in labour, which is good, of course. But wrong views relating to manual labour cannot be corrected thoroughly if they fail to solve the fundamental question “whether farming is disgraceful and unpromising” according to the viewpoint of Marxism on labour and if they only recite some theories and principles on labour in abstract terms without integrating them with practice, as they did before. Our comrades often say that ideological education among young people should be improved and should be integrated with reality, but if they carry out education among the students without making any effort to solve the omnipresent major question mentioned above, which is both practical and political in nature, their effort will get nowhere.

Some people say doing farm work “has no future”. This is another manifestation of contempt for labour and peasants and at the same time it shows, to a great extent, that they are not fully aware of the position agriculture occupies in the national economy and of the role the peasants are playing in socialist construction.

Industry is the leading force in various sectors of the national economy, and the development of agriculture provides the basis for the development of industry. The resolution on the Political Report to the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party pointed out,<sup>109</sup> “Agriculture has a vital bearing on industrialization in many respects. Its development not only has an impact directly on the living standards of the people and the growth rate of light industry, but also has an impact on the growth rate of heavy industry.” Therefore, we should exert every effort to expand agricultural production. To do so, it is necessary to carry out social and technological transformation of agriculture. Following the basic completion of the co-operative transformation of agriculture throughout the country, some work in the social transformation remains to be done and can soon be finished. The major tasks from now on are to run agricultural co-operatives well<sup>62</sup> and conduct technological transformation gradually and in an appropriate manner, so as to accelerate the development of agricultural production. We must know that it is no easier to run an agricultural producers’ co-operative of several hundred households than to run a factory with several hundred workers. To run several hundred thousand agricultural producers’ co-operatives well and to make a success of the great technological transformation

of agriculture in China, we have to do a great deal of painstaking work.

The Draft Programme for Agricultural Development,<sup>89</sup> a long-range plan for the technological transformation of agriculture and for the development of rural areas, for the first time reveals to the people of the country the great prospects for China's agricultural development. It has become a tremendous encouragement to peasants across the land. After accomplishing this programme, we'll carry out a second and third programme of this kind, so as to put agricultural development on a scientific basis and realize the mechanization and electrification of agriculture. No doubt today's twenty-year-olds will witness a countryside of prosperity and happiness.

The land reform and the co-operative transformation of agriculture are two fundamental reforms of historic significance in China's countryside. The completion of co-operative transformation has brought a new look to the countryside and turned the peasants into new-type peasants. However, the rural areas are in urgent need of education and the peasants need to raise their educational level and at the same time educated people are required to go to the countryside to work as peasants, if agricultural producers' co-operatives are to be managed well and technological transformation of agriculture is to be introduced. In addition to the large numbers of primary school graduates who will take part in agricultural production, from this year on, about a million secondary school graduates will go to the countryside annually, and there will be four to five million of them within five years. If more and more secondary school graduates go to the countryside every year and establish close ties with the peasants, we can say with certainty that they will greatly help improve the management of agricultural producers' co-operatives and advance the technological transformation of agriculture, bringing about another fundamental transformation in China's countryside, namely, technological transformation, and promoting the development of agriculture at a pace without parallel in Chinese history.

Some students are willing to go to the countryside, but they want to serve as cadres there, not as peasants. It is true that the countryside and agricultural producers' co-operatives need accountants and clerks, but we should like to advise students not to take these jobs or learn special agricultural techniques, but to do farm work diligently and conscientiously and learn from experienced veteran peasants. They should try within three to five years to master the techniques

of farming, acquire the most fundamental and comprehensive knowledge of agriculture, and do what the peasants can do, so as to become true peasants. Students who have just arrived in the countryside, though educated, are not true peasants, because they have not acquired the peasants' capabilities and qualifications. I think it better to master the knowledge of agricultural production that the great majority of peasants have acquired before learning special aspects of agricultural production or serving as cadres. Otherwise, the students will lack fundamental knowledge of agricultural production, which will hinder their further development.

At the same time, we should like to advise them to make every effort to establish good relations with the peasants. To achieve this, they should abandon their arrogance and stop trying to find fault with and complaining about everything in rural areas. They should always be ready to help others. To get along with peasants, they should not try to profit at their expense nor should they be grudging, but make true friends with them. As for their relations with cadres, they should learn from and help them. They should see their strong as well as their weak points and help them with good will, becoming the cadres' friends.

Only in this way can they identify with the peasants and integrate their book learning with actual knowledge, taking advantage of both. By that time they will be able to farm as well as the peasants, their educational level will be higher than the peasants' and, politically, they will have very good relations with the peasants. Thus they will become China's first generation of a new type of better educated peasant and will win the trust of the peasants. As you know, the personnel in charge of state organs and the management departments of co-operatives are elected by democratic means. So long as one is competent and has the people's trust and support, one may be elected people's representative or the leader of a co-operative or state organ. This kind of leader comes from the masses and is not sent from above. Of course, we work for the progress of society, not to acquire a certain social position, such as a leadership position. Like peasants, leaders work for the people, and only a small number of them are needed and, moreover, it is not a life tenure, because leaders of the old generation in the state organs and institutions will be replaced by those of the younger generation. Naturally, their successors will come from families of workers or peasants, people who are better educated, competent professionally, able to bear hardship and enjoy

the trust and support of the masses; in other words, only young people who have both political integrity and professional competence are entitled to succeed them.

I have been told that some students have lost interest in their study because they think they cannot go to schools of a higher grade after graduation and will have to do farm work. They ask, "What is the use of trigonometry, geometry and other subjects if we are going to the countryside to break lumps of earth?" Their attitude is wrong. I have just said that the countryside needs educated people and that the more a person knows, the more useful he will be to the countryside. Secondary school education is regular education, imparting general knowledge to pupils. Those who have acquired it have laid a foundation for further study, and on this basis their educational and technological level will be raised through sustained effort. Maybe a knowledge of geometry, trigonometry, physics and chemistry cannot be put to immediate use in farming, but it will make it easier for us to learn new agricultural techniques. Moreover, this knowledge will often help our study, work and everyday life. Generally, rudimentary scientific knowledge makes people more knowledgeable and trains people's brains, so that their thinking and language become more accurate and well organized. Moreover, it fosters a scientific, materialist conception of nature and helps free people from superstition about natural phenomena. For this reason, all pupils, no matter whether they are graduating or will continue their study, should study hard and study every subject well until they graduate from school and get a diploma. Then they will go on to schools of a higher grade, work in factories, learn skills for certain trades, or engage in farming voluntarily. After taking part in production, they should make use of their spare time or the slack season and continue to learn various subjects, such as Marxism-Leninism, science and technology, or literature and art, depending on their different interest and the different needs of the state. The form of study may vary — self-study, mutual-help group, spare-time school, evening university or correspondence school. In future, some will be sent to training classes, Party members may be sent to Party schools, and those who work and study well will be sent to universities. So young people should not stop studying after taking part in industrial or agricultural production.

Some people hold that it is impossible for one to become an expert if one farms instead of studying in a university. This assertion

is not right. To become an expert depends on whether one has taken a correct attitude towards study and has studied hard, not on whether one has a chance to study in a university or works in the countryside. Not every university graduate becomes a scientist and not every scientist graduates from a university. Michurin,<sup>110</sup> a well-known agricultural scientist, never entered university. Gorky,<sup>111</sup> a great Russian writer, studied in a primary school for only a couple of years. Franklin,<sup>112</sup> a renowned American scientist, writer and statesman, and Faraday,<sup>113</sup> a famous English physicist, were apprentices. Edison<sup>114</sup> and Nobel,<sup>115</sup> both famous inventors, studied in primary schools for a very short period of time. Examples like these are legion. From such examples we can see that graduates of secondary schools who are now doing farm work have a chance to become experts or scientists if they keep on studying by themselves. As for statesmen or political workers, we can say for sure that graduates will have more chances to temper themselves and become outstanding statesmen or political workers if they involve themselves in farming or work in factories or in different trades. For instance, members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and leaders at various levels include only a few university graduates; the overwhelming majority received only primary or secondary school education, and some never even attended school. So we cannot say that the future is brighter for secondary school graduates who can continue their education than for those who engage in farming, nor can we say that the former will learn more than the latter.

Everyone knows that the Central Committee and local Party committees, except urban Party committees and a few provincial Party committees, focus their efforts on rural work. Streamlining of administrative structure is now being conducted at all levels in various localities, with cadres being transferred to lower levels and sent to the countryside. Thousands of cadres eat, live and do manual work with the peasants. Some county magistrates and secretaries of county Party committees carry manure on their backs or with shoulder poles. We also know that over five hundred million peasants in the country, under the leadership of the Party and the government, are working diligently for a bumper harvest this year and for building new socialist villages. With leaders and the masses paying so much attention to rural work and to agriculture, can we say that they are engaging in a cause that promises no future? No, we cannot. They are involving themselves in a tremendous cause. Since the country-

side has a bright future, how can pupils who farm not have a bright future? In a new society every undertaking that benefits the people has a bright future and anyone who is loyal to the people's interests has a bright future. To be China's first generation of educated, new-type peasants is the future of pupils who go and work in the countryside. This future is bright and great but will come about only if they train themselves with unrelenting and strenuous effort. Farming is a sweaty and arduous job, far more difficult than paying lip service in honour of labour. The benefit farming brings to people is much greater than that of paying lip service.

Some people say they would rather farm in other counties than in their home counties or home villages. They feel a kind of social pressure on them, which makes it difficult for them to stay there. By pressure they mean that their parents, brothers, relatives, friends, teachers and schoolmates look down on agriculture and peasants to varying degrees and do not want the pupils to come back and farm. It seems to these people that it is "unpromising" for a student who has studied a dozen years in school to carry a hoe or plough the fields behind the ox. Students engaging in farming cannot stand these sarcastic remarks. The fact that peasants look down upon themselves is a burden laid on the backs of peasants by the feudal ruling class for several thousand years, and we are duty-bound to help them get rid of it. If we achieve this, social pressure exerted on the students will be relieved. Bearing this situation in mind, we should, while conducting ideological education among the young people, concentrate our efforts on extensive and intensive publicity and education in this regard among their parents and friends as well as peasants and cadres, so that these people will acquire a correct understanding of agricultural production and of the peasant masses and students who return home for farming and will show concern for the students, encourage them to come back and warmly welcome them. Thus the students will feel at ease doing farm work.

Here I should like to point out that people's thinking can be changed, but the change cannot be effected overnight. So, young people who go back to the countryside should be mentally prepared for this, stand firm, deepen their understanding of the importance of agricultural production and fear neither mockery nor sarcastic remarks. When somebody says farming is "disgraceful", you should tell him directly that it isn't; when somebody says farming is "unpromising", you should tell him that it will bring great benefit to the

state and the people. You should not waver or behave in an arrogant manner but should explain things to people patiently. You should convince and impress people through your own actions. If you persevere in doing so for months and years, people will have faith in you and respect you.

Still other people say that it will be a loss to them if they farm instead of going on to schools of a higher grade. Recently, there have indeed been people who are seeking personal fame and gain. They prefer light jobs in which they can make more money and get more benefit to difficult jobs in which they get less pay or less benefit, though persons are badly needed by the state and the people to do these jobs. This is a gust of evil wind, which has truly blown down some people and is enfolding others. In regulating the wellbeing of people in all walks of life, it is necessary for the state to make rational readjustment in this connection, but we hope our young people will take a firm stand against the evil wind.

To win victory in the Chinese revolution, members of the Chinese Communist Party and a great many revolutionaries left their native places, seeking no fame, gain, ease or comfort. Before the enemy they feared neither imprisonment nor execution. Foremost in their minds were the survival of the country and happiness of the people. For victory in the revolution they persevered, taking up the positions of the fallen, rising to fight one after the other, and when necessary, laying down their lives heroically. After suffering setbacks they would immediately rally themselves and continued their fight. These people, full of great revolutionary spirit and the spirit of self-sacrifice, were branded “traitors” or “heretics” by reactionary rulers and regarded as “foolish” by so-called “clever” people who concern themselves only about their own benefit and future rather than those of the people and the state. History has passed fair judgement on these two kinds of people, however. Thanks to the efforts of these “foolish” people and the masses of people, nationwide victory was won in the revolution and the counter-revolutionary forces were overthrown. As for those “clever” people, some have come over to the side of the people after drawing lessons from their past and others have been rejected by the people. All martyrs enjoy the respect of the entire nation and will be held in deep respect from generation to generation.

Now then, are such “foolish” people still needed during the period of socialist construction? Yes, they are, and more of them. Various fields of national reconstruction need more people with this kind of

enthusiasm, because our road ahead is tortuous, though our ideal is beautiful. What merits our attention is that recently some cadres and young people have forgotten the fine tradition carried forward by these “foolish” people, and some so-called “clever” people of the new era have appeared among them. At work-assignment time they think first of their personal future rather than of the needs of the state; when confronted with difficulties, they ask the state for help instead of trying to overcome them themselves. They are irresponsible in their work, preferring light work to heavy and passing the burdensome tasks on to others while choosing the easy ones for themselves. At every turn they think of themselves before others. They haggle over their positions, wages and benefits. They vie with other people not in plain living and doing more work, but for rank, status and luxuries. Some of them have gone so far as to crave personal fame and gain and engage in unscrupulous profiteering. Their souls are dominated by keenness to gain advantage and fear of suffering loss.

We should like to advise all cadres and young people to learn from the “foolish” people, not from the “clever” ones. Fear no hardship or loss. We should bear in mind that those “clever” people are not healthy ideologically and politically and not worth trusting. Those who don’t fear suffering loss in the interest of the state and the people are noble-minded men, men of moral integrity, above vulgar interests. They have lofty ideals, can stand firm and enjoy the trust of the people. In the long run, the former will suffer heavy reverses and the latter will receive the treatment entitled to them. We should know that to foster good relations with the masses, one should not try to profit at their expense or fear suffering loss. Any great accomplishment calls for the people to work hard, endure hardships and voluntarily shoulder the tasks that are relatively painstaking and difficult. When someone acts this way a couple of times, people may not notice it, but when he has done so eight or ten times, people may think him a “foolish” man, and if he persists in doing so for ten or twenty years, people will extol him as a good man, trusting and supporting him. The prerequisite for a person to win the trust of the Party and the masses is that he be the first to suffer hardship and the last to enjoy comfort. We hope young people will temper themselves along this line and become persons with virtues characterized by “being the first to worry and the last to enjoy comfort”.<sup>116</sup> They should cherish ideals, and we hope all of them will foster such noble ideals.

## HOW TO CORRECTLY HANDLE CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE

*April 27, 1957*

Recently I have been to the provinces of Hebei, Henan, Hubei, Hunan and Guangdong and discussed some problems with the leaders there. I also talked with some representatives of workers and students as well as democrats. It seems to me that the present problems boil down to the question of correct handling of contradictions among the people. Comrade Mao Zedong has made a special report on this question<sup>117</sup> and you have discussed it. Now I should like to talk about my understanding of this question in connection with the problems you comrades have raised.

### I

Many of our comrades are studying this question: In China today which is the principal contradiction — the contradiction between the enemy and ourselves or the contradiction among the people?

Can we say that the principal contradiction in China is between the enemy and ourselves? I am afraid not, because, except in Taiwan, the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class have been abolished and most of the counter-revolutionaries have been eliminated, only a few being still at large. Although small in number, they may make trouble and engage in sabotage again, so we must be vigilant. There are also remaining landlords in the countryside and some of them may continue their destructive activities. So, it would be wrong to

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Speech delivered at a meeting of Party cadres held by the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Some passages in Part Two have been omitted.

fail to see this and relax our vigilance over them. Nevertheless, as classes, the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class have basically or completely been eliminated. In addition, the bourgeoisie as a class has been eliminated in the main through the socialist transformation, though a small number of them are discontented. This is why we say that the major class struggle has come to an end or has been settled by and large.

Before the founding of the People's Republic the principal contradiction was between the Chinese people and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. After that, especially after the agrarian reform,<sup>9</sup> the principal contradiction became one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, since the imperialists had been driven out of China and the landlord class and bureaucrat-capitalist class had been eliminated. After privately owned industrial and commercial enterprises had been converted into joint state-private enterprises, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was resolved in the main, which was confirmed at the Party's Eighth National Congress. Then, what is the principal contradiction in China today? We should say it is the contradiction among the people.

Some people hold that the principal contradiction in China today is one between proletarian and non-proletarian ideologies. Then, what is proletarian ideology and where do we find non-proletarian ideology? Some people think the leaders have proletarian ideology and the masses non-proletarian ideology. This view is wrong. The contradiction between proletarian and non-proletarian ideologies finds expression first within our Party. There are many problems in our Party. Are subjectivism, bureaucratism and sectarianism manifestations of proletarian ideology? Is the pursuit of fame and gain a reflection of proletarian ideology? Is it proletarian ideology when a cadre does not get out of bed because he is not satisfied with a rise of two grades? So, if we say the contradiction between proletarian and non-proletarian ideologies is a striking problem that ought to be studied and solved, then we should first and foremost solve it in the Party, especially among the Party cadres. We should try hard to reduce subjectivism, bureaucratism, sectarianism, departmentalism and individualism. The more we reduce them, the better. Thus we can see that, under the conditions prevailing in our country, the contradiction between proletarian and non-proletarian ideologies finds expression among the people and within the Party as well as among

Party cadres. This contradiction comes under the category of contradiction among the people. Does it have a class nature? Of course it does, because non-proletarian ideology contains ideologies of the peasant class, petty bourgeoisie, bourgeoisie and landlord class. However, this contradiction is a reflection of the ideologies of these classes of the past, not or mostly not their ideologies of today. The peasant class and the urban petty bourgeoisie are of a new type who have gone through co-operative transformation, and the capitalists are of a new type, too, who have undergone the conversion from privately owned industrial and commercial enterprises to joint state-private ones. That is why we say that the non-proletarian ideologies — the ideologies of the peasant class, the petty bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie and the landlord class — are reflections of the past ideologies of these classes, and that is why we say that these ideologies have a class nature. However, they now find expression chiefly among the people.

Some people say that the contradiction between the working class and the peasant class is the principal one in China today. If there is any contradiction between them, it is a contradiction among the people, because workers and peasants come within the category of the people. The peasants today, as I have just said, are no longer what they were in the past; they are changing or have basically changed into peasants of a new type who have undergone co-operative transformation. Therefore, the contradiction between them and the workers is one among the people.

Some people say that the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction. I have just said that after the founding of the People's Republic and before the transformation of privately owned enterprises into joint state private ones, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie was indeed the principal contradiction in China, but this contradiction has been resolved in the main. After the transformation of privately owned enterprises into joint state-private enterprises, capitalists have handed over their factories to the state; except a few of them who oppose socialism, many accept it. The contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie is antagonistic, but it can be transformed into a non-antagonistic one or a contradiction among the people.

Some people say that the principal contradiction is between the relations of production and the productive forces, between the super-

structure and the economic base, or between the advanced and the backward. These contradictions are also ones among the people. What does the superstructure refer to today? It refers to the state, led by the Communist Party, including politics, law and culture. Can you say the contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base is one between the people and the enemy? What are the relations of production today? They include ownership and the relations of distribution. Now the main forms of ownership are ownership by all the people and ownership by the collective. These two kinds of ownership determine the relations of distribution. Many contradictions find expression in the existing relations of distribution. Is the contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces one among the people? Yes, it is. It is the contradiction within ownership by all the people and collective ownership. In short, it is the contradiction within socialist ownership. The contradiction between the advanced and the backward is also one among the people. The superstructure and the relations of production in the old society were reactionary. The reactionary classes represented the backward and the revolutionary classes the advanced. So the contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base, between the relations of production and the productive forces, and between the advanced and the backward were ones between the people and the enemy in the old society. Now the domestic situation has changed fundamentally with the abolition of the reactionary ruling classes and the basic elimination of the bourgeoisie. These contradictions find expression among the people, not between the reactionaries and revolutionaries. Therefore, these contradictions have become ones among the people.

Some people say that the principal contradictions are between the masses and the leaders and between the masses and the bureaucrats. In other words, most of the contradictions find expression, or find concentrated expression, in relations between the masses and the leaders and between the masses and the bureaucrats. Then can we say that this contradiction is one between the people and the enemy? If the answer is in the affirmative, then the question is who is the enemy, the people or the leaders? It is crystal clear that these contradictions are among the people. As for the contradiction between the masses and the bureaucrats of our leading organs, we may say it is generally a contradiction among the people. By generally I mean that except for a small number of very bad, obdurate and anti-people

bureaucrats, the contradiction between those who have made bureaucratic mistakes and the people comes under the category of the contradiction among the people. In helping them we should use the formula of unity-criticism-unity. Otherwise, it will be difficult for us to resolve the contradiction. Each Party cadre should examine the seriousness of his own bureaucratism. Do not trust those who claim to be free of bureaucratism. Maybe bureaucratism is more serious among them. Of course, bureaucrats who are especially bad, obdurate and opposed to the people make up a very small number. However, there are many, not a few, bureaucrats in various fields whose bureaucratism is rather serious and has aroused opposition among the people.

Some people ask, "What is the contradiction between materialism and idealism? Is it an antagonistic one?" Ideologically, this contradiction is antagonistic and irreconcilable. The former represents truth and right, the latter falsehood and wrong. We should distinguish between right and wrong, not confuse them. We should seek truth and get rid of falsehood. In the past these contradictions found expression between classes and between the people and the enemy, but changes in the domestic situation have caused these contradictions to find expression among the people rather than between the people and the enemy or between antagonistic classes. Within the ranks of the people, there are materialist and idealist ideologies, truth and falsehood, right and wrong. Therefore, these contradictions are non-antagonistic and are ones among the people.

When these contradictions are manifested between hostile classes, we resolve them by opposing the enemy, overthrowing him, or "finishing him off with a single blow", whereas when these contradictions are manifested within the ranks of the people, the method of "gentle breeze and mild rain" or the method of democracy on a small or smaller scale should be applied. It is wrong to solve ideological problems within the ranks of the people and the Party in a rude manner. Our Party once made such a mistake. When dogmatists held sway in the Party, the method of "finishing somebody off with a single blow" was used in dealing with inner-Party struggles. There are some comrades among us who will not rest content until they find a principal contradiction between the people and the enemy, so that they will have a chance to bludgeon others. Let me ask these comrades: Have you idealistic ideas? What are subjectivism and dogmatism if not idealism? Do you agree to our knocking you down

with one stroke when you have dogmatic and empirical ideas? If you don't want others to treat you so rudely when you have idealistic ideas, then you should not treat others that way. This is standing in the shoes of others. I think this is the attitude we should take. If we act otherwise in dealing with ideological problems, we would make a mess of everything and solve no problems at all.

From the foregoing we can see that there are two different types of contradictions, antagonistic and non-antagonistic. Since they are different in nature, we should use different methods to resolve them. It is wrong to try to resolve antagonistic contradictions the same way we resolve non-antagonistic ones.

When a contradiction emerges, we should first understand its nature, antagonistic or non-antagonistic, and make a concrete study and analysis of it, before deciding on the method to use to resolve it. When a problem crops up, we should first make clear about its nature and then solve it by appropriate method. If we make a wrong decision on its nature, we'll adopt the wrong method for handling it.

Generally, contradictions among the people are non-antagonistic, so in resolving them we shouldn't adopt the method used to handle antagonistic ones, or we'll make mistakes in matters of policy. Of course, things are complicated and these two different types of contradictions transform themselves into each other under given conditions. That is, under given conditions an antagonistic contradiction can transform itself into a non-antagonistic one, and vice versa. It follows that when the nature of a contradiction changes, we should change our method of handling it. For instance, the contradiction between Right opportunist Chen Duxiu<sup>118</sup> and our Party was once non-antagonistic and could be resolved within the Party. There were quite a few comrades in the Party who made such Right opportunist mistakes, but later on they corrected them. However, a small number of them obstinately refused to correct their mistakes and, moreover, formed a separate faction inside the Party and engaged in splitting activities. Accordingly, the contradiction between them and the Party became antagonistic. The nature of the mistakes made by Zhang Guotao<sup>119</sup> was once non-antagonistic, but later when he went over to the enemy the contradiction between him and the Party became antagonistic. These two examples show that non-antagonistic contradictions can transform themselves into antagonistic ones and vice versa. Another example: The contradiction between the Chinese

working class and the bourgeoisie is antagonistic in nature, but under given circumstances it can transform itself into a non-antagonistic one.

In resolving an antagonistic contradiction we should lay stress on struggle; for a non-antagonistic contradiction, we should apply the formula of unity-criticism-unity. We communists are not addicted to struggle. We have no need to sharpen or intensify a struggle deliberately, as if we wouldn't feel satisfied unless we waged a struggle. But we are not afraid of struggle. We never hesitate to use fierce struggle to resolve a contradiction when necessary. The policy and method to be adopted in handling a contradiction are determined by the nature of the contradiction, not by people's subjective desire. Coercion and repression will be used only when necessary. Wherever possible, we solve problems by means of persuasion, education and unity. Some people are worried that the assertion that the principal contradiction is the one among the people carries a potential danger and that the resolving of such a contradiction will throw things into confusion. I don't think so, because the contradiction among the people is non-antagonistic. We advocate the methods of "gentle breeze and mild rain" and democracy on a small scale to resolve contradictions among the people.

## II

Most of the contradictions among the people boil down to the contradiction between the masses and their leaders, or, to be more specific, between the masses and bureaucratism on the part of the leaders. The responsibility for some problems does not necessarily fall on the leaders, but since we are leaders of the state, holding leadership positions, we should assume responsibility for all that is irrational in society and for all the things we have failed to do well. People will also criticize the leaders of the state, the Party, the government and the economic departments for all these matters. Now the contradiction between the masses and the leading organs stands out in sharp relief. This contradiction is mainly caused by the bureaucratism of the leading organs. If the leading organs overcome their bureaucratism, problems can be solved and the contradiction can be eased. Even if some people have wrong ideas and make irrational

or excessive demands, the contradiction will not be sharpened if leaders, free from bureaucratism, explain things clearly.

Contradictions among the people find expression especially in distribution. We have been talking about contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces; where are they to be found? It seems to me they are manifested mostly in distribution. For example, peasants say workers receive more than they do, and primary school teachers complain that young workers get more than they do. Others complain that some people have lots of living space, while they themselves have none at all, and that some others have got a promotion, while they haven't. All these are related to distribution. I suggest that comrades make a careful study of the question of distribution. For instance, how much of state revenue should go to accumulation, consumption, national defence, administrative expenses, culture, education, various industrial departments, people engaged in production and those not, primary school teachers, young workers, cadres and so on. In short, the question of distribution forms a part of the relations of production. The relations of production must correspond to the growth of the productive forces. Under the socialist system, China applies the principle of distribution to each according to his work, a principle of fairness and reasonableness. If we implement this principle well, everyone will be satisfied and the development of the productive forces will be promoted. If we do otherwise, it will be hindered.

Quite a few people want to get more from the enterprises and undertakings owned by all the people. But I think everybody else will oppose it if someone gets more than he deserves, because under such ownership property is owned and shared by all the people, hence people dare to speak and have the right to voice their opinions on distribution, which constitutes the material base for socialist democracy. The masses are concerned about how socialist democracy is being practised not only in political affairs but also in economic matters and production, because this has an important bearing on their wellbeing and destiny.

In this regard, the masses are dissatisfied with some of our leading cadres in the leading organs. For instance, some of them have got too big shares, too many material benefits and too luxurious houses. In the countryside the directors of co-operatives record more work-days for themselves and for their relatives and friends. In the factories directors and secretaries of the Party committees and of the

Youth League get larger bonuses than the others and bring their relatives and friends into their factories. It is only natural that the masses have complained, voiced their dissatisfaction with such unfair distribution and eventually created disturbances. In many cases the disturbances have been brought on by the leaders of the leading organs. I visited some factories and found that the directors, chief engineers and Party committee secretaries had very nice, newly built mansions; department and section chiefs, other cadres and workers all lived in apartment houses of different quality. Even the number of tables, sofas and chairs in the offices and residences of factory directors, department and section chiefs were different, which, it seems to me, is a type of hierarchy — hierarchy under the socialist system. Hierarchy is a feudal system, and unfortunately we are still adopting it. I think we should try to abolish this system wherever it has begun to revive. Those who scramble for too many material benefits are bound to trip and fall, and I would advise them to stop doing that.

Disturbances may occur when the contradictions among the people become acute. I made a study of disturbances in some localities and found that almost all were related to immediate economic interests. There have been very few political strikes by workers and students, parades or demonstrations, and they are not easily organized. Nevertheless, there are many political and ideological problems among the people. If we can solve these problems in good time by improving political and ideological education, disturbances can be avoided. Now the problem is how to improve this education among the people. In some localities the work has been done very well, but in others, poorly, creating strong dislike among the masses. Leaders in some localities say they are educating the masses, when in fact they are criticizing and punishing them and they themselves never make any self-criticism. Therefore, it is essential for them to improve the method of political and ideological education.

It is likely that counter-revolutionaries will join the masses in creating disturbances. However, they can incite the masses only by taking advantage of their immediate economic demands and of the political and ideological problems weighing on their minds, not with counter-revolutionary programmes or slogans. So when disturbances occur, we should deal with them as a problem among the people, even if some counter-revolutionaries lurk in their ranks. We should solve the problems of the masses, setting their minds at rest, before dealing

with the counter-revolutionaries. Otherwise, counter-revolutionaries cannot be eliminated.

I have looked into some of the demands put forth by the masses in the disturbances. It seems to me that most of them are reasonable and can be met; only a few are unreasonable and cannot be satisfied. If we explain things clearly, the masses will not insist. They have a fairly high political consciousness. Of course, there are a few who don't. But if we make clear explanations, they will come round.

Usually, the disturbances follow these steps: people voice their opinions and raise demands, then they send their representatives to negotiate with the people concerned. When these efforts fail, they hold meetings, lodge complaints with Beijing, put up wall newspapers or write letters to the *People's Daily*. If all these efforts receive no response, they present petitions and finally create disturbances. Generally, people do not create a disturbance all of a sudden, and they do not present a petition or go on strike for several months or half a year, until all other efforts have failed owing to the indifference of the bureaucrats. Most disturbances start with complaints by the masses, so I advise you comrades to listen to the complaints voiced by the masses, not ignore them. I think it desirable to listen to their complaints, trying to identify the problems and losing no time in solving them. Only in this way can disturbances be avoided. Therefore, we should allow people to do the things mentioned above; if we don't allow the practice of small democracy, great democracy is bound to come.

According to the workers, the disturbances are caused by the following: First, leaders go back on their word and do not execute contracts. For instance, leaders break promises they have made in the enrollment of workers. Second, in transferring people to other jobs, leaders give no clear explanations to the persons concerned, simply kicking them out when they don't want them. This is the way some departments in charge of deployment of manpower and personnel operate. Third, some leaders are partial in matters of distribution, giving more to cadres, less to workers; more to this group of people, less to another; more to their relatives and friends, less to other people. In addition, leading organs keep putting off satisfying the reasonable demands put forth by some workers. In short, bureaucratism on the part of the leading organs is the cause of disturbances.

The responsibility for bureaucratism falls on both the higher authorities and those at lower levels. The Party Central Committee

and the various ministries and bureaus should be held responsible wherever they are involved, but many other bureaucratic mistakes are made by factories and grass-roots units, and they should also bear their responsibility.

Correct methods should be adopted in dealing with disturbances. Some of our leading cadres pay no attention to what is going on among the masses before disturbances break out and are panic-stricken once they arise, trying to put them down by coercive methods. This is not the way to solve problems.

On the matter of handling contradictions among the people, the basic approaches of some comrades are wrong.

First, they put themselves above the people. We have such leaders who think themselves the bosses of the masses in their units. Just listen to what a leader often says to the masses: "I am your boss and you are my subordinates. You should listen to me and I needn't listen to you. I have the right to order you about and you haven't such a right." What kind of attitude is that? A bureaucratic, utterly wrong attitude. Such leaders do not regard themselves as one among the people but place themselves in opposition to them. The attitude of being above the people is not that of the proletariat and the masses but that of bureaucrats and the exploiting classes. Engels warned against the transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of society into masters of society.<sup>120</sup> The leaders of our Party, government, state and economic departments are the servants of the masses and of society, but now some of our comrades have become overlords and regard the masses as their servants, without even realizing it is a wrong thing to do. This is too bad. None of our leaders has the right to act as an overlord; he should serve the people, acting as their servant. Otherwise, he will not regard the masses as being the same as himself, and in handling matters among the people he will not treat ordinary workers, peasants and students the same way he treats Party members and cadres. One cannot win the faith of the masses unless one has faith in them.

Second, some comrades draw a distinction between right and wrong only for the masses, not for themselves. Haven't we been saying that the contradiction among the people is one of right and wrong. Whose right and wrong? Some leaders distinguish between right and wrong only for others, not for themselves. Moreover, they do not allow other people to draw a distinction between right and wrong for them. In their approach to the right and wrong of the masses,

they see only their wrong, their mistakes, never their right, their achievements. When talking about themselves, they talk only about their achievements, their right, never their failures, their wrong. So, the conclusion is: the masses are always in the wrong and they, the “overlords”, are always in the right. This notion of theirs is one-sided and at variance with reality. As leaders, they should draw a distinction between their own right and wrong and examine their own mistakes before doing the same for the masses. They should recognize not only the wrong but also the right of the masses. Only in this way can the masses be convinced.

Third, instead of convincing people through reasoning, some leaders use coercive methods to deal with problems among the masses. When disturbances break out, instead of trying their best to reason things out, lessen the disturbances, alleviate the contradictions and stress unity, they stress struggle and thus sharpen the contradictions. They are violating the principles to be adhered to in handling contradictions among the people. Problems among the people should be smoothed out by means of compromise.

Fourth, some leaders handle contradictions among the people the way they do contradictions between the people and the enemy. When a disturbance arises among the masses, they go about differentiating them, trying to find out the motives and examine the backgrounds of those involved, regarding it as a counter-revolutionary event. Regarding the people as the enemy is totally wrong; such leaders actually place themselves in opposition to the people. As a matter of course, some among the people may go too far with regard to those who have made bureaucratic mistakes, and they should be educated. In criticizing people who have made bureaucratic mistakes, with the exception of bureaucrats who are particularly bad and obdurate, we should start with a desire for unity and arrive at a new unity through criticism.

Now I have a feeling that problems have piled up in various localities, factories and schools and here as well. You should concentrate your efforts to solve them. I suggest that once or twice a year you solicit opinions from the masses by having the workers, students and office staff hold group meetings at which to voice their opinions and raise demands. Then you should sum them up and solve them. You should do what you can, and if some demands cannot be satisfied, you should make explanations to the masses. As to how to explain

to the masses, municipal and district Party committees should discuss it. By focusing your efforts on solving problems, it will not take you long to solve all the problems accumulated among the people, and disturbances can be avoided.

## PROMOTE WORK-STUDY PROGRAMMES AND DEVELOP AFTER-SCHOOL LABOUR

*May 5, 1957*

This newspaper today carries a news item about college and secondary school students in Henan, Hebei, Hubei, Hunan and Guangdong provinces and in Beijing taking part in labour after school and about their work-study practice. We can see from the report that many of the students in those areas, while diligently studying, spend their spare time and vacations doing all sorts of useful work, including weeding grass, collecting manure, rush harvesting and planting for co-operatives and state farms; digging ditches, levelling the land and transporting bricks and tiles for construction sites; helping build enclosing walls and repair dormitories and sports ground for their own schools; sewing, washing clothes, and tutoring; and serving as waiters or waitresses and washing dishes in restaurants. Except for a small number who work gratuitously, most students earn a certain amount. With the money they earn they pay their school expenses and improve their living.

For Chinese youths a work-study system is by no means something entirely new. Historical records include many touching stories about it. As recorded in the *Three-Character Classic*, “Reading while carrying firewood or riding on the back of an ox, ignoring fatigue and hardship.”<sup>121</sup> “Carrying firewood” refers to Zhu Maichen in the Han Dynasty,<sup>122</sup> who was from an utterly destitute family and depended on cutting and selling firewood for a living. He badly wanted to go to school, but he couldn’t afford it. So he read books while working. When he was collecting firewood in the mountains, he found time to

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Based on talks made between February and April 1957 during an inspection tour of Hebei, Henan, Hubei, Hunan and Guangdong provinces, this article was published as an editorial in the *Chinese Youth Daily* on May 5 after the author had gone over it.

read. On his way back home he hung a book from his shoulder pole to read. "Reading while riding on the back of an ox" refers to Li Mi of the Sui Dynasty.<sup>123</sup> Since he couldn't afford schooling, he worked as a child oxherd. Every day when he started out to pasture, he hung some books on the horns of the ox so he could read them while riding on its back. Wang Mian, who lived in the last years of the Yuan Dynasty, was a similar case.<sup>124</sup> He started to work as an oxherd when he was ten years old, and he bought books with all the money he earned. All of them worked hard and studied diligently and had excellent academic accomplishments to their credit. Speaking of modern times, we immediately remember the Chinese students who were on a work-study programme in France thirty to forty years ago. Isn't it true that around two thousand youths went to France, where they pursued knowledge through part work and part study? We all know that many of our Party and state leaders, such as Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Li Fuchun, Li Weihan and Nie Rongzhen, were among the best of those young people.<sup>125</sup> Thus we may say that by participating in after-school labour and work-study programmes the youths and students of New China are carrying forward the glorious tradition of their older generations.

Working after school and studying on a work-study basis deserve praise and encouragement, but so far as the entire nation is concerned, insufficient attention is being paid to this practice. Many people still hold incorrect views on student participation in manual labour. It seems to them that manual labour of any kind is "incompatible" with the status of student. And the students on their part work secretly, for fear of bumping into acquaintances and "losing face". What does this imply? As a matter of fact, it is the timeworn views that are at work, views such as "those who work with their brains rule and those who toil with their hands are ruled".<sup>126</sup> People holding these views regard scholars to be a cut above others, dividing work into different grades, from superior to inferior, and maintaining that doing manual work will lower their "status". Obviously, these views are utterly wrong. A major difference between our new education and the old lies in that our schools do not train lackeys, accomplices and hangers-on for the exploiting classes. After receiving an education at school, the young people will be in a better position to work, to help build up the motherland and to serve the people and the country. The educated young people in New China have no reason to be content with the knowledge they have learned from books, nor

should they take pride in not doing manual work. No longer should they become people “incapable of carrying anything, either on their shoulders or in their hands”, or people who “can neither use their four limbs nor tell the five grains apart”.<sup>127</sup> In educating students don't we often stress the importance of manual labour and the mass viewpoint? Then, by organizing after-class labour we shall help them learn working skills and develop good work habits. Through actual practice they will gain a true understanding of the great function of human labour and enhance their understanding of and love for the working people. Haven't the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao called on us to build up the country through hard struggle, diligence and thrift and declared that diligence and thrift should be practised in running factories, shops, co-operatives, schools and all other enterprises?<sup>128</sup> Accordingly, the students' earnest efforts in after-class labour and studying in a diligent and thrifty way are most practical responses to that call. In doing so the students will cultivate an ideology for hard work and plain and industrious living. Experience in many areas has shown that after doing labour in their spare time, the students have gained a deeper understanding of the truth that “every single grain is the result of toil”<sup>129</sup> and become more assiduous in their studies.

We should encourage working young people to study in their spare time and students to work after school.

Some people frown at students' using the money they have earned from after-class labour to pay school and living expenses. They feel it is “out of keeping” with things in New China and the students' financial difficulties should be solved by steadily increasing government scholarships. This idea is obviously incorrect. True, quite a number of students are living under harsh conditions. They cannot afford to eat in the school canteens and have to bring food from the countryside. Some of them cook their own meals with grain and firewood they carry from home. They usually pay their school expenses with money they earn from sparetime work. It is true that these students lead a somewhat hard life, but they are in a much better position than many of their forefathers, who were so poverty-stricken that they could never expect to enter secondary schools or even primary schools. In order to pursue knowledge and realize their ideals, today's students bear hardships for the moment, but this ought not to be regarded as bad under any circumstances. Since the founding of New China our government has made tremendous efforts to

develop education and make it possible for a great many children from workers' and peasants' families to go to school. The number attending school is not going down, but rising sharply. In 1949 we had over 1.2 million secondary school students, and now we have over 5.9 million. College students have increased from over 110,000 to 400,000. Educational funds in 1955 were 27 times those of 1949. The figure for 1956 registered another increase of more than 25 per cent. Since the government established scholarships, the number receiving scholarships in many universities is as high as 80 to 90 per cent of the total. For instance, in some areas of Hebei Province that were severely afflicted by natural disasters it is not uncommon for more than 50 per cent of the secondary school students to receive scholarships or relief funds. Nevertheless, the government can solve only some of the difficulties for students with financial problems, and it is impossible for it to keep increasing scholarships without limit and help solve all the students' financial difficulties. Even today many children from workers' and peasants' families cannot afford secondary school and college expenses. Many who have entered secondary schools and universities have financial difficulties to varying degrees. The young people in New China, for their part, ought not to depend entirely on the Party and the government when difficulties arise, asking the government for assistance and refusing to use their own hands and brains. In this regard, students in Hebei, Henan, Hubei, Hunan and Guangdong provinces and in Beijing have set good examples. Take the No. 7 Secondary School in Zhengzhou, Henan Province. The 700 students there earned more than 10,400 yuan from their after-class work last year, more than the school's total scholarships of over 8,600 yuan. One of the students earned 110 yuan. These incomes have helped ease financial difficulties and improved their living. Some have volunteered to get less or even give up their scholarships. Others who originally were planning to drop out of school for financial reasons are now able to carry on with their study. So work has bettered the conditions for the students and helped them develop their ability to live on their own. Experience suggests that undertaking spare-time labour and expanding work-study programmes may present an important avenue to solve students' school difficulties and make education universal.

Some people fear work-study programmes and after-school labour will interfere with the students' study and their regular recreational activities outside class and during vacation. The fear is not totally

groundless. Everything has two sides, and even the best things **may** have some negative effects. The key lies in the leaders, who should make appropriate arrangements. So long as they organize and plan well, discover problems and sum up experience without delay, shortcomings and mistakes may be reduced and eventually avoided. To this end, they should adhere to the principle of voluntariness. On no account should they give mandatory orders. They should uphold the practice of working after class and definitely not take up study time. As we favour the idea of working according to one's capability, they should make different demands upon students of different age groups and with different physiques. Instead of making exceedingly rash demands, they should first give the students light jobs, then heavier ones, gradually cultivating their work habits. They should refrain from assigning the students rush jobs and launching competition among them. In many areas experience has confirmed that if properly organized, after-class work has never hindered the students' study; on the contrary, many students involved in labour have received good marks in their studies. In the No. 33 Secondary School in Wuhan, Hubei Province, for instance, one-third of the nine general branch members of the Chinese Youth League Committee and of the eleven members of the Executive Committee of the Student Union take part in after-class work and are among the best students in their classes.

Some people complain that the students' regular recreational activities during vacation have been impaired. Then, what do they mean by such activities? Some mistake them for idle living, "sleeping after eating and eating after sleeping". To their way of thinking, if we want the students to be fully relaxed and lead a colourful life in vacation, we should organize such activities as visiting places, touring, swimming, playing ball games and fishing or, at most, let them do gratuitous work once or twice for two or three hours. This would exclude such important activities as organizing students to take part in industrial and agricultural production during their spare time and holidays. It is not sensible. In fact, the students add significance to their holidays by doing some manual labour. They not only toughen their physiques and gain more knowledge, but also create material wealth. This ensures a balanced improvement of their mental and physical health. A good many students are willing to do so, and their parents often demand it.

Some people approve of students' spare-time labour, but fear the students won't find work suited to their abilities. This concern has some substance, since despite the fact that a lot of work needs to be done, the students lack the necessary skills. Also, in some regions few jobs can be found in the off seasons. Nevertheless, we can find various things for the students to do under most circumstances, provided we attach importance to the work-study programme and take the initiative in finding new ways. The type of work can vary, and the form it takes can be on a collective, dispersed or individual basis. When job opportunities are limited, they can be offered first to older and stronger students or to those with more difficulty in paying school expenses. With regard to this problem, we are now able to draw from the experience of the students who have been organized in after-class labour and work-study programmes in different areas.

To sum up, we can say with certainty that it is not only possible but also essential to organize students to undertake spare-time labour and work-study programmes. As long as we spread the idea in real earnest, most of the students in our country will be enthusiastic about it. It is our hope that all school authorities and Youth League organizations will consider this project a major and, indeed, indispensable part of their teaching programme in future and will try to provide more effective leadership in this work, so that it will be done on a sound basis and on a more extensive scale.

## GEOLOGICAL WORKERS ARE VANGUARDS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

*May 17, 1957*

You have graduated. I have discussed with Comrade He Chang-gong, Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Geology, about the vital importance and need of geological work for our national construction. Without it we would be ignorant of the whereabouts of iron, coal or other mineral resources. Therefore, we must improve work in this field in order to carry out large-scale construction.

What kind of work will you do in the days ahead? Let me draw an analogy. We fought guerrilla wars for twenty-two years, from 1927 to 1949. We, including Chairman Mao, Commander-in-Chief Zhu and Premier Zhou, never laid down our guns. In 1927 Comrade He Changgong was with Chairman Mao fighting in the Jinggang Mountains. I went to Ruijin to join the guerrillas in 1932. Very few of us veteran cadres did not fight in the war. The life of guerrilla fighters in those days was tough. We lived outdoors and had to march, so we had enormous difficulties in food, clothing, shelter and marriage. We were guerrillas and vanguards in wartime. Today, in the period of construction we still need guerrilla fighters; that is to say, we have to dispatch a contingent to find mineral deposits needed in the country's construction. You will be the guerrillas, scouts and vanguards in the period of construction. Wherever construction is to be carried out, you will always be the first to be sent there, and you will leave when the buildings are up. You will have to go elsewhere to see whether there are mineral deposits or not. In short, you will always be moving from place to place and living outdoors. This kind of life is rather hard. Hundreds of thousands of geological workers

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Excerpt from a talk with representatives of the graduates of Beijing Geological Prospecting Institute in 1957.

in our country will bear hardship for the wellbeing of six hundred million people.

Are you willing to do this work? The motherland needs you to bear hardship and fight like guerrillas for several decades, just as the older generation did before. Of course, there will be many difficulties and certain limitations as to food, clothing, marriage and childbirth, and you will have to bear some hardship. But I think the conditions of geological prospecting are better than those under which we fought guerrilla wars. At least you will not be chased by enemies with guns. In our days we were often pursued by the enemy. We never had a good night's sleep or meal — just as we were going to sleep or eat, the enemy would come and we would have to leave immediately. You should make up your minds to be guerrilla fighters and scouts of the period of construction, ready to bear hardship. It is an honourable task for you geological workers to work outdoors for dozens of years for the construction of our motherland, for the future happiness of six hundred million people, and for the industrialization of China.

Working outdoors is pretty hard and both the material and cultural conditions are poor, but I don't think irregular political activities will necessarily make people slack politically. During the guerrilla war years, some people were slack politically, but more were progressive. As I said just now, you should be willing to bear some hardship for the construction of our motherland, for the happiness of six hundred million people and for the industrialization of China. If you resolve to do so, you are progressive politically. This is a basic point. Who are more progressive — those who are willing to bear hardship for the wellbeing of the people of our motherland or those who are not? Are those who ask, "Why should only the few of us, not the six hundred million people, have to bear hardship?" and who refuse to do it progressive politically? No! They are backward. If you straighten up and say, "Since some people will have to bear hardship — I or you or he — and since the six hundred million people are going to carry out construction, hundreds of thousands of people will have to bear hardship. I will be first!" your attitude is progressive. So, I don't agree that working outdoors will make people slack politically. Instead, I think it will temper people and make people more staunch politically.

But don't bear a burden. You will lag behind if you think you are more progressive than others. Chairman Mao said conceitedness

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made one backward. You will have experienced many hardships after working outdoors for ten years, but if you complain when you return to the city, “You people have led such a comfortable life in Western-style houses, while I have been bearing so many hardships in the mountains,” and so on, and if you become conceited and come up with all sorts of demands, you will bear a burden on your back and fall behind others politically. Only if you undergo hardships without complaining, can you be politically progressive and earn the trust of the people. There are veteran cadres who have indeed rendered meritorious service and fought as guerrillas for several decades, but they have turned that into a burden on themselves — they are flaunting their seniority and refuse to work, complaining that they are not graded fairly, not paid enough money, not given the right posts, and so on and so forth. Whenever they open their mouths, they say, “I have fought and liberated the country!” This is a political backwardness. To be politically progressive, therefore, you should on no account be conceited and take on a mental burden.

Some of you are afraid of becoming “geological artisans”, afraid that you will fall behind others in scientific knowledge after working outdoors for years. I don’t think you will. I prefer that you be “geological artisans” for a period of time. You should not despise practical work and knowledge. Working as “mechanical artisans” for a few years helps, instead of hinders, those who study mechanics to become engineers. If you want to take postgraduate courses in the Geological Research Institute, don’t go there immediately after graduating from university. It will be good to work outdoors as “geological artisans” for a few years before taking such courses or going to work at research institutions or serving as teaching assistants.

Now you have graduated from the institute and gained much knowledge, but you should have a correct estimation of how much you have actually learned. Some university graduates think they are terrific. In fact, what you have acquired in school is just a smattering of knowledge; you haven’t grasped complete knowledge. Having read many books about past and present geological knowledge and advanced geological methods in the world, you seem to be learned in this respect. However, I don’t think you have touched practical and genuine knowledge. You should be aware of this. Although you have learned something in school, you are intellectuals only in the limited, not the full, sense of the word. To be an intellectual in the full sense, you have to continue to learn in your future work, for true knowledge

is obtained mainly in the process of work. Let's take two persons who graduate from university at the same time. The one who studies well in his future work will progress more quickly both politically and vocationally than the one who does not. What makes the difference here lies in whether one studies well on the job. What you have learned during four years in the university and eleven or twelve years in primary and secondary schools is general knowledge; more profound knowledge will come from your work in the forty or fifty years ahead. With diplomas in hand you have graduated in one sense, but in another sense you have not graduated yet, because this is not the end of your study. The knowledge you now have is scanty, and perhaps those who have never entered universities but studied on the job are better than you. Someone who has studied in a university is not necessarily wiser than someone who has not. One should be aware of both one's strong and one's weak points so as to know oneself fully. It is one-sided to think that one is quite learned after graduating from university and acquiring general knowledge about geological history. The knowledge in textbooks is that of others and predecessors; only when you have verified it and grasped the laws in your practical work, will it become your own knowledge. True knowledge comes from practice. Let's take riding a bike and swimming, for instance. One cannot ride or swim without practice even if one understands the theory. Of course, if one operates without understanding the theory, one has only partial knowledge as well. An acrobat performs very well riding a bike on stage, but he cannot explain the hows and whys; we have to ask a mechanics specialist to do it. One has complete knowledge when one knows how to operate and also has the ability to explain principles. I hope you will become intellectuals with complete knowledge. Of course, I don't mean that you have no knowledge at all now, but your knowledge is far from sufficient. You all know that it takes a very long period of research to come up with a scientific invention, but when the result is worked out, it is no longer difficult to explain or study. For example, atomic energy and atomic reactors are very advanced knowledge that had been studied for a long time before the result was worked out, but it takes only a short time to explain them. So don't worry that while working outdoors you cannot learn what you could in scientific research institutions. Moreover, inventions come not only from scientific research institutions but from practical work, too. While doing practical work, you should do research work; choose some subjects for

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research and carry it out yourselves. Some subjects need to be tested in the laboratory, but others can be tested in practical work.

I appreciate the slogan “March towards science”. The only problem in marching towards science is that our work should not be hindered, or in other words, we must give first priority to our work instead of putting it aside. Even if one has a specially needed and extraordinarily important research subject that demands time to study, one must not leave one’s work post until one’s plan is approved. Some people say that we needn’t work since we are marching towards science. That is not a good approach. You must make sure that neither marching towards science nor the work is neglected. Some people are marching towards science just for the sake of their personal fame and position instead of the needs of six hundred million people. They are weak in their sense of collectivism and their political awareness. They lay much stress on their personal interests. They will be disgruntled if they are not permitted to apply for candidate doctor of sciences degree and if they have no fame or gain. Are they good people? I don’t think they are people with ideals. If they regard fame and gain as an ideal, this represents a bourgeois attitude that is vulgar and ignoble. I favour young people with a lofty ideal — working for the wellbeing of six hundred million people. Your ideal is lofty, because you fear no hardships and are ready to work outdoors for several decades, willing to be guerrilla fighters, scouts and vanguards during the period of construction.

## CHINA SHOULD HAVE TWO EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS AND TWO LABOUR SYSTEMS

*May 30, 1958*

Last spring I talked with some students and some workers as well. There are two striking attitudes among the students: One is looking down upon physical labour and manual workers. I criticized this attitude in an article last year.<sup>130</sup> That idea must be repudiated. Another attitude among students and young people is a strong desire for further study in schools of a higher grade. In my view this demand is justified. Our state should make an effort to meet their demand for higher education. It will not be worried if there are a large number of intellectuals or a large number of schools; it will be if there is a lack of schools. However, funds constitute a problem — our state cannot afford to run so many schools. Besides, not all families can afford to give their children a middle school or college education. That is why I wrote another article about work-study programme that was published in the *Chinese Youth Daily*.<sup>131</sup> The work-study programme enables students to depend on themselves, not on the state or their families, for schooling or for education in schools of a higher grade. I also proposed establishment of non-governmental schools — schools, both primary and secondary, run by the masses collectively.

Recently, I have been turning over this issue in my mind and have some new ideas on part-time work, part-time study. I think in the main China should have two educational systems and factory and rural labour systems. One is the present full-time educational system and eight-hour work system practised in factories and government institutions. This is the chief system. Is it possible for us to institute another chief system to go along with this one? I mean a part-work

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Speech at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

and part-study educational and labour system that will operate in schools, factories, government institutions and the countryside. When I was young, I engaged in part work, part study in Yude Middle School in Baoding for a year, with one technician and two skilled workers teaching us. Our workshop consisted of only three small houses, one five-horsepower engine and three lathes. There were sixty students in our class. We had four hours of classes in the morning and worked for four hours in the afternoon. In this way, we studied, kept fit and earned money at the same time. The present vice-president of Qinghua University, Liu Xianzhou, taught us mechanics. During the year we learned iron forging, casting, benchwork, lathe-turning and moulding. Besides, I learned French in anticipation of going to study and work in France, but I never went. Is it possible to run such a school nowadays? For instance, we can set up a middle school where we can build several workshops installed with some machines and tools, in order to provide young people whose families cannot afford their school expenses with part work and part study. Secondary technical schools have even more favourable conditions for such a programme, and certain universities can introduce the programme, too. We can set up a university to implement this programme in all departments or to have existing universities run a few part work and part study classes. And this should be regarded as a regular school system. Of course, the length of schooling, the courses offered and the students' material benefits should be adjusted accordingly. In this way the state can operate more schools without increasing its expenditures too much, except that it should provide funds for building houses and teaching staff.

If schools can be run like this, can factories be run in the same way? During my visits to some factories I met many young workers, most of whom had graduated from primary or junior middle schools. Yet their work was simple, and they had mastered only one skill. Although they are in high spirits now, they will be disgruntled when they have done that simple job for seven, eight or even ten years. Since there are many young workers who have little or no family burden and are eager to study, and since there are too many workers in some factories and still some unemployed young people in society, we should offer these young workers four hours of work and four hours of study at half their original wages. Those who wish can follow this programme, and those who are not willing to do so can still work eight hours. Classrooms should be found near the factories

and both teachers from the factories and professional teachers should be invited. Factories can open middle schools, secondary technical schools and even universities. In this way workers would graduate from university in seven, eight or ten years. By then they will be in a position to take other jobs and not in low spirits. Such skilled workers, technicians and engineers with a high level of education will be needed in all places. Then we can run more schools so as to fully meet the need of young people for higher education.

The system of part work and part study is implemented everywhere in the countryside. Agricultural middle schools can offer part work and part study, whether half-day study and half-day farm work or one day study, the next day farm work or half a year of farm work and half a year of study. Now we have only agricultural junior middle schools, but we can have senior middle schools for graduates from junior middle schools and part-work, part-study universities for graduates from senior middle schools.

In this way part-work and part-study programmes can be carried out in both town and country. Thus two major educational systems will exist simultaneously: the full-time school system and the part-work, part-study school system. There will also be two labour systems in factories: an eight-hour system and a four-hour system. We also need evening schools, spare-time schools and correspondence schools. Experience gained in the past few years has shown that spare-time education has scored achievements but met enormous difficulties. To train working-class intellectuals, the government also sends outstanding workers and cadres to study in worker-peasant middle schools or universities and pays them 75 per cent of their original wages. This method can be applied to only a small number of outstanding workers or old cadres. If part-work and part-study programmes can be carried out extensively, they can serve many purposes — fulfilling the desire of people for higher education, reducing overstaffing in factories and preparing more people for employment. This is the way in which a mass line is adopted to train more intellectuals of the working class and labouring people with greater, faster, better and more economical results. We can train a large number of skilled workers, technicians and college graduates in a short period of time. I hope you comrades will consider whether it is possible to experiment with these two major school systems and labour systems in some units. Of course, in running such schools you will have many problems to tackle. I shall not go into them here. This is one question.

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There is another question I'd like to talk about. We are concentrating our efforts on mobilizing a production campaign in both town and country, which is entirely correct. Can we organize some service trades for the convenience of both urban and rural people to go side by side with this campaign? I have visited some living quarters of office staff and workers and found a large labour force idle. Many of their young family members are doing the cooking, washing and looking after children every day, and they don't like it and want to find jobs. Socialist and communist systems mean to free women from household chores. These family members and women from the countryside can be organized to run shops, primary schools, cultural and entertainment centres, barbershops, bathhouses and tailorshops — all depending on the labour forces available. Some units such as the Anshan Iron and Steel Complex, mines in Tangshan and some other heavy industrial bases have many family members of workers living there. What is to be done? Some comrades have proposed operating textile mills there. I think that is quite right. We should do a good job of organizing these surplus labour forces, letting them not only do cooking and washing and work in nurseries and primary schools, but also work in processing industries, and even textile and flour mills. They can also raise pigs and grow vegetables. Of course, the government should give them a hand. The same can be done in the countryside. In my opinion, we should be farsighted and gradually, systematically, comprehensively and on a voluntary basis organize these service trades and develop them into large collective economic undertakings. In this way, we can make the best use of the labour force and free women from household chores. This is the direction to take.

## TALK WITH PEASANTS OF TANZICHONG

*May 7, 1961*

Are you busy with your farm work? (Peasants present: “Yes, we are busy transplanting rice seedlings.”) Can you spare half a day so we can have a talk? I have already talked with other friends since I came back a few days ago.

I have been away from my hometown for nearly forty years and was very eager to come back. I am very sorry to find my fellow villagers still leading a hard life, and I must apologize for the poor work we have done.

My fellow villagers, tell me, is the life of commune members better now or worse than it was in 1957? It’s worse! Am I right? Production has decreased! We have to recognize this because it is true. (Peasants: “Yes. Production has decreased and our life is indeed worse.”) Then, what’s the reason? Why has production decreased and why is your life worse? Some people say it is nature’s fault, for there was a drought last year. Perhaps the drought was one reason, but not the chief one. The chief reason was that we made mistakes in our work and we didn’t do our work well. I asked a few people whether Menqian Pond and Anhu Pond had gone dry. They said they each still had half a pond of water. It seems the drought wasn’t that serious. I remember once when both Anhu Pond and Menqian Pond were dry for two years because of a drought. So the chief reason was that mistakes were made in the work here. Should the brigade cadres take full blame? No. They should not be held fully responsible. The higher authorities should bear the main respon-

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Talk with some local peasants and grass-roots cadres in Liu Shaoqi’s hometown — Tanzichong Brigade, Huaminglou Commune, Ningxiang County. Early in 1961, to correct the “Left” errors in rural work, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Mao Zedong emphasized investigation and study anew. The author spent over forty days, from April 1 to May 15, 1961, conducting investigation in Changsha and Ningxiang counties in Hunan Province.

sibility. The county, the provincial and the central authorities should all bear some responsibility. Of course, I don't mean that the brigade cadres have no responsibility. They should bear a little responsibility. Some things, such as the establishment of communal canteens,<sup>132</sup> were promoted by the Central Committee, so the root of mistakes lies in the Central Committee, although they were developed at lower levels.

Now that I'm back and see how things stand here, I feel that the Central Committee should bear the responsibility and apologize to you. There is nobody in the world who never makes mistakes, so it doesn't matter if one makes a mistake, but what is most important is to realize and correct the mistake. There are three measures one can take towards a mistake: correct it quickly, correct it slowly, or never try to correct it. It is not good to correct it slowly, and it is worse never to try to correct it.

Have your communal canteens been disbanded? (Peasants: "Most of them have.") We were not clear as to the situation of the communal canteens before, and what we had heard was that communal canteens were advantageous in that they served to save labour and emancipate women and so forth. Now I have come and seen something quite different. People are assigned specially to prepare food, cook dishes, cut firewood, carry water and husk rice with a mortar and pestle. One canteen takes one-third of the labour force, and sometimes even half the people are engaged in cooking. For firewood they use hardwood, felling trees in the mountains, instead of weeds. There are still other disadvantages. There may be one or two advantages. For instance, all the commune members can start work together. But this can be achieved by other means!

Communal canteens have no advantages. They can save neither labour nor firewood. This kind of canteen must be abolished. It's no good to keep it. It has caused waste for several years and must be dissolved.

When communal canteens are disbanded, some commune members may have difficulties doing their own cooking at home without caldrons, slices, pots and pans. These things should be produced as soon as possible. Production brigades, communes, counties, provinces and central departments should all start to organize the production of these things — organize the blacksmiths to forge slices, the carpenters and bamboo craftsmen to make kitchen utensils. They should be distributed to the production teams once they are produced. But to whom will the production teams distribute them? To the team

cadres? Is it good for the cadres to have those things before others? I think the first and second lots should go to those who need them most, not to the commune and team cadres. Whether you are one of the neediest, let other people judge. When everybody else has these things, do you need to worry that you won't have them? Being cadres, you should be careful in these respects. Just now I said that the commune members need caldrons and slices and their houses need repairing, so blacksmiths, carpenters, bricklayers and bamboo craftsmen are all needed. I hear that their wages are too low, only twenty to twenty-six yuan a month. Now that plots of land have been distributed for private use, they also want to go back to farming. Is that good? If they are not enthusiastic about their work, it will be inconvenient to commune members. Perhaps you should raise the handicraftsmen's wages.

Does disbanding communal canteens mean distributing land to every household? No. They are different things. Communal canteens can be disbanded, but land cannot be distributed to households, with the exception of the narrow paths between fields, where output quotas can be fixed for households. But can waste land be distributed to and output quotas fixed for households? (Peasants: "It would be good that way.") Some of the income can be handed over to the production teams, and the commune members can keep the rest for themselves. Things will be easier for the commune members when they have money.

After the communal canteens are disbanded, the most pressing problem will be housing. When many households share one house, they have no place to cook. If they have no fixed housing, commune members will find it hard to have many other things fixed. For instance, their private plots of land cannot be fixed, they will have difficulty raising pigs and chickens and have no place to build their lavatories. As a result, they can't keep their minds on production. Some houses were occupied by public institutions, such as banks, supply and marketing co-operatives, schools, commune and brigade offices, factories and piggeries. Houses occupied to excess should be vacated and returned to the commune members.

The local authorities here wanted to turn my former residence into a museum and they wrote to me asking for my approval. Though I wrote several letters to dissuade them, they still built it. Now both the provincial and county Party committees have agreed that the museum should not be established and the house should be vacated.

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Who will live in this house? The work team should take charge of this matter and let a few families live here after consultation with the brigade cadres. My relatives should not live here. The tables, stools, storeroom, caldrons and kitchen should all be returned to the commune members as compensation. These floorboards can be made into doors for families that have no doors. Commune members can live here for at least ten to twenty years. They can move out if they like when there are better houses.

Some people ask, "What if visitors come while people are living in this house?" I think you can stop foreigners from coming, and as for the Chinese, since you can't stop them, you can just let them come and have a look! Let them visit as they wish. How to receive the visitors? Just serve them with bowls of boiled water. You can find a granny to boil water, and it would be better if you put in some tea leaves. Visitors should pay for the boiled water, for the granny will like her job if she has some income. When visitors come, you can first find out whether they want boiled water served or not, so the granny can prepare some if they do, and she needn't if they don't.

In addition, measures should be taken to protect the forests in the mountains. It will be disastrous if people go on felling trees like that. The forests should be owned by the brigade and managed by the production teams. Private patches of wooded hills should be designated. From now on, the production teams and commune members should not be allowed to fell trees at will. If they need, they must get permission from the commune and act in accordance with the unified plans of the brigade. No young trees should be cut until they grow to full size. The branches of young trees should not be chopped before the trees grow up. Now the young trees on the mountains have only a few branches left; they shouldn't be chopped in the next few years. New trees should be planted wherever there are open spaces.

The problem of returning things taken from commune members was discussed in the "Twelve Articles".<sup>133</sup> How many things have finally been returned? It seems to me that in most cases many more things need to be returned. I hear you have made it a rule that only things with proof of loss are allowed to be registered. Where can people find proof with things in such a mess? This matter must be settled household by household and it should be remembered. When everything is returned, put up a stone tablet or frame a big list and hang it in the commune office. If you don't do these things, the people will find it hard to carry on. Don't give up halfway or act

carelessly. Do the accounts in a sound manner; let the cadres of the commune, production brigade and team and the commune members hurt a little, let them feel the hurt for several years. This lesson is profound and it should be passed on from generation to generation, so that the mistake will never be made again.

Now commune members often help themselves to things. For example, they take rice and vegetables. Sweet potatoes are taken as soon as they have been planted, so they cannot grow up. What shall we do about this? Shall we try to find a solution so everybody can settle down to production? If personal and public things are taken at will by commune members, the system of ownership will be shaken. If ownership is not fixed, people will not keep their minds on production. The three-level system of ownership [by the commune, the production brigade and the production team — Tr.] and partial ownership by individuals should not be infringed upon arbitrarily. The products from private plots of land should belong to the commune members. Why do some commune members not respect the system of ownership? One reason is that they are so hungry they want to take something to eat. Another reason is that “egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources”<sup>134</sup> have become common practice — since the commune and production brigade can take things from the commune members, the commune members also take things from the public or from other commune members. First and foremost, the commune and brigade do not observe ownership by commune members, so the commune members think like this: Why can’t I take things if you can? You take much and I take just a little. This practice has been created by people at higher levels, not by the commune members. Now let’s make it clear that those people must return or pay compensation for the things they have taken. Then, should the commune members return the things they have taken from the public and others? Yes, they should, too. Everybody — both people at higher levels and the commune members — must return or pay compensation for the things they have taken. As for those who can’t afford to do so right now, keep an account and let them do it after the autumn harvest. When the persons who take things from others have no advantage to gain, nobody will follow their example.

Is there a management committee in the production brigade? (Peasants: “Yes.”) Who is in charge of the brigade — the Party branch or the management committee? Has the management committee ever held meetings? (Peasants: “Yes.”) Both of them should

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take charge of affairs, but the Party branch should take care only of major issues and the management committee should deal with concrete problems. Important decisions should be made at a general meeting of commune members or a meeting of their representatives.

We must practise democracy when handling affairs. I have talked to some people who seemed quite afraid to speak. I don't know why. Maybe it is because "they are more afraid of discipline than of officials". The practice of excessive discipline and punishment is undesirable. If nobody dares to speak, how can we have ease of mind and a lively political atmosphere? I hear it is not that people don't want to speak, but they dare not speak to somebody's face, so they gossip behind his back. When they complain behind your back and you question them as to why they don't do it to your face, you will learn nothing. Do not oppose complaint! You know they dare not speak to your face, but if they say something to your relatives behind your back, you can also know their opinions. If they're right, that's good, and if not, it doesn't matter. Don't mind or try to investigate when people complain behind your back. If you question them, they will say nothing at all and you can never hear any opinions.

You should have some stipulations about what kind of problems can be decided by a general meeting of commune members. Important matters, such as close planting, transplanting double-cropping rice, growing cotton and building highways, cannot be decided by a few individuals. The commune and brigade cadres can only put forward a plan; they have no right to make decisions. In this way, you will make many fewer mistakes in your work. You should pay particular attention to what older people, who are more experienced, say. If you had let the commune members discuss matters first, you would not have set up communal canteens or transplanted so much double-cropping rice or pulled down the houses. If mistakes are made on matters discussed by the commune members, the cadres won't have to bear the responsibility themselves; everybody will share it. Only in this way can you stand up against inappropriate mandates from the higher authorities. You can withstand arbitrary directions from them when everybody gets a clear understanding of things. How can a small number of commune and brigade cadres withstand such directions?

Of course, discussions at a general meeting of commune members may be formalistic. At the meeting the cadres would say, "We are going to grow a certain amount of cotton. That is the policy. Do

you agree? Raise your hand if you do!” When they see somebody not raising his hand, they would ask, “Why don’t you raise your hand? Do you have any objection? What is your family background?” So, who would venture not to raise his hand?

To practise democracy in its true sense means letting the commune members be masters of their own affairs. Cadres are the servants of the commune members and should serve them well. Remember not to do what most commune members believe to be impracticable.

Wang Shengping, Cheng Jingchang and I often wrote to each other,<sup>135</sup> and I shall continue to do so. Would you please allow me freedom of correspondence and not detain my letters? They don’t write to me to make trouble with the commune and brigade. I really want to help you. I may also make mistakes or be more of a hindrance than a help; if so, I shall admit my mistake and make a self-criticism. For matters that affect everyone, you may also come to Beijing to report to me and I shall bear the travelling expenses. Cheng Jingchang and Huang Duansheng came once.<sup>136</sup> When I invite you to come or you think it necessary to come for everybody’s sake, I shall pay for your board and room.

Because this is my hometown, the province, county and commune may give it special attention. It is not good to receive too much special attention. You can make out all right by your own efforts; you don’t need special attention. If everybody makes an effort, things will be handled well. Don’t demand special attention in the name of my hometown. Some of my relatives are still here. Don’t treat them any differently because of me.

What I have said today is just for your reference. It’s up to you to decide whether to act accordingly or not. In short, I wish you success in production and other work.

## CAUSE OF THE PRESENT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AND METHODS FOR OVERCOMING THEM

*May 31, 1961*

At present all contradictions — for example, the contradiction between industry and agriculture and the contradiction between culture and education and other fields of endeavour — are focused on the question of grain. To be specific, people have to eat; whether they live in the cities or in the countryside, whether they are intellectuals or “officials” like us, they all need food, and not only grain, but also non-staple foods such as oil, meat and fish. Without these their health will break down even if the amount of grain they consume remains the same. In the past few years the health of both peasants and workers has deteriorated, chiefly because they have had fewer non-staple foods. Things have come to such a pass that not a few city dwellers and students are suffering from dropsy. The students are in poor health because they are getting less oil, meat and eggs in their diet, even though their grain rations have generally remained the same as before.

The crux of the matter is that “the number of workmen engaged in manufacture, etc., and completely detached from agriculture . . . is determined by the mass of agricultural products which the farm labourers produce in excess of their own consumption.”<sup>137</sup> In other words, the number of people in any society who can engage in other material production and in intellectual production is determined by the amount of grain, meat and raw materials for industry the peasants can provide over and above what they consume themselves. The less grain the peasants can spare, the fewer the number of people who

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Speech delivered at a working conference of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

can engage in those other endeavours. Conversely, the more they can spare, the greater the number of people released for other tasks. The grain left over after the peasants have met their own needs is what we call commodity grain. The amount of grain available for the market determines the scale of our undertakings in industry, transport, culture and education. For instance, since we are short of grain at present, we cannot set up more factories or schools. In old China the landlord class always squeezed grain out of the peasants. By this I mean that the peasants couldn't produce enough for themselves and for the cities too. Now that the landlord class has been overthrown, it is the city people who are competing with the peasants for grain, meat, oil, eggs, cotton, hemp and so forth. A lot of the peasants' produce is purchased by the state, and the peasants are unhappy about that. As a result, the contradiction between the workers and the peasants has become acute. It will be dangerous if this contradiction is not resolved. It is a crucial question, determining the survival and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our state and even our society.

In short, the cause of the problem that has been plaguing us in the past few years is that we have initiated too many undertakings in industry, transport, culture and education. Far too many people have been detached from agriculture for the peasants to feed, so we have to reduce the number. Is there any alternative? I'm afraid not. That is to say, we have to shorten the industrial front and extend the agricultural front, as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out at the Lushan Meeting.<sup>138</sup> On the industrial front it is not a question of marking time or even advancing (in some sectors — petroleum, for instance — we shall probably advance a little), but a question of taking a step back. Last year the output of steel was 18.4 million tons, and this year we plan to reduce it to 14 million, a decrease of more than 4 million tons. In the textile industry the number of spindles is to be cut from last year's 10 million to 5 million. The same thing will have to be done in other industries. If we are successful in this effort, we shall be able to bring about an appropriate balance among the different sectors. When the overextended industrial, cultural and educational sectors are cut back, they will balance properly with agriculture and will develop along with it. Otherwise, agriculture cannot advance, nor can industry or any other sector of the economy.

Why have things come to such a pass? In my view, it is because of mistakes made in our work in rural areas, plus natural disasters;

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we also made mistakes in the industrial field in cities. In agriculture excessively high targets were set for production and purchase of farm produce from the peasants. In industry a high target was also set in the hope of producing large quantities of rolled steel and coal and of building many transportation facilities. The same thing happened in the cultural and educational fields. As a result, raw materials and various other things were concentrated in these sectors, to the deprivation of other sectors, such as agriculture and light industry. Responsibility for this state of affairs rests with all the authorities from the central down.

Now the question arises: were the problems of the past few years caused more by natural disasters or by the mistakes we made in our work? Peasants in Hunan said, "It is thirty per cent natural disaster and seventy per cent man-made calamity." I have posed this question to cadres from several provincial Party committees. I asked Comrade Tao Lujia,<sup>139</sup> "In your Shanxi Province were the problems caused more by natural disasters or by mistakes you made in your work?" He replied that mistakes in work were the major cause of the present difficulties. Comrades from Hebei, Shandong and Henan said the same. I did not ask this question of comrades from the other provinces. In short, we should say that, in the country as a whole, natural disasters were the main cause of difficulties in some places but not in most places. In most parts of the country our mistakes were the major cause of the present difficulties. Some comrades say it is a question of one finger vis-à-vis nine fingers. I am afraid it's not a problem of that sort. The usual assessment of achievements and mistakes as between nine fingers and one finger does not conform to the actual situation now. We should be practical and realistic, recognizing our achievements and saying that they represent ten, seventy, or a hundred per cent achievements of our efforts, whatever the case may be, and never exaggerating them. In the past few years we have had some accomplishments to our credit, but also made some fruitless efforts. In the course of adhering to the general line and organizing the people's communes and the Great Leap Forward, we made many mistakes, some grave. Recently not only the output of agriculture but also that of industry has dropped. If we made no serious mistakes, why has the output dropped? Why have we taken a step back? Were all the problems caused by natural disasters? As for responsibility, the central authorities — all of us here — should take the major responsibility, not putting it on any individual depart-

ment or person. We have come here to analyse our experience. Luckily, it is not yet too late for us to look back, sum up our experience and overcome our mistakes. They are not mistakes relating to the Party's line. However, if we don't turn back now and instead persist, the mistakes will become ones relating to the Party's line. So, it is high time we made up our minds now.

Some mistakes made in the past were unavoidable, because we had little or no experience to draw on, but others could possibly have been avoided or checked if found earlier. Since we discovered our mistakes a little bit late, we suffered greater losses. However, it is not too late now to make changes. I believe the comrades present here ought to have gained experience! You ought to after two years without enough to eat. Do you still want to build tens of thousands of kilometres of railways? Do you still want to build many small modern enterprises? Do you still want to build many factories? Are you still reluctant to close some factories and let some workers go back to the countryside? Do you still want to build many guesthouses? I am afraid you should have learned from your experience. The peasants have suffered from hunger in the past two years; some have suffered from dropsy, some have died. City dwellers also didn't have enough to eat. Now the Party membership and people all over the country have had personal experience. In my view, it is high time we looked back and summed up our experience. We cannot go on like this.

Now we should make up our minds to reduce the urban population. Of course, it is a troublesome matter; some workers may not understand its importance. However, if we explain things clearly to them, they will understand. Some people in medium-sized and small cities, learning that the peasants have been given private plots of land and are allowed to raise pigs and chickens, while urban residents have no meat, oil or eggs to eat, are willing to go back to the countryside. In the latter half of this year, as the peasants harvest their private plots and have more non-staple foods, life in some rural areas will be better than in the cities. This situation has already come about in some places. When conditions in the countryside turn better, it will be easier to persuade workers to go back there. Of course, some will be unwilling to return to the countryside. We should try to persuade them and make good arrangements for those who have returned to the countryside. Leading members of Party committees and departments at all levels should personally do the persuading

and organizing in order to make this work a success. They should not shift the work to departments in charge of the deployment of manpower and treat these workers as ordinary manpower. To reduce urban population by asking workers to go back to the countryside may possibly cause trouble, but if the work is done well, fewer problems will arise.

In the countryside the peasants' household handicrafts industry is mostly semi-agricultural and semi-industrial, so its development will not impede the development of agriculture. Also, some handicrafts factories operate during the slack season but close in the busy season. Since they can turn out products without hindering farming, they can also continue to operate. Take the Refractory Material Factory of Ningxiang County, Hunan Province, for example. There used to be over a thousand workers there, and there are still more than three hundred now. It operates for three or four months in the slack farming season since it can get coal nearby. Seasonal undertakings of this sort can go on in the future. They should mainly turn out light industrial products and products needed by peasants in production and daily life. They have to turn out light industrial products that can be exchanged for the peasants' grain, pork and eggs. They cannot survive without things for exchange. At present, peasants urgently need caldrons, wooden buckets and many other things. If these things are available, they will be willing to sell their grain and eggs. Now we cannot even meet the peasants' needs of matches and salt; how can we purchase things from them? So we should strengthen not only the agricultural front, but also the light industrial front, so as to implement to the letter the policy of developing the economy in the order of agriculture, light industry, heavy industry advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong.<sup>140</sup>

The heavy-industry front has to be cut, but we should have a detailed discussion on how much should be cut back and we must be determined to do it. The same thing should be done on the cultural and educational fronts. In cities some factories will be closed, particularly the small improvised enterprises as well as some modern ones. When they reopen in future, they should make great efforts at technological transformation, improvement of labour productivity and attainment of a higher level of mechanization.

Here I'd like to talk about things in the United States. Out of a population of 180 million only 15 million people are in rural areas, accounting for about 9 per cent of the total. Moreover, with only 6

million agricultural workers, part are engaged in farming, part in animal husbandry. These people can not only meet the needs of the domestic market for grain, meat, raw materials and cotton, but also provide surplus farm products and raw materials for export. Thanks to the extremely high agricultural productivity more than 90 per cent of the American people can work in industrial and other sectors. When China reaches such a proportion between industry and agriculture, it will no doubt be a powerful country. That is why agriculture is the foundation.

I am afraid there will be no rapid improvement in China's agricultural productivity. It will take eight to ten years, not three to five, to see such a change. Within eight to ten years urban factories can employ only a few rural people, and this can only be done when the factories are highly mechanized. It's no good if factories employ many workers from the countryside all at once and send them back afterwards. Actually we had suffered setbacks in this regard before and have done so recently. I hope we shall not repeat our mistakes in future.

We should pay attention to the proper balance between various sectors in the technological transformation of industry and agriculture. Therefore, we should not proceed too quickly. As I see it, our work was impetuous in the past. That was unnecessary. Take steel, for example. Under given conditions only a certain quantity can be turned out. When going all out and aiming high in our work, we can only make steel within our ability, not beyond it.

The problems we are faced with are to close and amalgamate factories, reduce the scope of the industrial sectors, and decrease the urban population. Will too many people be asked to leave the city for the countryside? It seems unlikely. Even so, I don't think it will be difficult to reemploy them. On this question, some people cannot make up their minds because they do not understand it clearly. I think that is the major problem we now confront.

In short, we have achieved much during the past few years, yet many problems have arisen and in some places problems have piled up. Our future is still bright if we make up our minds to solve these problems. I want to repeat this, "We have achieved much, there are still many problems, but our future is bright."<sup>141</sup> Of the many problems demanding to be solved, the essential ones are to resolutely reduce the industrial front, extend the agricultural and light industrial fronts and decrease the urban population by sending some

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urban dwellers to the countryside. The comrades present here can also find other ways to deal with these problems. When these problems are solved and the “Twelve Articles”<sup>133</sup> and “Sixty Articles”<sup>142</sup> are implemented, the agricultural situation will take a turn for the better. And then, the industrial and market situation will take a favourable turn. When the situation throughout the country improves, we shall have ease of mind and a feeling of liveliness.

SPEECH AT THE CONFERENCE OF FORESTRY  
CADRES OF THE HULUN  
BUIR LEAGUE

*August 6, 1961*

I have just visited the Xiaoxing'anling Mountains and the Zhangguangcailing Mountains and put some questions to people there. Having visited the Daxing'anling Mountains here, I should like also to raise a few questions. You are better acquainted than I with things here. So, today I shall just raise questions and make suggestions for your reference.

The first question is how to make full use of forest resources and best meet the different needs of the state and the masses.

Here I should like to call your special attention to satisfying the needs of both the state and the masses in many respects, not in one respect. In production and construction, such as the construction of factories and railways and the opening up of mines, large numbers of sleepers and pit props and packing and building materials will be needed. In agricultural production a great deal of lumber will be needed with which to make farm tools, such as plough shafts, carts, hoe handles and knife hilts. Both in town and country household items, such as pails, pan lids, rolling pins, beds, tables, chairs and benches, are all made of wood. Herdsmen to pitch their tents and fishermen to build their boats also need wood. A man needs a cradle when he is born, and a coffin when he dies, as is the old custom. In short, no one can live without wood once he comes into the world. We should plan for all these needs. Of course, you cannot as yet meet all the demands, so I only ask you to try your best. Have you done so? Certainly you have. But you haven't tried everything in your power. For instance, there are still many small logs left in the mountains. On the one hand, there are abundant resources in the mountains and on the other people all over the country are in

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urgent need of them. Your task is to combine the two by fully utilizing the forest resources to best meet the various demands of the state and the masses. In the past you concentrated on providing big logs to satisfy the need for logs, pit props and sleepers, to the neglect of the diverse needs of the masses. Can you pull both big and small logs and branches down the mountains to fully meet the demands of all sectors of society? This is the first question I hope you will look into. Of course, moving small logs and branches will be extremely troublesome and difficult. Can you overcome the difficulties involved? Think about it, please.

The second question concerns the wage system and the price of timber.

This question is related to the first. Now, you are required to pull down both big and small logs, but the problem is you get less profit from small logs than from big ones, because of the difference in their prices. In my view, there should be two prices for timber; purchase price (ex-farm price) and selling price. The purchase price for small logs (which need more labour and higher costs) should be higher than for big ones (which need less labour and lower costs), so we can lower the purchase price of big logs and raise that of small ones. For the selling price, however, small logs may be cheaper than big ones. Thus small logs are unprofitable or less profitable than big ones. Big logs should be more expensive, for it takes several hundred years to yield one harvest. With regard to pay, we should pay different wages to the workers who fell, collect, ship and load big or small logs. We should set slightly lower quotas for handling small logs and slightly higher quotas for big ones, so as to give everyone incentive to deal with both big and small logs willingly. These measures will benefit production and conform with the principle of paying wages according to work. There are now many small trees in the mountains, but workers are unwilling to fell them; even if they fell them, they are reluctant to move them out. The main reason rests in irrationalities in the wage system and price policy. Therefore, if we readjust wages and prices, workers will be willing to fell, collect, load and ship small logs, thus making the wage system and price policy adapted to the requirements for the development of production. When the relations of production are not appropriate, they will hinder the development of the productive forces; if they are readjusted and made adaptable, they will promote the development

of the productive forces and facilitate full use of forest resources so as to meet the different demands of the state and the masses.

As for forest-region subsidies, I think you should differentiate between those who work in the mountains and those who work in offices, between winter and summer, and between rain and shine. With good housing and good living conditions, people working in forestry bureaus and on forest farms should get slightly less subsidies than those working under poor conditions in the mountains. That way people can be encouraged to work in the mountains; otherwise everybody will prefer office work. You should rationally subdivide the subsidies granted by the Ministry of Forestry in a way that those working in the mountains get more. The workers complain, "Working is no better than not working; working harder is no better than working less hard." I asked them why. They told me that if they did not work, they would get 70 per cent of their wages, but if they worked, they could fulfill only 70 per cent of the quota set for them. So please investigate whether they have not worked hard or you have set excessively high quotas. If quotas are unduly high, you should revise them. If a worker cannot work because of illness, he should have a medical certificate; if he stays away from work without good reason, he does not deserve wages; moreover, disciplinary measures should be taken against him. The state has made it a rule to give 70 per cent of wages to workers who have to stop working for lack of raw materials, not to those who stay away from work without good reason. Labour discipline should be tightened and people should be encouraged to work.

There is an unhealthy tendency to secure advantages by the "back door" in commercial departments. Do you have this tendency here? The Party committee should pay attention to it. In some areas raincoats and rubber boots are not available to workers in the mountains while they are to cadres and their family members. I suggest that the commercial department at the next higher level post notices as to commodities available at certain shops and a meeting of workers and staff be held to discuss how to distribute those commodities reasonably. The principle of distribution according to work should be followed, and workers should obtain more pay for more work. They should get more not only in cash but in kind, especially at times when commodities are scarce. If you show concern for the masses, they will trust you.

The third question concerns the restoration of rational rules and regulations.

In the past few years some rational forestry rules and regulations have been abolished, whereas some irrational ones have remained. The “two participations, one reform”<sup>143</sup> is meant to reform irrational rules and regulations, not the rational ones. Therefore, the rational rules and regulations abolished in the past should be restored. For example, the rules for technique design of felling areas, allotment and delivery of felling areas, checking before acceptance, the appointment of timber measurement inspectors by departments at higher levels,<sup>144</sup> and the grade marking system.<sup>145</sup> Furthermore, the Forest Industry Bureau and the Forest Management Bureau had been separate entities before they were merged. If nobody is responsible for afforestation now, should the Forest Management Bureau be restored? Of course, we don't have to have two bureaus, simply two units under a bureau of forestry, one in charge of felling trees, the other in charge of afforestation. Which is better, the present structure or restoration of the two former bureaus? Think it over, please. Moreover, some irrational rules have not yet been abolished. For example, it is said that quite a lot of timber too large to be drawn away by horse or ox has been scattered about in the mountains of the Genhe Forest Zone, because loggers would be punished if they cut the logs up, but not if they left them out there in the mountains. I don't think this a correct approach; the former should be rewarded.

Now fees for tending trees amount to four to six yuan for every cubic metre of timber. How do you dispose of such a large sum? Special funds should be used for special purposes; you cannot give them to the Bureau of Forestry to build auditoriums and hotels. If you have some left, you should accumulate it for future use. Fees for tending trees should be controlled by the Ministry of Forestry, the Department of Forestry and the Forest Management Bureau; they should not be dispersed to grass-roots units.

New hand tools are useful, but it doesn't pay to use manpower, instead of machines, in production. The level of mechanization must be raised gradually. If there are no machines available, horses and oxen can be used, and also ice and snow slides. Machine repair should be improved; the bureau of forestry should install equipment for overhauling machinery. If skilled workers and equipment are insufficient, you can get some transferred from big machine-building factories.

Every bureau of forestry should be manned with mechanical and forestry engineers. The system whereby the engineers assume full responsibility should be instituted. Deputy directors of the bureau of forestry should include at least one graduate from a university of forestry, and on each forest farm a graduate from a forestry secondary school should be appointed deputy farm leader. Work sections are very important and it is the section chiefs who have actual leadership in their hands, so we should train them in forest technology. You can also appoint graduates of a university of forestry or forestry secondary school as deputy section chiefs, making them responsible for technical work and establishing a technical responsibility system.

The fourth question concerns logging and reforestation.

Some say selective felling is good; others say clear felling is good. Which is better? In my view, we can use clear felling in some areas and selective felling in others, depending on local conditions and the different circumstances, so long as our objective is to benefit both the supply of timber and reforestation.

Which should be given priority, natural or artificial regeneration? With regard to Korean pines in the Xiaoxing'anling Mountains, small trees usually die when the big ones have been cut down. Young larches in the Daxing'anling Mountains, however, grow well in natural regeneration, so natural regeneration is possible there. Moreover, we cannot afford the labour and funds to do artificial regeneration over so large an area. Then, which should be given priority, natural or artificial regeneration? I think we should give priority to the latter; otherwise, no one will engage in artificial regeneration. Trees replanted grow rapidly, the output of timber is high and it is convenient to fell them. Natural regeneration generally yields one hundred cubic metres of timber per hectare at most, whereas artificial regeneration generally yields three hundred cubic metres per hectare or even four to five hundred cubic metres if well cultivated. Comrades in the Bureau of Forestry in Dailing said they could produce a yield of seven hundred cubic metres per hectare. They have calculated correctly; indeed, I saw trees growing quite well. So, the timber output per hectare in artificial regeneration is equal to that for five hectares in natural regeneration, and in the future the costs for artificial regeneration will be very low. Perhaps our next generation will fell trees mainly grown by artificial rather than natural regeneration. We do not deny the argument over natural regeneration

and artificial promotion; however, people usually take the easiest way, so we shall give priority to artificial regeneration and adopt the principle of walking on two legs.

You should analyse the experience gained in artificial regeneration. It seems that people in the Xiaoxing'anling Mountains have done a better job in artificial regeneration than you have and they have richer experience. They have stretches of new-growth forest in their region, but you have very few; you do not have many living seedlings. You should go over your experience in planting trees and figure out ways to make them survive. You should give specialized teams total responsibility for planting trees, seeing they survive and grow into a forest. Payment of wages can be staggered according to the survival rate. For example, if a hundred planted trees survive, the planter will be given part of his wages that year; the second year, following inspection, he will receive another part, depending on the survival rate of his trees; the third year, after inspection, he will receive the rest of his total wages. The problem now is that there is no one specially assigned to this work; the responsibility system should be applied to forest farms, work sections, teams and individuals.

The fifth question concerns the structure of a bureau of forestry.

At present, a bureau of forestry functions as a basic accounting unit with dozens of units and tens of thousands of people subordinate to it, and the number will increase in future. It now is in charge of the people's commune, the government and enterprises, of felling and regenerating trees, looking after people's daily lives, handling political and legal affairs, managing commerce and running schools. Can it handle all this well? Perhaps it could operate this way: A forest farm is taken as the basic accounting unit, and the forestry railway management office, timber-storing yard and timber-processing yard are taken as separate accounting units. The bureau of forestry can serve as a general company or corporation, doing overall accounting and conferring on the forest farm some responsibilities and fixed quotas. Is this suggestion feasible? Of course, we cannot reform the structure at one stroke; we can first conduct experimentation.

Shouldn't the government and the people's commune be separated from the bureau of forestry? Government affairs should be handled by the government; the bureau of forestry should be responsible only for logging, reforestation and lumber processing. The people's com-

mune should still operate under collective ownership and not necessarily adopt ownership by all the people, which is difficult to practise without a high level of mechanization. Is it practicable for an enterprise to pay a worker seventy yuan a month to do farming? I am afraid not, because it costs too much. If the people's commune, the government and enterprises are separated from one another and accounting units are transferred to lower-level units, things will be easier to handle. Think it over, please.

A worker under the Genhe Bureau of Forestry has proposed that we demarcate a forest area of about three thousand hectares and help ten to twelve households settle down there and that the state build houses for them, allow each one to open up two *mu* of land (of which five *fen* — a *fen* is equal to 66.666 square metres — would be used as private plots), provide them with some small farm tools and draught animals, and help them form a small co-operative. Their main task would be to plant trees, not grow commodity grain. A dozen households will have a dozen able-bodied farm workers. Each worker will be responsible for planting, tending and protecting trees within a three-hundred-hectare forest area, for which he will be given a little pay per month. The households can each open up one *mu* of private plot and engage in forest and sideline production; in winter they can help forest farms collect timber. After paying taxes and fulfilling state purchase quotas, they are free to dispose of their produce. This method may be tried; however, you should impose a few duties on them.

Can you apply this method to the peasants in forest regions as well? The state would allow them to open up some land, grant them loans to buy small farm tools and draught animals and also give them loans to build houses, or they could build houses themselves. The main task of the peasants who organize themselves into co-operatives in forest regions is to engage in agricultural production, producing commodity grain and marketable vegetables to meet the needs of the workers and office staff in these regions. After loans are paid off in a few years, the draught animals, farm tools and other means of production would belong to the co-operatives. We may also consider helping herdsmen and handicraftsmen to settle down in forest areas by the same methods.

For all these undertakings we probably need quite a large investment; however, we might not need too much, and it would at least be much cheaper than having a bureau of forestry pay seventy to eighty yuan per month for a forest worker to plant and tend trees and

than establishing farms and pasturelands. This is a project the masses will be willing to undertake, and the state will benefit from it.

These are my suggestions for you to consider. It's up to you to decide what to do. In short, I wish you success.

## REPORT TO AN ENLARGED WORKING CONFERENCE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

*January 27, 1962*

Comrades,

This is an enlarged working conference of the Central Committee. Participants include comrades from the Central Committee itself, from its bureaus, from the provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees, many comrades from the prefectural and county Party committees, and also many comrades from major factories and mining enterprises and from army units. The chief purpose of this conference, called by the Central Committee, is to sum up our experience, unify our thinking, further close our ranks, tighten our discipline, strengthen democratic centralism under a unified, centralized leadership and encourage people to go all out to achieve better results and surmount all difficulties, so as to win new victories in our socialist construction under the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought.

The current conference is aimed at mobilizing the entire Party membership to fulfill the 1962 construction tasks and reach the long-range goals set forth in our ten-year programme.

In this report I should like to deal with three questions: first, the current situation and our tasks; second, strengthening democratic cen-

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The enlarged working conference of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, held in January 1962 in Beijing — also known as the 7,000-participant conference — was an important meeting for the Party historically since the founding of the People's Republic. The conference preliminarily summed up the experience and lessons gained in socialist construction since 1958, conducted criticism and self-criticism and strengthened democratic centralism in the Party. It played an important role in unifying the thinking of the entire Party membership, further carrying out the principle of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards of the national economy, and putting an end to the country's economic difficulties. The text given here is an abridged version of a written report submitted by the author to the conference on behalf of the Central Committee.

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tralism and unified, centralized leadership; and third, problems concerning the Party.

## I. THE CURRENT SITUATION AND OUR TASKS

### THE DOMESTIC SITUATION

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China we have passed through a period of rehabilitation of the national economy and two five-year plan periods of economic development. During these relatively short periods we scored tremendous achievements in socialist transformation and construction.

During the last twelve years China has undergone tremendous changes in all fields.

We succeeded in the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce and established and developed a socialist economy owned by all the people or by the collective. An advanced system of socialist economy has taken shape in our country.

Thanks to the socialist system, the country's unprecedented great unity, achieved in post-liberation years, is becoming ever stronger.

China used to be a backward agricultural country, but it now boasts comparatively developed industry. Practically, we had no heavy industry in the old days, and today we have heavy industry built on a solid foundation and complete with quite a number of necessary ramifications.

Economy and culture have progressed noticeably in the vast areas inhabited by minority nationalities. A new relationship characterized by solidarity, friendship, mutual respect and mutual assistance has been formed among all the nationalities in our country.

The mental outlook of our workers, peasants and intellectuals has changed dramatically, with marked improvement in their political and ideological levels. Thanks to the Party's efforts to unite with, educate and remould the national bourgeoisie, the majority of them have made much headway politically. People of all nationalities and all social strata in our country have stood the repeated test of many domestic and international upheavals.

Our worker-peasant alliance has become ever more consolidated. The same is true of the people's democratic united front, which is led by the Chinese Communist Party, based on the worker-peasant alliance and composed of all democratic classes and parties.

A fundamental change has occurred in China's international position, and China is playing an increasingly great role in world affairs.

Facts prove that our country has, indeed, undergone tremendous changes in the years after liberation. We have done very well and scored significant achievements in both socialist transformation and socialist construction. Of course, it will take a considerably long time to put an end to the country's poverty and blankness. Socialist construction is a long-term task, an endeavour just begun, but already showing splendid results.

Now I'd like to review specifically our work since 1958.

Since 1958 our Party has been holding high among the Chinese people the three red banners: the general line for socialist construction, the Great Leap Forward and the people's communes. Under the guidance of the three red banners the entire Party and all the people have heightened their awareness of the need to work for prosperity through self-reliance. Fired with utmost enthusiasm and making gigantic efforts, they have scored a series of new achievements in socialist construction, chiefly as follows.

1. Already in 1960 we fulfilled, two years ahead of schedule, the quotas of major industrial products set forth in the Second Five-Year Plan.

2. We have doubled or greatly increased the production capabilities of the country's basic industries, including the coal, electric power, petroleum, iron and steel, nonferrous metals, chemicals, construction materials and machine-building industries.

3. Our country has attained a very high degree of self-sufficiency in the supply of machinery, equipment and important materials.

4. The geographical distribution of the country's industries has further improved, each province and region having established its own framework of modern industry as well as modern transport and communications networks of different sizes.

5. Geological surveys and prospecting have been conducted in vast areas of the country, providing us with more information about the nation's mineral and water resources.

6. Agricultural collectivization has reached a higher level of

development, with more than 500 million peasants organized into more than 50,000 people's communes.

7. Marked results have been achieved in farmland capital construction and in water-conservation projects. Farm machines have increased. State farms have further developed.

8. The number of technicians and engineers has grown considerably. Having improved their technical expertise, they can now independently design and build modern enterprises that involve the use of fairly sophisticated technology.

9. Scientific research has been promoted in many important spheres, with some results approaching the world's advanced standards.

10. Significant progress has been achieved in the fields of education, culture, public health and sports. Graduates from institutions of higher learning now exceed 100,000 every year.

11. We have done quite well and gained much experience in the spheres of commerce, finance and banking as well as in public security, procuratorate and justice and in foreign affairs.

12. We have also scored great achievements in the building of national defence, in the political and military training of the People's Liberation Army and in related areas.

All these accomplishments demonstrate the great enthusiasm and creativity of the people of all nationalities led by the Party and encouraged by the Party's general line for socialist construction. Our people have enormous potential waiting to be tapped.

While confirming those great achievements, the Central Committee considers it necessary to point out, at this conference, the shortcomings and mistakes we have made in our work during the last few years.

The principal ones are as follows:

1. We set too high production targets for industry and agriculture and overextended capital construction, causing a serious imbalance between different sectors of the national economy and between consumption and accumulation. For a certain period we made such mistakes as overestimating the actual output of agricultural production and consequently procuring too large a proportion of the peasants' farm produce through state purchases. Authorities in many localities and departments, eager to attain magnificent goals, launched a number of inappropriate "giant projects". Arbitrary and impracticable directions were given not only in agriculture and industry but also in commerce, finance, culture, education and public health. In agriculture, for example, the customary farm systems were altered wantonly, some

ineffective and unscientific techniques were introduced, and some unprofitable, harmful water-conservation projects were constructed; in industry, rules and regulations were abolished wilfully and impractical, unscientific techniques were put into practice, causing damage to equipment and resulting in poor quality of products, high production costs and low productivity.

2. For some time and in many localities the collective ownership of rural people's communes was confused with ownership by all the people in their practical work. Many impetuous and improper alterations were imposed on the internal mechanisms of the collective ownership, trampling on the principles of "distribution according to work" and "exchange at equal value" and giving rise to a "wind of comunization" and other egalitarian tendencies. In handicrafts and commerce, errors were made by those who were so impetuous as to convert collective ownership into ownership by all the people.

3. We attempted unrealistically to establish many comprehensive industrial networks on a nationwide scale. Moreover, we delegated too many powers to authorities at lower levels, resulting in a very serious tendency towards decentralization. The central authorities delegated too many of their powers to authorities at lower levels, and so did many departments and local governments to their subordinate units. The result was that many measures adopted by the departments and local authorities were at odds with the policies of the central authorities and with state plans. This greatly damaged unified, centralized leadership in economic activities and adversely affected the system of ownership by all the people.

4. We not only overestimated the agricultural growth rate but also wanted to accelerate economic development at a very fast speed. The measures we adopted for this purpose caused a sharp increase in the urban population, so that the proportion between urban and rural populations was out of keeping with the present level of our agricultural production, the strain on material supply for the cities was aggravated and agricultural production met more difficulties. In addition, an excessive number of enterprises and institutions have been established in the last few years, leading to an abrupt increase in the number of workers and staff, including a high percentage of nonproductive personnel. This caused a serious waste of manpower. Some Party and government departments became increasingly overlapping and overstaffed, greatly stimulating tendencies towards subjectivism, bureaucratism and authoritarianism.

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These major shortcomings and mistakes of setting excessively high targets and attempting to accomplish them within too short a period of time can be attributed to our inadequate experience in economic development and also to the fact that in the last few years many leading comrades in our Party failed to remain modest and prudent, running counter to the Party's traditions of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line. Consequently, they weakened, to varying degrees, the principle of democratic centralism in Party and government institutions and in mass organizations. The erroneous desire to meet too high targets in too short a time made it easier for them to become divorced from the masses and from reality and to neglect the practice of democracy, which, in turn, rendered it difficult for the Party to discover the problems and correct the errors in good time.

The shortcomings and errors caused heavy losses to our economy. In 1959 and 1960 our agricultural output dropped sharply, in 1961 we were compelled to cut industrial production, and currently we are confronted with many difficulties. Natural disasters can be blamed for some of our difficulties, but to a greater extent they were caused by mistakes in our work and our defective work style.

After reviewing our work over the last few years, the Central Committee has arrived at the conclusion that part of the shortcomings and mistakes were due to lack of experience, which accounts for our failure or, in some cases, the impossibility to formulate all necessary and specific policies in the due course of time. Some of our policies proved inappropriate or partly inappropriate. Although the Central Committee formulated correct policies, it did not check on them strictly or take effective measures to ensure their implementation. Approval and advocacy by central departments also led to some unusually high targets, inappropriate "giant projects" and an overdelegation of administrative powers to authorities at lower levels during the last few years. More often than not some comrades in central departments relied on reports from subordinate units as their only source of information and were credulous of reports that were untrue or only partly true. They did not make painstaking investigations and studies. During a certain period their assessment of the situation was too optimistic and consequently they failed to form correct judgements regarding some issues in their practical work.

At this enlarged working conference the Central Committee considers it necessary to declare that the central departments should, first of all, be held responsible for the shortcomings and mistakes that

occurred in our work during the last few years. Recently, after examining documents issued by central leading bodies over the past few years, the Central Committee's Secretariat submitted a report to Comrade Mao Zedong and the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee that, while affirming the correctness of the Three Red Banners, outlined the principal shortcomings and mistakes made by the central departments and identified what the Central Committee's Secretariat should itself be held responsible for. It was the Political Bureau that endorsed some of the impracticable policies and measures mentioned in the report, so the Political Bureau should also bear a certain responsibility. When stating that the central leading bodies should first of all be held responsible for the shortcomings and mistakes, the report naturally refers to all the departments of the Central Committee as well as the State Council and all the ministries attached to it.

Leading Party organizations at the provincial level should also be held responsible for shortcomings and mistakes in our work, since they assumed quite a big share of responsibility in a wide range of work during the last few years. Of course, this is not to say that Party organizations below the provincial level had no shortcomings and mistakes whatsoever.

It should be pointed out that during the last four years the overwhelming majority of our Party cadres worked diligently, trying to do their work well. Indeed, splendid results have been achieved by many comrades, local authorities and departments. However, quite a number of our comrades, although with good intentions, mishandled matters and failed to perform well in their work.

Here I have been focusing on discussing the many shortcomings and mistakes in our work over the last four years, analysing their nature, exploring their cause and identifying those responsible for them — all with a view to drawing truly useful lessons from our past work and thereby scoring new successes in our future work. This indicates that ours is a Marxist-Leninist Party — one that takes a serious attitude towards truth and facts and a responsible attitude towards the people, that our Party always upholds its tradition of criticism and self-criticism, and that it has the greatest confidence in being able to surmount the current difficulties and win new victories.

Already, much effective work has been done by central and local authorities and by many departments to correct the shortcomings and mistakes in our work.

As regards our work in rural areas, since the Zhengzhou Meeting of November 1958<sup>146</sup> the Central Committee, at the suggestion of Comrade Mao Zedong, has adopted a series of measures to stop the “wind of communization” and other egalitarian tendencies prevailing in rural people’s communes. In the winter of 1960 the Central Committee proclaimed a twelve-article directive for rural work.<sup>133</sup> Acting upon the directive, rural Party organizations at various levels did a great deal of work and achieved very good results. Soon afterwards the Central Committee, under the direct guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong, drew up sixty-article draft regulations on the work of rural people’s communes.<sup>142</sup> The draft regulations, soon after being widely discussed and put into trial practice in many areas, aroused great enthusiasm among the peasant masses. In 1961, although there was a poor summer harvest, the gross annual output of grain was somewhat greater than that of the previous year. In many localities the number of livestock and poultry has been rising steadily. In general, the peasants’ living conditions are better than in the previous year. China remains basically an agricultural country. The steady turn for the better in rural areas is decisive for our efforts to boost the national economy, surmount current difficulties and further consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

In the autumn of 1961 Comrade Mao Zedong once again proposed that the production team be designated the basic accounting unit of the people’s commune.<sup>147</sup> This represents a policy of vital importance for continuing to kindle great enthusiasm among the peasants for collective farming and increasing agricultural production. Readjustment of the relations of production will make it possible for the peasants to overcome the egalitarian tendency among the production teams in a fairly thoroughgoing way. The rural people’s commune system will be more suitable for the current level of the productive forces in rural areas, thereby enabling the system to grow on a firmer basis.

During the past few years Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out on many occasions that our industrial planning was not good and that production targets were set too high and altered too frequently. He stressed the need to work out realistic and workable plans, to allow a certain flexibility, to improve quality and increase the variety of products. At the working conference of the Central Committee held at Beidaihe in the summer of 1960 the question of economic readjustment was raised, and soon afterwards the Central Committee formu-

lated the principle of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards.<sup>148</sup> Unfortunately, this principle was not put into effect in many spheres of practical work. In May 1961 the Central Committee worked out a proposal for curtailment of the urban population and for cutting back the number of workers and office staff.<sup>149</sup> Two months later, in July, after studying a host of investigation findings and reviewing our work over the past few years, the Central Committee drew up the eight-article Directive on Current Problems in Industry<sup>150</sup> and also the seventy-article Draft Regulations on Work in State-Owned Industrial Enterprises.<sup>151</sup> It stressed that in carrying out the principle of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards, we must take “readjustment” as the key link, exercise a highly unified, centralized leadership and work hard to improve management of the enterprises. In addition, it put forth some specific proposals for readjusting the industrial targets. After being discussed at the Lushan Meeting in September 1961,<sup>152</sup> the two documents were issued to all local authorities and departments concerned.

At present our industrial production has basically ceased to decline, with output becoming stable or increasing in some areas, quality of many products beginning to improve and their variety growing. Measures for curtailing city and town populations have yielded noticeable results. Marked achievements have been scored in all departments and places where earnest efforts were made to implement the Central Committee’s directive for industry and its proposal for curtailment of workers and office staff. The same is true of enterprises that have conscientiously discussed and put into effect, though on a trial basis, the seventy-article regulations for industry.

To readjust commercial work, the Central Committee has worked out a series of regulations and measures during the past year or so. In its twelve-article directive on rural work, issued in November 1960, it proposed the opening of rural trade fairs under proper planning and guidance. Later, at a working conference in March 1961, it called for re-establishment of the supply and marketing co-operatives. Two months later, at another working conference in May, it drew up the forty-article Draft Regulations on Improvement of Commercial Work<sup>153</sup> and the Draft Regulations on Some Policies Concerning Urban and Rural Handicrafts (for Trial Implementation).<sup>154</sup> Already in its eight-article directive for industry, the Central Committee had called for the adoption of measures to boost the output of light and handicraft industries and stabilize the market. In the last six months much

work has been done in this regard by both central and local authorities.

In accord with investigation data, the Central Committee is now working on preliminary draft regulations for commercial work<sup>155</sup> that will soon be issued for trial in all parts of the country.

In general, the domestic situation is good. Our work in all fields of economic development is progressing steadily and healthily along the right course.

We must not fail to see, however, that there are still grave difficulties in the national economy. By the end of 1961 the production of grain, cotton, oil-yielding and other cash crops as well as animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery had not fully recovered. Our agriculture with its weak foundation cannot yet offer our industries and cities an abundant supply of products. The country's industry reported a decrease of more than 40 per cent in output value in 1961. An insufficient supply of raw and semi-finished materials and fuel caused quite a number of industrial enterprises to partly and in some cases completely cease operation. There is an acute shortage of goods on the market. People do not have sufficient supplies of food, clothing and articles of daily use. This is particularly true for daily necessities for urban residents — a situation not likely to improve significantly in the near future. A sharp decrease in state revenue in 1961 resulted in an overissue of currency. Tendencies towards decentralization gravely hinder our efforts to overcome the difficulties.

It should be noted here that a decline in agricultural output in 1961 necessitated our importing at least 5.2 million tons (10.5 billion catties) of grain from capitalist countries — the greatest amount ever imported since liberation. In 1962 we still need to import 4 million tons (8 billion catties). The foreign exchange required by grain imports during these two years will total US\$660 million. Such a sum of foreign exchange would be enough to import the equipment necessary for forty factories similar in size to the present-day Luoyang Tractor Plant or enough to purchase 17 million tons of chemical fertilizer from abroad. Comrades, it is absolutely unwise for China, which has so large a population, to depend on grain imports. The expenditure of huge sums of foreign exchange on grain imports will make it impossible for us to import the raw and semi-finished materials and equipment necessary for the nation's economic development, especially for its industrial development. That will greatly impede the country's socialist construction; therefore, a rapid change is necessary.

The Central Committee considers it imperative to adequately assess the current difficulties. It is wrong not to face up to difficulties and try hard to surmount them. Communists can never be cowed by difficulties. The only correct attitude for Communists in the face of difficulties is to make a serious study of their causes, explore methods for overcoming them and concentrate all efforts to vanquish them.

It must be noted that we are fully capable of surmounting the difficulties because we have many advantages. The enthusiasm for socialist construction shown by the people of all nationalities in our country is the greatest guarantee of our triumph over all difficulties. During the last twelve years, especially since 1958, we have created tremendous material conditions and accumulated a wealth of experience. Under the leadership of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong and under the radiance of the Three Red Banners, we are now making steady improvement in various fields of our work. The shortcomings and mistakes have mostly been or are being corrected. We are over the most difficult period. Although some grave difficulties still remain, they are steadily being eliminated. Surely, so long as we are conscientious about drawing upon the experience and lessons from our work, we can overcome the difficulties quickly and propel our socialist construction into a new period of vigorous development.

### BASIC EXPERIENCE AND LESSONS

On more than one occasion Comrade Mao Zedong emphasized the great importance of accumulating experience in the course of socialist construction. Early in 1957, in his speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", he pointed out, "With barely seven years of economic construction behind us, we still lack experience and need to accumulate it. Neither had we any experience in revolution when we first started, and it was only after we had taken a number of tumbles and acquired experience that we won nationwide victory. What we must now demand of ourselves is to gain experience in economic construction in a shorter period of time than it took us to gain experience in revolution, and not to pay as high a price for it. Some price we will have to pay, but we hope it will not be as high as that paid during the period of revolution."

We made mistakes and took tumbles in some spheres of construction work during the last few years, causing quite a few losses. We should learn to avoid mistakes in our work and try our best to avoid serious ones, but we cannot expect never to make any mistakes. The proverb "Failure is the mother of success" implies that success often results from many setbacks and that so long as one knows how to draw lessons from one's errors, one has the chance of success. Success in our construction work cannot but be accompanied by mistakes and by the payment of a certain price, which is a kind of tuition for the knowledge we must gain about construction work.

Is it possible for us to accumulate experience in construction work at a price lower than what we paid for experience in revolution? Yes, certainly. It depends on whether all the cadres of our Party, leading cadres in particular, are good at summing up experience, drawing lessons from both success and failure, and gradually adapting their subjective thinking to objective realities, thereby achieving a gradual understanding and mastery of the objective laws governing construction.

During the past twelve years, especially during the last four, we raised to a new height our material capabilities for socialist construction, and, what's important, all our Party cadres and the masses of Party members and people have gained an enormous wealth of profound experience and lessons. We have scored tremendous achievements in our work, which provided us with positive experience, but we have also committed many mistakes, which brought us considerable loss and provided us with negative experience. We should earnestly analyse our experience, both positive and negative, so that through comparative analysis of the two types of experience we may arrive at a deeper understanding of what we should and should not do and what approaches towards getting things done we should take or avoid. In so doing we shall be able to increase our "immunity" to error and more quickly master the knowledge and expertise necessary for construction. In this sense, both positive and negative experience have great value.

It can be affirmed that through our work during the last four years we have accumulated more rather than less experience in socialist construction, so we have grown stronger instead of weaker.

The question now is for us to painstakingly sum up our experience and lessons.

What basic experience and lessons have we gained in socialist economic development during the twelve years since 1949, especially during the four years since 1958? A preliminary review indicates the following:

1. The general line for China's socialist construction requires that our efforts to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results be mutually promoting and mutually restricting. In addition to greater, faster, better and more economical results, the Great Leap Forward campaign requires that we attach importance not only to quantity but also to quality of products, pay attention not only to needs but also to possibilities, strive for not merely a speedy but also a well-proportioned development, and not only proceed from current, actual conditions, but also have a long-term programme. A correct handling of these mutually promoting and restricting relationships means adhering to what is realistic and practicable. Only by following such guidelines can we go all out and aim high. Otherwise, the result can only be "more haste, less speed".

2. Our fundamental policy for the development of the national economy of our country is to take agriculture as the foundation. To develop a socialist economy in a planned and proportionate manner and to achieve a great leap forward during a given historic period, we must make sure there is a proper proportion between industry and agriculture. The scope of industrial development must correspond, to a certain degree, to the quantities of farm produce (including grain and raw materials for industry) and the amount of labour that can be provided by agriculture. Industry must serve agriculture so as to accelerate the latter's growth. To ensure a steady increase in agricultural productivity, heavy industry must try its best to provide agriculture with an increasing supply of technical equipment, chemical fertilizers, fuel, and so forth. As for light industry, it must do its utmost to offer peasants more and more commodities for daily use. In its turn, agriculture should assist the development of industry, doing its utmost to provide industry and cities with increasing amounts of grain, raw materials, and other farm and sideline products. Without a proper proportion between industry and agriculture, neither will see rapid growth.

3. The two types of socialist ownership — by all the people and by the collective — must not be confused. The conversion of collective ownership into ownership by all the people will be a gradual process of transformation lasting throughout the historic period of socialist

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construction. The completion of such a conversion will require quite a long period, say, several decades or so. If we confuse the two types of ownership and convert collective ownership into ownership by all the people hastily before conditions are ripe, disregarding current productivity levels and going against objective possibilities and the will of the peasants, we shall commit the error of expropriating the peasants and consequently harm or even undermine the alliance of workers and peasants.

4. Socialist ownership by all the people plays the leading role among all other types of ownership now existing in China. Ownership by all the people implies that the assets are owned by all the people, by the entire society, and the products are at the disposal of the state. Marxism-Leninism always opposes so-called ownership by a certain locality or municipality. Under no circumstances should ownership by all the people be divided into ownership by certain departments, localities, municipalities, enterprises or small groups.

The economy under ownership by all the people is an integral whole; at the same time its management is exercised at different levels. In carrying out their managerial functions, institutions at various levels must abide by the unified rules and plans set by the state. Any department, locality or enterprise could damage the socialist planned economy and socialist ownership by all the people if it violated the unified state rules and plans and handled matters of production, supply and marketing any way it liked.

5. A socialist economy requires a unified formulation of state plans. The planned targets must be tailored to actual possibilities, allow some flexibility and ensure a certain amount of necessary reserves.

To make competent plans, it is necessary to pay attention to overall equilibrium and proper proportions of the various economic sectors, such as agriculture, light industry, heavy industry and transport, and also of the branches within these economic sectors, such as the proportion between grain and cash crops in agriculture and between excavating and processing in heavy industry. So long as necessary proportions are kept between the various economic sectors, it is fully justified to give priority to the development of heavy industry or to some particular economic branch in order to facilitate growth of the national economy as a whole; it would be wrong to solely concentrate efforts on a particular economic sector for its sharp increase, because it would upset the necessary proportions between the various economic

sectors, preventing that particular sector from growing normally and retarding the growth of other sectors.

With regard to the question of expanded reproduction, it is necessary to handle properly the relationship between accumulation and consumption. We should increase accumulation as much as possible, but this must be based on a constant growth of production and a steady, corresponding improvements in the people's living standards. Accumulation at a proper rate will promote production, whereas overaccumulation will hamper its development.

We must put our best efforts into developing the national defence industries on a proper scale and in accord with the planned development of the national economy as a whole. In working out development programmes, some industrial departments in particular should take into consideration the needs involved in building up national defence.

6. The development of cultural, educational, scientific and public health undertakings must be in keeping with and in proportion to economic development. In this connection, consideration should be given not only to the requirements of economic development but also to the people's needs. Both impractical programmes and attempts to achieve too much in too short a time should be avoided.

7. The state's unified planning should dovetail with the initiative of local authorities. Under a unified, centralized leadership attention should be paid to taking full advantage of the initiative and pioneering spirit of the local authorities. The central authorities ought to give local authorities a certain leeway for manoeuvring and meanwhile encourage them to overfulfill state plans by making the most of their potential. It is wrong to ignore the initiative and creative power of the localities. But the plans of local authorities must be incorporated into state plans; the interests of the part must be subordinate to the interests of the whole and local interests must be subordinate to national interests. That is what Comrade Mao Zedong means when he speaks about the importance of having a unified, centralized leadership and the need to combat both anarchism and semi-anarchism.

8. Democratic centralism of the proletariat is the most thorough kind. As a fundamental system to be practised among the people, it represents a high degree of centralism and a high degree of democracy, with the former serving as the guide and the latter as the basis. Within such a system, democracy and centralism are mutually

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prerequisite, mutually dependent and mutually complementary; neither can be dispensed with. Proletarian centralism can by no means be separated from the practice of extensive democracy among the people, that is, among more than 90 per cent of the population. It is diametrically opposed to autocracy exercised by a small group or by some individuals who are divorced from the people, and also to the extremely reactionary, despotic rule by the Kuomintang or the fascists. It must have highly centralized guidance and is incompatible with decentralism and anarchism. We should bring the people's political consciousness and enthusiasm into full play, learn how things stand in various sectors of society, collect the people's true opinions and convert them into a systematic series. Then we should feed the opinions back in practice, in the people's actions, so that as they are being enriched, perfected or rectified, the correct opinions persist among the masses. Only by properly combining democracy with centralism can we establish a proletarian system of democratic centralism among the people and fight against autocratic rule by a small group or by some individuals who dislike a people's democracy, and against any tendency towards decentralism or anarchism.

Proletarian democratic centralism is a fundamental system in the political, economic and cultural spheres of socialism. Without such a system of democratic centralism, it would be impossible to build socialism. Workers, peasants and people from various democratic classes and strata all want to have not only democracy but also a unified, centralized leadership. In matters of planning and in the supervision of production or disposal of products, state leadership over economic undertakings owned by the collective should be markedly different from that over ones owned by all the people. Like the working class, however, the peasantry urgently need unified policies formulated by the Party and unified plans set by the state. Both workers and peasants are afraid of leadership from more than one source and of frequent fluctuations in both policies and plans; hence their demand for policies and plans to be finally decided on by the central authorities. If the democratic system is being undermined in any department or in any locality, the inevitable and immediate result will be the emergence of decentralism and departmentalism as well as impairment of unified, centralized leadership. That will violate the requirements of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in our socialist construction and it will be at variance

with the interests of workers, peasants and all the other people, and run counter to their wishes.

9. It is essential to promote commodity exchange and to strengthen economic ties between economic sectors owned by all the people and those owned by the collective, between industry and agriculture, between urban and rural areas and between different regions. For this purpose we should learn how to do business and we should adopt sensible price policies.

Besides state-run commerce, which is owned by all the people and assumes the leading role, socialist commerce includes collectively owned commerce, such as the supply and marketing co-operatives in rural areas and the consumers' co-operatives in the cities. Co-operative shops can be organized in the cities, and certain kinds of trade fairs should continue in rural areas as a supplement to commercial undertakings owned either by all the people or by the collective.

10. Socialism is not egalitarianism; neither is communism. During the socialist period our principle of distribution is "to each according to his work" and our principle of exchange is "exchange at equal value". In the communist period the principle of distribution will be "to each according to his needs". It would be utterly wrong to negate the principles of distribution and exchange during the socialist period, to confuse egalitarianism with socialism or communism, or even to regard egalitarianism as exactly what is meant by socialism and communism. Such interpretation is in direct conflict with the people's interests. Egalitarian views are, to quote Comrade Mao Zedong, "reactionary, backward and retrogressive in nature".<sup>156</sup> Whenever and wherever we are drawing up or carrying out policies relating to distribution and exchange, we should bear in mind this Marxist-Leninist view as expounded by Comrade Mao Zedong.

While carrying out the principle of "to each according to his work", we should continuously improve ideological and political work among the masses. We should closely combine endeavours in this regard with our efforts to appropriately satisfy the people's material needs and gradually improve their living standards.

11. We should always highly treasure the people's efforts, putting them to best use for the achievement of excellent results. When we want to introduce something new, we should make an experiment with it first. Whatever we are undertaking, we can achieve success only by consulting the masses for their opinions and approval. That is what Comrade Mao Zedong had in mind when he said, "every day

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and every moment we should concern ourselves with the people's interests and always see to it that our policies and measures conform to the level of their political awareness and meet their pressing demands. Violate these two principles, and you will run up against a wall and end in failure."<sup>157</sup>

12. To further its cause, the proletariat in any country must draw upon the experience of other countries and seek the support and assistance of the proletariat and people of those countries, but all people should regard the revolutionary struggle they are waging or the task of socialist construction they are tackling as primarily their own affairs. We must carry on socialist construction through our own efforts and build a powerful and independent economic system in such a large country as ours. This not only is in the fundamental interest of the people of our country, but also relates to the fundamental interest in the emancipation of the world proletariat and mankind.

13. Our long-term principle is to build up the country through diligence and thrift. We should anticipate that our socialist construction will be a protracted process involving complicated and incessant struggle against all sorts of difficulties. Therefore, we should rally under the unified, centralized leadership of the Central Committee, make the best use of the country's manpower and material and financial resources, practise strictest business accounting and permit no waste whatsoever, so that after a few decades of hard work we can reach the magnificent goal of accomplishing socialism in our country.

14. Overexpanded government departments, enterprises and other institutions and an unnecessarily large number of nonproductive personnel constitute obstructions to the growth of the national economy. The policy of "better staff and simpler administration" must be adhered to strictly, because it is a policy of fundamental importance in our efforts to combat bureaucratism and authoritarianism, to strengthen our ties with the masses and raise work efficiency, to economize on expenditure and increase production, and thereby to ensure success in our economic development.

15. We must unify politics and the economy and politics and professional competence. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "On the one hand we are against politicians who indulge in empty talk; on the other hand we are against men of action who lose their bearings."<sup>158</sup>

Politics is the commander, the soul in everything. Putting politics in command means putting the Party's line and policies in command. We must conscientiously study the Party's general line and policies

and, under the guidance of a correct political orientation, familiarize ourselves with economic conditions, try to recognize and master the objective laws governing economic work, improve professional proficiency, learn to calculate carefully and budget strictly, make meticulous plans for specific work and avoid empty political talk.

Science and technology must be held in high esteem. We should unite with scientific and technological personnel and help them progress politically, while in matters involving technological problems we must show respect for their opinions and professional rights, so that they can contribute fully. In the meantime, we should learn science and technology from them.

16. Party leadership over socialist construction must be strengthened and integrated with the practice of the masses. The Party's specific policies must be integrated with its general line.

In a speech in June 1961 Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "After eleven years of economic work we now have mapped out our general line for socialist construction and gained much experience. A general line alone is not enough; a complete package of specific policies is also needed. At the moment we must carefully analyse our experience and gradually formulate specific policies for various fields of work."<sup>159</sup>

During the revolutionary period Comrade Mao Zedong and the Central Committee mapped out not only a general line for the revolution, but also a whole series of specific policies essential for the fulfillment of the general line, thus promoting true unity of thought within the Party and enabling the Party and people throughout the country to march ahead triumphantly along the road of revolution. Similarly in the period of socialist construction Comrade Mao Zedong and the Central Committee have set forth not only the general line for socialist construction but also the policy of developing several industries simultaneously;<sup>160</sup> furthermore, in light of the experience already accumulated, they are now drawing up a complete package of specific policies necessary for the fulfillment of the general line. All this will help achieve unity of thought within the Party regarding problems of socialist construction, thereby enabling the Party and all the people to win further victories in construction.

What I have just said concerns our basic experience and lessons, which all our Party comrades should understand profoundly. In June of 1960 Comrade Mao Zedong made it clear to us, "We have had ten years of experience and learned a great deal so far as socialist rev-

olution and construction in our country are concerned. However, in revolution and construction during the socialist period, we are still groping in the dark and there remains a very large realm of necessity yet to be recognized. We have not reached a deep understanding of them. We need to spend the next ten years investigating, studying and exploring their inherent laws, so that we can use these laws for the benefit of our socialist revolution and construction.”<sup>161</sup>

We should act in accordance with this instruction given by Comrade Mao Zedong.

We must live up to what is expected of us by Comrade Mao Zedong and all the people and exert ourselves in a practical manner to meet the challenge of the new militant tasks now facing us.

## OUR TASKS

We have started to readjust the national economy, beginning with agriculture, for more than a year now and will continue for a period of time. We should make genuine and energetic efforts to bring the readjustment to a successful end.

The more we Communists are confronted with difficulties, the more we should inflame our hearts with noble ideals and lose no sight of the bright prospects ahead. We should set a magnificent goal for the entire Party and all the people and call on them to work for its attainment, and we must gear the current readjustment to the realization of this goal. At present the Central Committee considers it imperative to draw up a long-term programme for the next ten years.

The Central Committee has worked out a tentative blueprint for development of the national economy during the years between 1963 and 1972. Its main targets are as follows:

1. In accordance with the principle of building up the country through thrift and hard work and on a moderate standard, to basically meet the people's needs of food, clothing and articles of daily use.

2. To build up a basically independent and comprehensive economic system and, by a great leap forward, approach the levels of modern industrial countries in the fields of science and technology and in terms of variety and quality of manufactured goods.

Achievement of these targets requires the output of grain, cotton, steel and coal to reach the following figures:

Grain, 190 million tons in 1967 and 215 million in 1972;  
Cotton, 1.6 million tons in 1967 and 2.1 million in 1972;  
Steel, about 18 million tons in 1967 and 28 million in 1972; and  
Coal, about 350 million tons in 1967 and 450 million in 1972.

To make sure our plans are really practicable and to ensure some room for manoeuvring, we need a further examination of the above targets from the angle of overall balance among the various economic sectors.

Our tentative ten-year programme is based on an analysis of our past experience in construction work, the spirit of the Party's general line and the great leap forward, and Comrade Mao Zedong's instructions concerning correct handling of the relationships between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. Accomplishment of this programme will provide a solid foundation for the modernization of the country's industry, agriculture, science, technology, and national defence, thereby placing the country's economic development and the building up of its national defence on a secure, self-reliant basis. We should call upon the entire Party and all the people to work hard for this splendid goal. We should have full confidence in its attainment.

The current readjustment drive is designed to consolidate the achievements we have already scored and, at the same time, prepare a new foundation for the attainment of our long-term goals.

In 1961 our readjustment drive began to yield good results in some spheres, but not in others. Judged by actual needs, the readjustment endeavour was started a bit too late in the industrial sector and some other economic spheres. The year 1962 is crucial to readjustment of the national economy. We must lose no time in the current year and work hard for new and marked results in every aspect of our readjustment efforts. Otherwise, if we slacken our efforts or fail to do a good job, we shall encounter more difficulties and find ourselves in a passive position for a longer period of time.

So, in the economic development of 1962, we must do the following:

1. Strengthen the agricultural front by every means for increased production of grain, cotton, oil-yielding and other cash crops.

Guarantee the fulfillment of state purchase quotas for grain, cotton, oil-yielding and other farm and sideline products.

In order to facilitate agricultural development, effective measures should be taken to preserve and, at the same time, promote the breed-

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ing of draught animals and ensure an adequate supply of materials needed for the manufacture and repair of medium-sized farm machinery and facilities.

2. Take measures to ensure that the light and handicrafts industries increase production and fulfill or, if possible, overfulfill the quotas prescribed by the state.

3. Firmly carry out the policy of “better staff and simpler administration” and continue to cut back urban population and the number of workers and office staff. The curtailment plans set for the first half of this year must be fulfilled as early as possible — say, before the spring ploughing season or no later than the summer harvest. Meanwhile, we should draw up plans for further curtailment during the second half of the year. Proper arrangements must be made for those discharged. We must accomplish the curtailment without fail, because it is of utmost importance for reinforcing the agricultural front and easing the strain of short supplies in the cities.

4. Cut back further on capital construction and absolutely prohibit the building of any additional projects that are not included in state plans. Projects already included in state plans should be scheduled for construction in order of importance and urgency. Sufficient measures should be taken to protect installations, building materials and completed premises of all cancelled or postponed construction projects from damage.

5. Readjust the production plans of industrial enterprises. Take resolute measures to curtail the production quotas or even suspend operation of enterprises turning out poor-quality products with a high consumption of raw and semi-finished materials. However, enterprises whose consumption of raw and semi-processed materials is low and whose products are of good quality should be encouraged to increase output as much as possible.

6. Do a good job of commerce, expand the flow of goods and materials between town and country and adopt appropriate measures and correct price policies to improve the market, thereby ensuring a steady supply of daily necessities for residents in big and medium-sized cities.

7. Ensure the fulfillment of production targets set for heavy industry in state plans and try to produce the greatest possible amounts of coal, timber and other raw and semi-finished materials, and fuel and a greater variety of rolled steel.

Further enhance the efficiency and capabilities of the country's transport and communications networks and especially improve short-distance transport services.

8. All industrial enterprises must work hard to improve their management and regard the production of quality products in greater variety, increase of labour productivity and paring down of production costs as their primary tasks. Those enterprises that are running at a loss should take resolute measures to stop it.

9. Make a detailed inventory of all surplus materials and equipment and, through state allocation, put them to best use.

10. Conscientiously carry out, or implement on a trial basis, the rules and regulations formulated by the central departments for efficient management of agriculture, industry, handicrafts, commerce, education and scientific research. Efforts should be made to maintain good order in production and other work.

By accomplishing these tasks set for 1962 and successfully conducting the readjustment drive, we shall, by the year 1963, be able to extricate ourselves from the the passive position and gain the initiative in agriculture and industry, thereby creating favourable conditions for the achievement of the ten-year objectives.

Of particular importance in accomplishing the 1962 tasks is for us to carry out the policy of "better staff and simpler administration", increase production and practise economy, maintain a stable market and ensure good public order.

Here I should like to lay stress on the necessity to carry out the policy of "better staff and simpler administration", because it is of prime importance for our current readjustment endeavours. In 1961 we achieved noticeable results in the curtailment of city and town population and in cutting the number of workers and office staff. In 1962 we should redouble our efforts in this regard. During the past few years the number of personnel working in Party and government departments at various levels increased excessively; the same was true of many enterprises and institutions. In many counties the average number of people working in county-level Party or government departments was reported to exceed five hundred. Some ministries under the State Council, despite having tried several times to reduce administrative personnel, remain staffed by as many as four to five thousand people each. Institutions so unwieldy, overlapping and over-staffed with nonproductive personnel hinder our current efforts to readjust the national economy in an all-round way and to speed up

production; furthermore, they tend to breed bureaucratism and decentralism. This calls for particular attention. We must make up our minds to truly improve our methods of work, drastically cut the size of various institutions and merge overlapping ones, curtail the number of administrative personnel and dismiss unnecessary workers and office staff. The Central Committee and the State Council will fix again the authorized size of Party and government bodies and mass organizations and issue a circular order for nationwide implementation.

The above constitutes our objectives for the next ten years and the tasks set for the year 1962. We must unify our thinking and call upon people throughout the country to do their utmost for the success of these endeavours.

## II. STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM AND UNIFIED, CENTRALIZED LEADERSHIP

In order to uphold the Three Red Banners, more efficiently readjust the national economy, fulfill the 1962 plans and the goals set forth in our ten-year programme, and accomplish the building of socialism in our country, the Central Committee considers it necessary to tackle a question of vital importance — that of strengthening democratic centralism and a unified, centralized leadership and combating decentralism.

To strengthen democratic centralism and a unified, centralized leadership, we need to practise full democracy among the people and all Party members, cement the ties between the Party and the people, improve the unified, centralized leadership of the Central Committee and work for Party-wide unity of thought, policy, planning, command and action.

## COMBAT TENDENCIES OF DIVORCE FROM THE MASSES AND DISRUPTION OF A DEMOCRATIC WORK STYLE

Under the leadership of the Central Committee, headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, our Party has maintained a firmly rooted tradition of close ties with the masses. During the revolutionary war years our

Party never ceased drawing on the experience and wisdom of the people, making it possible for the Party to formulate correct policies, adhere to the right course in its work, fully mobilize the people's strength and win victories in the revolution. Without practising full democracy, the Central Committee could not have exercised dynamic, centralized leadership, and victory in the revolution would have been out of the question.

The same is true now. Unless we practise full democracy and establish close ties between the Party and the people, we shall not be able to establish proletarian centralism or the unified, centralized leadership of the Central Committee, in which case we can expect no success in socialist construction.

We won great victory in the revolution, and now we have achieved splendid results in socialist construction, which is, of course, highly encouraging. However, a good many of our comrades, owing to the victory and achievements, have failed to remain modest and prudent, have developed arrogance and conceitedness, and have alienated themselves from the masses in the performance of their work.

What is worth noting is the fact that in recent years democratic centralism has become seriously weakened in our Party and government departments; in some localities it has been grossly disrupted.

Dictatorship must be exercised over the people's enemies, while democracy must be practised among the people to the broadest extent. A combination of the two means dictatorship of the proletariat, or the people's democratic dictatorship. Dictatorial measures are intended for enemies. You would be contradicting dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the people's democratic dictatorship, if you used dictatorial means in dealing with the people. In his essays "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" Comrade Mao Zedong elucidated the concept of proletarian dictatorship, or the people's democratic dictatorship. Most of our Party cadres have grasped this concept and thus are able to distinguish between contradictions between the people and the enemy and the ones that exist within the ranks of the people. So, they can handle correctly the relationship between the people and the enemy and also that between themselves and the masses. Quite a number of cadres, however, have not grasped it and cannot handle correctly either the relationship between the people and the enemy or that between themselves and the masses, which accounts for their failure to maintain close ties with the people in their work. They

have often adopted simplistic methods and unwittingly mishandled some matters in such a way as to infringe upon the people's democratic rights. A handful of our cadres are morally corrupt, acting arbitrarily and lording it over others. Being divorced from the masses, they have placed themselves against more than 90 per cent of the people.

Caring not a bit about the people's weal and woe, these bad people are harming the interests of the masses and the Party. In fact, through their work, they are undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat. In essence, they are turning it into the kind of autocracy practised by the Kuomintang. Totally at odds with the Communist style of conduct, they represent the most repugnant conduct of the Kuomintang — one that poses as a mortal enemy of the people, the proletariat and the Communist Party.

The overwhelming majority of our Party comrades have always been opposed to the Kuomintang style of conduct; our Party has never tolerated such conduct among its ranks. During the War of Resistance Against Japan Comrade Mao Zedong warned our comrades that they would have to choose between the Communist Party's style of conduct and that of the Kuomintang, since the two were mutually incompatible.<sup>162</sup> Although the Kuomintang regime has already toppled, its remaining style of conduct is still corrupting weak-minded people among our ranks. In order to build socialism, we must draw a strict line between the Communist Party's style of conduct and that of the Kuomintang. We must continue to combat manifestations of the Kuomintang style in our Party and government departments and always guard closely against it. Only thus can we fully promote democracy among the people and maintain close ties with them.

Many troubles can be attributed to the fact that leading members of some departments, localities and institutions have forgotten the Party's tradition of maintaining close ties with the masses and the need to base the proletarian dictatorship on the broadest possible practice of democracy among the people. They don't like to conduct investigation and study and they don't understand what Comrade Mao Zedong considers a tenet: "Be a pupil of the masses before you become their teacher."<sup>163</sup> When confronted with problems, they do not consult the masses for a solution, holding discussions with them and listening to their opinions. What's more, they pay no heed to people's pros and cons and stick to measures that are wrong but that they themselves consider right, ones that have already jeopardized the people's interests and aroused their strong disapproval.

Of course, it is impossible for all our Party and government leading bodies and their leading members to have a correct understanding of everything. There are things that we ourselves do not understand but many of the rank and file do. Take, for example, agricultural and industrial production. The peasants, workers and cadres at the grass roots have a lot of valuable experience, and the technicians and scientists possess a good deal of valuable knowledge. So long as we bring their initiative into full play, listen to their opinions and earnestly learn from them, we can do the work well together. However, quite a few people in charge of agricultural and industrial production act otherwise. They stifle criticisms and suggestions, with the result that experienced and knowledgeable people have neither the opportunity nor the courage to voice their views. Such undemocratic conduct can only shut out the truth and plunge them into otherwise avoidable errors.

The shortcomings and mistakes in our work during the last few years, referred to in the first section of this report under the heading "The Current Situation and Our Tasks", are all related to wrong conduct on the part of leading members in some departments, localities and institutions, because they trampled on democracy and damaged the Party's ties with the masses.

Obviously, if our comrades had always taken a modest, prudent attitude, maintained close ties with the masses, fully practised democracy in their work, shown respect to the masses and regarded them as their teachers, holding earnest discussions with them on how to solve problems and listening patiently to their opinions, especially those representing a different point of view, they most probably would have avoided many errors. For example, if they had arranged for the masses to discuss the question in a really democratic atmosphere, the widespread establishment of communal canteens in rural areas would never have taken place.<sup>132</sup>

To perform our work well and ensure that our Party and state are always invincible, we must constantly be modest and prudent, maintain close ties with the masses in various forms and hold heart-to-heart talks with them. This is a matter of paramount importance in our work, a matter I intend to discuss in detail later on in this report so that our comrades will have a firm grasp of it.

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## COMBAT TENDENCIES TOWARDS DECENTRALISM

How can we expect that the tendencies mentioned above, which estrange us from the masses and damage the exercise of democracy, will not impede development of the nation's agriculture, industry, science, technology, culture, education and other undertakings? How can we assume that those tendencies do not contravene Comrade Mao Zedong's guiding concepts or the central authorities' unified policies and plans? How can we believe that these erroneous practices will not give rise to decentralist tendencies?

A most striking manifestation of decentralism is the many "small kingdoms". Their leading members attempt to act independently of the central authorities. They behave overbearingly and arbitrarily towards the masses and their subordinates and try to suppress democracy. They care only about the interests of the part, or their own immediate interests, and not about the interests of the whole, or the nation's long-term interests. They do not take resolute measures to carry out the unified policies of the central authorities or the unified plans of the state. Now that we have set right the unreasonably high targets, stopped the "wind of communization" and checked the issuance of irresponsible orders, decentralist tendencies are looming large as the main obstacles in our march forward. If we turn a blind eye to those tendencies and do not take prompt action to stop them, we can hardly make any further progress.

Let us look at the confusion caused by decentralist tendencies.

Firstly, these tendencies have impeded the implementation of our policies.

Some comrades, departments and localities did not pay serious attention to or adopted a wrong attitude towards policies decided by the Central Committee. They were skeptical and took a wait-and-see attitude, or tried to interpret the policies to their best advantage, or simply ignore them, or drew up their own substitute policies.

In recent years newspapers and periodicals have also spread decentralist ideas to a very serious extent.

Some departments did not request instructions from or report to the central authorities about problems they encountered in carrying out certain major policies or introducing important technical measures for production purposes. Instead they acted exclusively according to their own judgment and decisions. Some departments in reporting on their work or asking for instructions hid the truth, thus

making it impossible for the central authorities to come to proper decisions.

Some local authorities did not faithfully make many of the important policies of the central authorities known to their subordinates and did not make an earnest effort to implement those policies. Some drew up regulations at variance with the central authorities' policies on the pretext that conditions in their localities were quite different from elsewhere. Some local authorities even imposed an "embargo" on certain policies of the central authorities so that their subordinates and the masses were ignorant of them. Cases like these are legion. They occurred after April 1959 when the Central Committee approved and issued an inner-Party correspondence drafted by Comrade Mao Zedong that dealt with six questions in agriculture.<sup>164</sup> They recurred after the spring of 1961 when the Central Committee publicized its sixty-article Draft Regulations on the work of Rural People's Communes and also after September of the same year when the Central Committee issued the Directive on Current Problems in Industry and the seventy-article Draft Regulations on Work in State-Owned Industrial Enterprises. Similar cases occurred once again when the Central Committee made known its Decision on Training Cadres in Rotation.<sup>165</sup>

Now let's turn to decentralist tendencies that obstructed the execution of economic plans.

In the past few years targets set in state plans proved too high. To make matters worse, some departments, localities and institutions, without requesting approval from the central authorities or their immediate leading authorities, mapped out programmes separate from the state plans. Furthermore, they often vied with one another in producing more and more impressive plans and even placed them above state plans, upsetting state plans and seriously disrupting our planned economy.

Some departments, localities and institutions, instead of concentrating on fulfilling production quotas and completing capital construction projects prescribed in unified state plans, diverted their efforts to projects not included in state plans. They even put aside state plans. In order to accomplish their own programmes, including the construction of unnecessary office buildings, auditoriums, hotels and guest-houses, they wantonly used materials specifically earmarked in state plans for other purposes.

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When allocating means of production or means of subsistence, the authorities of some departments, localities and institutions did not give first consideration to the proportions of their products designated to be turned over to the state to help meet the nation's primary needs. Instead they gave first priority to their own needs, so that their "small households" would be better off. At each level they withheld materials that ought to have been turned over to authorities at a higher level and, moreover, tried to hold back goods the state had earmarked for their subordinate units. Some exchanged with others materials subject to strict control by the state in the name of "co-ordination" and without authorization. Some went so far as to deliberately understate their actual output or the exact kinds and amounts of goods in their storehouses, their behaviour reminding people of "warehouse-keepers who steal the very goods entrusted to their care" and "egoists who have no scruple in benefiting themselves at the expense of others".

Some departments, localities and institutions did not recruit employees according to state plans or actual needs, but increased their personnel at will. When called upon to curtail surplus employees, they bargained back and forth, or coupled curtailment with simultaneous increase, or overtly reduced the numbers of employees, but covertly increased them.

Some did not observe state regulations concerning the use of funds, using bank loans or the working funds of some enterprises to build capital construction projects not covered in state plans, hoarding goods and materials, and demanding advance payment for goods long before the delivery date so as to make up their financial deficits.

Unauthorized use of state-controlled materials has been ubiquitous in recent years, particularly in enterprises, departments and localities that produce these materials.

The decentralist tendencies in economic work made it difficult for the state to draw up unified plans suited to the country's conditions and upset state plans in such areas as production, capital construction, materials allocation, commercial administration, and the use of labour resources and finance.

According to the State Statistical Bureau, investments in capital construction projects outside state plans added up to 21.7 billion yuan during the three years from 1958 through 1960, accounting for more than one-fifth of the nation's total. An equivalent sum could build

eight iron and steel complexes similar to the one in Anshan or thirty-five automobile plants like the one in Changchun. In addition to the construction projects approved by the central authorities and included in state plans that later proved too numerous to be practicable, construction programmes outside state plans increased considerably. This led to overextension of capital construction and a more serious dispersion of resources, making it more difficult for us to achieve quick economic results from investments.

Except for a certain portion that was really needed, quite a large part of the investments outside state plans were unjustifiable and ill considered. These included investments to build unnecessary auditoriums, office buildings, hotels and guesthouses, amounting to 1.75 billion yuan. Such a sum alone, spent for unnecessary, unproductive purposes, was approximately enough to build a plant capable of producing more than three million tons of nitrogenous fertilizer per year.

In 1958, when the central authorities began to delegate certain managerial powers to lower levels, workers and office staff in all parts of the country increased by 20.82 million. In 1959, although the state called for a curtailment of 8 million workers and office staff, there was an actual increase of 290,000 by the end of the year. Again in 1960 there was an increase of 4.83 million, although the state planned a total of 2 million. During the three years the number of workers and office staff in industrial enterprises alone increased by a total of 13.96 million. In 1961 the central authorities stressed time and again the necessity to cut surplus workers and office staff and to resolutely stop recruitment from rural areas, but some localities, departments and institutions failed to act strictly in accordance with the instructions.

I am not going to give more examples of how state plans have been upset. I think I have already given you a clear idea of the grave nature of decentralist practices. Some people say there are not many decentralist manifestations, or if any, they have not yet assumed serious dimensions. What they say is utterly inconsistent with the facts.

In many cases, decentralist tendencies can be blamed on our shortcomings and errors in mapping out state plans and in our management of the economy. For example, in mapping out plans the state set arduous production and capital construction tasks but failed to allocate adequate raw and semi-finished materials and fuel. Moreover, the state material management systems still leave something to be

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desired. These made things difficult for some localities, departments and institutions. At one time we attempted to complete the building of a good number of comprehensive industrial networks throughout the country, all within a short space of time. What's more, some localities, departments and institutions exhibited a considerable degree of aimlessness in their construction work. They imposed extra quotas on the state-planned targets that had already proved too high and pressed for their quick fulfillment. Uppermost in the minds of a great number of leading members and cadres was to speed up construction in their respective units; in their opinion, the more such construction projects and the quicker they were completed, the better, before making a careful study of the conditions available or correctly handling the relationship between the interests of the whole and those of the part. This led to their decentralist tendencies in practical work, upsetting unified state plans and harming the interests of the whole.

Some cadres in our Party are so strongly tainted with departmentalist, individualist and other non-proletarian ideologies and so lacking in political foresight that they are exclusively preoccupied with their immediate benefits and the interests of their own departments. This is a more important factor leading to the breeding of decentralism.

Decentralist practices, of whatever kind, is at variance with the Party's general line, which calls for greater, faster, better and more economical results in socialist construction, and with Comrade Mao Zedong's call to draw on people's enthusiasm and creativity in all localities. On the surface it seems that decentralist deviations are serving the interests of a certain locality, department or institution, but in essence, they are harming the overall, long-term interests of the Party and the nation and, in the final analysis, they will damage the fundamental interests of that locality, department or institution.

Decentralism tends to foster bourgeois ideology, including pragmatism of the bourgeoisie. It not only undermines our socialist economy, but also corrode our Party members and government functionaries ideologically. Some cadres took advantage of the disturbances created by decentralist deviations for their personal gain. They even ganged up with bad elements in society for illegal dealings to disrupt the market. In fact, they have degenerated politically. In recent years activities against the law and discipline, such as embezzlement, theft, speculation and profiteering, have increased sharply. The roots for

this can be traced, of course, to society at large, but we cannot deny the influence of decentralism.

We are all aware that because of the tendency towards decentralism a number of our comrades' sense of the nation's overall interests and of organization and discipline has slackened and they have departed from their communist ideals as a result.

Decentralist deviations have brought about abnormal relations between departments, localities and institutions as well as between superiors and subordinates. Some comrades have even played tricks on the Party. When submitting their capital construction plans, for example, they deliberately avoided mentioning some key construction projects and the investments involved, but after their plans were approved, they requested leading authorities to endorse these extra, special projects and asked for additional investments. This contributed to our difficulties in drawing up state plans accurately and bringing them to fruition efficiently. Bargaining that went beyond normal discussion often occurred at Party meetings. Refraining from speaking the truth, avoiding sincere exchange of views, worrying about being put at a disadvantage, playing the part of a "worldly wise man", unjustifiably withholding information, and regarding each other's difficulties with indifference — such patterns of relationship maintained among comrades and between institutions, departments and localities often caused simple problems to remain unsolved for an unreasonable period of time, making our work suffer.

To sum up, decentralism jeopardizes our cause in the following four spheres:

1. Politically it damages the Party's unity. The Party's policies represent the Party's lifeline, so disruption of the Party's policies inevitably damages the Party's unity.

2. Economically it injures the system of ownership by all the people and hampers our efforts to draw up state plans correctly and carry them out efficiently.

3. Ideologically it facilitates the spread of individualist and departmentalist ideas and, consequently, harms the cause of communism.

4. Organizationally it impairs democratic centralism and disrupts the Party's discipline, thus weakening the Party's fighting capacity.

From this it follows that strengthening democratic centralism and unified, centralized leadership and combating decentralism are important tasks now facing the entire Party membership.

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THE ENFORCEMENT OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM  
AND CORRECT HANDLING OF RELATIONSHIPS  
BETWEEN CENTRAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES

In order to accomplish its great historic mission, the Communist Party, the political party of Marxism-Leninism, always imbues its ranks with the proletarian concept of democratic centralism and uses it as a guide to action.

Lenin often stressed that Marx advocated proletarian centralism. Analysing the experience of the October Revolution, he said, “. . . absolute centralization and rigorous discipline in the proletariat are an essential condition of victory over the bourgeoisie.” Here Lenin stressed that centralization was absolutely necessary for the proletariat. He pointed out that the proletariat could practise such centralization and discipline mainly because as a vanguard it was politically conscious and “maintains the closest contact and — if you wish — merges, in certain measure”, with the broad masses of the working people and because the policies of the proletarian vanguard were correct and “the broad masses have seen, *from their own experience*, that they are correct.” Without these conditions, Lenin stated, any attempt to establish proletarian centralization and discipline would end up in phrasemongering.<sup>166</sup>

After the October Revolution, Lenin repeatedly emphasized that without strict centralization and iron discipline, socialism could not be built, pointing out, “socialism cannot be built if it is not, for that means building a centralised economic system, an economic system directed from the centre, and that can only be done by the proletariat.”<sup>167</sup> Lenin maintained that the building of such a centralized socialist economy would be impossible without active participation by the broadest masses. He was right when he said that “*only* socialism will be the beginning of a rapid, genuine, truly mass forward movement, embracing first the *majority* and then the whole of the population, in all spheres of public and private life.”<sup>168</sup>

With regard to the relationship between central and local authorities, Lenin said, “Only large-scale, planned construction, which aims at evenly utilising economic and business values, deserves to be called socialist. The Soviet government certainly does not intend to belittle the importance of the local authorities or kill their autonomy and initiative. Even the peasants realize through their own experience the need for centralism.”<sup>169</sup>

Comrade Mao Zedong holds the same views as Lenin.

As early as during the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out the incompatibility between ultra-democracy and small-group mentality on the one hand and the political party of the proletariat on the other. He said, “The danger of ultra-democracy lies in the fact that it damages or even completely wrecks the Party organization and weakens or even completely undermines the Party’s fighting capacity”; small-group mentality, he added, also “has a strong corrosive and centrifugal effect” on the Party organization.<sup>170</sup>

At the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party, held in the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Mao Zedong outlined four principles of Party discipline: 1) The individual is subordinate to the organization; 2) the minority is subordinate to the majority; 3) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and 4) the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee. He made it clear that “whoever violates these articles of discipline disrupts Party unity”.<sup>171</sup> Of the four principles, the fundamental and essential is the one that calls for the entire membership to be subordinate to the Central Committee.

In 1942, in his speech “Rectify the Party’s Style of Work”, Comrade Mao Zedong said, “Some comrades see only the interests of the part and not the whole; they always put undue stress on the part of the work for which they themselves are responsible and always wish to subordinate the interests of the whole to the interests of their own part. They do not understand the Party’s system of democratic centralism; they do not realize that the Communist Party not only needs democracy but needs centralization even more.”

On the eve of nationwide liberation Comrade Mao Zedong drafted, on behalf of the Central Committee, a directive entitled “The Work of Land Reform and of Party Consolidation in 1948”. In it he pointed out emphatically: “It is necessary resolutely to overcome certain manifestations of indiscipline or anarchy existing in many places. There are people who, without authorization, modify the policies and tactics adopted by the Central Committee or other higher Party committees and apply extremely harmful policies and tactics, which go against the united will and discipline but which they opinionatedly believe to be correct. There are also people who, on the pretext of pressure of work, adopt the wrong attitude of neither asking for instructions before an action is taken nor submitting a report afterwards and who regard the area they administer as an independent realm. All this is

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extremely harmful to the interests of the revolution. Party committees at every level must discuss this matter again and again and work earnestly to overcome such indiscipline and anarchy so that all the powers that can and must be centralized will be concentrated in the hands of the Central Committee and its agencies.”

In the post-liberation days Comrade Mao Zedong, with a view to bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in the nation’s financial and economic situation, stressed the need to tighten unified control and improve unified leadership in our financial and economic work and gradually to eliminate drifting and anarchy in our economic work.<sup>172</sup>

In his article “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People”, Comrade Mao Zedong clearly enunciated the relationship between democracy and centralization when he said, “Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the exclusion of the other. Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism.”

In another article, “The Situation in the Summer of 1957”, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote, “Our aim is to create a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and thus to promote our socialist revolution and socialist construction, make it easier to overcome difficulties, build a modern industry and modern agriculture more rapidly and make our Party and state more secure and better able to weather storm and stress.” We should practise democratic centralism among the people and make a great effort to create such a political situation. We often talk about the need to aim high. What, then, is the high aim that we must, first of all, work to attain in our work? Well, it is the creation of that political situation in all localities, departments and institutions of the country. Under such a political situation, we shall be able to mobilize the people’s enthusiasm more efficiently, thereby making it easier for us to achieve the high aims in the development of our economy and culture as well as in other spheres. Otherwise, it will be difficult for us to achieve the high aims in other spheres, or even though we may

sometimes manage to do so, we shall find it hard to consolidate the resultant achievements and to persist in our efforts in this regard. This explains why the practice of democratic centralism is of political importance.

You comrades know that Comrade Mao Zedong has always been a model in safeguarding unified leadership of the Central Committee and observing Party discipline. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, even at a time when the Party was being dominated by a wrong political line, he still proceeded from the interests of Party-wide unity and adhered strictly to the principle of democratic centralism. He combined the necessity of upholding the truth with the necessity for the individual to be subordinate to the Party organization, regarding the former as a matter of principle and the latter as a matter of disciplinary requirement. His efforts culminated in the correction of the erroneous political line at the Zunyi Meeting,<sup>100</sup> thus putting the leadership of the Central Committee back on the right track.

It was under the unified, centralized leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong that our Party led the people all over the country to victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation and in establishing the People's Republic of China. In the years since the founding of the People's Republic we have rapidly rehabilitated the national economy, completed socialist transformation and carried out socialist construction on a large scale. None of these achievements can be separated from the ever-improving unified and centralized leadership exercised by the Central Committee or from the efforts of various localities and departments to resolutely carry out the Central Committee's instructions.

At some time during the long period following the Zunyi Meeting, Party organizations in some places and areas made mistakes. Nevertheless, thanks to the unified, centralized and correct leadership offered by the Central Committee, these mistakes were quickly rectified, which salvaged our cause from grave setbacks and pushed it forward steadily. Only in a few localities did the work suffer heavy and unwarranted losses, places where the leading authorities asserted undue independence, broke away completely from the Central Committee's unified leadership and persisted in their own erroneous line and policies.

From what I have said it is evident that under no circumstances can we do without the unified, centralized leadership of the Central Committee, and it is of particular importance to strengthen such

leadership whenever we are confronted with difficulties. All Party comrades should have a correct understanding of this, because it has a vital bearing on the smooth progress of our cause.

Of course, the decentralist deviations found in our practical work are different in principle from the complete divorce from the Central Committee's correct leadership mentioned above — a divorce that, by its nature, represents an erroneous political line. Therefore, we must not mix them up. However, if the current decentralist tendencies are not resolutely corrected but are allowed to develop unchecked, they can pose very serious dangers.

Some questions concerning the relationships between vesting powers in the central authorities and delegating powers to the local authorities need to be explained clearly.

The first question is the relationship between strengthening the central authorities' unified, centralized leadership and bringing the local authorities' initiative into play.

This issue must be handled with prudence and care. As pointed out in Comrade Mao Zedong's speech "On the Ten Major Relationships", the fundamental principle for correct handling of this issue is to mobilize the initiative of the local authorities in order to consolidate and strengthen the unified leadership of the central authorities.

The Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong has always attached great importance to bringing into play the creativity and enthusiasm of local authorities. Many of the Central Committee's correct policies were drawn up on the basis of a summing up of the experience offered by various localities and the masses; furthermore, many of its correct policies were worked out through consultation with comrades working in various localities.

As pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong, all correct policies and all correct leadership are invariably in conformity with the principle of "from the masses, to the masses".<sup>173</sup> This represents a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. Whoever violates this principle is bound to make mistakes. Whatever the circumstances, our unified central leadership must be kept in line with the principle of "from the masses, to the masses". Likewise, the creativity and enthusiasm of local authorities must be based on the principle of "from the masses, to the masses". Therefore, local authorities, when demonstrating their creativity and enthusiasm, must follow the principle of "from the masses, to the masses" and guide their actions by summing up the people's experience, not by any wishful thinking.

Implementation of the central authorities' policies and fulfillment of the state's unified plans require the active support of various localities. Since 1958 the central authorities have delegated many managerial powers to the local authorities as they should. This has played a great part in mobilizing the initiative of local authorities and speeding up the nation's construction. We must always bring the initiative of localities into play in a correct and reasonable manner. There should be no doubt about that.

However, there are two types of initiative: One represents a realistic approach, while the other is characterized by aimlessness. The Central Committee calls on local authorities to display the first type of initiative, not the second. Strengthening the central authorities' unified, centralized leadership, as is appropriate, can help local authorities better display the first type of initiative and avoid the second, erroneous type.

The initiative of local authorities should be displayed, first of all, in their resolute implementation of the central authorities' policies and fulfillment of unified state plans. Local authorities, under the unified leadership of the Central Committee, should study their specific local conditions, find ways for turning local advantages to good account, calculate carefully, work out strict budgets, make optimum use of local manpower and material and financial resources, and do their best to ensure fulfillment of state plans. In 1962, for example, local authorities are required to demonstrate their initiative by acting in accordance with the central authorities' policies, doing everything in their power to revitalize and develop agricultural production, trying as best they can to ensure the fulfillment of this year's quotas for grain to be purchased and allocated by the state and also of the production and purchase quotas for cash crops, trying to accomplish the industrial production tasks, streamlining various organizations and institutions according to the principle of "better staff and simpler administration", and adopting measures to boost production and practising economy. Only by fulfilling these tasks can we effectively readjust the national economy and quickly free ourselves from the passive position in our economic activities.

The second question concerns the relationship between strengthening the central authorities' unified, centralized leadership and allowing local authorities to adopt measures suited to specific conditions prevailing in their localities during a given period of time.

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In carrying out the central authorities' policies, the local authorities may and must study the specific conditions in their particular localities during a given period and adopt suitable measures. When necessary, they should draw up certain supplementary regulations to best dovetail the central authorities' policies with the local people's experience. However, it should be noted that the central authorities' policies are formulated in view not only of the nation's overall situation but also of the particular conditions in various localities. They not only represent a concentrated embodiment of the interests of the whole, but also take into consideration the interests of the part. Therefore, it is up to Party organizations in various localities to implement the central authorities' policies conscientiously and to the letter, and it is only under this condition that they may substantiate these policies by adopting concrete measures suited to local conditions; under no circumstances shall they be allowed to alter or even reject the central authorities' policies under the pretext of the "particular conditions in their localities" or "the need to suit measures to different local conditions".

Some of the policies drawn up by the central authorities may prove inappropriate or not entirely appropriate. If, in the course of implementing these policies, the local authorities find something unsuitable for the current, specific conditions in their localities, they should promptly report their opinions and suggestions to the central authorities. Nevertheless, they should resolutely continue carrying out these policies until new decisions are made by the central authorities.

With regard to farming systems and technical measures in agricultural production, it is necessary to take a flexible attitude according to the specific conditions in given localities and pay due attention to the experience of local people; under no circumstances should uniformity be imposed. In the practical work of agriculture, especially in matters related to farming techniques, it is not right to exercise too rigid control over too many things, because such control is actually at variance with the central authorities' policies, in that it is actually a manifestation of overconcentrated power, issuing of arbitrary orders, and practising of authoritarianism.

We advocate unity in command and action under the central authorities' unified policies and plans, but this absolutely does not deny the need to suit measures to specific conditions in certain localities during a certain period of time or the need for various localities, departments and institutions to tackle their special problems by flexible

measures. It is entirely wrong to regard unity in command and action as identical with issuing arbitrary orders and practising authoritarianism.

The third question concerns the relationship between strengthening the central authorities' unified, centralized leadership and management by local authorities at various levels.

In economic, cultural and educational undertakings, the central authorities have always adhered to the principle of a centralized leadership combined with management by local authorities at various levels. We shall continue to uphold this principle in the years to come.

In this regard, we have had two kinds of experience: overconcentration of power by the central authorities, as was the case during a period before 1958, and overdelegation of power to local authorities and local departments that, on their part, did likewise to their subordinate units, with a resultant overdecentralization of power, as has been the case during the past few years. Neither is conducive to the central authorities' improving their unified, centralized leadership or the local authorities' taking initiative in a correct manner.

In the light of past experience and the current situation, we must change the recent practice of delegating too much power to local authorities, which led to overdecentralization of power, and concentrate more power in the hands of the central authorities. First and foremost, it should be concentrated in the Central Committee and its agencies (namely, its bureaus), so that it will be easier for the central authorities to arrange for overall use of the nation's manpower and material and financial resources, make more efficient readjustment and overcome current difficulties, thus quickly achieving a fundamental turn for the better in the national economy and creating the conditions necessary for further development in the future.

The powers to be concentrated should include those powers that have been unduly delegated by local authorities or by central administrative departments to units at the grass-roots level. They should now be turned over by authorities at lower levels to those at higher levels, until those powers are placed under the direct control of the leading authorities at provincial, municipal and autonomous region level or restored to the central administrative departments concerned.

While a unified, centralized leadership is being strengthened, it is necessary to give the localities and departments, within the scope of unified state plans, some leeway and certain powers for manoeuvr-

ing in the arrangement of production tasks, the use of investment funds for capital construction, the allocation of certain materials, the disposition of labour power, etc. so that they will be able to solve problems peculiar to their localities and departments and better accomplish the tasks prescribed in unified state plans. In capital construction, for instance, past experience indicates that between 10 and 15 per cent of total state investment should be granted to the localities for use in locally needed construction projects, on condition that all these local projects are included in unified state plans.

Local plans constitute an indispensable part of state plans. Mapping out local plans constitutes an important aspect of management at different levels. Under the central authorities' centralized leadership and unified state plans, leading authorities in all localities not only can but ought to adopt measures for a rational utilization of local resources, bring all useful forces into play and try their best to fulfill or overfulfill all the tasks prescribed in state plans. The state should give awards to those who perform these tasks especially well. The departments concerned under the State Council should work out reasonable regulations concerning the granting of such awards.

It should be understood that a basic requirement for management at different levels is that local authorities and administrative departments at all levels should manage well all enterprises and other institutions under their jurisdiction or under their charge. In order to fulfill this requirement, they must follow unified policies, rules and regulations formulated by the Party and state. In all rural people's communes, for example, continued efforts should be made to implement, on a trial basis, the revised Draft Regulations on the Work of Rural People's Communes and, meanwhile, to carry out all related instructions issued by the central authorities. In all state-owned industrial enterprises the central authorities' instructions on industry should be carried out and the Draft Regulations on Work in State-Owned Industrial Enterprises put into trial implementation. As for commercial departments, they should all carry out the central authorities' instructions concerning commercial undertakings and trial-practise the draft regulations on commercial work. Likewise, in colleges and universities, the draft regulations on work in institutions of higher education should be implemented on a trial basis.<sup>174</sup>

To put it briefly, the most important prerequisite at present for a strong, centralized leadership and an effective fight against decentralism is a set of unified policies for the entire Party and a series of

unified plans for the country as a whole. We must absolutely not allow any policies outside of or at variance with the central authorities' policies; likewise, we shall definitely not allow any plans outside of or at variance with state plans.

#### REQUIREMENTS OF UNIFIED AND CENTRALIZED LEADERSHIP IN ECONOMIC WORK

In addition to unity in thinking, policy-making and planning, there must also be unity of command and action so as to ensure a unified, centralized leadership by the central authorities.

To ensure a strong unified, centralized leadership in economic work, the Central Committee has put forth the following ten requirements:

1. All-round fulfillment of state plans and, if possible, their over-fulfillment must be ensured. Local plans must be incorporated into state plans. Any changes or augmentations to be made in plans are subject to approval by the central authorities.

2. All key industrial enterprises whose products are to be distributed nationwide according to unified state plans must be placed under the direct management of central leading departments; overall arrangements must be made for key enterprises whose management has been assigned to local authorities to be turned over gradually to central leading departments within the year 1962; likewise, provincial, municipal and autonomous region leading departments should take over management of all important industrial enterprises that had been assigned to lower levels.

3. All capital construction projects, whether undertaken by central or local departments, and the required investments should be incorporated into state plans; no capital construction projects and investments outside of state plans shall be allowed. All such projects must be submitted, one by one, to authorities at the corresponding level for examination and approval in accordance with the procedure set by the state; otherwise, their construction shall not be allowed to start.

4. State plans concerning the allocation of the means of production must be carried out without fail, and practices such as turning over to higher authorities only materials of poor quality while retaining for oneself whatever is good, withholding certain proportions of materials that should be turned over to higher authorities, making

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unauthorized use of materials or even simply refusing to turn them over to the superior departments concerned must be prohibited. State-allocated materials must be used only as stipulated in state plans, not otherwise. Extra manufactured goods resulting from overfulfillment of production tasks and conserved materials should be handled according to state regulations.

5. Fulfillment of state quotas for the purchase and allotment of the means of subsistence must be guaranteed, except for quotas the central authorities, confronted by irresistible natural factors, have curtailed or cancelled. Keeping more for local consumption or turning less over to the state is not allowed.

6. State programmes for labour employment must be carried out to the letter. No increases in personnel are allowed unless approved by the central authorities. State-prescribed wage scales and total pay-rolls are not to be surpassed.

7. State-fixed prices for industrial and agricultural products must not be altered at will. When changes in prices set by local authorities and departments are necessary, they are subject to approval by the National Price Commission.

8. Under normal conditions budgetary plans for state revenues must be carried out; expenditures should not be in excess of revenues. Local budgets should not include prearranged deficits, give primary consideration to expenditures over revenues, or draw funds from the bank without authorization.

9. State plans for granting credit and state regulations concerning the control of ready money must be followed strictly. The exact amounts of working funds necessary for enterprises should be determined and approved by state financial institutions. Enterprises should repay loans borrowed from the bank on schedule. The working funds of enterprises can be used only in productive operations and commodity circulation; they must not be used to build capital construction projects, make up business losses, or cover other financial expenses. Justified losses suffered by enterprises may be covered by state finance. Materials kept too long in enterprise storehouses should be placed at the unified disposal of the state.

10. State plans for exports must be carried out strictly according to the specified quality and quantity and the time schedule; state plans for imports must not be altered by localities or departments without authorization. Goods imported by the state are to be distributed according to the central government's regulations; it is prohibited to

withhold these goods and then distribute them or to put them to uses not originally intended in state plans.

To better enable the central authorities to exercise unified, centralized leadership, all Party comrades must be of one heart and one mind and work hard for good results in every field of endeavour, especially in the area of economic planning. All localities, departments and institutions should wholeheartedly co-operate with central planning departments and help them map out state plans that are practicable and have a universally binding force by offering timely, truthful information and accurate statistical data, by highlighting the key problems and by submitting their own workable and well-grounded draft plans. No locality, department or institution should play tricks, withhold information, hide facts or submit falsified statistics. Once decided on, all plans must be strictly observed, and efforts should be made to guarantee their realization.

The more we want to strengthen unified, centralized leadership, the more we need to combat bureaucratism. It is necessary for the central authorities and central administrative departments to devote greater and more effective effort to conducting investigations and studies, to fully developing a democratic style of work, and to overcoming and guarding against bureaucratism, so as to make sure they will be able to offer correct leadership and their guiding principles, policies, economic programmes, regulations and concrete measures are as well suited as possible to reality.

In all sectors and branches of the national economy we must have a comprehensive series of rules and regulations that not only facilitate the efforts of central authorities to exercise unified, centralized leadership, but also help mobilize the initiative of local authorities. It is now necessary to carefully examine existing rules and regulations under the guidance of central authorities. All rules and regulations serving the purposes just mentioned should be put into effect without fail; those partly or totally in conflict with the aforesaid requirements should be amended or redrafted.

Both central and local authorities must improve the work of the planning commissions, putting chief leading comrades from Party committees at corresponding levels in charge. The planning commission at all levels should serve as an important assistant to the Party committee and government at the corresponding level by helping them better exercise unified, centralized leadership over economic work.

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To strengthen unified, centralized leadership and combat decentralism, the most important thing for all the cadres of our Party is to sum up experience and enhance political awareness, so that they all have a clear understanding of the harmfulness of decentralism, conscientiously safeguard Party policies and state plans, and fight to forestall and overcome decentralist deviations. In whatever localities, departments and institutions, the drive to expose and criticize decentralist deviations must be based on facts; in general attention and criticism should be directed at specific examples of decentralism and not at the persons who have committed decentralist errors; simplistic and rude methods of struggle are not permitted on any account. Cadres who have committed errors of decentralism can be exempted from blame so long as they make self-criticism and earnestly correct their errors. As for cadres who have ganged up with bad elements in society and engaged in speculation and profiteering or stolen state property, they must be punished severely. From now on, whoever sabotages Party policies, disrupts state plans or asserts undue independence will be punished according to Party discipline and state laws. The fight against decentralism should not be conducted among rank-and-file Party members and cadres who are not divorced from production. What is necessary for them is education in socialism and the importance of overall interests; such education will enhance their political understanding and consequently inspire them to better carry out the Central Committee's policies and handle affairs in accordance with unified state plans.

### III . PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE PARTY

I have explained our current tasks and long-term objectives and also the necessity and importance of strengthening democratic centralism and unified, centralized leadership. Now I consider it necessary to discuss problems concerning the Party, for if our Party does not possess adequate Marxist-Leninist wisdom, does not earnestly practise democratic centralism, and does not maintain its well-organized and well-disciplined proletarian character, it will be incapable of accomplishing the tasks we have set forth or of solving the problems now facing us.

The Communist Party is a political party armed with Marxism-Leninism, the most revolutionary, militant party of the proletariat. When oppressed, it uses all possible means to organize and lead the masses in preparing for and then launching revolutionary struggles to seize political power. After capturing state power, it is committed to organizing and leading the people in carrying the revolution through to the end, in building socialism and communism, in continuing the struggle against world imperialism, and in assisting the revolutionary struggles of people of all other countries until the triumph of communism worldwide. These are the lofty aspirations cherished by the political party of the proletariat. The Communist Party dedicates its all to the cause of the people. It manages to overcome all sorts of setbacks and to steer clear of every kind of hidden reef while continuing its unremitting struggle for the realization of its sublime goals.

The Communist Party of China is precisely a revolutionary party that espouses the lofty aspirations of the proletariat. In the years of both revolutionary war and construction, the Chinese people have shown the greatest trust in our Party. They have seen clearly that only by relying on the leadership of the Communist Party can China switch from poverty to prosperity and from backwardness to advancement and become a great, powerful socialist state capable of contributing increasingly to the cause of human progress.

When we sum up our experience in recent years and conscientiously improve our work, we must greatly enhance the fighting capacity of our Party by getting rid of undesirable ideology and practices that smack of subjectivism, bureaucratism, authoritarianism and decentralism and, therefore, run counter to the people's interests. Thanks to the leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, our Party has long developed Marxist-Leninist work patterns and also mapped out a Marxist-Leninist guideline for dealing with organizational matters. These represent the fine traditions of our Party, traditions that should be carried forward by all Party members so that our Party will always be the vanguard of the proletariat with a strong sense of organization and discipline and will always cherish the lofty ideals characteristic of the revolutionary party of the proletariat.

Next, I should like to discuss matters concerning the seek-truth-from-facts work style, the mass line and inner-Party life.

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### THE SEEK-TRUTH-FROM-FACTS WORK STYLE

In recent years quite a number of our cadres have ignored the seek-truth-from-facts work style consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. Before making decisions, they conducted no investigation or study, but acted according to their own wishes and assumptions in disregard of the Party's policies; in handling practical work, they set unjustifiably high targets, indulged in empty talk, gave arbitrary orders and refused to consult the masses. These comrades liked to "take things for granted" and act accordingly, thus becoming divorced from reality and from the masses and ending in making a mess of things.

In order for our thoughts to conform to objective reality and for us to avoid making mistakes, Comrade Mao Zedong has long and repeatedly pointed out the need for Party leading organizations at all levels to devote great effort to conducting investigation and study. He himself has done quite a lot in this respect. On many occasions during the last few years he has called on leading members of Party committees at all levels to conduct analytical investigation and study of one or two villages, factories, shops or schools, so as to acquire knowledge and obtain the right to speak before offering guidance to practical work in general. He added that it is not difficult to conduct investigation, nor does it take too much time. Comrades who took pains to conduct investigation and study could perform their work comparatively well. Quite a number of comrades, however, acted otherwise, contenting themselves with referring to reports, whether in oral or written form. The problem was that these reports were, in many cases, not so reliable. Hearing some false news, such as rumours about an "exemplary model" or about the launching of a "satellite",<sup>175</sup> these comrades would pass off the spurious as genuine and urge people to follow suit indiscriminately on a large scale. Without conducting necessary investigations and studies, they would mechanically copy and put into practice anything that they had read about but was untrustworthy. Since they discharged their leading responsibilities in such a subjective manner, how could they avoid making mistakes?

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that since liberation, especially in the last few years, we have conducted fewer investigations than before and consequently know very little about the real situation; this has, perhaps, something to do with our all having ascended to higher position.<sup>176</sup> His remarks carry profound meaning and deserve our

consideration. Some of our comrades holding leading positions have never gone to a selected grass-roots unit to gain first-hand experience, have heart-to-heart talks with the masses and acquire a systematic and comprehensive understanding of things there. This being the case, they could give only subjective and impracticable guidance to work. Even now some leading cadres are reluctant to undertake painstaking investigation and study; when they have to do it, they usually carry biased ideas. They still don't like to consult modestly with the masses. When they go among the people, it is only to collect information that fits their taste. In short, they have not yet acquired the correct way of thinking or adopted correct methods of work.

A subjective work style is a sign of impurity in Party spirit. In August of 1941, in the document "The Central Committee's Decision Regarding Investigations and Studies", which he drafted on behalf of the Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "A subjective work style, characterized by sloppiness and self-opinionatedness, is the first manifestation of impurity in Party spirit, whereas seeking truth from facts and integrating theory with practice are basic hallmarks for Party members who steadfastly uphold Party spirit." The Central Committee now deems it necessary to stress once again among all Party members the need to further strengthen Party spirit.

Adopting a seek-truth-from-facts work style should be regarded as the first criterion for assessing our efforts to strengthen Party spirit. What does rejection of a seek-truth-from-facts attitude in work mean? It means taking an unscientific attitude, which runs counter to Marxism-Leninism. We must uphold the Marxist-Leninist attitude of seeking truth from facts, that is, we should proceed from actual reality, take full account of objective possibilities and avoid doing the impossible. However, we must work hard and try by every means to overcome difficulties and fulfill all tasks that should and can be accomplished. Only when we base our work on a truly reliable foundation can our cause develop vigorously.

We must act in accordance with "The Central Committee's Decision Regarding Investigations and Studies". That is to say, "We should give encouragement to comrades who are well acquainted with the objective reality and criticize those who are fond of empty talk and pay no heed to practical issues; we should give encouragement to comrades who not only comprehend the real situation but pay close attention to matters of policy and criticize those who fail to do so. The purpose is to promote widespread enthusiasm for a better under-

standing of reality and the Party's policies and, meanwhile, to combine such enthusiasm with a universal interest in the study of Marxist-Leninist theory."

The Central Committee calls on those comrades who have neglected the seek-truth-from-facts work style to quickly return to the Marxist-Leninist path, to the path of Mao Zedong Thought.

The reason these comrades made mistakes in their work was that they knew very little about how things stood and consequently made arbitrary judgments. They might have good intentions, but their methods of thinking were fundamentally wrong. I should say most of the cadres who blundered in the conduct of affairs during the last few years belong to this category.

Another category of people made mistakes not because of their temporary failure to comprehend the situation but because they deliberately employed falsehoods to deceive both their superiors and subordinates. Their repulsive practice is incompatible with the Party's seek-truth-from-facts work style and a sign of impurity in Party spirit, and, moreover, it indicates that they have forfeited honesty and faithfulness that are essential to Communists, and that they have rejected Party spirit.

In order to pursue personal fame and seek the limelight, they have gone to the length of presenting falsified reports to the Party, exaggerating achievements and covering up shortcomings and mistakes. Telling the Party falsehoods occurred most often where work was poorly done, lots of problems had cropped up and serious shortcomings and mistakes had been made. Playing false with the Party and leading authorities cannot be attributed to ignorance of the real situation, nor is subjective thinking to be blamed for it. Rather, it is a dishonest act of deception, sheer bourgeois practice, an outright violation of Party discipline. It has nothing in common with Party spirit.

During the revolutionary war years Comrade Mao Zedong made it imperative time and again that our troops report the exact numbers of guns they captured — not one more nor one less. In recent years, however, some comrades have taken an irresponsible attitude and done whatever they liked with regard to figures to be reported to the superiors, making casual statistical statements and giving no consideration to the possible consequences therefrom.

Experience tells us that if we formulate policies and draw up plans on the basis of false reports and figures, we shall certainly commit

errors that will cause great losses to the Party, the people and the state.

In some localities cadres use every possible means to withhold information from personnel sent by higher authorities to check local work. They don't want inspectors to know the true situation and even retaliate against fellow cadres and ordinary people who offer the inspectors valid information about the local situation. Such violations of discipline are intolerable.

In recent years, because of faults in some leading bodies and their leaders, those who spoke the truth, performed their work honestly and dared to tell about the real situation and voice their innermost thoughts were wrongly criticized and attacked, instead of being praised as they deserved, whereas those who did not speak the truth but made false reports, exaggerated achievements and covered up shortcomings were unjustifiably praised or even promoted to higher positions, instead of being duly criticized or punished. This created in the minds of many Party cadres the false impression that "whoever behaves honestly suffers a disadvantage." Some people consider it wise to tell falsehoods and foolish to act honestly. We must make a great effort to fundamentally change this situation. Leading bodies and their leaders who are guilty of the above faults must first correct their own mistakes and praise those honest people who have been wrongly criticized and attacked and apologize to them; they should also criticize those who did not tell the truth but made false reports and urge them to thoroughly mend their ways. Only by so doing can we correct the false impression in the minds of the cadres.

We should strongly advise the dishonest to immediately and thoroughly correct their mistakes if they want to become true Party members with Communist ideals. Otherwise, they will face formidable odds in the future. The dishonest may sometimes gain petty advantages at others' expense. However, in the ranks of the Party and the people they will sooner or later find themselves at a great disadvantage. Those who speak the truth and act as honest men may sometimes experience disadvantages, but they will ultimately find themselves in favourable positions, because they will certainly win the greatest trust of the Party and the masses.

All our leading cadres should listen to sincere remarks, to what honest people have to say. At the same time, they should encourage Party members to be honest in speech, action and behaviour and urge them to fight resolutely against deception. As for those who have

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persistently indulged in fraud and, despite repeated warnings, still refuse to mend their ways, disciplinary measures should be adopted against them.

### THE MASS LINE

All our great achievements are inseparable from our efforts to carry out the mass line. In recent years new ground has been opened in the execution of the Party's mass line which, at the same time, has suffered distortion. It appears that quite a few comrades in our Party do not understand or do not fully understand what is meant by the mass line.

What is the mass line? To put it in a nutshell, the basic points of the mass line are, first, to have confidence in the people and to believe that they have the capability to emancipate themselves and are the makers of history and, second, the Party must examine its work in light of the practice of the masses and map out its guidelines, policies and measures in accordance with the principle of "from the masses, to the masses".

To trust the masses is an essential requirement for Communist Party members. Although some comrades subjectively cherish the desire to serve the people, they fail to consult modestly with the masses, do not have patience to explain things to them, and are reluctant to or dare not explain the Party's policies and tasks clearly to them. In essence, they do not have faith in the masses.

Comrades, we should bear in mind that our Party is now the ruling party controlling nationwide political power and that many of our Party members are leaders of state organs at various levels. Our Party being in such a position, it is liable for our comrades to become authoritarian and bureaucratist in their work. As a result, some local authorities, departments and comrades have alienated themselves from the masses to a serious extent. All our Party and government organs should maintain close ties with the masses, pay serious attention to handling matters related to their interests and respond warmly when answering their letters or receiving their personal calls. However, some comrades failed to regard report submitted by the people to the Party and the central authorities as an essential link between the Party and the masses; they regarded it as bringing charges against them. This view is utterly wrong. Some local authorities and units unscrupulously

pulously withheld people's letters to leading members and they went so far as to subject those who reported to higher authorities about how matters stood to retaliatory attacks. Such acts are absolutely not permitted by Party discipline and state laws. A few local authorities have used instruments of dictatorship intended for class enemies and bad elements wantonly to retain ordinary people, put them in custody or even inflict corporal punishment on them. This is a serious crime.

All Communist Party members, no matter what high positions they hold, are servants of the people and should regard themselves as ordinary workers. They should enjoy no privileges, but should care about the people's wellbeing and share weal and woe with them. Every Communist Party member should consider hard work and plain living praiseworthy, extravagance and waste disgraceful. What is noteworthy is that quite a few cadres are very particular about pleasure and comfort in their own lives, but are indifferent to the people's hardships. During recent years some tendencies peculiar to former privileged classes have grown among a good many cadres — tendencies such as hankering after ostentation and extravagance, taking great pride in lavish expenditures, using public office for private gain, and brazenly squandering the people's money. Such detestable tendencies characteristic of bureaucrats of the old days should by no means be allowed among our ranks. Those who are guilty of these tendencies should correct their mistakes thoroughly, and disciplinary measures should be taken against serious cases. Only by completely eliminating these bureaucratic and undesirable practices can we further cement ties between the Party and the masses.

In our country there are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at various levels, the political consultative conferences at national and local levels, trade unions, youth organizations, women's federations and other mass organizations; in industrial enterprises there are workers' conferences and conferences of workers' representatives; in rural people's communes there are conferences of commune members and conferences of their representatives; in scientific and cultural circles there are various academic associations and societies; in addition, there are democratic parties, associations of industry and commerce, and so on. They differ in organizational form and function in different spheres, but they all play an important role as media through which our Party maintains contact with the masses and practises democracy among the people. Our Party should gen-

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uinely, not nominally, make sure the above organizations play their roles, and we should learn how to enliven the people's democratic activities and strengthen the people's democratic united front through these organizations. Party organizations at all levels should respect the democratic right of the members of these organizations to fully voice their opinions, and they should learn how things are in every sector of society through frequent consultations with these members, studying their opinions and adopting their constructive suggestions so as to improve our work. We can make these organizations accept our Party's policies and decisions only through persuasion, not coercion. Matters relating to people's interests should be entrusted to organizations concerned for discussion. Before making decisions on these matters, we must see to it that there is ample discussion, including free airing of different views, and that our decisions are made in accordance with the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority. Once decisions are made, we must, through the organizations concerned, mobilize the masses to implement them willingly and consciously. The point is that some leading members of our Party organizations who now hold certain powers in their hands look upon these mass organizations as of little importance or even unnecessary. That is absolutely wrong. It is true that our Party is now the leading party of the state, but under no circumstances shall we reduce the People's Congress and the mass organizations to nothing more than a mere nominal existence by replacing them with our Party organizations. If we did so, we would be violating the people's democratic system and consequently become blind and deaf to public opinion and divorce ourselves from the people. That would be a very dangerous situation.

“From the masses, to the masses” — a principle constantly advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong — has proved to be an efficient method of work in all spheres of endeavour. The most important thing with regard to this method of work is for us to learn from the masses. But quite a number of our comrades have performed poorly in this respect, falling short of basic requirements.

In order to carry out the mass line, we must do ideological and organizational work among the masses as meticulously as we did during the land reform movement, when we took roots among peasants and maintained close contact with them,<sup>177</sup> and during the socialist transformation campaign, when we started by creating some advanced models, then gradually introduced them to other localities. On the

surface it seems this approach is incapable of touching off an impressive, spectacular movement, but in actuality it can deeply arouse and educate the masses. This approach truly helps to muster the strength of the masses and do the work well. Many of our comrades and work units do not pay enough attention to their regular day-to-day work or to accumulating experience and maintaining close contact with the masses during their routine work. Instead, they have a particular fondness for rush jobs. In their opinion, only by launching a crash mass movement can we be successful, but the truth is that without routine day-to-day work and without a successful performance in such work there can be no mass movement in the true sense of the term. In the last few years we advocated the launching of a number of “giant projects”. Some were necessary, but some were inappropriate. Even the necessary ones were often launched in haste and were required to be completed strictly within a fixed time limit, without necessary preparations or systematic arrangements in the order of importance to ensure their gradual accomplishment. The consequence was that instead of achieving the desired results, we suffered losses. This should serve as a profound lesson to us.

Comrade Mao Zedong said, “Fight no battle unprepared, fight no battle you are not sure of winning.”<sup>178</sup> This statement holds true not only for revolutionary wars, but also for construction work.

A mass movement should rise out of actual needs and have the conscious and voluntary participation of the masses. Mass movements are not all alike; to suit their different purposes, they should assume different forms and avoid following the same pattern. Of course, we cannot have a mass movement every day of the year. And it is only on the basis of very meticulous, attentive and assiduous mass work can we have a sound, vigorous and steadily advancing mass movement.

Some comrades regard the mass movement as the only pattern for the mass line. To them, it seems, the mass line cannot do without the mass movement. Obviously, that is a false concept. Even more erroneous is the idea held by some comrades that beating drums and gongs, producing much fanfare, holding meaningless rallies and delivering long-winded, empty speeches are part and parcel of the mass movement and mass line. Actually, none of these pretentious activities has anything to do with the mass movement or mass line. These so-called mass movements do not enjoy a mass following, because they are mostly carried on under mandatory orders. Seemingly quite spec-

tacular, they serve no practical purposes whatsoever. These so-called mass movements run counter to the mass line and do not reflect the people's real opinions and demands; they dampen the people's enthusiasm and impair the Party's prestige. From now on, any mass movement to be launched nationwide should be a decision of the central authorities with proper discretion. Things that are not to be popularized must not be given wide publicity in the newspapers or over the radio.

Some comrades take a great fancy to so-called mass movements that seem to be heart-stirring outwardly but actually estrange the masses and are at odds with their interests. They accuse anyone disapproving of such "mass movements" as negating, dampening or weakening the people's enthusiasm. Obviously that is also a wrong attitude. Socialist construction must depend on the enthusiasm of the people and cadres. Without their tremendous enthusiasm we cannot score any great achievement in our construction work. There should be no doubt about this. But we must distinguish between different kinds of enthusiasm — that dedicated to realistic, attainable goals and that kindled by subjective, impracticable wishes. Every Communist Party member should have the first type of enthusiasm. We should arouse abundant enthusiasm for the revolutionary cause and, at the same time, couple such enthusiasm with a practical, realistic approach, for only by so doing can we achieve success in all kinds of endeavour. The latter kind of enthusiasm should be avoided, for it is not genuine, but foolhardy, solving no practical problems. One example of such foolhardiness is a "fondness for giving arbitrary orders", a tendency that was, at one time, quite common in many spheres of our work. A good many cadres are quite opinionated and conceited. They act arbitrarily and overbearingly; instead of consulting the masses, they force them to do something foolish, dissipating their enthusiasm and aborting their initiative. We must combat such a work style. If we do not pour cold water on cadres who cling to such a work style and cool their reckless zest, sternly criticizing and stopping their wrong, foolhardy work style, it will be impossible to bring the masses' genuine enthusiasm into play.

In initiating any undertaking that involves the immediate interests of the people we must make sure it enjoys the people's conscious and voluntary support. We should neither overestimate nor underestimate the level of political awareness of the masses. We all remember that when rural people's communes were being established throughout the

country, the peasants were alleged to have a higher political awareness than the workers. The allegation was one of the major arguments giving rise to the “wind of communization” and facilitating the spread of an authoritarian work style. Nowadays quite a number of our comrades consider the peasants to be very backward, so they dare not inform them about our policies and tasks and have no courage to educate them about collectivism, patriotism and socialism, thus surrendering leadership over the peasants. The erroneous tailist approach towards the peasants also caused losses in our work. Such a tendency occurred in some localities when efforts were under way to rectify shortcomings in the work of the people’s communes. Cases of reluctance to bring Party policies directly to the attention of the masses can be found in not only our rural but our urban work. Attention must be paid to correcting these errors.

We must not look upon fulfillment of Party and state tasks as incompatible with using the mass line as our working method. Some comrades hold that if we want to fulfill our tasks, we must not follow the mass line; if we pursue the mass line, we shall be unable to fulfill our tasks. Such a view is incorrect. Fulfilling Party and state tasks precisely requires pursuing the mass line. The more arduous the task, the more fully we should practise the mass line. Indeed, some tasks are rather heavy and difficult, but we must accomplish them. Take, for example, the grain-purchase task. At present, our rural areas have a fairly poor economic foundation and the per-capita grain ration for the peasants remains relatively low, so it is difficult for the peasants to provide the cities with huge amounts of marketable grain. That is why there is a contradiction between the amount of grain the state wants to purchase and the quantity the peasants are able to offer for sale. While continuing to curtail city and township population, we must try to purchase necessary amounts of grain from the countryside; otherwise, the cities and industrial and mining areas will not have a constant supply of at least their minimal requirements of grain, producing an unfavourable impact not only on industry but also on agriculture and thus retarding development of the entire national economy. Under these circumstances, we should conduct ideological and political education to explain to the peasants patiently and painstakingly the necessity and importance of fulfilling the state grain-purchase task. While calling on the peasants to fulfill the state grain-purchase quotas, we should counsel them on how to make adequate arrangements for their daily lives. Of course, our leading bodies, when setting forth

tasks, must consider their feasibility in light of actual conditions. If they set tasks beyond the possibility of fulfillment, or worse still, mandatorily order the speedy accomplishment of those tasks within a short space of time, the cadres in subordinate departments will find it impossible to conduct painstaking ideological education among the masses for the purpose of fulfilling the tasks; they will have no choice but to resort to coercive measures. Even such measures, however, may not be effective for tasks that are too heavy. Thus, practice of the mass line is out of the question. Such cases have actually occurred in our work during the last few years. We must prevent their recurrence.

The Central Committee calls on Party organizations at all levels to hold earnest discussions as to what constitutes the mass line. All cadres who are Party members but do not yet have a true understanding of the mass line must try to understand it by studying it again from the beginning.

#### PROBLEMS CONCERNING INNER-PARTY LIFE

From the examples I have given in the first and second parts of this report it is not difficult to see that the most important problem in inner-Party life today is the relationship between Party committees at higher levels and those at lower levels, especially between local Party committees and the Central Committee.

For a long time the relationship between Party organizations at higher levels and those at lower levels has been normal on the whole. Recently, however, in some localities, departments and other work units, the Party organizations at lower levels did not obey those at higher levels, but went their own way and asserted undue independence. These Party organizations, together with a number of cadres, preferred to do things their own way, to devise their own systems of management, to establish their own managerial networks and to act on their own. They regarded the localities, departments and other work units the Party and the people had entrusted them to administer as their own “small spheres of influence” or their “independent kingdoms” and didn’t want the central and other leading authorities to intervene. What’s more, they showed no respect for and did not carry out in earnest the decisions of the central and other leading authorities, ran against the central authorities’ policies and Party

discipline and thus harmed the Party's unity. Such decentralist practices must resolutely be brought to a halt.

A local Party organization wrote a letter to the Central Committee saying that they wanted to follow leading authorities but were baffled by this dilemma: If they followed what local leading authorities required, they would flout the policies of the central authorities; conversely, if they followed the policies of the central authorities, they would be doing things contrary to the requirements of local leading authorities. This Party organization asked the Central Committee to tell them which they should follow.

The question raised by this Party organization is very important. They raised the question because some local authorities took a decentralist approach in implementing the Central Committee's policies and state plans, and some decisions and measures they adopted were at variance with the Central Committee's policies and state plans. Then, how to resolve this contradiction? The only solution is for the entire Party membership to follow the Central Committee.

Being a militant organization, our Party could not be victorious in battle without a unified, centralized command. This applies to the relationship between the Central Committee and local Party organizations and also to the relationship between Party organizations at higher levels and those at lower levels in various localities, departments and other work units. We must fight resolutely against all types of departmentalist and decentralist practices, because they all tend to weaken the Party's unified, centralized leadership.

Another problem in inner-Party life to be discussed concerns internal relations in each Party Committee.

Comrade Mao Zedong once said that our Party organizations at all levels must have a strong or relatively strong nucleus of leadership and that Party committee members should protect and help such a nucleus. He added that the secretary of a Party committee must be good at serving as a "squad leader"; the secretary and deputy secretaries of a Party committee should be good at handling the relationship between themselves and other committee members and also good at exploring ways to conduct Party committee meetings successfully. He emphasized particularly that the relationship between the secretaries and other members of a Party committee should be one in which the minority must obey the majority.<sup>179</sup>

During a certain period, however, Party committees in some localities, departments and other work units virtually brushed aside Com-

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rade Mao Zedong's guidelines for the correct handling of internal relationships in Party committees. Some comrades misunderstood "putting politics in command" as meaning that the first secretary of a Party committee should have authority to decide everything or one of the committee secretaries should have the power to decide everything in the area he was in charge of; that is to say, he should have the final say on everything and everybody else must seek his counsel with regard to everything. The result was that the Party's principle of democratic centralism and the Party committee system of collective leadership were trampled, and secretaries of Party committees found it hard to perform their duties well.

Party committees should practise collective leadership, with each committee member assuming a certain responsibility according to division of labour. But some Party committees have changed this system of responsibility into a system whereby a long-term, exclusive responsibility is fixed upon each committee member for the tasks assigned to him. The problem is that some comrades vested with such responsibility act so arbitrarily that a Party committee may seem to be headed by several mutually independent members, each following his own course of action — a situation that causes much trouble to organizations at lower levels.

In the last few years our Party has established and strengthened leadership in various fields of work and scored achievements. The exercise of leadership in all spheres by Party committees is a principle we must always uphold, but some Party committees have taken upon themselves a good deal of the daily routine that ought to be performed by administrative institutions. In order to attend to daily routine, they have to appoint more than the usual number of committee members to serve as secretaries. The fact that Party committees have taken over more and more responsibilities makes it difficult for administrative institutions to perform their own functions. Meanwhile, such practice also makes it impossible for Party committees to focus their attention on studying the Central Committee's principles and policies, conducting investigation and study, analysing the experience of the masses, improving ideological and political work and supervising and checking various undertakings in a more efficient manner, or providing more effective leadership.

The Central Committee considers it imperative for all Party committees with the defects mentioned above to readjust their internal re-

lations in line with the Party's principle of democratic centralism, so that they can perform their functions efficiently.

One problem in inner-Party life I should like to discuss in detail here is democracy within the Party.

It should be pointed out that there have been some abnormal phenomena in our inner-Party life in the past few years. These have manifested themselves mainly as follows:

Some Party organizations did not allow the membership to express differing views and wantonly dismissed those who dared to voice opinions as ideologically questionable persons or even labelled them as "anti-Party elements".

Some Party organizations did not allow the membership at Party meetings to discuss matters related to work and policies frankly and extensively or to criticize the shortcomings in work, especially the shortcomings of the leading members of Party organizations. Some Party organizations even erroneously depicted members who commented specifically on practical work as having political problems or departing from the Party line; they even unjustifiably labelled members' criticism of the leaders of Party organizations as an attempt to oppose Party leadership.

Some Party organizations resorted to excessive struggle and punishment to castigate and unduly punish Party members who had some shortcomings or had made certain mistakes; they even did the same to Party members who dared to speak and uphold the truth.

Some Party organizations retaliated against members who reported to departments at higher levels about the true situation.

Some Party organizations admitted unqualified persons into the Party or expelled members from it in violation of the provisions of the Party Constitution.

Some Party organizations confused the two types of contradictions, which are different in nature — that is, contradictions between the people and the enemy and those among the people. They went so far as to apply measures intended for the enemy to Party members who had certain shortcomings and mistakes and even members who dared to speak and uphold the truth by putting them on trial and punishing them.

The erroneous, excessive measures adopted by some Party organizations in inner-Party struggle have done grave harm to the Party's system of democratic centralism, to Party solidarity and to the initiative of vast numbers of Party members. As a result, many Party

members dare not express their innermost thoughts or differing views, but guard against each other, thus giving rise to mutual estrangement and uneasiness.

These phenomena must by no means be allowed to continue in the Party.

As we all know, our Party has much experience in inner-Party struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong, after summing up the lessons of excessive inner-Party struggle, which occurred during the three occasions of “Left” lines in the history of our Party,<sup>99</sup> has formulated correct principles for guiding inner-Party struggle, such as “learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient” and “start from the desire for unity, distinguish between right and wrong through criticism or struggle, and arrive at a new unity on a new basis”.<sup>180</sup> During the last few years, however, some Party organizations conducting inner-Party struggle simply ignored these correct principles, with the result that they committed errors similar to “ruthless struggle” and “merciless blows”. This has been the case because, on the one hand, the overwhelming majority of our present cadres have no personal experience of excessive inner-Party struggle, so they do not know how to prevent or boycott such wrong practices; as for high-ranking cadres who themselves have experienced such struggle, they either repeated past mistakes or, being ignorant of what was going on at lower levels, failed to rectify those wrong practices promptly. On the other hand, to a great extent it is because some leading bodies persisted in mistaken policies during a certain period, causing much confusion between what was right and what was wrong. All Party comrades should draw profound lessons from this.

In order to normalize inner-Party life and stimulate the initiative of the entire membership, all our Party organizations must adopt truly effective measures to extend democracy in the Party and improve the regular activities of the Party organization.

To develop inner-Party democracy conscientiously is a matter of prime importance, especially when we are working to strengthen the Party’s democratic centralism. At the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, “In the present great struggle, the Chinese Communist Party demands that all its leading bodies and all its members and cadres should give the fullest expression to their initiative, which alone can ensure victory. This initiative must be demonstrated concretely in the ability of the leading bodies, the cadres and the Party rank and file to work crea-

tively, in their readiness to assume responsibility, in the exuberant vigour they show in their work, in their courage and ability to raise questions, voice opinions and criticize defects, and in the comradely supervision that is maintained over the leading bodies and the leading cadres. Otherwise, 'initiative' will be an empty thing. But the exercise of such initiative depends on the spread of democracy in Party life. It cannot be brought into play if there is not enough democracy in Party life."<sup>181</sup> These remarks by Comrade Mao Zedong are equally important for our Party during the present period of construction.

The Party's unified, centralized leadership must be based on democracy. It can be truly strengthened only by actively promoting democracy in the Party, by enhancing the initiative of its vast membership and cadres and by heightening their sense of responsibility towards the cause of the Party and the people. It would be impossible for leading bodies to practise genuine democratic centralism or exercise a genuine unified and centralized leadership if they were accustomed to offering a bureaucratic, subjective kind of guidance instead of being good at extending democracy, listening to the opinions of organizations at lower levels and the rank-and-file membership and employing democratic methods to solve problems in practical work.

The key to the extension of inner-Party democracy lies in the Party's full-scale practice of criticism and self-criticism. Comrade Mao Zedong, who has always attached great importance to Lenin's principle in this regard, considers conscientious criticism and self-criticism to be one of the hallmarks distinguishing our Party from other political parties. Adding to our achievements, upholding the truth and correcting our mistakes — these are prerequisites for forwarding our cause and also represent the right approach to be adopted by every serious Marxist-Leninist party. Since mistakes exist objectively, one should not try to conceal them or refrain from correcting them. The fact that we dare to expose and correct our mistakes demonstrates that our Party, besides being able to assess appropriately its great achievements, is determined to surmount existing difficulties and fully confident of its bright future, not the contrary. It is a manifestation of our Party's staunchness, not its weakness.

In order to conduct criticism and self-criticism satisfactorily, it is particularly important to encourage, support and protect criticism from below. Every Party member has the right to criticize any leading member of Party organizations at Party meetings. All leading members

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of Party organizations should listen modestly to the opinions of the membership and practise the principle of “blame not the speaker, but be warned by his words”; under no circumstances shall they be allowed to suppress democracy, still less to take revenge by retaliation. Every Party member has the right to report to higher Party organizations up to the Central Committee about the progress of work and the problems that have cropped up and about the shortcomings and mistakes of leading cadres. Party organizations, at whatever level, must handle the reports in a serious and responsible manner. A Party member may report to Party organizations at any level about any problems that have arisen and shall not be subjected to any kind of censure even if what he reports is not completely in conformity with facts.

Exemplary role played by leading members of Party organizations is significantly important for conducting criticism in the Party. All leading cadres of our Party must guard strictly against conceit and complacency. Like ordinary Party members, they should accept the supervision of Party organizations and the membership. They must not only create the necessary conditions to encourage Party members to conduct criticism, but set good examples themselves by making sincere, rather than perfunctory, self-criticism about the shortcomings and mistakes they have made in their work. Leading members of Party committees at all levels must take great care to promote democracy within their committees so as to create an atmosphere in which everyone feels free to speak his mind without fear when making criticism and self-criticism.

With regard to cadres and Party members who have been subjected to public denunciation and punishment during the past few years, it is necessary to re-examine their cases in accordance with the provisions in “Instructions on the Discussion and Trial Implementation of the Revised Draft Regulations on the Work of Rural People’s Communes”, issued on June 15, 1961 by the Central Committee; the re-examination must be handled properly in a seeking-truth-from-facts manner. The leading authorities in some localities, departments and other work units still don’t pay enough attention to the work of re-examination; they just take their time; some even resent it. This is a wrong attitude and should be corrected without delay.

In order to improve the regular activities of Party organizations, it is necessary for Party committees at all levels to strengthen their leadership over Party organizations at the grass-roots level, often

checking on their work and helping them improve it. During the last few years many of our Party's leading bodies, both in urban and rural areas, have often been so preoccupied with their day-to-day affairs and with assigning primary Party organizations to one specific task after another that they have given little, if any, consideration to problems of building the Party both organizationally and ideologically. This is to be found everywhere and must be changed. Above all, they must strengthen ideological education among Party members and improve and enliven the regular activities of Party branches. Effective measures should be taken to change organizational laxity, as is manifested in the fact that over a long period of time a large number of primary Party organizations have not held regular Party group meetings or general branch meetings or arranged Party lectures for the membership, resulting in the failure of Party members to play their role.

In view of the problems now existing in our inner-Party life, it is necessary to remind the entire Party of the need to heighten our sense of organization and discipline.

In the last few years many abnormal phenomena have occurred in our inner-Party life, not because we have no Party rules and regulations to go by or because the rules and regulations formulated by the Party have proved incorrect, but because some Party organizations failed to implement, distorted or even violated those rules and regulations.

The Party Constitution adopted at the Eighth National Party Congress<sup>109</sup> represents the Party's statute governing the entire Party membership, a code of conduct for inner-Party life. All Party organizations and members are required to act in accordance with the Party Constitution unconditionally and without reservation.

As stipulated in the Party Constitution, no Party member is allowed to deceive the Party by telling lies or giving false reports; no Party organizations or their leaders are allowed to infringe on the rights of Party members, stifle criticism or inhibit democracy; no Party organizations or their leaders are allowed to abuse their power to wilfully struggle against or punish Party members. From now on, anyone who commits these mistakes shall be given disciplinary punishment or even expelled from the Party; violators of state laws shall be dealt with accordingly.

All Party members without exception, including those holding responsible positions, should adhere to Party discipline and play an ex-

emplary role in observing state laws. They should not turn a blind eye to any undesirable phenomena inside or outside the Party or adopt a laissez-faire attitude. Instead, they should fight against all kinds of evildoers and evil deeds.

The “Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention for Party and Government Cadres”, formulated by the Central Committee, represents a generalization of the Party’s fine traditions.

The Three Main Rules of Discipline are:

- 1) Truthfully report how matters stand.
- 2) Correctly carry out the Party’s policies.
- 3) Practise democratic centralism.

The Eight Points for Attention are:

- 1) Participate in labour.
- 2) Treat people as your equals.
- 3) Be fair in handling matters.
- 4) Seek no personal privileges.
- 5) Consult the masses in work.
- 6) Follow the principle of “no investigation, no right to speak”.
- 7) Act in light of actual circumstances.
- 8) Raise the political level.<sup>182</sup>

All Party members must consciously and strictly observe these Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention.

To ensure a sound inner-Party life and enforce strict Party discipline, it is essential to improve the Party’s work of supervision. Party supervisory commissions at all levels have the right to bypass Party committees at their corresponding level and report directly to Party committees and supervisory commissions at a higher level, even up to the Central Committee, about the true situation or about law and discipline violations. Instead of offering correct guidance and active support, the Party committees in some localities have obstructed or hampered the work of the supervisory commissions. When faced with difficulties or obstacles, some supervisory commissions, on their part, simply abandoned their duties and functions, thus failing to work continually for the preservation of Party discipline. These phenomena ought not to have taken place; they must be done away with.

It is certain that by correctly solving the numerous problems now existing in our inner-Party life, we shall greatly increase the Party’s fighting capacity. Recently many localities and departments, respond-

ing to Comrade Mao Zedong's instructions and the Central Committee's decisions on the need to re-educate cadres, have been conducting training programmes for cadres on a rotation basis and have reported initial success. This kind of training is a matter of great importance for the entire Party during the present period. All localities and departments, without exception, should perform this task successfully. Cadres attending the training courses should concentrate on studying the document *Some Questions Concerning Party Life*<sup>183</sup> while giving top priority to questions concerning Party building. Such study will definitely facilitate correct solution of the current problems in our inner-Party life and normalization of regular activities of Party organizations and help promote the Party's traditionally fine work style.

In order to adapt ourselves to the current domestic and international situation and prove equal to the present fighting tasks, the Central Committee calls on all cadres and Party members to understand deeply their important responsibility towards the cause of the Party and the people and the need for them to assiduously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, so as to enhance their political awareness and their Party spirit and fulfill the following requirements:

- 1) Cherish the lofty ideals of the proletariat and work hard for the nation's prosperity.
- 2) Give first consideration to the overall situation and subordinate the interests of the part to those of the whole.
- 3) Preserve the Party's system of democratic centralism and a unified, centralized leadership.
- 4) Observe Party discipline and be loyal and honest to the Party.
- 5) Uphold what is true and be realistic in thought and work.
- 6) Have faith in and rely on the masses and steadfastly follow the mass line in work.
- 7) Conduct sound inner-Party activities and encourage criticism and self-criticism.
- 8) Carry forward the fine traditions of plain living and hard struggle.

Our Party enjoys the correct leadership of the Central Committee with Comrade Mao Zedong at the head. In the course of protracted revolutionary struggles, our Party has developed its glorious traditions and fine work style. Many of our veteran cadres have been through

the ordeal of battle, tempered in the raging flames of the revolution. Under the influence of the Party's fine traditions, a good many young cadres have come to the fore in the course of revolutionary struggle and construction. If we compare our Party to a human being, we may say that now it is a man so vibrant with vigour and vitality that he is entirely capable of using his own strength to rid himself of all the viruses temporarily infecting parts of his body and, thereby, increasing his power of immunity. The overwhelming majority of our Party comrades have become alive to the abnormal phenomena in the Party and considered it necessary to rectify them. In fact, many of those phenomena have been or are being corrected. After correcting our shortcomings and errors and rectifying the abnormal phenomena, we shall have both positive and negative experience to draw on and thus to greatly increase the Party's fighting capacity. The Central Committee is convinced that our cadres and Party members, in response to its call, will carry forward the Party's fine traditions and correct work style and overcome all undesirable tendencies, so that our Party will play a bigger role in the great revolutionary struggles and in the monumental task of construction.

Comrades, a very bright future is ahead of us. We can certainly make China a powerful socialist state with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and culture, and modern national defence. But this is a stupendous task; its accomplishment requires us, together with the people of all nationalities in the country, to carry on a long, hard struggle. At the Seventh National Party Congress Comrade Mao Zedong called on all Party comrades to display the spirit of the "Foolish Old Mao Who Removed the Mountains" in order to overthrow imperialism and feudalism — the two large mountains that weighed heavily on the backs of the Chinese people. The entire Party membership, acting in response to Comrade Mao Zedong's call, achieved complete victory in the new-democratic revolution and then succeeded in the socialist revolution. Currently, economic poverty and cultural backwardness loom like two towering mountains before the Chinese people. To remove these two mountains, we have likewise to bring into play the spirit of that "Foolish Old Man".

We must set long-range goals and lose no sight of the bright future. Otherwise, we shall get nowhere. However, once our long-range goals have been shaped, it is necessary to work out concrete measures for their attainment. It won't do simply to aspire to lofty aims and

shout slogans for them without painstakingly tackling the specific tasks involved. We must proceed from reality, work conscientiously and industriously, do each and every practical job well, solve specific problems one by one and overcome one difficulty after another. It is essential for us to perform our current tasks splendidly and steadily fulfill our long-range goals.

Comrades, in order to score new successes in our socialist construction, we must unite all comrades of our Party and, on this basis, unite the people of all nationalities in the country. So long as the entire Party and the people of all nationalities unite closely under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought and the illumination of the Three Red Banners — the Party's general line for socialist construction, the Great Leap Forward and the people's communes — we can assuredly succeed in fulfilling the 1962 construction tasks, in fruitfully readjusting the national economy and in steadily attaining our ten-year goals.

A brilliant future to our great motherland!

Let us march forward triumphantly under the leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong!

Long live our great, glorious and correct Party!

## SPEECH AT AN ENLARGED WORKING CONFERENCE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY

*January 27, 1962*

Comrades.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, I have submitted a written report to this enlarged working conference. In addition to what was said in the report, I now wish to discuss some problems.

### THE DOMESTIC SITUATION

Comrade Mao Zedong has made it clear that in order to fulfill our international obligations, we should primarily manage our domestic affairs well. Successful handling of our domestic affairs will enable us to contribute more to the peoples of the world, rendering more effective support to the revolutionary movements of the people of various countries and conducting a more vigorous fight against revisionism. Therefore, we should put our main attention on domestic affairs.

With regard to the current domestic situation, I should like to say frankly that we are faced with considerable difficulties in the economic field. This cannot be denied. The current economic difficulties are manifested in short supplies of grain and non-staple foodstuffs, including meat and edible oil, insufficient clothing due to the scarcity of cloth, and a lack of articles of daily use. In other words, the people do not have sufficient food, clothing and other daily necessities. Why? Because our agricultural production, instead of increasing, dropped, and dropped considerably during the three years from 1959 through

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An abridged version of the original speech.

1961. Statistics also showed a decrease of 40 per cent or more in industrial production in 1961. In 1962 industrial production can hardly go up. This means decreases in our industrial production both last year and this year. The decreased production in both agriculture and industry has caused shortages in various fields. Not all comrades expected such a situation. A couple of years ago we felt our agriculture and industry would make big leaps forward in the coming years. In fact, they did make a big leap forward during a certain period in the past few years. Now, however, the economy, instead of progressing, is on a decided decline, resembling the up and down of a saddle. Shall we or shall we not acknowledge this decline as a fact? I think we ought to be down to earth and acknowledge that the decline is indeed a fact.

What has caused the difficult situation? Why have we failed to increase production and why is it that instead of more supplies of food, clothing and goods for daily use, we are short of these things? What are the causes? Well, we don't have to seek far. First, three consecutive years of natural disasters were responsible for decreases in our agricultural and industrial production. Second, current difficulties may also be attributed to our shortcomings and mistakes since 1958. Which is the primary cause, the natural disasters or the shortcomings and mistakes in our work? The situation varies from place to place. We should, in light of the specific circumstances, give the people an unreserved explanation. In some places natural disasters are the primary cause for the decline in agricultural and industrial production, whereas in others the blame should be placed chiefly on shortcomings and mistakes in work. Last year when I returned to Hunan, I visited an area suffering enormous difficulties. I asked the peasants, "What is the cause of your current troubles? Have you suffered from natural disasters?" They replied, "Yes, we have suffered natural disasters, but only to a certain extent, perhaps 30 per cent, while the remaining 70 per cent of production failures should be attributed to man-made disasters." During a survey of the area later, I found several ponds and inquired of the villagers whether these ponds had all dried up in 1960. "Never," they said, "There has always been water in these ponds for irrigation use." Judging by the ready availability of water in the ponds, we may conclude that there have been no serious natural disasters in the area. In my written report to the conference I made an analysis of our domestic situation as a whole in these words: On the one hand, the three consecutive years of

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natural disasters have brought us fairly grave difficulties; on the other hand, and to a greater extent, the defects and errors in our work and our style of work should be held responsible for the difficulties. As for the actual conditions in a given province, prefecture or county, you can discuss them and draw a practical conclusion.

What shortcomings and mistakes have appeared in our work during the past few years? In my report I outlined only four. I hope all of you will consider whether there are more. I enumerated twelve achievements but only four shortcomings and mistakes. You may add one or two more if you think I have not covered them all. We ought to be faithful to facts and try to avoid underestimates or overestimates.

Although we have difficulties, shortcomings and mistakes, we have, nevertheless, scored certain achievements. What, then, predominates in our work — shortcomings or achievements? I'm afraid the situation is different in each region. Every provincial, prefectural or county Party committee can hold its own discussions and make a practical judgement and explanation in light of the local situation. Don't worry about judging incorrectly. If that happens, you can modify your judgement. In any event, you should judge and summarize.

On the whole, achievements are primary in our work since 1958, while shortcomings and mistakes are secondary. We have scored marked achievements not only in the development of industry, transport and water-conservation projects, but also in political and ideological work, commerce, culture, education and military affairs. These achievements are not to be negated or effaced. Perhaps our work may be assessed as 70 per cent achievements and 30 per cent shortcomings and mistakes. We are not sure, however, that this assessment is correct. In my written report I made no such assessment but simply said achievements constituted the primary aspect of our work and shortcomings and mistakes the secondary aspect. The actual proportion of achievements to shortcomings and mistakes I did not mention.

We used to say achievements constituted 90 per cent of our work and shortcomings and mistakes only 10 per cent. I'm afraid such an assessment is no longer applicable everywhere. Actual facts justify such percentages only in certain areas, not in all parts of the country. Judging by the present domestic situation as a whole, we can't say that achievements represent 90 per cent of our work and shortcomings and mistakes only 10 per cent. Perhaps the correct assessment is a 70/30 ratio. In certain areas shortcomings and mistakes constitute more than 30 per cent of the work. If you insist on a 70/30 ratio in

those areas, the local people will regard it as contrary to fact and unconvincing. During my stay in a rural area of Hunan Province the local peasants complained that while 30 per cent of their difficulties were caused by natural disasters, 70 per cent should be attributed to man-made disasters. If you refuted this, they would remain unconvinced. In some localities we must say that shortcomings and mistakes are primary there. All Party committees at provincial, prefectural and county levels may hold discussions in light of the facts in order to make a preliminary judgement. The following year they may discuss again and make another judgement. They may have more discussions and make further judgements in the third, the fourth and fifth year.

In short, we must not forget the experience and lessons of the past few years. We have, indeed, experienced quite a few shortcomings and mistakes in our work. We can show not only achievements, representing a good thing, but also shortcomings and mistakes, a bad thing. Most of our shortcomings and errors have been or are being corrected. In other words, most of our shortcomings and mistakes are things of the past. Figuratively speaking, we suffered from a very serious illness, and have now basically recovered. Our return to normal is illustrated by the following facts: We have stopped practising the supply system<sup>184</sup> and the system of communal canteens;<sup>132</sup> we have abandoned unreasonably high production targets and also many of the large-scale projects; furthermore, we have cut back the number of capital construction and water-conservation projects. Many of our shortcomings and mistakes have been corrected. Thus bad things may be turned to good account, depending on our ability to analyse and learn from our experience. The transformation of something into its opposite requires certain conditions. This applies to the transformation of bad things into good ones. For example, we can turn our shortcomings and mistakes to good account on condition that we analyse our experience and learn something useful from our setbacks. Therefore, we need not be pessimistic or feel frustrated after having made mistakes. In the past few years we have really smarted over serious stumbles. Now we need to pick ourselves up and choose the right path to continue our march. Is there anyone who never trips and falls? The important thing is to recognize our shortcomings and mistakes in a practical way, analyse our experience and be good at learning. No one can turn bad things to good account or learn something useful through analysing his experience if, instead of making a clean breast of his past and present shortcomings and mistakes, he

refuses to admit any of them or simply makes a reluctant confession of his minor faults while trying to cover up all the rest. Without the help of others, such people will not be able to pick themselves up after falling or resume their advance. Therefore, to be good at learning and analysing experience is a very important prerequisite for transforming bad things like shortcomings and mistakes into good ones.

As explained in my written report, the mistakes we made during the past few years were not errors of the Party's line. Rather, they resulted from the lopsided approach we adopted at times in carrying out the Party's general line. For example, we put too much emphasis on achieving greater and faster results to the neglect of better and more economical results; we paid great attention to quantity, but failed to pay enough attention to variety and quality. Although we had formulated a correct guideline for the achievement of greater, faster, better and more economical results, we did not follow this guideline strictly in all our actions. Of course, it is not easy to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results simultaneously in every task we tackle; it will take a series of trials and errors before we can find a reliable approach to the desired results.

As to responsibility for the shortcomings and mistakes in our work in the past few years, I have made it clear in the report that the central authorities should take principal responsibility for them, then the Party committees at provincial, municipal and autonomous region levels, and finally the Party committees at lower levels. By the central authorities we mean all the central departments concerned, including the State Council and the ministries directly under it. [Mao Zedong, "Some ill considered instructions and documents issued by the central departments should be included."] All unwise directives, documents and slogans issued by the central departments should be counted responsible.

What caused the errors in our work in recent years, and why have some of these errors continued for so long without being corrected? Answers to these questions can be found in my written report. For one thing, we lacked adequate experience in socialist construction and, therefore, could not avoid certain mistakes. Some people argue that we lacked experience during the First Five-Year Plan period and didn't commit serious mistakes as during the Second Five-Year Plan period. Why? This question can be answered like this: Soon after winning the revolution, we started to organize ourselves to rehabilitate the nation's economy by drawing on the experience gained in the base areas and

useful experience from the Soviet Union. Throughout the First Five-Year Plan period we maintained the economic order characteristic of the rehabilitation period. During that period our Party focused on socialist transformation — that is, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. Socialist construction was not the focal point of our work at the time, though we did do quite a lot in this respect. So far as building up modern industry was concerned, we had not yet learned to walk on our own, so we had to copy Soviet experience mechanically and rely on the help of Soviet experts. For another, our cadres usually maintained a realistic, modest and prudent work style throughout the First Five-Year Plan period. This, in addition to what I have just said, explains why we didn't commit serious blunders during that period. However, things were different during the second five-year period. Having successfully accomplished socialist transformation in the main, the Party shifted the focus of its work onto socialist construction. Being more experienced, we considered it necessary to learn to walk on our own and to undertake construction projects in light of the Chinese characteristics and by adopting measures that would suit the country's specific conditions. Accordingly, we formulated a general line for socialist construction and also a package of guiding principles with emphasis on the need to “walk on two legs.”<sup>160</sup> However, our experience proved far too inadequate. Also, many of our leading comrades failed to remain prudent and modest during that period. Overwhelmed by complacency, they tended to act in a way counter to our traditions of seeking truth from facts and of following the mass line, with the result that the system of democratic centralism weakened to varying degrees in the activities of the Party and mass organizations as well as in the functions of state institutions. Hence, we made grave errors while carrying on our construction programmes during the Second Five-Year Plan period.

Why do I speak this way? Because during the past few years our targets for industrial and agricultural production and capital construction were set too high; we launched a number of improper large-scale projects; we wanted to build, in all parts of the country, many complete economic frameworks; we adopted, in the rural areas, some measures that violated the principles of “to each according to his work” and “exchange at equal value” — measures that stirred up “a wind of comunization”; we pursued some policies that stimulated an excessive increase in the urban population, and so forth. None of these econom-

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ic targets, policies and measures was based either in part or in whole on practical feasibility; we didn't conduct careful investigations and studies, nor did we hold detailed discussions with the workers, peasants and cadres at the grass-roots level or with the technologists and specialists concerned; we didn't adhere strictly to the principle of democratic centralism while attending discussions held by Party organizations, state institutions or mass organizations; we often made hasty, ill considered decisions concerning the spread of some practices and measures; furthermore, we impatiently set time limits for the accomplishment of some tasks. All this represents a departure from the Party's traditions of "seeking truth from facts" and "following the mass line" and violation of the principle of democratic centralism — a principle that should be applied in all Party organizations, state institutions and mass organizations. The above facts point out clearly the root causes of our serious mistakes in some aspects of our work over the past few years. The leading authorities at higher levels often assigned heavy tasks that brought great pressure to bear on local leaders and caused them much trouble. Because the tasks were usually so urgent that the local authorities had no time to fully consult the masses — by holding a meeting of workers and office staff or their representatives, by calling a meeting of rural commune members or their representatives, or by convening the primary people's congress for a full discussion of the assigned tasks. The lack of full consultation and discussion with the masses made it difficult for local authorities to identify and correct errors in due time. Under such circumstances the authorities in some localities and departments simply depended on the issuing of arbitrary orders, holding telephone conferences or using other channels to exercise their regular functions. Occasionally, they did call a mass meeting to discuss some problems, but the discussions and decisions were often a mere formality, because the participants did not have enough time to voice their opinions or make suggestions. In the meantime, erroneous, merciless struggles were conducted among the Party members and masses, with the result that few people and cadres dared to speak or speak the truth. What's more, some authorities did not allow people to do so. All this seriously impaired the system of democratic centralism within the Party, in the normal functions of state institutions and in the daily activities of mass organizations. Consequently, it made it difficult for higher and lower authorities to keep each other informed — one more reason many of our errors continued so long before they were discovered and

corrected. Also noteworthy is the fact that our Party suffered from organizational impurities. This was exploited by the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and political degenerates, who through exaggeration and distortion tried to benefit from our errors, stirring up social unrest and aggravating the evil consequences of our errors. From what I have said you can figure out all the hows and whys for our mistakes during the past few years.

A careful analysis of these hows and whys will help us realize that the correct approach to rectifying errors is for us to constantly maintain a modest, prudent work style, uphold the Party's traditions of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line, practise democratic centralism in all Party organizations, state institutions and mass organizations, and encourage criticism and self-criticism. All this I have already dealt with in my written report.

All Party members and cadres and the overwhelming majority of people have personally experienced the dire distress caused by the numerous shortcomings and errors we committed in our work over the last few years. Having suffered from starvation for two years, [Mao Zedong, "Quite a lot of people had dropsy."] all our Party members, cadres and people will be wiser in the future management of affairs. From now on, it will be easier for us to reach a correct, unanimous understanding of many problems. Although we are still confronted with rather serious difficulties, they are of a temporary character. The experience we have gained will play a significant role in many years to come. So, in this sense we can say that we are growing stronger, not weaker, after emerging from the shortcomings and mistakes.

In my written report I made a sixteen-point summary of our experience. However, it is a preliminary summation, which is all we can do at the moment, because we cannot arrive at a clear understanding of some of the things that have occurred over the past few years until our economy has shown an upward turn, completely recovered and resumed its advance. Five or ten years from now we shall analyse the work once again. Then, our summary will boil down to more or fewer than sixteen points, but it will definitely be better than the present one.

Now let's turn to the Three Red Banners.

Surely, we are not going to haul down the Three Red Banners [the Party's general line for socialist construction, the Great Leap Forward and the people's communes]. Instead, we shall uphold them and try

to fulfill their goals. At present we are not clear about the causes of some problems, but we shall draw a more reasonable conclusion five or ten years from now, by way of summing up our experience.

Now I should like to discuss the slogans that have been adopted in recent years.

Both local and central authorities have promoted quite a number of slogans among the masses. Besides correct ones, some are incorrect or only partially correct; others are not clearly explained. I am in favour of reappraising these slogans so that our cadres and people may have their confusing concepts clarified.

Let me cite a few examples.

“Man can make the land produce as much as he likes, so long as he is bold enough” was a battle cry published in bold characters in the *People's Daily*. Many provincial newspapers then publicized the slogan, so it exerted widespread influence across the land. We should explain to our cadres, Party members and people that the slogan is wrong and, therefore, must be rejected.

Also, for a while the *People's Daily* erroneously opposed the view that importance should be attached to objective conditions, dismissing it as “a theory of conditions” or “a view that conditions decide everything.” Of course, it is wrong of exponents of objectivism to deny altogether the dynamic role of man's subjective initiative. Nevertheless, one cannot deny the need to attach importance to conditions, including objective conditions. Success in everything depends on certain necessary conditions. The settlement of a problem or accomplishment of a task requires the presence of certain ripe, essential conditions, both subjective and objective. The settlement of all problems depends on time, place and conditions. In other words, we can succeed in doing something only at the proper time, in the proper environment and under other necessary conditions. Man can create and transform conditions, but he can accomplish nothing if the required conditions are not present. Marxism-Leninism always attaches importance to the presence of conditions. We cannot, nor should we, refuse to recognize the importance of conditions. However, we are not objectivists who negate the dynamic role of man's subjective initiative. We hold that man's subjective initiative, governed by the laws of the objective world, can play a tremendous role.

Some claim that “Left” deviations are preferable to Right deviations and that while “Left” errors result from wrong methods, Right ones signify a wrong political stand. In my opinion, both statements

are incorrect. Neither “Left” nor Right deviation is desirable. Please note, the “Left” we are referring to is in quotation marks. “Left” deviations have to do with both wrong methods and a wrong political stand. The same is true of Right deviations. As revolutionaries, we are Left in the true sense of the term, not “Left” in quotation marks. I hope you comrades will not be the “Left” in quotation marks, but the true Left, who always seek truth from facts, integrate theory with reality, maintain close ties with the masses and practise criticism and self-criticism. Only people of the true Left are always full of vigour and vitality. So, I hope you will not identify with the “Left” in quotation marks, because they often divorce themselves from both reality and the masses, act recklessly and attempt to do whatever they like, disregarding the consequences. People of the so-called Left do not have a genuine, enduring enthusiasm for their work. Occasionally they may display a kind of wild enthusiasm, and then they may be sunk in apathy all of a sudden. They deserve criticism rather than admiration. These people are quite similar to or no better than the Rightists in terms of the serious consequences of their mistakes. In fact, some of them have committed ultra-Left and Right mistakes alternately. In this sense, we may say that people of both types, the “Left” and the Right, are often mutually interchangeable. So far as the concrete inner-Party struggle is concerned, the correct thing is for us to identify accurately the erroneous tendencies and combat them, whether they represent “Left” or Right errors, and we should combat neither “Left” nor Right deviations when they do not exist. In other words, inner-Party struggle should be conducted in light of actual need.

In recent years some people took certain production targets or figures as a standard by which to distinguish between Left and Right. For instance, they would consider whoever set the grain production target at 800 catties per *mu* the Left while regarding those who set it at 700 catties as representing the Right. Such judgement is wrong. We should not view specific production targets or figures as indicative of a Right or “Left” deviation. Neither should we relate problems of production skills with such deviations.

The past few years witnessed many movements. Most of the movements were launched in a rush without any official documents to serve as guidelines. A mere rumour or unconfirmed information could set a movement in motion and spread it far and wide. This is not the correct way to start a movement. We should be full of vigour and vitality; however, before performing a task or launching

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a movement, we must conduct some experiments. To promote the movement on a wider scale, we need to make preparations and work out proper measures. Moreover, we should stagger it in light of different conditions in different localities. This is of even greater importance for a large-scale mass movement. We learned it through our experience in the land reform movement. As early as at a conference of cadres from Shanxi and Suiyuan, Comrade Mao Zedong spoke in affirmative terms about the correct measures we adopted for land reform at that time. We should guide our future work and mass movements by adopting those measures, too. Our Party is well experienced in this regard. Comrade Mao Zedong often reminds us that we should fight no battle unprepared or fight no battle we are not sure of winning. This principle is applicable not only in war times, but also at present when we are fighting a war with the earth in an effort to build the country. Before starting something, we need to conduct small-scale trials and experiments, even though possible failures may be involved, in order to gain experience and be well prepared. When we say that we should “dare to think, to speak and to act,” we do not mean that we should dare to act promptly on a nationwide scale; we mean we should proceed by conducting trials and experiments on a small scale. Test everything through trial and experiment — this is the principle we must follow. Whatever we want to spread, if we know very little about it or lack experience in it, we should first test it by means of experiments and then introduce it to wider areas by stages and in groups. Therefore, whenever people want to introduce something by giving it wide publicity in the national or provincial newspapers, through radio broadcasts, or by holding a telephone conference or an on-the-spot demonstration, Party committees at central, provincial, municipal and autonomous region levels should exercise control over the matter in question and see to it that no newspapers or radio stations disseminate any unauthorized news or commentaries about it.

Now let's take a look at water-conservation projects. Our policy in this field is that most of the projects to be constructed should be small, designed for the main purpose of water storage and built by local people using their own resources. Recently implementation of this policy has caused some problems in certain localities. Indications are that the policy is impracticable at least in certain areas in spite of its probable feasibility in other localities. More investigations

and studies should be conducted to decide where this policy is applicable.

I suggest that the Central Committee and all provincial Party committees reappraise slogans that have been in use during the past few years. [Mao Zedong, “The Central Committee’s Secretariat has been doing this, but has not yet finished. The *People’s Daily*, Xinhua News Agency, the *Red Flag* magazine and the Central Broadcasting Administration Bureau ought to review their work to determine what statements have been of no benefit to the people.”] In reappraising the slogans publicized during recent years, I suggest that Party committees at prefectural and county levels first discuss them, then submit their opinions to the respective provincial Party committees, who will study and explain them before submitting their written comments and views to the Central Committee. These documents, after being endorsed by the Central Committee, will be distributed to Party committees at all levels. It is up to the Central Committee, not the local authorities, to make final, conclusive reevaluations of the slogans.

Next, let’s turn to our tasks.

In addition to production tasks for 1962, my written report outlines the ten-year goals we should work to attain from 1963 through 1972. These goals represent only tentative figures and will most likely be altered once a comprehensive, well balanced programme is formally mapped out. I wish to know whether you think these goals are too ambitious and should, therefore, be trimmed a bit. Some comrades believed they were too modest and should be upgraded, but we say there is no definite guarantee that the goals can be reached, so it would be better to keep them as is for the time being. If these goals turn out to be a bit too modest, that will give us leeway in our future endeavour to overfulfill the targets. [Mao Zedong, “One probability is that we may fail to achieve those goals.”] Those targets may turn out to be attainable, or far from attainable, or just unattainable. All these probabilities exist. We should conduct more study to bring about an overall balance.

Now I should like to talk about the relationship between production targets and the people’s enthusiasm for work. Some comrades maintain that a high production target boosts people’s morale. They argue that the higher the production target, the greater the enthusiasm aroused among the people, whereas low production targets stimulate no enthusiasm at all. Does their argument hold water? I agree that production targets do have a certain impact on people’s enthu-

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siasm, but we cannot say that people's enthusiasm grows in direct proportion to increases in production targets. I don't think production targets are decisive in stimulating people's enthusiasm. There have been cases in recent years in which people worked very hard although the production quotas assigned them were low, and there were also cases in which people's enthusiasm subsided because the production goals were set too high for them to achieve. Therefore, production targets should be realistic and attainable. Reasonable targets are ones that can be fulfilled or overfulfilled through earnest effort. Only such targets can inspire people with an enduring enthusiasm.

There are two types of enthusiasm for work: that of cadres and that of the masses. What is now causing us much concern is not the cadres' enthusiasm, but that of the masses. Without the latter, the former alone can help accomplish nothing. The same holds true in reverse, of course. However, the latter is more important. With state power in our hands, we can convene a 7,000-participant conference. Under these favourable conditions, it will not be difficult to boost people's morale so long as our slogans are proper and our measures are practicable. The important thing is to put the people's enthusiasm to best use, not waste it, and to keep their enthusiasm from flagging — this is no easy job. However, there must be a well balanced schedule for work and rest. If we keep urging people to work into the wee hours, taking the night for the day and the moon for the sun, their enthusiasm can last only a few days. To be sure, after working day and night for several days on end, people will find it hard to sustain their enthusiasm. It is essential to keep them always in high spirits and full of vigour. Also important is proper use of their enthusiasm. For this purpose, we must avoid such folly as assigning two hundred people to a task that can be undertaken by just one hundred. A sensible approach is to have one hundred people busy working on the task while the other hundred enjoy a sound sleep so as to take over the job after a good rest. How can we warrant the assignment of two hundred people to a job that requires only one hundred? During recent years, much of the people's energy has been wasted, instead of being used efficiently. That was a very grave mistake. No wonder some comrades worry whether we can once again call upon the people to demonstrate their enthusiasm to the full. Their worry merits our careful consideration, because we know that people were frustrated or deeply frustrated in some localities when their enthusiasm and energies were squandered

during the past few years. To rekindle their enthusiasm, we have to make a thoroughgoing criticism of ourselves in the presence of the masses, promote full democracy among the people and carefully analyse our experience and lessons. We should also hold discussions with the masses and formulate really workable measures. An important lesson we have learned in recent years is that particular attention should be paid to the economical use and preservation of the people's enthusiasm once it has been aroused. Since that isn't an easy job, we should explore the best ways of doing it.

One of our tasks for 1962 is to draw up a set of rules and regulations for improvement in the fields of industry, agriculture, commerce, culture, education, military affairs, the government and the Party, so that our work in all these spheres can be correctly oriented and effectively handled.

#### STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM AND UNIFIED, CENTRALIZED LEADERSHIP

A detailed discussion of this issue can be found in my written report. Here I should like to focus on two points.

First, the relationship between the practice of democratic centralism and the shortcomings and mistakes in our work.

Democratic centralism is the fundamental system for our Party and state. This is clearly stipulated in the Party and state constitutions, so we should adhere to it in the performance of our work. Regrettably, however, we have committed a lot of errors organizationally during the past few years, because we imposed certain too arduous, impracticable economic and political tasks and adopted various organizational measures to tackle these tasks in disregard of all possible consequences. These errors should, for the most part, be attributed to our failure to adhere to the principle of democratic centralism when performing our duties in state institutions or conducting activities in Party or mass organizations. For example, many leading members failed to promote sound democratic practice and arrange for the masses and cadres to participate in the final decision on tasks by holding earnest, not superficial, discussions in light of practical possibilities. Furthermore, these leading members conducted unwarranted or extremely severe criticism and struggle among the masses and

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cadres, resulting in a confusion of right and wrong, a crackdown on democracy and fear among the people and cadres to say what was in their minds. Consequently, democracy was jeopardized to a certain extent in state institutions and Party and mass organizations. Under such circumstances so-called centralized leadership is sure to run counter to the people's wishes and thus lack popular support. Leadership of this type cannot avoid making grave mistakes. Our failure to adhere strictly to democratic centralism has, indeed, something to do with our mistakes in our work over the past few years.

Proletarian dictatorship, namely, people's democratic dictatorship, concerns both the people and their enemies, because it involves the practice of democracy among the people and the exercise of dictatorship over the people's enemies. The system of proletarian democratic centralism can be practised only among the people, with their enemies excluded. Some comrades confuse proletarian dictatorship, that is, people's democratic dictatorship, with proletarian democratic centralism, failing to draw a clear-cut distinction between the two different concepts. That is why in their dealings with the people or when tackling problems among the people, these comrades often ignore the necessity of practising democracy among the people, using democratic and persuasive means and acting in accordance with the principle whereby the minority is subordinate to the majority. Instead, they often resort to means of dictatorship and adopt compulsory and coercive measures; they exercise dictatorship not only over the people's enemies, but also over the people themselves sometimes. Thus, they often, consciously or unconsciously, pit themselves against the people. Democratic centralism of the proletariat represents the most extensive type of democracy, because it is a democracy enjoyed by the people, a democracy that encompasses over 90 per cent of the entire population. This type of democratic centralism combines a high degree of centralism with a high degree of democracy, with the former serving as a guide for the latter, which in turn serves as a basis for the former. To strictly practise democratic centralism within the Party and among more than 90 per cent of the population is a method of seeking truth from facts, a working method of following the mass line and a method of conducting investigation and study. Of course, even so we may still make some mistakes, because the majority of the people and Party members may sometimes be mistaken. However, so long as we adhere to democratic centralism, we may avoid errors, because, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the practice of democrat-

ic centralism makes it possible for the majority of the people and Party members to avoid mistakes and be correct on most occasions. And even if mistakes are made by the leading authorities together with the majority of people and Party members, it will be easier to identify and correct them in good time.

It follows that so long as we strictly adhere to the principle of democratic centralism and practise democracy sufficiently among our Party members and the people, consulting them by organizing careful discussions of tasks before arriving at any decisions, we can avoid imposing economic and political tasks that may prove too heavy or impracticable. And even if we set forth such tasks, the majority of Party members, cadres and people will surely refuse to accept or will vote against them. Thus they will help us discover and correct errors in time. For instance, if we had encouraged Party members, cadres and people to hold earnest discussions and make their own choice, the majority would never have expressed their approval of so high a target as several thousand catties per *mu* for grain production or agree to establish communal canteens. So, it is only when we imposed too heavy tasks and violated, or even trampled upon, the system of democratic centralism — that is to say, when we made both political and organizational mistakes and excessively used arbitrary orders and coercive measures — that we committed serious errors in specific endeavours and failed to correct these errors until recently. This is an important lesson for us to draw from our experience over the past few years.

Comrades, let's consider these questions: If our Party didn't practise democratic centralism among its members and the people but instead resorted to arbitrary orders and compulsory measures, what kind of political party would it become? What kind of political regime would our state become? What differences would remain to distinguish our Party from the Kuomintang or distinguish our people's democratic dictatorship, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat, from that of the bourgeoisie? How could we make sure there would be no change in the character of both our Party and the state? To ward off such dangers, it is imperative for our Party and the state to stop the wrong practices completely and without delay. To this end, we need to adhere strictly to the principle of democratic centralism and stop issuing arbitrary orders and reject coercive measures among the people in all localities, departments and work units.

Second, the need to strengthen the central authorities' unified and

centralized leadership and make the best of the initiative of local authorities.

On the one hand, we need to improve unified, centralized leadership at the central level; on the other, we need to boost, not dampen, the local authorities' enthusiasm. The two should be combined. State and local plans must harmonize, promoting, not impeding, each other. If uncoordinated, state and local plans could retard each other. There have been cases of local plans clashing with and obstructing state plans, but there have also been cases in which state plans were so rigid that they hindered local plans. Therefore, it is necessary to incorporate local and departmental plans into unified state plans. No local or departmental plans should be independent of state plans, still less should they be placed above state plans. All localities, departments and enterprises must send in truthful reports about the variety and quantity of their products and the exact amount of goods and materials in their warehouses. Falsified reports are not allowed. This should be viewed as law. The past few years have witnessed a relaxation of law enforcement in this regard. From now on, all Party members concerned should pledge both their Party spirit and their Party membership as a guarantee that they will never make false reports. In addition, there should be legal regulations forbidding people to submit false reports and prescribing punishment for those who do. All localities, departments and enterprises should send in truthful reports about the variety and exact quantity of the products they have turned out and about the kinds and actual amounts of materials kept in their warehouses. Neither understatement nor overstatement shall be allowed.

All comrades, no matter in what localities, departments or enterprises, should co-operate with one another heart and soul in order to draw up truly feasible state, local and departmental plans. They should work together single-mindedly, not half-mindedly, or of two minds. Some comrades are half-minded, or of two minds. That explains the absence of a general concentration on the nation's "economic chessboard"; some people focus their attention solely on their local "chessboards." Of course, we ourselves, the central authorities, have failed to take good care of the nation's "economic chessboard" during the last few years. For example, we set unduly high economic targets and ordered the accomplishment of production tasks while providing few or no materials. That was not the right thing to do. The central authorities will correct these mistakes. If in future we,

the central authorities, repeat those mistakes, you can voice your disapproval and criticize us. However, all of us must be of one heart and one mind, report exact figures and work with concerted effort. Otherwise we cannot map out unified state plans that are really feasible and have a universal binding force or local and departmental plans that fit in well with state plans and are truly workable. Central departments will give thoughtful consideration to the accomplishment of local plans on condition that these plans are incorporated into state plans. No plans are to be drawn up outside the framework of state plans. In the course of carrying out the plans, no one shall be allowed to give priority to local or departmental plans in total disregard of state plans. We must admit that similar wrong practices did occur in some localities, departments and enterprises during the past few years. We should bring such practices to a halt if they still exist. The central authorities should correct the mistakes they themselves have committed and the localities, departments and enterprises for their part should correct the mistakes they have made. Only by working with one heart and one mind and with concerted effort, charting workable programmes and bringing them to fruition can we propel our cause forward. All our cadres face a test in this regard — a test as to whether they are truly and unswervingly, or insincerely and hypocritically, dedicated to the building of socialism.

The planning commissions at all levels should be strengthened. The principle leading member of a Party committee should take care of the work of the planning commission.

The localities, departments and enterprises have their own supply and marketing agencies. These agencies are performing necessary and useful services and should continue their business. However, some are interfering with the execution of state plans, because a huge proportion of their business has gone beyond state plans. The central and local governments should jointly study the matter and make a unified readjustment.

Here I should like to raise an issue for your consideration, that is, the correct adjustment of relationships within the framework of ownership by all the people, because ownership by all the people has suffered infringement or damage. There are cases in which ownership by all the people has been turned into ownership by a particular locality — such as a city or a county — or into ownership by a certain department, enterprise or even by a small group. There are also cases

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in which ownership by all the people has been mixed up with collective ownership. Worse still, there are even cases in which ownership by all the people has been turned into ownership by an individual or even into capitalist ownership. As Communist Party members and Marxist-Leninists, we should safeguard ownership by all the people heart and soul; under no circumstances should we tolerate the existence or expansion of localized ownership, such as ownership by a city or a county, or ownership by a certain department, enterprise or small group.

Some comrades ask, "If the people of a certain county have worked hard for a number of years and have built a few factories that have gone into operation and are earning money, who should claim ownership of these factories, the county or all the people?" Our answer is that they should belong to all the people. The assets of the factories should be owned by all the people, the state should exercise control over their products, and a proportion of their profits should be turned over to the state treasury. Will this dampen the enthusiasm of local authorities and people? In our opinion, the county deserves commendation because, by dint of hard work, it has succeeded in building a number of factories and has thus contributed to the state and socialist construction. Nevertheless, the right to distribute the factories' products should go to the state and profits must be turned over to the state treasury. No locality or department can claim ownership of a factory it has built. It is not permitted to turn ownership by all the people into ownership by a certain locality. Locally run enterprises are not to be regarded as enterprises owned by a certain locality, but as enterprises owned by all the people whose management has been entrusted by the state to local authorities. For the benefit of all the people, all local authorities should see to it that these enterprises are well managed. [Mao Zedong, "Local interests also need to be taken into consideration."] Of course, in matters concerning the distribution of products and the turnover of profits, the state should take into account the interests and needs of the localities. For a certain period in the past, some localities gained no benefit at all, because no sooner had they built a few factories and begun earning some money than the central departments took away all their profits. That won't do. The right approach is to delegate the power of management to authorities at different levels. To ensure efficient management of enterprises, local authorities should proceed from the overall interests of both the country and the people, not from a purely local standpoint.

This principle applies not only to the management of enterprises, but to the management of all undertakings in the fields of culture, education and public health and to scientific research as well.

Local initiative and enthusiasm are indispensable, but they must dovetail with the unified, centralized leadership of the central authorities.

How are we to strengthen unified, centralized leadership and combat decentralism? Some comrades worry about that. In my written report I stressed the need to analyse our experience, enhance our political awareness and conscientiously ensure unified execution of Party policies and state plans. We need to adopt a true-to-fact attitude in making self-criticism. There is now universal fear about the possible adoption of ruthless struggle, because that could result in quite a number of comrades being labelled as pursuers of decentralism. In inner-Party struggle we must forbid the use of that method not only at present but also in the years to come. Some people resorted to this method in the past, but it proved to be wrong — too fierce and too rude for inner-Party struggle. Of course, we must struggle against those who commit crimes of embezzlement, theft, speculation and profiteering, but under normal circumstances our methods for inner-Party struggle should be designed to serve the purpose of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient and achieving solidarity by following the formula of “unity-criticism-unity”. With the exception of a handful of persons engaged in embezzlement and theft against the law and discipline, people who have committed errors of decentralism should not be subjected to sanctions so long as they resolve to mend their ways. No disciplinary measures should be taken against those who confess to having purposely falsified or held back statistics. From now on, no one should withhold information about material supplies or purposely submit false statistics; otherwise, he shall be punished severely according to Party discipline and state laws.

There is no need to conduct struggle against decentralism among rank-and-file Party members or among cadres who are not divorced from production. A general education in the significance of the struggle will be enough for them. [Mao Zedong, “No struggle should be waged in areas where no cases of decentralism have occurred.”]

For every Communist Party member whether he asserts decentralism is a yardstick by which to judge whether he is really dedicated to socialism. If he still clings to decentralism, hides facts from the

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Party, behaves dishonestly and continues to present false reports, he will prove himself not a staunch Communist or a man with a determined commitment to socialism.

### PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE PARTY

In my written report I discussed matters concerning the Party: seeking truth from facts, the mass line and inner-Party life. Since Comrade Deng Xiaoping will elaborate on these questions,<sup>185</sup> here I should just like to talk about two points.

First, the question of seeking truth from facts.

It is very important to follow the principle of seeking truth from facts. To do so, we need to conduct investigation and study, fully develop democracy both within the Party and among the people, and proceed from actual possibilities when mapping out policies, programmes and measures.

To uphold the truth, we must have courage; otherwise, we shall not dare to do so. For fear of being attacked, some people, although aware of how things actually stand, dare not speak the truth. They dare not say something is black, even though they really believe it is; they dare not say something is white, although they know it to be unmistakably so. Lacking courage, these people are sometimes compelled to make some untruthful remarks. Another category of people think that if they seek truth from facts, they will then have to acknowledge their mistakes, make self-criticism and undergo criticism. So, for fear of loss of face, they dare not admit truth and facts. A considerable number of people working in the economic field have done such things as withholding information about their economic operations and requesting more materials than necessary while reporting less than the actual amounts of various resources at their disposal. There are also people who, in order to pursue their private interests, purposely present false reports, exaggerate their own achievements, hide information, withhold others' letters and retaliate against those who dare to speak the truth. Far more serious than refusal to seek truth from facts, their mistakes are an outright violation of discipline and law.

In the past some honest people suffered because they had spoken the truth, whereas some dishonest people benefited from behaving dishonestly. This has given Party cadres the impression that honest people are always at a disadvantage, whereas those fond of grabbing

everything nice, hiding facts and telling lies are often in an advantageous position. This is a false and weird impression. It should not be allowed to spread among either Party members or the people. Rather, we should disprove and explode such notion. Is it true that people who are honest and speak the truth will land in unfavourable straits, while the dishonest and lying will suffer nothing? [Mao Zedong, "They will bring trouble on themselves sooner or later."] It is my conviction that honest people who care little about their personal losses will, in the long run, not find themselves in a disadvantageous situation, because their self-denying acts will, without fail, come to the notice of comrades in the Party and the people, who will accordingly develop great confidence in these good comrades. In contrast, dishonest people and self-styled "clever fellows", who fear any personal disadvantage, will end up in deplorable straits, because their long habit of telling lies will cause the Party and people to distrust them.

Now I should like to give a word of advice to those who are faint-hearted and prone to make untruthful remarks under pressure. Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out that to uphold the truth and adhere to and speak what is true and right, one should have no fear of five things — namely, of being dismissed from office, expelled from Party membership, divorced by one's wife [Mao Zedong: "In the case of a female, that would mean fearless of being divorced by one's husband"], put in jail and beheaded. Once having no fear of these things, you will dare to speak, to act according to and persevere in what is true and right. I have been talking about the need of courage in order to seek truth from facts. What kind of courage do I mean? Well, I mean exactly the "five things one should have no fear of". When you have no fear of these things, what is there on earth will you be afraid of? So, we should speak the truth and seek truth from facts. That is what we mean by "upholding the truth."

Leaders and leading organs at all levels should make sure that those who speak the truth and perform their work honestly do not suffer a disadvantage, and they themselves should trust and praise them. As for those who are given to telling lies and submitting false reports, they should not trust them but should criticize them or, when necessary, punish them. Only by adopting such a policy can they change the weird impression within the Party and among our comrades and show that honest people are not at a disadvantage and the so-called clever fellows who like to tell lies are bound to come to grief.

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This is the way we hope they will act. But what if some of them refuse to do so? Well, with so many Party members and cadres, we can find a way to deal with them. For example, at Party meetings we can criticize them or adopt resolutions urging them to correct their mistakes and implement the correct policies. There are people who, lacking adequate information, have made inaccurate assessments and expressed views contrary to fact, but this should not be regarded as telling lies. The problem with these people is their failure to conduct adequate investigation and study. So, before making any statement, they should painstakingly investigate and study the matter in question to gain a clear understanding.

No leading organs shall be allowed to retaliate against people who express views differing from theirs. There are provisions about this in the Party Constitution. People who hold different views should be allowed to say all they want to say. Even if a man is saying something wrong, you must not stop him. And even if in the end he still doesn't agree with the views of the majority, he should be permitted to retain his own views. Over the past few years some Party organizations repeated the error of excessive struggle as had been made on three occasions in the past when the "Left" line predominated in the Party.<sup>99</sup> All Party organizations that have made such mistakes over the past few years must set them to rights. They should wage no such struggle in future and should follow the regular methods of inner-Party struggle long established in our Party.

Now I'd like to turn to the contradiction between tasks and policies.

What's to be done if the tasks assigned by leading organs at higher levels are at variance with the policies formulated by the Party and government? Some comrades maintain that if they are to accomplish the tasks, they cannot implement the policies, or, conversely, if they want to implement the policies, they will be unable to fulfill the tasks. It's true that we have formulated very good policies, but these policies are put on the shelf whenever we are hard-pressed by heavy tasks. This is an important question and should be solved correctly.

There have been cases in which leading organs imposed too many tasks and, worse yet, the organs demanded their quick achievement. In such cases, the leading organs should curtail the tasks and allow more time for their accomplishment. In addition, they should bear the policies in mind when assigning tasks. That is to say, they should have the tasks accomplished and the policies carried out at the same

time, overlooking neither. This should be done even if there is a certain contradiction between the tasks and policies. Of course, it is not easy to do so. But past experience has demonstrated that those who follow the mass line and explain things satisfactorily to the masses can usually do a good job in implementing the policies and accomplishing the tasks, whereas those who do the opposite usually fail in this regard.

Other comrades maintain that when the tasks are found to be at odds with the policies, one need only carry out the latter, not the former. No, that won't do. Nor is it permissible to attend to the tasks to the neglect of the policies. Neither is dispensable — that, of course, presents a difficult problem. Comrades, why do we choose to be Communists if we are not prepared to cope with difficulties? There are always difficulties for Communists to tackle. Can there possibly be Marxist-Leninists who never encounter difficulties?

Take the state purchase of grain, for example. There is now a disparity — a very great disparity — between the total amount of grain needed by the state and the amount the peasants are willing to sell. According to the peasants' wishes, they want to have their stomachs satiated before selling their surplus grain to the state. In that case, all of us and the workers, teachers, scientists and other urban residents will have nothing to eat. With these people starving, the nation's industrialization will be out of the question, our army will have to be cut back and the building of national defence will be impossible. True, during the past few years we have launched too many industrial projects and recruited too many workers and government employees. We must be determined to curtail their numbers. Already last year we reduced the urban population by thirteen million, including nearly ten million workers and office staff. A further curtailment of some seven million, including five million workers and office staff, will be made in the first half of this year. In spite of this measure, the state still needs to purchase at least 40 million tons of grain. [Zhou Enlai, "The required amounts will be from 44 to 44.5 million tons."] What can we do? If we purchase grain from overseas and use grain from capitalist countries to fill our stomachs, none of us will be happy. Nevertheless, it remains necessary for us to buy a certain amount from other countries. And we have planned to import four million tons this year. That means the state still has to purchase the remaining 40 million tons at home. Obviously, the peasants will be reluctant to sell so much. Hence the contradiction between the need to purchase

40 million tons of grain and the need to carry out the policy of taking care of the peasants' interests. To resolve this contradiction, we need to explain to the peasants the significance of the grain purchase and raise their political awareness, so that they will be willing to offer more grain for sale to the state. We should drive it home to them that unless they sell as much surplus grain as needed, the urban residents will starve and, consequently, no progress can be made in industrial development or in the reinforcing of national defence — a situation that can have an adverse impact on agriculture. So, the peasants have to consume less and sell more grain to the state. This, together with the purchases from foreign countries, will help solve the problem of grain supplies.

In this sense, the task of purchasing 40 million tons of grain is itself a policy, but this policy is somewhat at variance with the policy of attending to the peasants' interests. To harmonize the two and find a unified solution, we should, in addition to enhancing the peasants' political awareness, adopt some practical measures. [Mao Zedong, "Measures such as increasing production and growing more vegetables to be used as substitutes for staple food."]

Problems similar to grain purchase have cropped up with respect to other tasks. One solution is to modify tasks that have proved impracticable. However, in order to serve the people's long-range, overall interests, we should do everything in our power to achieve all goals that can be achieved through hard work. This must, however, be coupled with implementation of our policies. To do so, we have to overcome a host of difficulties. Comrades, as Communists and cadres, we should learn to accomplish such difficult tasks. In other words, we should succeed in both accomplishing the tasks and implementing the policies. We have all expressed the desire to "aim high," have we not? This is a high aim. If people are concerned only with fulfilling tasks and not bothering to carry out policies, they can't be described as "aiming high." [Mao Zedong, "They are people contented to stay middling."] As for people who think only about implementing the policies and fail to accomplish the tasks, they shouldn't be regarded as "aiming high" either; rather, they should be dubbed as persons contented to stay middling or even backward. People who are really aiming high and going all out are those who do a good job in implementing the policies and fulfilling the tasks, thus properly resolving the contradiction. As a result, the masses feel satisfied and their political awareness is heightened. So far as "aiming high" is

concerned, there will be a lot more high aims to attain in the days to come and it will be much more difficult to do so. In the past it was easy to aim high simply by working round the clock for several days on end, not caring whether it was daylight or moonlight. To “aim high” in fulfilling tasks and implementing policies, however, will require that we have true competence and a genuine grasp of Marxism, follow the mass line, seek truth from facts and adopt a responsible attitude towards the Party and the people. Only this kind of height-scaling efforts deserve to be rewarded.

Comrades, it is now twelve years since the founding of the People’s Republic of China and four years since the start of the Great Leap Forward in 1958. We have done a great deal of work over the years and scored tremendous achievements, although there have been many shortcomings and mistakes. On the one hand, we have great successes while, on the other hand, we have suffered considerable losses. Nevertheless, we have gained a wealth of experience and have become wise, prudent and strong rather than stupid, reckless and weak. After summing up our experience and arriving at a unanimous understanding, all cadres and comrades of our Party should co-operate closely, with one heart and one mind. We shall muster all the resources of the country, including manpower and material and financial resources, and under the leadership of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong overcome all difficulties and forge ahead victoriously.

## WHAT, FINALLY, IS THE PRESENT ECONOMIC SITUATION?

*May 11, 1962*

I agree with the speeches delivered by Comrades Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping and some other comrades.<sup>186</sup> In my view, the report by the Financial and Economic Group of the Central Committee is good and it can be issued after revision.<sup>187</sup> If you have additional suggestions to make, please write them down today and give them to Comrade Yang Shangkun.<sup>188</sup>

The Financial and Economic Group has drawn up a readjustment plan for 1962. It seems that some of the targets cannot be attained. Since 1958 we have been readjusting our plans every year, lowering the targets each time; the targets were usually set high at the beginning of the year and had to be made lower by the end of the year. Only in 1960 was the target for steel output raised — from eighteen million tons to twenty million, and it was not achieved in the end. Now we are readjusting the targets for 1962. Comrades, shall we stop doing this sort of thing and set low targets from the outset? We have been setting high targets for so many years; shall we have a change and set low targets just for one year? I suggest we make future plans this way: set low targets so that they can be overfulfilled; balance the targets in the light of the amounts of products in short supply, not products in excess supply, and leave some leeway for overfulfillment of the plan. We have been “Left” for so many years; let us be “Right” for a change. The defect of setting high targets has been there all along; it is time we get rid of it this year.

What, finally, is the present economic situation? I should say the situation is quite difficult. Taken as a whole, the economic situation

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Speech delivered at the working conference of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

is not excellent but difficult. In some regions it is relatively good, but that's only part of the picture. I think we should make this point clear to cadres. We have been boasting of an excellent situation for so many years, so it is hard to acknowledge that it is not excellent but difficult now. This time we have to say so. When you go back, please let the secretaries of the provincial Party committees know the true situation, so that they can tell others. If you do not speak out, they cannot.

At the enlarged working conference of the Central Committee<sup>189</sup> I remarked that the hardest times had already passed. Now everybody seizes on that remark. Have the hardest times really passed? In some areas, yes, but I am afraid we should say in the cities and in the industrial field the hardest times have not yet passed, since twenty million city dwellers have to go to the countryside, industrial production will continue to decline and no progress will be made in capital construction. Therefore, we should make an analytical explanation so that the cadres can accept it and the masses can understand it. If we just say the hardest times have already passed, people will not be convinced. "If the hardest times have passed, why do you want to reduce more urban residents and close down more factories? What has caused all this?" You should explain this problem clearly to comrades; it is not good to do otherwise.

Generally speaking, the present political situation is good. That is to say, our Party is united and so are our people. However, the economy is the foundation. If the economic situation is not good, can the political situation remain good? If the foundation is not solid, the political situation may take a turn for the worse under difficult circumstances. Therefore, we should be highly vigilant.

Have we taken full account of our difficulties? I think we have. However, it is possible that we have failed to make an adequate estimate of certain specific difficulties and that some unexpected difficulties may arise — this we must be prepared for. There are no more than three possibilities in people's estimation of difficulties: adequate estimation, overestimation and underestimation. I don't think there is much danger in overestimating difficulties. If we estimate many difficulties and it turns out that there are not that many, so much the better, and there is no danger involved. However, there will be danger in underestimating the difficulties. We have been bogged down in a passive position for many years just because we underestimated the difficulties. Which is more dangerous, overestimation or underesti-

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mation? Comparatively speaking, the latter is more dangerous. So far there is no danger of loss in work from overestimation of difficulties; in future there may be. However, the main danger at present is still underestimation of difficulties. We should take full account of present difficulties and prepare mentally for unexpected ones. We must be ready to face up to difficulties and overcome them. Otherwise, it will be dangerous. He who makes a full estimate of difficulties, fears none of them and marches ahead stalwartly is a brave man. He who denies the existence of difficulties cannot be regarded as brave. The revolutionary spirit of Party members is demonstrated in their mettle to make a full estimate of difficulties, straighten their backs and march ahead under the most trying circumstances. I think this is the spirit revolutionaries and Marxists should have. Whoever underestimates hardships and takes it easy himself is no Marxist.

We have decided to reduce the urban population by twenty million — this is a manifestation of courage, too. Now in some factories, government departments, schools and hospitals quite a few people have requested to return to the countryside, but their organizations do not allow them to do so, being afraid that they would find nobody to replace them. But they should let people go by all possible means. Of course, they should do it at the right moment, that is, when they have found replacements. However, they can let those whose departure will not affect the work a great deal go first. For this matter we need strong determination and quick action, but we should go about it systematically and discriminatingly, not at one fell swoop.

We should heed the measures taken to reduce students in schools, ensuring there are no disturbances in big cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Wuhan, Shenyang, Harbin and Guangzhou. Of course, we should pay attention to small and medium-sized cities as well; no disturbances should occur there either. We must try our best to avoid or minimize them. At the same time, we should be mentally and organizationally prepared for them, or great ones. Without preparation we are likely to land ourselves in a passive position if anything happens. If we do our mass work thoroughly and explain things clearly, I believe the masses will be convinced. On the one hand, we should be prepared for any disturbances that may arise; on the other hand, we should yet realize that the political awareness of students in our country is relatively high. So long as we explain things clearly, they can easily be convinced. The worst thing would be we refuse to give a clear explanation — that the students wouldn't have. The matter

needs elaborate explanations, and leading cadres should take care of this work themselves. Explanations should first be made among cadres, within the Party, then among the masses. At the same time Party and government leaders should make self-criticisms to the masses. In short, we should do mass work in an extensive and deep way, so that our thinking and action and those of the masses will be unified.

In order to overcome difficulties and readjust and reorganize our national economy, staff members in all Party and government departments should work diligently. People in industrial and transport departments in particular should work most diligently. People working in industrial departments cannot relax on the grounds that agriculture is our current focus. No, comrades, you cannot do that! Instead, you should work more diligently; otherwise we shall not be able to overcome difficulties, readjust or reorganize our national economy.

We should take immediate action to reduce the urban population by twenty million and readjust our national economy. Headquarters should be established in each province and city to keep each other informed of latest developments and of how things stand. It is essential to deal with matters promptly wherever they arise. Many matters cannot be handled solely by the teams in charge of reducing the urban population, because they involve not only population reduction but also economic readjustment. As I understand, it is more difficult to reduce the urban population by twenty million than it was to undertake the Great Leap Forward and it calls for great competence to accomplish readjustment and population reduction. In the course of readjustment, it is necessary to heighten people's sense of discipline. Under the present exceptional circumstances we cannot afford to be slack in our work, ignore the overall situation or have no unity within the Party, no concerted action or no unanimity in our thinking.

Are we passive when we reduce the urban population by so much, close down so many factories and lower the targets? I don't think so. By curtailing the industrial front our purpose is to strengthen the agricultural front. Only in this way can we prevent the current economic situation from worsening, regain the initiative and continue to progress. In my view, these are the most positive measures we can take at the moment.

In short, we have two central tasks at present, as are mentioned by Comrade Deng Xiaoping: in the cities to readjust the economy and reduce the population and in rural areas to consolidate the pro-

duction teams. Some teams are stable, some are wavering and some have already disintegrated. If we do not keep tabs on the distribution of the summer and autumn harvests this year, more production teams will disintegrate next year, so this matter is also pressing. Competent cadres should be sent to the countryside to help strengthen the leadership of production teams and form leading cores. Some production teams already have leading cores, some are in the process of forming them, and some simply do not have any. Working teams should be sent to the countryside to help with production. It is hard to send this type of cadre; we cannot undertake the task in a slapdash manner. Without training, members of the working teams cannot do a good job in the countryside. Therefore, we should be prudent in selecting cadres and should have them trained before they are dispatched. Members of provincial Party committees should divide the work, with some in charge of industrial readjustment and population reduction in cities and the rest in charge of work in rural areas. Both central tasks are urgent, and neither can be dispensed with.

At the enlarged working conference of the Central Committee I said that Party committees of each province, prefecture and county should sum up the experience gained over the past twelve years, particularly over the past four years. I should now like to add another point, that is, all central departments and mass organizations should also sum up their experience, both positive and negative, gained in their work over the past twelve years and consider how to do their work well in the future. Some important enterprises should sum up their experience as well. We should encourage our cadres to use their brains and study conscientiously. The experience gained over the past few years is extremely important and we should not forget or neglect it. Without a systematic analysis of experience and debates about it, we cannot acquire a profound understanding of the experience and lessons of the past few years.

In short, our future is still bright. The sky is not overcast and it will not fall down; things are not in a complete mess. However, if there are dark sides to things, we must admit it and analyse the situation according to the principle of seeking truth from facts. To be sure, it will not remain dark just because we admit that we have difficulties, defects and mistakes in our work and that we haven't scored many achievements; it will turn bright. Taken as a whole, the readjusted Third Five-Year Plan<sup>190</sup> represents a campaign in our socialist con-

struction. The Second Five-Year Plan is a campaign and the Third Five-Year Plan is another campaign. Tactically, we should take difficulties seriously, but strategically we should despise them. The two approaches do not contradict with each other. Compared with the enormous difficulties we Party members and revolutionaries have surmounted over the years, the difficulties facing us now are nothing. I am convinced that we have the ability to overcome them gradually through a period of hard work.

THE WORK OF PUBLIC SECURITY, THE  
PROCURATORATE AND THE JUDICIARY  
AND THE CORRECT HANDLING OF  
CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE

*May 23, 1962*

Today I should like to discuss this draft. After you have finished the summary report, you should submit it to the Secretariat of the Central Committee for discussion and approval, before the Central Committee distributes it to lower levels, making clear the principles and policies to be followed in the years to come.

The main lesson we should draw from our mistakes in public security, procuratorial and judicial work over the past few years is that we mixed up two types of contradictions differing in nature by mistaking our own people for the enemy and attacking too many of them. In other words, we were so careless and sloppy that we failed to draw a clear, strict and meticulous distinction between those contradictions. In the meantime, we also failed to distinguish strictly between the two different methods for handling those contradictions respectively. Contradictions among the people should be handled only by the democratic methods of persuasion, criticism and self-criticism. Coercion can be applied only to contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. These two methods are fundamentally different from each other. It should be emphasized that the two types of contradictions should be handled by two different methods. Our main mistake over the years has been to handle contradictions among the people the way we coped with contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. It is utterly wrong to deal with the problems of our own people, the

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Gist of a talk to the Central Public Security, Procuratorial and Judicial Group, which was drafting the "Summary Report on Public Security, Procuratorial and Judicial Work Since 1958".

problems of the working people, the way we exercise dictatorship over the enemy. This is not the method to be adopted by the Communist Party but by the Kuomintang that sits on the backs of the people and puts pressure to bear on them.

It is essential to draw a clear distinction not only between the two types of contradictions but also between the two methods of handling these contradictions. Whoever fails to do so will make grave mistakes. There were times when we misjudged the nature of the contradiction, our chief mistake being to handle contradictions among the people the way we handled contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. This is the concentrated expression of the Kuomintang style in our Party and government. Trying to cope with problems among the people and even problems in the Party by antagonistic means will not resolve contradictions. On the contrary, it will aggravate those contradictions and even cause a split among the ranks of the people or the Party. This question needs more elaborate explanation.

Are public security, the procuratorate and the court meant to handle problems involving only the enemy and not the people? This idea should be carefully studied. Couldn't they also handle some contradictions among the people? With regard to the enemy, the three organs exercise dictatorship over him, but with regard to the people, they should also handle contradictions among them. As is indicated by its name, the public security bureau is in charge of public security. Who is the public? The people, of course. It is natural for the enemy to be afraid of our public security organs, but the people should not be afraid. If these organs perform their duties well, the people will like them and trust them. In the old days everybody feared soldiers, but today our people do not fear the People's Liberation Army. This is a matter of work and attitude. Provided the three organs distinguish strictly between the two types of contradictions and between the two methods of coping with them, and provided they help, educate and protect the people, the people will not be afraid of them but will like them.

It is a fact that the scope of attack has been too wide in recent years. Education through labour, a method designed to handle problems involving the people, was turned into one similar to the method used against the enemy. There should be a strict time limit to administrative detention, but many people were detained for a long time in defiance of the law. People under administrative detention, reprimand and education through labour were treated as if they were

prisoners. Some department even detained and reformed people through labour. This is unlawful and impermissible. Moreover, some leading members of Party and government departments authorized arrests at will in utter disregard of the public security bureau and the procuratorate. Even some communes, factories and construction sites made arrests as they liked. These violations of law must be stopped resolutely.

In order to narrow the scope of attack, our Party sometimes handled contradictions between the people and the enemy the way it does those among the people. This will help create a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Under no circumstances should we widen the scope of contradictions between the people and the enemy or handle contradictions among the people the way we handle those between the people and the enemy. On the contrary, we may handle contradictions between the people and the enemy the way we cope with those among the people so long as there is no danger involved.

The legal system of the proletariat is the people's democratic legal system or the socialist legal system. A legal system does not necessarily mean dictatorship. There must be a legal system among the people. Government functionaries and the masses must act within the bounds of public rules and regulations.

It is right for the court to judge cases independently, and this is prescribed by the Constitution. No Party committee or government department should interfere with the court in this connection.

The procuratorate should combat all violations of law and discipline, no matter what organs or individuals are involved.

It is not a proper statement that the public security, procuratorial and judicial organs should absolutely obey the Party committees at all levels. They can refuse to obey a Party committee if it violates the law. If decisions of a local Party committee are at variance with the law and the policies of the Central Committee, which should be obeyed? In that event, one should obey the law and the policies of the Central Committee.

While drafting this document, you should analyse experience by proceeding from reality, then raise it to a principled and theoretical plane. Wherever necessary, you should explain your point theoretically. You should avoid formulating principles only; you should pay attention to solving practical problems.

I should like to come back to the question of whether public security and the procuratorial and judicial organs can handle contradictions among the people. As a matter of fact, they have handled a great deal of such contradictions. They should not worry about people's being afraid of interference by public security organs. It is necessary that counter-revolutionaries fear such organs, but the people will like them. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat the state is also an educational institution. To enable the people to become communists, we should not merely depend on education in schools. Being instruments of dictatorship, public security, procuratorial and judicial organs are also charged with the task of educating the people and handling contradictions among them.

## STRENGTHEN LEADERSHIP AT GRASS-ROOTS LEVEL, IMPROVE STYLE OF WORK

*July 18, 1962*

Comrades,

You are fine cadres selected from the departments directly under the Central Committee and from government departments. Most of you will work with prefectural and county Party committees; the rest will go to factories. Comrades in the Organization Department told me that you all volunteered to go and I am very happy about this.

What will your tasks be? Perhaps they should include the following: 1) to strengthen leadership of prefectural and county Party committees and grass-roots units; 2) to implement the correct policies of the Central Committee; 3) to submit truthful report of the situation; 4) to help local Party organizations rectify certain erroneous styles of work; and 5) to consolidate collective economic undertakings and develop agricultural production. Now I'd like to discuss them one by one.

1. Strengthen leadership of prefectural and county Party committees and grass-roots units.

Our country is now experiencing difficulties. There are heaps of difficulties and problems in various places and fields of work that we are required to help overcome and solve. If work in local areas is not improved and the situation remains the same, there will be no change for the better in the work of our country and our Party as a

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Speech to cadres to be sent to different places. After the working conference of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in May 1962, the Secretariat of the Central Committee decided to send directors of departments directly under the Central Committee and of government departments and cadres at higher levels to major grain-producing areas to help strengthen leadership of the prefectural and county Party committees and grass-roots units.

whole. Therefore, in order to overcome the difficulties, we have to go to local areas to strengthen leadership at the grass-roots level. In some places the situation is good; in others it is just so-so; and in still others it is bad and the difficulties there are enormous. Where will you go, then? As I understand, you comrades are not to go to areas where work is going smoothly, but to areas where there are difficulties or areas where the difficulties are most serious. Only there are you badly needed and is it necessary for the Central Committee to send fine cadres and Party members to strengthen leadership, expedite work and bring about a change in the difficult and unfavourable situation.

You will go there to strengthen local leadership. In general you are not to replace the local leaders, but to co-operate well with the leading comrades there. You should co-operate closely with all those who can be co-operated with and who have shortcomings and mistakes but are still Communists and are willing to do their work well. You should take the initiative to unite with them and do your best to help them. It would be wrong for you to issue orders, make indiscreet remarks and pick faults here and there before you become clear about the local conditions. If you adopt this attitude, the local leaders may not co-operate with you once you start to work, or they may co-operate with you at the beginning but stop doing so later on. Therefore, you must adopt a correct attitude towards them once you are there. Whether you can stay there for long and do a good job with them depends on this. After you arrive at a place, you will surely find some shortcomings and mistakes in the work there, for which the local cadres, not you, should be held responsible. You should explain things to them patiently, helping them to arrive at a correct understanding and analyse their experience and lessons. It doesn't matter if you fail to convince them of the problems all at once; you can try a second and a third time. You will succeed gradually so long as you have a correct attitude. It often happens that success comes after effects are demonstrated objectively. Therefore, once there, you should try to co-operate closely with the local leading comrades to build up collective leadership in the local Party committees.

In Party committees, democratic centralism should be practised under which the minority is subordinate to the majority and individuals are not allowed to monopolize everything or act arbitrarily. Recently collective leadership of Party committees has been weakened. I hope you will pay attention to this problem when you are there. Whenever a major issue arises, you should consult with the local

cadres and make decisions together. Some comrades may be prudent at first, but after a period of time, when their work has proved successful and everything is smooth going, they may throw all prudence to the winds. Many comrades are likely to make such a mistake. If you are careful enough, things will go better. You should pay attention to this problem especially when your work goes smoothly. Of course, I mean all comrades, not just you. Whatever leading position you hold in a Party committee, you should try to truly practise democratic centralism and establish a genuine collective leadership within the committee, creating a situation of both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

2. Implement the correct policies of the Central Committee.

In 1960 the Central Committee formulated the “Twelve Articles”<sup>133</sup> and the following year the “Sixty Articles”.<sup>142</sup> Since the enlarged working conference of the Central Committee,<sup>189</sup> held in January this year, it has laid down many other policies, such as those of simplifying administrative structure, reducing urban population and checking warehouse stocks. It will convene another working conference at the end of July to decide on a series of policies, including policies on agriculture, commerce, and industrial support to agriculture. When a policy is needed, we should formulate it; once it has been formulated, it is important to carry it out correctly. One of the important purposes for your going is to implement the correct policies of the Central Committee. At present, many policies have been implemented, but some have not been put into effect satisfactorily. The “five unhealthy practices”,<sup>191</sup> criticized in the “Twelve Articles” and the “Sixty Articles”, have been set right in most areas but have not been eliminated in some areas. For instance, issuing of arbitrary orders, seeking of privileges and premature communization have not yet been done away with, and some policies in the “Sixty Articles” have not been carried out either. At its working conference the Central Committee decided to combat decentralism and strengthen unified, centralized leadership. This policy has taken some effect but has not been carried out conscientiously in many fields of endeavour. In commerce, for instance, some enterprises still maintain innumerable blockades and their spheres of influence. Some people believe that local enterprises are owned by their local authorities and that commercial institutions or factories located in the areas where they live belong to them, so they do not have their products distributed by the state or turn their

profits over to the state. In some areas communes and production brigades, and even county Party committees and county governments, are engaged in trade. This has always been prohibited. You have studied the policies of the Central Committee in this regard. If you haven't grasped them, I suggest you study them again. You should carry out these policies in places where you go.

In carrying out these policies, you should pay attention to local conditions, demonstrate your initiative and dynamism and avoid transplanting them mechanically to the local areas. By initiative and dynamism I mean to implement correctly and effectively the policies of the Central Committee, not to negate them. When you fail to carry out the policies of the Central Committee properly, you can't attribute it to defects of these policies or to their lack of provisions regarding the specific conditions in the areas where you work. Comrades, it is impossible for the Central Committee to lay down policies in line with the specific conditions in every county and every place. Its policies contain only general provisions. When people are to carry them out in a given area, they have to take into consideration the local circumstances, the situation, the timing, the process and the approach in order to do it appropriately. Here they need to use their brains to think these matters over. This does not mean that they can refuse to pursue the policies or oppose them or lay down a set of policies of their own, but that they should apply them concretely to the localities so that they can be implemented in the best way.

All our policies are formulated by the Central Committee, which alone has the right to make decisions on them. Your job is to implement them. You should be clear about this in your mind. Of course, some areas do have special circumstances, and you can formulate certain local policies accordingly, which need to be finalized and ratified by the Central Committee. It is impermissible to act on one's own and formulate policies without obtaining approval of the Central Committee beforehand or to formulate policies contrary to those of the Central Committee.

The reason some local authorities refuse to implement the policies of the Central Committee, adopt a half-hearted and perfunctory attitude towards them or distort them is that they want to carry out their own policies. The purpose of the Central Committee in sending you to local areas is to help them carry out its policies correctly. Comrade Mao Zedong once said that the Party's policy is the Party's life; if it is not carrying out a correct policy, it is carrying out an incorrect

one.<sup>192</sup> Of course, some policies have not yet been framed by the Central Committee and even among the policies it has formulated, some may contain inappropriate points. With regard to these policies, local authorities definitely can make suggestions after a careful study and ask the Central Committee to formulate or revise them. That is what some local Party committees that are concerned about policies and take a responsible attitude towards them have been doing. When they find that the Party has suffered great losses because some of the policies are inappropriate or wrong or have not yet been formulated, they take a positive attitude and make suggestions to the Central Committee.

Although local Party committees and governments do not formulate policies, they should study them. If they do not study them or use their brains but try to implement them mechanically, they will make blunders. There is a great difference between good, complete and practical implementation and bad, incomplete and mechanical implementation. Some people adopt a pragmatic attitude towards the Party's policies; they implement only what they need but refuse to implement or erroneously implement what they don't need. This will harm the Party's cause. One shouldn't regard the implementation of policies as something simple. It is not easy to formulate a policy, for it requires investigation and study, but it is more important to implement it. Formulating a policy undergoes a process of gathering ideas from the masses, while implementing a policy undergoes a process of carrying it down to the masses. Implementation of a policy constitutes a process of practice in which to conduct investigation and study, to understand the objective world, to discover our mistakes, to identify new problems and to formulate new policies. So the key lies in implementation and practice. The policy of the Central Committee is also a conclusion of practice, of past practice. So, if you find that local cadres carry out the policies of the Central Committee incorrectly, carelessly or inappropriately, you should express your views and argue with them. Of course, in doing so you should be friendly and choose the proper occasion in order to convince them. However, it is wrong not to air differing views on questions of policy and principle merely for the sake of unity.

### 3. Submit truthful report of the situation.

This is one of the Three Main Rules of Discipline for Party and government cadres. In recent years there have been cases of cadres' making false reports and practising deception in various ways. Of

course, such cases are not many. However, it is quite ubiquitous that cadres exaggerate successes or overstate difficulties and, suiting their superiors' expectations, report only what they want to hear. I'm afraid this unhealthy practice is prevailing in many places. I hope you will go and bring about a change in this state of affairs and put an end to the practice.

You should be very careful about figures and assessment of conditions and you should check them again and again before submitting them to higher levels. Sometimes people at higher levels were so whimsical that they wanted figures for the number of mosquitoes and flies killed. You should resist this kind of irresponsible attitude. You should report figures as they are: If they are accurate, not accurate, estimated, or statistics, just state them as they are. This is the serious and responsible attitude you should adopt.

It is not easy to report a situation accurately. If you are not clear about the actual conditions, have not investigated or studied them, get informed only through hearsay or through report provided by lower levels, and submit information and report thus obtained to your superiors, these will often be mistaken, even though you have no intention of cheating your superiors. Therefore, you should be careful about the source of information, making sure that it is reliable and the information has been verified through investigation. You should listen to comments from various quarters, especially those contrary to yours. For instance, when people differ as to the correct figure, you should do some serious investigation to find the true one. When you have discovered errors in the report of figures or conditions that has been submitted to higher levels, you should correct them without delay.

With regard to a report submitted by a local Party committee to its superiors, there may be different opinions among the committee members even though the report is a collective one that has been discussed by all the members. Those who hold different views may attach their views to the report. For instance, if you have doubts about a report and have your own views, you can write them down on a piece of paper and attach it to the report. It is absolutely normal for member of Party committees at lower levels to have different views and some controversy and to report these to their superiors, instead of withholding the fact. Besides, individual members can report conditions and their views directly to the provincial Party committees and the Central Committee. In the past some Party committees

prevented their members from doing so, maintaining that submitting reports by individual members that had not been discussed by all the Party committee members was to lodge a complaint with the Central Committee or the provincial committees. I don't think this is a healthy practice because it impairs the development of a lively atmosphere. The opinions of individual members don't have to be discussed by the Party committees. However, they can inform the Party committees that they have submitted reports or written letters to committees at higher levels. If they are not allowed to report their views to the Central Committee or provincial committees, there will be no democracy. I can write, you can write, everybody can write. Let's find out if this can be made common practice. Since you are all from central departments, you should send truthful reports to the central authorities and encourage other committee members and comrades to do the same to the provincial Party committees and the Central Committee. When everybody gets accustomed to this practice, there will be nothing strange about it. Submitting truthful reports is also a question of work style.

4. Help local Party organizations rectify certain erroneous styles of work.

Nowadays the style of hard work and plain living has been weakened to some extent and a tendency to seek privileges has been spreading. Villas, high-grade housing and ballrooms have been built in some places. Are there similar cases in the Central Committee? Yes. Where would it end if the provincial Party committees followed the example of the Central Committee, and the commune, county and prefectural Party committees all followed the example of their respective superiors! Shall we stop to rectify this tendency now? Let the Central Committee take the lead, with all the provincial, prefectural, county and commune Party committees to follow suit. Official regulations can include some special arrangements for those advanced in years, poor in health or in need of special working conditions. However, some of the things can be done only at the central level, not at the local levels. Take the Great Hall of the People, for example. It would be disastrous if such a great hall were built in every province! Similarly, only the Central Committee is entitled to some of the things that provincial Party committees are not entitled to, and only the provincial Party committees are entitled to some of the things that prefectural and county Party committees are not entitled to. So, you

should help local Party committees restore the style of hard work and plain living and put an end to the tendency to seek privileges.

Our Party is a unified party and our country is a unified country. A local Party committee is only the leading body of one part of the Party and should not regard itself as independent of it. Strengthening the unity of the Party also involves the style of work. Recently the unity of both our Party and our country has been weakened and even impaired or jeopardized in some respects. This state of affairs must change, and we should combat decentralism. Some local markets are not in line with the unified national markets. They mark off certain areas and prevent things from other localities from coming in. This is impermissible. Even the capitalist countries have unified domestic markets; otherwise they cannot develop capitalism. How can socialist countries do without unified domestic markets? They have erected numerous barriers, or man-made obstructions and barricades, acting against the objective laws governing economic development. The capitalist countries adopt high customs tariff among themselves, don't they? The measures taken by some of the local authorities are more severe than that. They do not allow products from other areas to come in or they prevent their own products from going out. This must be corrected.

In order to correct these mistakes, we need to wage struggles. I hope you will make an effort to help change certain incorrect styles of work and practices found in local Party organizations.

5. Consolidate collective economic undertakings and develop agricultural production.

At present, the collective economic undertakings of people's communes are not fully consolidated, and quite a number of such undertakings are vacillating. Peasants and even cadres in many places want to go it alone and have land distributed to individual households or output quotas fixed on a household basis. The collective economic undertakings' lack of consolidation is due to internal as well as external causes, natural disasters as well as the "five unhealthy practices" that have ravaged agricultural production, the excessive purchase of grain and other farm products by the state as well as the irrational price policies adopted by the state. By internal causes I mean that cadres fail to perform their duties faithfully and they eat or take more than their share, do not engage in physical labour and fail to apply the responsibility system, evaluate work and record work points properly. The state, on its part, has not given enough assistance.

Although it has allocated a lot of funds, the funds have not been used properly and the effects are negligible. All this has caused the instability of the collective economic undertakings. You should go and study this problem. The Central Committee is now discussing it and will soon reach some policy decisions. Those who go to rural areas and work on prefectural and county Party committees should pay special attention to the question of consolidating the collective economic undertakings. You should adopt measures and work out ways to render more benefits to commune members during distribution of this year's autumn harvest. You should see to it that less funds be put aside for accumulation this year, and the state also plans to purchase less grain, so that the peasants can get more from the collective. If distribution of this year's autumn harvest is not handled well and the peasants get nothing, more production teams will probably disband after the harvest. Therefore, this is an urgent issue.

On the one hand, you should try to consolidate the collective economic undertakings and on the other, keep tabs on production. Some people pit the collective economic undertakings against the development of production, saying these undertakings cannot serve to develop production. This view is shared by the masses and cadres from high down to grass-roots levels, including those working on provincial, prefectural and county Party committees. As a result of the "five unhealthy practices", excessive purchase of grain by the state, arbitrary orders and loss of faith in collective economic undertakings, the peasants have gained little over the past few years. Since the co-operatives increased production for a certain period of time, the drop in production over the past few years does not indicate that collective economic undertakings cannot help develop production. They can after they are organized, provided that certain conditions are met. If cadres take more than their share and do not take part in physical labour, if the responsibility system is not well implemented, and if the state does not give enough assistance but purchases too much grain from the communes — under these circumstances the collective economic undertakings surely cannot expand production.

To lead the five hundred million peasants onto the path of socialism and communism is the most important and glorious task. What could be greater or more important? It is a task of prime importance in the world, at least in present-day world, because no other country is faced with the question of five hundred million peasants. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "The serious problem is the education of

the peasantry.”<sup>193</sup> What will they be educated for? For socialism and communism. This is a very difficult task. There are so many peasants in China — five hundred million, if they do not work for socialism, how can our socialist country be consolidated?

Only large-scale farming can develop agriculture and solve the problems of agriculture and grain. This has been proved by historical experience. Large-scale farming can be either socialist or capitalist. With its large-scale capitalist agriculture the United States has succeeded in solving the problem of agriculture. France has also attached great importance to agriculture, investing heavily in it. I was told that it has been successful, too. A small-scale peasant economy, either capitalist or socialist, cannot solve the problem of agriculture because it cannot develop it greatly. Although the Soviet Union has not yet solved the problem, its agriculture is large-scale. We have the experience of the United States and of the Soviet Union to draw on, and we must create our own. We cannot imitate them mechanically, since we have our own particular circumstances. In order to solve China’s problem of agriculture, to encourage the peasants to take the socialist road and to expand production, we have to create our own experience. This is a long-term job of prime importance, requiring tremendous efforts on the part of our Communist Party and our country. Because he realized the importance of this task, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy, developing the economy in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry.<sup>140</sup> The Central Committee is going to discuss this question and the question of state assistance to agriculture. It is to fulfill this task that we are sending you to the countryside.

How should we consolidate the collective economic undertakings?

First, we should readjust the internal relationships of the collective. Too much of income is held back for the collective, there are too many cadres and too many work points are recorded for cadres as allowances. Some cadres eat or take more than their share and are given to authoritarianism. They do not run the people’s communes democratically, industriously and thriftily, nor do they make the business accounts public. These relationships should be readjusted. If the communes are truly run democratically, industriously and thriftily and the accounts are made known to the public, the commune members will be satisfied and their enthusiasm will be aroused.

Second, we should apply the principle of distribution according to

work while taking good care of families with difficulties. The responsibility system must be implemented. This system is implemented in Xinxiang County, Henan Province, where major farm work is done collectively and odd jobs are done separately by individuals. Every production team is responsible for a stretch of land and every household for a plot, and those who overfulfill the quotas are rewarded. When gathering in crops and threshing grain, they do it collectively, not separately. When they are about to harvest, they ask an experienced peasant to estimate the output. If a quota is overfulfilled, the team or the individual concerned will be rewarded. They say that the quality of farm work has improved in this way, but it is still not so good as that done by peasants on their private plots or in the days of elementary agricultural producers' co-operatives. So, I think, it is absolutely possible to practise the responsibility system, under which a household is responsible for a plot or a team for a stretch of land. The question is how to link up this system with output. It is difficult to thresh grain separately, but actual output cannot be estimated accurately unless the grain is threshed separately. Therefore, experienced peasants have to be invited to make an estimate, which is to be discussed and approved by all the peasants. We should study the question of linking up output with the responsibility system.

Third, we should develop a diversified economy. Otherwise there will be no cash available for running collective economic undertakings.

Fourth, the state should support the collective economic undertakings. This involves the amount of grain purchased by the state and the purchase price of farm produce. It also involves mechanization. Today there aren't so many agricultural machines and they cannot be produced overnight, so the most practical solution is to improve existing farm tools.

So, when you are in the countryside, you should readjust the relationships in all fields of work and undertake technical transformation of agriculture, going from improvement of farm tools to mechanization. Only when technical transformation of agriculture has produced good results, can the collective economy be consolidated.

It is a great and glorious task of our Party to administer the affairs of China's countryside well, to run the collective economy successfully and to complete the technical transformation of agriculture. We must pay great attention to agriculture if we want to bring about a favourable turn in China's economy and if we want China to develop

and industrialize. Without a developed agriculture, industrialization is hopeless.

Now we are in a time of difficulties. We should arouse the entire Party membership to overcome the difficulties in a serious and prudent manner, so as to accomplish the tremendous task of building socialism.

## DO PART WORK, PART STUDY; BE BOTH WORKERS AND PEASANTS

*August 1, 1964*

I'd like to talk about the question of two labour systems and two educational systems.

The two labour systems and the two educational systems I shall discuss are partly integrated — they are at once a labour system, an educational system and a school system. In the countryside we run part farmwork, part study schools where students cultivate the land during the busy season and study during the slack season; in factories we run part work, part study schools where students work one week and study another. We should turn these practices into regular labour and educational systems.

Under the present circumstances if we apply only one school system, that is, the current full-time school system, we cannot make education universal. I have learned that only 49 per cent of the school-age children in Shandong Province attend school and in some rural areas as many as 70 to 80 per cent of the school-age children cannot enter school. Even fewer school-age children attend school in Anhui Province. The enrollment in Jiangsu Province is bigger, representing 60 per cent of the province's total, but in the rural areas there only half are in school. So under the present system we cannot universalize education, since neither the government nor the family can afford it. If a family has four or five children going to primary school, junior middle school, senior middle school or university respectively, it will be unable to support them, whether it is an ordinary worker's or peasant's family or even the family of comrades present here today. Then, what should be done to universalize education, an education

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One of two questions discussed at an inner-Party lectures meeting convened by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

both the government and the family can afford? In addition to existing full-time schools, the only method we can adopt is to set up part farmwork, part study schools or part work, part study schools, where children on the whole can earn a living on their own and need only a little subsidies given by the government and the family. Perhaps we can make our plans like this: no more full-time schools are to be established and funds for them will not be increased; however, the government will annually increase funds to run part work, part study schools or part farmwork, part study schools. In view of current conditions and the need to universalize education, I think we must adopt this method.

In the long run, implementation of the two labour systems and two educational systems can bring about a gradual elimination of the difference between mental and manual labour. After I discussed this question in Tianjin in 1958, people there set up part work, part study schools in more than a hundred factories. Being left alone to run their own course over the past few years, most of these schools have gone out of existence. When I went back there this last time, I found seven factories were still running such schools and had graduated more than two thousand students. In Shanghai a polytechnical university has been set up where the students have twenty-four hours of class every week, out of which sixteen are taken from work time and eight from spare time. Students graduate after studying for five years. More than eight hundred students will graduate this year. Jiangxi Province has been successful in running labour colleges. There are agricultural secondary schools in Jiangsu and Guangdong provinces and engineering secondary schools in other places. They all have gained some initial experience. Their graduates are said to be fairly good, capable of doing both mental and manual labour. They can not only serve as workers or peasants, but also work in offices or research institutions; some have become technicians. I believe graduates of part work, part study technical secondary schools or colleges are a new type of people, different from us and different from present-day workers, peasants and intellectuals. They are easy of approach. Intellectuals' haughty manners are a big problem. Nowadays, ordinary students look down upon peasants when they graduate from junior middle schools and look down upon workers when they graduate from senior middle schools, and they become even more arrogant when they graduate from universities.

It will take us at least five years to gain initial experience in carrying out a new school system and ten years to gain ripe experience and spread it wide. In ten years it will be twenty-five years since our victory in the revolution. If we embark on experiment today, we shall be able to spread our experience in ten years; otherwise, we shall be able to do nothing of the sort then. Therefore, I suggest that every province and every large or medium-sized city start to run part farmwork, part study schools or part work, part study schools on an experimental basis.

In rural areas we may set up many full-time junior primary schools and apply the part farmwork, part study system at least to senior primary schools and junior middle schools. It is not enough just to set up agricultural junior middle schools; we must also set up agrotechnical secondary schools. The graduates from these schools can go home to do farm work or work on state farms or reclaim wasteland. I suggest that we make full use of the means of production on state farms to set up such schools. Graduates from these schools will attain the same level as those from technical secondary schools and they can go home and work as peasants or go and work at agrotechnical stations, animal-husbandry and veterinary stations, tractor stations, and so forth.

Factories in big and medium-sized cities can run some part work, part study engineering-technical secondary schools, from which students will graduate in four or four and a half years. Some technical schools can be transformed into part work, part study technical secondary schools that enroll junior secondary school graduates. Some technical secondary schools that have been closed down can be reopened and transformed into part work, part study schools.

I figure that, in fifty to a hundred years, 70 to 80 per cent of China's workers will be graduates from part work, part study technical secondary schools and 50 per cent of its peasants will be graduates from part work, part study agrotechnical secondary schools. After finishing their studies at these schools, they will find it easy to take up university courses, such as political science, economics and literature and art. They will be capable of doing both mental and manual labour, without much distinction between the two to be found in them, that is, the distinction will begin to disappear. They can serve as workshop or factory directors, Party committee secretaries, mayors or county magistrates. When they hold such positions, they should not withdraw totally from production, but should work in the workshop

or do farm work half the day and do office work for the other half. If we can achieve this in fifty to a hundred years, our country will be quite different from what it is today, labour productivity will have increased greatly and resistance to the elimination of the three major differences [i.e., differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between manual and mental labour — *Tr.*] will be much reduced.

Let's imagine what the labour and school systems will be like in a communist society. In such a society manual labourers (workers and peasants) will work only four or five hours a day. What will they do in their spare time? They will study, work in the office, write, sing, act in plays, do government work or map out plans. At that time there will be no professional writers, actors or painters, no full-time Party committee secretaries, factory directors, mayors, governors or president of the state. Everyone will do manual work and perform official duties in his spare time. Even the president of the country can handle official affairs in his spare time; half a day will be enough. Karl Marx conceived that children would begin to do manual work for two hours a day at the age of nine and four hours at the age of thirteen.<sup>194</sup> Since the nine- and thirteen-year-olds are school children, I take it to mean the part work, part study system. Lenin also discussed polytechnical education,<sup>195</sup> which I take to mean the same thing, whereby students would acquire one or more skills and at the same time have fairly high educational and scientific levels.

China's present educational system is not good and must be reformed. I don't mean we should close the full-time schools, which are still necessary; I mean only that they should not be increased. Instead, we should open more part work, part study or part farmwork, part study schools. Now we are doing it on an experimental basis and on a small scale. We don't want to set up many such schools all at once, only to have to close them. We should conduct experiments to gain experience before increasing the number of such schools until they become our main educational and school systems. The present full-time schools will not exist for very long, but I believe the part work, part study ones will last ten thousand years at least.

In order to make a success of the part work, part study and part farmwork, part study schools, we should set up advanced part work, part study, agricultural and polytechnical normal schools and secondary part work, part study agricultural and polytechnical normal schools. State farms, factories, secondary technical schools or universities should

be encouraged to run these normal schools and train teachers for secondary technical schools. These teachers will do part work, or part farmwork, and part teaching, that is, they will work in factories or do farm work half a day and teach the other half, so that they will not divorce themselves completely from production. We should have this new type of teachers and headmasters.

I should also like to propose a different kind of labour system, whereby peasants take part in both industry and agriculture, so that surplus labour in the countryside will be utilized. The system can be applied in rural factories, seasonally operated factories, agrotechnical stations, irrigation and drainage pumping stations, etc. Some urban factories can be moved to rural areas where there is surplus labour available. Seasonal factories in big cities can also adjust, operating one shift a day during the busy farming seasons and three shifts a day during slack seasons when peasants can come and help. Will that work? Our peasants should be trained to work with machines. Machine-building factories can recruit peasants, sending them home during the busy farming seasons and calling them back to study and work for six months during slack seasons. This will bring about many advantages: peasants can acquire technical skills in town without bringing their families along with them, and the distinction between town and country and between workers and peasants will be reduced. This will be good for individuals, the collective and the state.

I have always been against temporary workers' becoming permanent workers, but to no avail. I suggest that from now on we reduce or increase only slightly the number of permanent workers and recruit more temporary workers. Some people say that only permanent workers are regular workers and temporary workers are not. I don't think so. Temporary workers are regular workers, too. Since this definition is not in the present labour system, it should be included in it.

We must enable our workers and peasants to receive an education and attain a fairly high educational level, if we want to bring about a complete change in the appearance of our country, gradually eliminate the three major differences and have our country enter the communist society in the future.

## INSTITUTE THE LABOUR SYSTEM OF EMPLOYING BOTH PERMANENT AND CONTRACT WORKERS

*August 22, 1964*

It is for the purpose of integrating the school system with the labour system that we shall institute two educational systems and two labour systems. In addition, we shall combine the industrial labour system with the agricultural labour system, whereby people are both workers and peasants. At present we have only one labour system, under which permanent workers enjoy labour insurance and are not to be dismissed once they have been recruited; if you wish to dismiss someone, it is very difficult. I suggest we introduce more labour systems and employ as many temporary and contract workers as possible. Such workers are regular workers, too. Some factories, such as sugar refineries, cigarette factories, oil processing mills, rice husking mills, flour mills and paper mills, have always been seasonal. Workers go there when there is work to do and leave when there is no work. This used to be the case in Shanghai, Wuxi and other places, but after victory in the revolution we turned all the seasonal workers into permanent ones who work all the year round. What a dumb thing to do!

It would be disastrous if all the people working in rural factories, rural technical advice, irrigation and drainage, animal husbandry and veterinary, and tractor stations became permanent workers! They would have to be paid by the state even when there wasn't much work for them to do. They can work in the fields, too. In other words, these people can take part in both industry and agriculture.

Some factories can be moved to the countryside from the city so that they can take advantage of the surplus labour there. A new factory

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Excerpt from a speech delivered at a meeting of cadres of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.

should be located within easy access of raw materials, markets and labour. In short, a factory may be built wherever there are abundant labour resources. We have a huge population and many surplus labourers in rural areas — a factor we should make full use of. If factories are set up in the countryside, peasants will be fully occupied. This will benefit workers, peasants and the state. Japan has established many small factories in rural areas to make use of surplus labour. A great many Japanese products are made in the countryside.

It seems to me that some urban factories can also combine industry with agriculture. Take the textile mills, for instance. They could work one shift during the busy farming season and three shifts during the slack season. The same can be done in many other light industrial factories as well as machine-building plants. When peasants come to work in these factories during slack farming seasons, they can work three shifts round the clock instead of one or two shifts. That way they won't have to worry about completion of the year's production quotas. The same applies to mines. The huge coal mine at Tangshan, which I know of quite well, used to employ a good many peasants during the slack farming season as temporary workers to build galleries; during busy farming seasons the peasants go home, leaving only the miners to dig and transport coal. In this way the mine maintained fairly stable production and fulfilled its production quotas. So, it can be seen that in large cities and mines a labour system designed to tap the labour potential of peasants is feasible. Moreover, it obviates the necessity for families of the peasants to move along with them to the city and allows the peasants to pick up skills. Finally, the system helps to reduce the difference between town and country.

A contract worker who has worked for a number of years can become a factory director, since he has acquired a lot of skills through several months of work every year. Thus the factory director is also engaged in both industry and agriculture. When the factory is not in operation, a deputy director can take charge. Why can't a contract worker become a cadre? Give him an education, and he will be able to. Many county Party secretaries as well as many generals come from peasant backgrounds. Since peasants can become generals and county and prefectural Party secretaries, why can't they become factory directors? We should take the position that since workers can participate in both industry and agriculture, cadres can, too. Cadres should take the lead. In one factory in Guangxi eight cadres are now work-

ing on a contract basis, aren't they? That's good. Although there are not many cadres like them, they represent the right direction.

I have been against temporary workers' becoming permanent ones, but I have failed to prevent this from happening. Consequently, we found ourselves in trouble last year and the year before last when we had to persuade workers to go down to the countryside. From now on, when we need more workers in any enterprise, we should employ more temporary workers, but few or no permanent ones. The labour insurance system also needs revision.

Some people have advocated a compulsory labour system. Working in certain mines is known to be harmful to people's health. People who work there for long will contract occupational diseases. Under a compulsory system, like military conscription, people can be recruited to work in these mines for a few years and sent back before they become ill. In other words, people rotate these jobs under this labour system.

## RUNNING TRUSTS ON AN EXPERIMENTAL BASIS

*June 1. 1965*

Are the views about whether to run trusts all identical?<sup>196</sup> It is said they are identical on the whole, but not in everything. I think it is good to have different views. What we need is to have all the views expressed and all the problems brought out into the open. It is normal to have different opinions.

The central authorities have so far established only twelve trusts; local authorities have set up a few. What should be unified by the trusts — planning, prices, distribution of materials?

Another problem is not to involve all other matters. We should consider what is rational according to the principles of economic management. In short, we should improve quality, increase variety, reduce production costs, raise labour productivity and develop technology so as to meet the needs of the people.

Ours is a socialist economy, well organized and planned. Although capitalist enterprises were well organized internally and they could indeed reduce costs, improve quality and raise labour productivity, they were not well organized externally or among themselves. That is why trusts were set up later and monopoly was exercised. In fact, since outside the trusts there still exist anarchy and competition, they cannot monopolize the economy as a whole. A socialist economy should be better organized than the capitalist one, but how? The “Seventy Articles on Industrial Work”<sup>151</sup> is applicable only to management inside an enterprise. Industry and the national economy as a whole, however, must be well organized and planned. Of course, we should

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Gist of remarks made while being briefed on a forum on experiments with the running of trusts.

not be too sweeping, because the economy includes the collective and individual undertakings as well.

You said that a major problem in our present industrial management is the lack of organization. Our state plan is roughly outlined. Take the cigarette industry, for instance. Only one category with an output of millions of cartons appears in the plan, which gives no details, when actually there are hundreds of brands.

We establish trusts just for the sake of better organization. Not only an enterprise or an industry, but the whole of the national economy should be well organized. Please think about it — how to get so many factories in a city, province or the country as a whole well organized. For this we must have an overall picture in our minds. The purpose of trusts is simply to have the national economy better planned and organized.

Both capitalists and socialist countries have provided us with reference on how to run trusts, but their experience is not complete, so we have to create our own. We should not rest content with the twelve trusts; we should broaden our vision and approach the problem from all angles.

Three forms of trusts can be considered. One is to centralize all power with regard to personnel, finance and materials and nationalize all the factories; the second is to unify only planning, prices, the supply of raw and semi-finished materials and the marketing of products; and the third is only to take care of planning, assignment of tasks and exchange of experience. Any one of these forms is not enough, I'm afraid. Perhaps all are needed. Anyway, unification is the main thing.

Some comrades say that if all the trusts are unified across the land, they will have no opposites to compete with them. But if we permit some branches of the trusts a certain degree of independence, they can compete with each other.

As for business accounting in the trusts, it can be done by the general company, its branch, or the enterprise, depending on actual conditions.

We should give an all-round consideration before deciding which trusts should be run by local authorities and which by central authorities. It is not necessary for the central authorities to start immediately with establishment of trusts that can be established by local authorities first, although it is rational for the former to do so, but the former can establish general companies later. The central authorities should

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refrain from setting up those that can be run only by local authorities in future.

Trusts should also be established in the fields of commerce, of goods and materials. Historically, the marketing of salt was monopolized and so were sales of tobacco and wine. Naturally, trusts cannot take over all commerce, but it is reasonable for the big wholesale stations of some trades to be owned by trusts.

Our general aim is to have the economy well organized and planned. All economic undertakings at both central and local levels should be organized so as to carry out specialization, standardization and serialization, improve quality, increase variety, reduce production costs and raise labour productivity. This will benefit the country, the localities and all sectors of society.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The theory of saving the country by means of developing industry was advanced at the beginning of the present century by some intellectuals and industrialists who tried to rid China of poverty and weakness through developing its industrial and mining enterprises without abolishing its semi-feudal and semi-colonial social system. Under the social conditions of old China such a theory could not be materialized. P. 11

<sup>2</sup> J. V. Stalin, "The Economic Situation of the Soviet Union and the Policy of the Party," *Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, Vol. VIII, p. 130. P. 13

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137. P. 14

<sup>4</sup> Beginning in the 1860s, U.S. workers waged a continuing struggle for an eight-hour workday. On May 1, 1886, they staged a general strike centring around Chicago, and in the end they won the right to an eight-hour workday. At its inaugural meeting held in Paris in July 1889, the Second International adopted a resolution making the first day of May International Labour Day. On December 23, 1949, at its twelfth meeting the Government Administration Council of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China adopted "Measures for Unifying Holidays for Festivals and Commemorative Days of the People's Republic of China," making the first day of May Labour Day. P. 16

<sup>5</sup> Zhoushan refers to the Zhoushan Archipelago, which is located in eastern Zhejiang Province. On May 16, 1950, the People's Liberation Army marched onto Zhoushan Island, and on May 19 the whole of the archipelago was liberated. P. 18

<sup>6</sup> Soon after the founding of the People's Republic the Central People's Government time and again requested the local government of Tibet to send representatives to Beijing to discuss peaceful liberation of Tibet. However, the local government of Tibet, after stalling for a long time, deployed troops in Chamdo in an attempt to prevent the People's Liberation Army from entering Tibet. In October 1950 the PLA advanced to Tibet and liberated Chamdo. In April 1951 a delegation of the local government of Tibet for peaceful negotiations arrived in Beijing, and on May 23 the two governments reached an "Agreement Between the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for Peaceful Liberation of Tibet". The main points of the agreement are: The Tibetan people shall drive the imperialist forces out of Tibet and return to the big family of the motherland, the People's Republic of China; the local government of Tibet shall actively assist the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet so as to strengthen national defence; the Tibetan people shall exercise national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government; the local government of Tibet shall carry out reforms of its own accord, and when the people raise demands for reform, the question shall be settled through consultation with the leading personnel of

Tibet. In October of the same year PLA troops were garrisoned in Lhasa in accordance with the agreement. P. 18

<sup>7</sup>The Northeast People's Government was the administrative organ of a greater administrative area. It was established in August 1949 and had under its jurisdiction former Liaodong, Liaoxi, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Songjiang and Rehe provinces, Shenyang, Fushun, Anshan and Benxi cities, and the Lüshun-Dalian Administrative Office. On November 15, 1952, the Central People's Government Council decided to rename the people's government or the military and administrative commissions of the greater administrative areas administrative councils. Soon after that the Northeast People's Government was renamed the Northeast Administrative Council, serving as an agency of the Central People's Government instead of a local government. In June 1954 the Central People's Government Council decided to abolish the administrative commissions of the greater administrative areas. P. 20

<sup>8</sup>Suiyuan Province was peacefully liberated in September 1949 and abolished in 1954; its territory came under the jurisdiction of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. PP. 21, 196

<sup>9</sup>The land reform mentioned here refers to the revolutionary movement to abolish feudal landownership and bring about peasant landownership, a movement conducted by the peasants under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in the early days of the People's Republic. In June 1950 the Central People's Government promulgated the Agrarian Reform Law of the People's Republic of China. Beginning in the winter of the same year, agrarian reform movement was carried out in the newly liberated areas. By winter 1952 the reform was basically completed throughout the country, except in Taiwan Province and some minority nationality areas. About 300 million peasants who had had little or no land received some 700 million *mu* (1 *mu* = 1/15 hectares) of land and other means of production. PP. 21, 71, 136, 279

<sup>10</sup>This refers to the People's Victory Parity Bonds (calculated in kind) floated by the Central People's Government in January 1950 in order to ensure ultimate victory in the War of Liberation, rapidly rehabilitate the economy and enable the people to lead a stable life. P. 22

<sup>11</sup>The Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was signed in Moscow by the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on February 14, 1950. The treaty became effective on April 11 of the same year and carried a legality of 30 years. At the Seventh Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress, held on April 3, 1979, it was decided that when the treaty expired, it would not be renewed, because the international situation had greatly changed. PP. 24, 249

<sup>12</sup>The Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, adopted at its First Plenary Session on September 29, 1949, defined China's basic policies regarding political, military, economic, cultural, educational, minority nationality and diplomatic affairs. It was a programme for China's reconstruction and was drawn up jointly, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, by representatives of all the democratic parties, mass organizations and people from all China's nationalities and different sectors of society. The Common Programme articulated a common goal for all the Chinese people and served as the political basis for their unified action during a certain period. It functioned as a provisional constitution until the promulgation of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China in 1954. PP. 25. 35. 61. 135. 204

<sup>13</sup> On April 19, 1950, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a “Decision on Making Criticisms and Self-Criticisms in Newspapers and Magazines”. It stated in the decision that as the Party seized national political power, shortcomings and mistakes in its work would harm the people’s interests, and as their status and prestige were enhanced, political leaders were prone to conceit and to stifle criticism from both inside and outside the Party. In that case bureaucratism would prevent the Party from fulfilling the task of building a New China. Therefore, the CPC Central Committee made a special decision to conduct criticisms and self-criticisms of the shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the Party on all public occasions, among the people and, in particular, in newspapers and magazines. The decision also designated specific ways for making such criticisms and self-criticisms. P. 29

<sup>14</sup> On May 1, 1950, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a “Directive on Conducting a Rectification Movement Throughout the Party and Army”. In the directive it stated that after nationwide victory there had been a great increase in Party members, many of whom were weak in ideology. In addition, many veteran Party members had become conceited and prone to authoritarianism. A few of them had even become corrupt and degenerate and had violated discipline and the law. All Party members were required to sum up their work, study relevant documents and make criticisms and self-criticisms, so as to rectify their work style and, first and foremost, the cadres’ work style. In accordance with the directive, Party organizations at all levels began to train cadres in the course of the rectification movement. In the winter of the same year the movement basically came to an end. PP. 29, 52

<sup>15</sup> From the speech made by Mao Zedong at a meeting of senior cadres in northeast China on March 3, 1950. P. 31

<sup>16</sup> A reference to Kuomintang soldiers who, after being captured and re-educated by the People’s Liberation Army, joined the Liberation Army ranks. P. 32

<sup>17</sup> This refers to Zhu De, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army. P. 32

<sup>18</sup> Originally known as the Chinese People’s Anti-Japanese Red Army College, the Chinese People’s Anti-Japanese Military and Political College was founded on June 1, 1936, in Wayaobu in northern Shaanxi and in January 1937 got its present name and moved to Yan’an, where it ran eight classes. Twelve branches were established in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and in north and central China and other anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines. The college trained a great number of revolutionary cadres for the Party and the army. It closed after victory was won in the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1945. P. 34

<sup>19</sup> On June 28, 1950, at its Eighth Meeting the Central People’s Government Council adopted the Draft Agrarian Reform Law and on June 30 officially promulgated the Agrarian Reform Law of the People’s Republic of China, which served as the legal basis for launching the agrarian reform movement in the newly liberated areas in China. P. 37

<sup>20</sup> As early as the spring of 1902, Dr. Sun Yat-sen raised in a talk with Zhang Taiyan the idea of “no land to those who don’t till it”. In 1903 he formulated the oath of “expulsion of the Tatars, recovery of China, establishment of a republic and equalization of landownership” for the military training class he established in Tokyo, with “equalization of landownership” as one of the aims of the revolution. In 1905, when the *Tong Meng Hui* (the Chinese Revolutionary League) was set up,

this slogan was established as chief component of the revolutionary programme. In 1924, in his speech delivered at the Guangzhou Peasants' Movement Institute, Dr. Sun Yat-sen went a step further and raised the slogan "land to the tiller". P. 39

<sup>21</sup> "The Present Situation and Our Tasks" was delivered by Mao Zedong on December 25, 1947, at the December Meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. See *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1967, Vol. IV, pp. 157-76. P. 45

<sup>22</sup> Ren Bishi (1904-50), a native of Tangjiaqiao, Xiangyin (now Miluo County), Hunan Province, was a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee during the War of Liberation. In January 1948, at the enlarged meeting of the Front-line Committee of the Northwest Field Army, he reported on "Some Questions Concerning Agrarian Reform", in which, in view of the "Left" tendency in the agrarian reform movement at the time, he concentrated on discussing the criteria for differentiating class status in the countryside, the methods of uniting with all the middle peasants and struggling against the landlords and rich peasants, the policies relating to industry and commerce, intellectuals and enlightened gentry, and opposing indiscriminate beating and killing. The report played an important role in correctly guiding agrarian reform. P. 45

<sup>23</sup> The Revolution of 1911, led by the *Tong Meng Hui*, a bourgeois revolutionary party headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, overthrew the autocratic regime of the Qing Dynasty. On October 10 of that year a number of revolutionaries inspired the New Army to stage an uprising in Wuchang, Hubei Province. It evoked an enthusiastic response from various provinces, and very soon the reactionary rule of the Qing Dynasty, which was supported by imperialist powers, crumbled. In January 1912 the Provisional Government of the Republic of China was established in Nanjing, with Sun Yat-sen as the provisional president. Thus, China's feudal monarchic system, which had lasted more than two thousand years, was brought to an end. The idea of a democratic republic began to take root in the hearts of the people and led to subsequent development of the revolution in China, but the bourgeois revolutionary forces were too weak and conciliatory to extensively mobilize the masses in total revolution against imperialism and feudalism. The fruits of the 1911 Revolution were soon seized by the northern warlord Yuan Shikai, and China remained a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. PP. 47, 131

<sup>24</sup> The people's representative conferences were local conferences of people from all circles, a form of popular participation in government and political affairs in the early days of liberation. The representatives were recommended, invited, decided upon through consultation or elected. Before the convening of local people's congresses at different levels the people's representative conferences served as consultative organs for the local people's governments to make known its policies to and maintain links with the masses, exercising the functions and powers of the local people's congresses at different levels. Between sessions of the representative conferences their consultative committees assisted the people's governments in implementing their resolutions and took charge of preparations for the next representative conference. PP. 48, 59, 149

<sup>25</sup> The Institute of Marxism-Leninism was established in 1948. Its task was to systematically train leading Party cadres and propaganda cadres so that they could obtain adequate theoretical knowledge. In August 1955 it was renamed the Advanced Party School directly under the Central Committee of Chinese Communist

Party. In October 1976 it was renamed the Party School Under the Central Committee of the Party. P. 54

<sup>26</sup> *Iskra*, also called the old *Iskra*, the first Marxist newspaper in Russian, was established abroad by Lenin in 1900. Lenin used to write articles for the newspaper himself. He also worked hard to get the paper out on time and distributed in Russia. The paper played a great role in overcoming the handicraft style of organization in the workers' movement, crushing the Economists, and organizing the Marxist Party. In 1903, at the Second Congress of the Russian Socialist Democratic Labour Party, it was decided that the paper should serve as an organ of the Party Central Committee, and Lenin, Plekhanov and Martov were elected editors (Martov, however, refused to take part). After the congress Plekhanov, in violation of the resolution of the congress, took three more Mensheviks into the editorial department without authorization. Lenin withdrew from the editorial department to express his vehement disapproval. After the fifty-second issue the paper became a mouthpiece for the Mensheviks and was called the new *Iskra*. P. 57

<sup>27</sup> The five economic sectors are the state-owned, co-operative, state-capitalist, private capitalist and individual economy. P. 64

<sup>28</sup> When the eight requirements of Communist Party membership were written into the "Resolution on Consolidating Party Organizations at the Grass-roots Level", adopted by the First National Conference on Organizational Work of the Chinese Communist Party, this requirement was included in the third article of the resolution, which then read as follows: "Every Party member must resolve to courageously persevere in revolutionary struggle all his life. Under no circumstances should he flinch from adversity, betray the Party or surrender to the enemy. If he stops halfway, he ceases to be a Communist." The sixth article of the resolution was changed as follows: "Every Party member should always use criticism and self-criticism to examine shortcomings and mistakes in his work and correct them promptly. Anyone who has made serious mistakes but refuses to correct them, claims credit for himself, becomes arrogant and sticks to his mistakes cannot be a Communist." P. 67

<sup>29</sup> This refers to the report delivered by Liu Shaoqi at the First National Conference on Organizational Work of the Chinese Communist Party on March 28, 1951. In the report he pointed out that the Chinese Communist Party was a great, glorious, and correct party, tested through thirty years of hard struggle. However, there were imperfections in Party ideology and organization resulting from Party organizations' being scattered in rural areas, operating in the tense environment of war, expanding rapidly in recent years and, in many primary organizations, lowering requirements for new Party members. The problem in some areas was fairly serious. Bearing this in mind, Liu concentrated on consolidation of primary Party organizations, recruitment of new Party members, improvement of management system relating to cadres, strengthening of the Party organizational structure, and other problems. He called for consolidation of all Party organizations and earnest education of all Party members in communism and the Communist Party. He also proposed eight requirements for Party membership. (See "Eight Requirements for Communist Party Membership", pp. 66-67 above.) P. 68

<sup>30</sup> The First National Conference on Organizational Work of the Chinese Communist Party adopted the "Resolution on Consolidating Party Organizations at the Grass-roots Level". The resolution pointed out that to unite and lead the Chinese people in fulfilling the new historic task it was necessary to consolidate all primary Party organizations by educating Party members in the eight requirements for Party

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membership, thereby overcoming certain imperfections in Party organization and ideology. Consolidation progressed gradually until it basically ended in the spring of 1954. P. 69

<sup>31</sup> The Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign was a decisive battle fought by the Northeast Field Army of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in western Liaoning Province and in the Shenyang-Changchun area from September 12 to November 2, 1948. During this campaign 470,000 Kuomintang troops were wiped out and the whole of the Northeast was liberated. This victory plus victories on other battlefields during the same period brought about a fundamental change in the military situation of the country, with the revolutionary army superior not only in quality, which had long been the case, but in numbers as well.

The Huai-Hai campaign was a decisive battle fought between November 6, 1948 and January 10, 1949 by the East China and Central Plains field armies over a large territory, centring on Xuzhou and extending as far as Haizhou in the east, Shangqiu in the west, Lincheng (now Xuecheng) in the north and the Huaihe River in the south. During the campaign a total of 550,000 Kuomintang troops were wiped out, and a vast area north of the lower and middle reaches of the Changjiang (Yangtze) River was liberated. Chiang Kai-shek lost all his crack forces, while Nanjing, the centre of reactionary rule, as well as Shanghai and Wuhan fell under direct threat from the revolutionary army.

The Beiping-Tianjin campaign was a decisive battle fought between November 29, 1948 and January 31, 1949 by the Northeast Field Army and two armies of the Northern China People's Liberation Army against Kuomintang troops over an area extending from Zhangjiakou in the west to Tanggu and Tangshan in the east, including Beiping and Tianjin. The People's Liberation Army wiped out defending enemy forces in Xinbao'an, Zhangjiakou and Tianjin. Owing to efforts to win them over and to negotiations, the defending enemy forces in Beiping, commanded by Fu Zuoyi, Commander-in-Chief of the enemy's North China "Bandit Suppression" Headquarters, accepted reorganization by the People's Liberation Army, and Beiping was liberated peacefully. During the campaign more than 520,000 Kuomintang troops were wiped out or reorganized, and north China, in the main, was liberated.

P. 70

<sup>32</sup> The Third Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was convened in Beijing from June 6 to June 9, 1950. At the session Mao Zedong submitted a written report, "Fight for a Fundamental Turn for the Better in the Nation's Financial and Economic Situation", and also made speeches. Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun and Nie Rongzhen reported on the problems of agrarian reform, foreign relations and the united front, finance and economy, and military affairs. The session determined that the entire Party and nation should successfully perform eight tasks, including agrarian reform, price stabilization, readjustment of industry and commerce, rooting out of counter-revolutionaries and consolidation of Party organizations, so that within three years there would be a fundamental turn for the better in the nation's financial and economic situation, thus creating favourable conditions for planned economic development. The session advocated the policy for prudent expansion of Party organizations.

P. 71

<sup>33</sup> See "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, 1975, Vol. IV, p. 374. P. 71

<sup>34</sup> See J. V. Stalin, "Defects in Party Work and Measures for Liquidating Trotsk-

yites and Other Double-Dealers”, Selected Works, Chin, ed., People’s Publishing House, Beijing, Vol. I, p. 150. P. 75

<sup>35</sup> Yi Guan Dao Society was a reactionary, feudal and superstitious organization. During the War of Resistance Against Japan it served as cat’s paw of the Japanese secret service. After Japan’s surrender it came under the control of the Kuomin-tang reactionaries and was renamed China Ethics Charity Society. After liberation it continued to engage in various kinds of sabotage. Beginning in 1949 the local people’s governments banned the organization by formal decree. P. 89

<sup>36</sup> The co-operatives were mainly rural supply and marketing co-operatives, urban consumers’ co-operatives and urban and rural handicraft producers’ co-operatives. In his report to the First National Conference of Co-operative Workers, held in July 1950, Liu Shaoqi pointed out that attention should focus principally on these three kinds of co-operatives and set forth the initial guiding principles for their regular functioning. In July and August 1951 he wrote the present article, entitled “Certain Questions Concerning Co-operatives,” discussing the rural supply and marketing co-operatives from a theoretical point of view. In September of the same year he drew up the “Draft Resolution on the Question of Co-operatives” (soon renamed “On the Question of Co-operatives [Draft]”), elaborating the various policies relating to rural supply and marketing co-operatives and discussing problems concerning urban consumers’ co-operatives and urban and rural handicraft producers’ co-operatives. P. 99

<sup>37</sup> The county was put under the jurisdiction of Beijing Municipality in 1958.

P. 104

<sup>38</sup> Cheng Zihua (1905- ), a native of Xiexian County (now Yuncheng City), Shanxi Province, was then vice-chairman of the All-China Federation of Co-operatives. P. 109

<sup>39</sup> When discussing the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat in his “‘Left-Wing’ Communism — An Infantile Disorder” in 1920, Lenin pointed out that the power of the bourgeoisie lay not only in the strength of international capital and the durability of its international connections but also in the force of habit and in the strength of small-scale production. “Unfortunately,” he continued, “small-scale production is still widespread in the world, and small-scale production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continually, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.” Cf. Lenin, “‘Left-Wing’ Communism — An Infantile Disorder,” *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, Vol. 31, pp. 23-24.

P. 111

<sup>40</sup> A mass organization of advanced Chinese youth, the New Democratic Youth League of China was founded under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party. On January 1, 1949, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party officially issued the “Resolution on Founding the New Democratic Youth League of China.” In April of the same year the New Democratic Youth League of China was formally established. In May 1957 at its Third National Congress the League changed its name to the Communist Youth League of China. PP. 112, 261

<sup>41</sup> Immediately after the outbreak of civil war in Korea on June 25, 1950, the U.S. imperialists unleashed a war of aggression against Korea. At the same time they dispatched troops to invade China’s territory of Taiwan. On September 15, under the banner of United Nations Forces, American troops landed at Inchon on the west coast of Korea. They then crossed the 38th Parallel en masse and pushed northward, bombing and strafing the frontier cities and villages of northeast China and thus presenting a serious threat to China’s security. To aid and support the

Korean people in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression, to save the nation, and to defend the new-born China, the Chinese people, in response to Chairman Mao Zedong's call to resist U.S. aggression, aid Korea and protect the homeland, organized the Chinese People's Volunteers with Peng Dehuai as commander and political commissar. The Volunteers arrived on the Korean battlefield and fought shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army against the U.S. aggressors. On November 4 China's democratic parties issued a joint declaration expressing firm support for the Volunteers' just action. The Chinese people gave all-out support to the war effort in Korea by increasing production and practising economy, signing up for the Volunteers and donating arms. Under the heavy blows by the Chinese and Korean people's armies, the U.S. imperialists suffered one defeat after another and finally had to sign the Korean Armistice Agreement on July 27, 1953. The War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, waged by the Chinese people, thus achieved a great victory. PP. 112, 194

<sup>42</sup> J. V. Stalin, "Speech Delivered at the First All-Union Congress of Collective-Farm Shock Brigaders," *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1955, Vol. XIII, p. 259.

P. 114

<sup>43</sup> See "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1969, Vol. IV, p. 419. P. 118

<sup>44</sup> See "Be a True Revolutionary," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, Vol. V, p. 39. P. 119

<sup>45</sup> The "Draft Resolution on Strengthening Unity of the Party" was drawn up by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at the suggestion made by Mao Zedong at a meeting of the Political Bureau in December 1953. It was adopted at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on February 10, 1954. P. 122

<sup>46</sup> Kang Youwei (1858-1927) was a native of Nanhai County, Guangdong Province. In 1895, after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 in which China was defeated, he led more than thirteen hundred candidates who were then in Beijing for the third grade in the imperial examinations to submit a "ten-thousand-word memorial" to Emperor Guang Xu, asking for "constitutional reform and modernization" and asking that the autocratic monarchy be changed into a constitutional monarchy. With the support of Emperor Guang Xu in 1898, Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, Tan Sitong and others tried to avert a national crisis through reforms from above, such as the gradual institution of a constitutional monarchy with joint rule by the landlord class and the bourgeoisie and the development of national capitalism. This movement was strongly opposed, however, by diehards, with Empress Dowager Ci Xi at their head. Three months or so after the emperor declared the reform, the empress dowager staged a coup and had Emperor Guang Xu placed under house arrest and Tan Sitong and five other reformist leaders beheaded. Thus the movement ended in defeat. Kang Youwei fled abroad and formed the Protect-the-Emperor Society, which opposed the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois revolutionaries represented by Sun Yat-sen. Kang's works include *Forgeries in the Classics of the Confucian Canon*, *Confucius as a Reformer* and *Da Tong Shu* (the *Book of Great Harmony*). P. 130

<sup>47</sup> Empress Dowager Ci Xi (1835-1908), or Yehonala, was a consort of Emperor Xian Feng of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). In 1861, after her son Zai Chun ascended the throne as Emperor Tong Zhi, she was given the honorific title of Empress Dowager Ci Xi and became the actual ruler during the reigns of emperors Tong Zhi and Guang Xu. In 1898 she staged a coup and had Emperor Guang Xu placed under house arrest and Tan Sitong and other reformist leaders beheaded. Thus

the reform movement ended in defeat. She ruled with cruelty in domestic affairs and compromise and capitulation in external affairs. This led to the conclusion of a series of treaties with the imperialist countries, which forfeited China's sovereignty and brought humiliation to the nation. She was the general representative of the diehard forces when the Qing Dynasty was nearing its end. P. 130

<sup>48</sup> The *Tong Meng Hui* was a revolutionary party of the Chinese bourgeoisie. In August 1905 members of the *Xing Zhong Hui* (Society for China's Revival), the *Hua Xing Hui* (Society for China's Regeneration) and other revolutionary organizations jointly organized the *Tong Meng Hui* (Revolutionary League) in Tokyo, which adopted a programme of bourgeois revolution, including Sun Yat-sen's proposals for "expulsion of the Manchus, revival of the Chinese nation, establishment of a republic and equalization of landownership." Sun Yat-sen was elected the league's director-general. Under his leadership the *Tong Meng Hui* propagated revolution, allied itself with other societies and part of the New Army, and launched a number of armed insurrections. The Wuchang Uprising broke out in October 1911 and it immediately developed into the Revolution of 1911, which overthrew the Qing Dynasty. After Yuan Shikai's seizure of power, the *Tong Meng Hui* was reorganized as the Kuomintang in August 1912. P. 130

<sup>49</sup> The Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China was issued in the name of the Provisional President Sun Yat-sen on March 11, 1912. It was abolished by Yuan Shikai in May 1914. P. 131

<sup>50</sup> Yuan Shikai (1859-1916) was a native of Xiangcheng, Henan Province. In the last years of the Qing Dynasty he served as governor of Shandong Province, viceroy of Zhili Province and minister in charge of the northern coastal provinces, and became chief of the northern warlords. After the Revolution of 1911 broke out, he became premier of the Qing government. With armed strength he coerced the revolutionaries into negotiating peace and forced Sun Yat-sen to resign the presidency and the Qing emperor to abdicate. In 1912, supported by the imperialist powers of Britain, the United States and Japan, he usurped the provisional presidency of the Republic of China and organized the first government of the northern warlords, which represented the big landlord and comprador classes. He ruled autocratically in domestic affairs, capitulated and betrayed the country in external affairs. In May 1915 he accepted the Twenty-one Demands with which Japan aimed at subjugating China. In December of the same year he proclaimed himself emperor. Nationwide opposition, however, forced him to abdicate in March 1916. P. 131

<sup>51</sup> In the last years of the Qing Dynasty a feudal warlord clique was formed by Yuan Shikai in several northern provinces. In 1895 the Qing government ordered him to organize and train the New Army in Xiaozhan, Tianjin, which was to be under the control of the minister in charge of the northern coastal provinces. In 1901 Yuan was appointed viceroy of Zhili Province and minister in charge of the northern coastal provinces. He gathered his henchmen to form his own clique. Shortly after the 1911 Revolution he usurped the provisional presidency of the Republic of China and organized the first government of the northern warlords, representing the big landlord and comprador classes. After his death in 1916 this network split into the Zhili, Anhui and Fengtian cliques, supported respectively by British, Japanese and other imperialist powers. Successive battles broke out as the warlords scrambled for power and profit. In 1926 Duan Qirui, warlord of the Anhui clique, stepped down. In 1927 the warlords of the Zhili clique were overthrown by the National Revolutionary Army, and in 1928 the warlord government of the Fengtian

clique toppled, thus ending the reactionary rule of the northern warlords. P. 131

<sup>52</sup> Cao Kun (1862-1938), a native of Tianjin, was one of the chieftains of the Zhili clique of the northern warlords. After Yuan Shikai usurped power in 1912, he became commander of the Third Division of the Northern Army and then garrison commander for the upper Changjiang (Yangtze) River. The Zhili clique seized power in Beijing after its first war against the Fengtian clique in 1922. In October the following year Cao had himself elected “president” by bribing many members of the parliament. In the same year he persuaded them to rig up the so-called Constitution of the Republic of China, nicknamed the Constitution of Election by Bribery. P. 131

<sup>53</sup> See Sun Yat-sen, “Testament”, *Selected Works of Sun Yat-sen*, Chin. ed., People’s Publishing House, Beijing, 1956, Vol. II, p. 921. P. 132

<sup>54</sup> In late June 1946 the Kuomintang reactionaries outrageously unleashed a nationwide civil war and in October occupied Zhangjiakou, capital of the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei liberated area. Then in November and December they violated the resolution of the Political Consultative Conference that stipulated that the various political parties and representatives of prominent figures were to convene the National Assembly and work out a constitution. They convened the National Assembly by themselves and passed the so-called Constitution of the Republic of China. It was opposed by people all over the country. P. 133

<sup>55</sup> The Chinese Youth Party was established in France in 1923. It consisted mainly of politicians from the landlord and capitalist classes and of intellectuals. It advocated étatism and opposed communism. For a time during the War of Resistance Against Japan it joined the China Democratic League. Later it attached itself to the Kuomintang. In November 1946 it attended the Kuomintang-monopolized National Assembly, supported the so-called Constitution of the Republic of China adopted by that assembly and encouraged Chiang Kai-shek to launch a civil war against the Communists and the people. It followed the Kuomintang to Taiwan Province in 1949. P. 133

<sup>56</sup> The Chinese Democratic Socialist Party was formed in August 1946 by a merger of the National Socialist Party and the Democratic Constitutional Party. It consisted mainly of representatives from the landlord and capitalist classes. In November of the same year it attended the Kuomintang-monopolized National Assembly, supported the so-called Constitution of the Republic of China adopted by that assembly and encouraged Chiang Kai-shek to launch a civil war against the Communists and the people. It followed the Kuomintang to Taiwan Province in 1949. P. 133

<sup>57</sup> The movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries was waged throughout China from 1950 through 1953. In the early years of the People’s Republic there were still many bandits, local tyrants, enemy agents, backbone members of the reactionary parties and other organizations, heads of reactionary secret societies and other counter-revolutionaries. They engaged in all kinds of activities to undermine the people’s revolution and construction. In order to establish and consolidate revolutionary order, the movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries was unfolded throughout the country in accordance with the “Directive on Suppressing Counter-Revolutionary Activities” issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the “Regulations of the People’s Republic of China Regarding Punishment of Counter-Revolutionaries” promulgated by the Central People’s Government. This movement dealt a heavy blow to the remaining counter-revolutionary forces and consolidated the people’s democratic dictatorship. PP. 136, 230

<sup>58</sup> See “On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1969, Vol. IV, p. 414. P. 137

<sup>59</sup> See “On Coalition Government”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1967, Vol. III, p. 254. P. 141

<sup>60</sup> The movement against the “three evils”, namely, corruption, waste and bureaucratism, was carried out from late 1951 to October 1952 in government departments, army units and state-owned enterprises. PP. 142, 173

<sup>61</sup> The movement against the “five evils”, namely, bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information, was launched in 1952 in China’s capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises. PP. 142, 173

<sup>62</sup> The agricultural producers’ co-operatives were organizations of collective economy that working peasants formed of their own accord under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Depending on the degree of collectivization, they were divided into elementary agricultural producers’ co-operatives and advanced ones. The elementary co-operatives pooled land as shares and conducted unified management; dividends were distributed according to the proportion of land and manpower; and cattle, farm tools and other means of production, calculated as shares, were priced reasonably. In the advanced co-operatives land was owned by the collective without payment. Cattle, farm tools and other means of production came into possession of the co-operatives after appraisal of their value. All worked on the principle of distribution according to work. PP. 144, 198, 270

<sup>63</sup> V. I. Lenin, “Political Report of the Central Committee of the R.C.P. (B.)”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, Vol. 33 p. 278. PP. 145, 207

<sup>64</sup> This policy, the unified purchase and marketing of principal farm products, including grain, cotton and oil-yielding crops, was carried out successively in China after the founding of the People’s Republic. At that time its implementation guaranteed socialist construction and supply of people’s basic needs in both urban and rural areas, ensured the stability of market prices and promoted the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. In recent years, with the growth of socialist commodity production and an increasing abundance of grain, cotton, oil-yielding crops and other produce, the government has gradually been lifting the policy of state monopoly for the purchase and marketing of farm produce. On January 1, 1985, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued “Ten Policies on Further Envisaging the Rural Economy”. According to their decision, from 1985, with the exception of specific varieties, the state ceased imposing quotas of unified and allotted purchase of farm produce on the peasants. In the light of different conditions, contracted purchasing and market purchasing were introduced. PP. 147, 202

<sup>65</sup> Written instructions were given by the Central Committee of the CPC on March 1, 1955 to the leading Party members’ group of the Ministry of Public Health in a report concerning the question of birth control. In February of that year the leading Party members’ group had written a report on the question of birth control based on the speech given by Liu Shaoqi at this symposium. The written instructions pointed out: “Birth control is an important matter of policy relating to the life of the masses of the people. Under the present historical conditions our Party endorses appropriate birth control in order to benefit the state, families and the newborn generation. Local Party committees should give appropriate publicity to this Party policy

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among cadres and the people (except for those in minority nationality areas), so that the people have a correct understanding of birth control.” P. 164

<sup>66</sup> Lin Feng (1906-77), a native of Wangkui, Heilongjiang Province, was then Deputy Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the CPC and Director of the Second Office of the State Council (responsible for cultural, educational and public health work). P. 165

<sup>67</sup> Xu Yunbei (1914- ), a native of Liaocheng, Shandong Province, was Vice-Minister of Public Health. P. 165

<sup>68</sup> Gong Yinbing (1896-1976), a native of Changsha, Hunan Province, was Vice-Minister of Light Industry and secretary of the leading Party members' group of the Ministry of Light Industry under the CPC. P. 165

<sup>69</sup> Wang Lei (1914- ), a native of Yexian County, Shandong Province, was Vice-Minister of Commerce. P. 165

<sup>70</sup> Fan Changjiang (1909-70), a native of Neijiang, Sichuan Province, was Deputy Director of the Second Office of the State Council (responsible for cultural, educational and public health work). P. 165

<sup>71</sup> Kang Keqing (1912- ), a native of Wan'an, Jiangxi Province, was member of the Standing Committee and Director of the Department of Women's and Children's Welfare of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation. P. 165

<sup>72</sup> Zhang Nanxian (1874-1968), a native of Mianyang, Hubei Province, participated in the 1911 Revolution. When the Kuomintang was reorganized in 1924, he supported the Three Great Policies (alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party, and assistance to the peasants and workers) proposed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. In 1930 he served as head of the Ministry of Civil Appointments of the Kuomintang government and later as governor of Zhejiang Province. During the War of Resistance Against Japan he was member of the People's Political Council, an advisory body of the Kuomintang government. In the final stage of the war he changed his political views and began to support the democratic movement. After the founding of the People's Republic of China he served successively as member of the Central People's Government Council, vice-chairman of the South-Central Military and Administrative Commission, and member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. P. 166

<sup>73</sup> The All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce was a mass organization initiated by China's industrial and commercial circles. Preparations for the federation began in June 1952 and it was officially established in October 1953. P. 168

<sup>74</sup> When discussing the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in October 1955, Mao Zedong used the allegorical expression, "The capitalists' hearts are like a well in which seven buckets are being drawn up and eight dropped down — unsettled," to describe the capitalists' anxiety about the socialist transformation, stressing that the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government should redouble efforts to help the capitalists ideologically and politically to understand the law governing social development, to become masters of their own destiny and to accept socialist transformation. P. 169

<sup>75</sup> A figurative way of describing the profit distribution of national capitalists' enterprises, referring to their four-part distribution, namely, income tax paid to the state, accumulation funds kept by enterprises, workers' welfare funds and dividends to capitalists. After 1956, when capitalist industry and commerce were converted into joint state-private enterprises, dividends to capitalists were replaced by fixed interest on the money value of their assets paid to them by the state. P. 170

<sup>76</sup> Payment of a fixed rate of interest was one of the forms of redemption adopted by the state with regard to the means of production owned by the national capitalists after the conversion of capitalist industry and commerce into joint state-private enterprises on a trade-by-trade basis. The state paid the national capitalists a fixed annual interest (generally 5 per cent) on their total assessed capital, regardless of their enterprises' profits or losses. Payment of such interest began in 1956 and was discontinued in September 1966. P. 170

<sup>77</sup> See "Don't Hit Out in All Directions," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, Vol. V, pp. 33-36. P. 170

<sup>78</sup> The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is a united-front organization under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Its preparatory committee met in Beijing in June 1949. In September of the same year it held its first plenary session, at which, exercising the functions and powers of a national people's congress, it enacted the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the Organic Law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, elected the Central People's Government Council and proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China. With the convocation of the First Session of the First National People's Congress in September 1954, the CPPCC ceased to function as the national people's congress. However, as a substantial united-front representative, it has continued to play an important role in China's political and social life, including friendly contacts with foreign countries. P. 171

<sup>79</sup> The "five evils" were bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information, engaged in by some capitalists against the law right after the founding of the People's Republic of China. P. 171

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Engels, "The Peasant Question in France and Germany," *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Moscow, 1962, Vol. II, p. 438. P. 171

<sup>81</sup> Mao Zedong put forth this idea when talking with representatives from industrial and commercial circles on October 27, 1955. P. 172

<sup>82</sup> Chen Yun (1905- ), a native of Qingpu, Shanghai, was then member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and a vice-premier. At the meeting held by the CPC Central Committee on the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce he gave a report entitled "The New Situation and Tasks Arising from the Transformation of Capitalist Industry and Commerce". With regard to the ideological education of capitalists and their family dependents he said in the report, "At the forum held by the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce many capitalists said, 'I'm convinced, but not my wife.' Others said, 'The two premiers [Chen Yun and Chen Yi] talked for hours, but their remarks still didn't hold up against what my wife said to me when I got home.' Therefore, it is of great importance to educate the capitalists' family members." (*Selected Works of Chen Yun* [1949-56], Chin. ed., the People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1984, p. 292.) P. 172

<sup>83</sup> Chen Yun and Chen Yi. P. 172

<sup>84</sup> Mao Zedong made these remarks when talking with representatives from industrial and commercial circles on October 27, 1955. P. 173

<sup>85</sup> Cao Yu (1910- ), a native of Qianjiang, Hubei Province, was then President of the People's Art Theatre of Beijing and Director of the Chinese Dramatists' Association. Among his masterpieces are *Thunderstorm*, *Sunrise* and *Beijingers*. P. 178

<sup>86</sup> Chen Yi (1910-72), a native of Lezhi, Sichuan Province, was then Vice-Premier

of the State Council.

P. 178

<sup>87</sup> In old China, officials, landlords or rich merchants invited artists to perform in their homes.

P. 180

<sup>88</sup> Li Jinhui (1891-1967), a native of Xiangtan, Hunan Province, was engaged in producing children's song and dance dramas and children's song and dance music after the May 4th Movement of 1919. His masterpieces include *The Sparrows and Child*, *The Grape Fairy*, *The Little Painter* and *Pitiful Qiuxiang*, which had a great impact on musical education in primary and middle schools.

P. 183

<sup>89</sup> A reference to "The National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-67) (Draft)," which was drawn up by the Central Committee of the Party on the suggestion of Mao Zedong and promulgated in 1956. A revised draft was made known to the public in October 1957, and it was adopted and issued as an official document at the Second Session of the Second National People's Congress held in April 1960. The programme contains forty articles for the development of farming, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery, sideline production as well as commerce, credit, transport, posts and telecommunications, broadcasting, science, culture, education, public health, etc. in the countryside.

PP. 186, 216, 271

<sup>90</sup> The Party's Seventh National Congress was held in Yan'an from April 23 to June 11, 1945. Mao Zedong gave a political report ("On Coalition Government"), Zhu De gave a military report ("The Battle Front in the Liberated Areas"), Liu Shaoqi gave a report on revision of the Party Constitution and Zhou Enlai made an important speech on the united front. The congress summed up the historical experience of China's democratic revolution during the preceding two decades, established a correct programme and correct tactics, corrected mistaken ideas within the Party and unified the thinking of the entire Party membership on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This congress, which brought about unprecedented unity within the Party, laid the foundation for the nationwide victory of the new-democratic revolution.

P. 193

<sup>91</sup> The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. They were first proposed by Premier Zhou Enlai in his talk to the Indian delegation at the start of the negotiations that took place in Beijing from December 1953 to April 1954 between the delegation of the Chinese Government and the delegation of the Indian Government on relations between the two countries in the Tibet region of China. Later the Five Principles were formally written into the preamble to the "Agreement Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India on Trade and Intercourse Between the Tibet Region of China and India" concluded between the two sides. Since June 1954, when they were incorporated into the joint statements issued by the premier of China and the prime ministers of India and Burma, the Five Principles have been adopted in many other international documents and have become recognized and accepted throughout the world.

P. 194

<sup>92</sup> A reference to the Programme for Peace and National Reconstruction adopted at the Political Consultative Conference held in Chongqing in January 1946 and attended by representatives of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, the Democratic League and the Youth Party and personages without party affiliation. The draft programme, submitted to the conference by the delegation from the Chinese Communist Party, dealt with the principle of peace, democracy and unity; the principle of taking democratization of political life, nationalization of troops and legality and equality

for political parties as ways and means for achieving peace and national reconstruction; the principle of the people's democratic rights, and the suggestion that all current laws and decrees contradicting these principles be revised or abolished. On the basis of the draft and after consultation and discussion by its Administration Programme Drafting Committee, the Political Consultative Conference formed an agreement on January 26 to the effect that the draft was to be implemented as an administrative programme until the Constitution was put into effect. The agreement was adopted at the Tenth Session of the Political Consultative Conference on January 31, but soon after that Chiang Kai-shek repudiated all the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference and, supported by U.S. imperialism, launched a civil war throughout the country. P. 195

<sup>93</sup> During China's First Five-Year Plan period, in order to help competent departments at various levels exercise control over the planning, design and construction of projects, a certain amount of investment was fixed for each industry in proportion to the total amount of investment in capital construction projects. This quota was known as the "norm". For example, in 1954 the norm set for investment in the iron and steel industry was 10 million yuan; in the textile industry, 5 million yuan; and in other light industries, 3 to 4 million yuan. Projects undertaken above the investment norm were generally key state construction projects. P. 212

<sup>94</sup> A reference to the Draft Long-range Plan for the Development of Science and Technology (1956-67). Acting on the directives of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to rapidly eliminate the backwardness of China's economy, science and culture, the State Council produced the plan on the basis of six months' study and discussion by over six hundred Chinese scientific and technological experts and more than twenty experts from the Soviet Union, whom it brought together beginning in April 1956. It listed 616 key subjects and 57 key scientific and technological tasks as urgent projects for national construction and indicated the direction for the development of all branches of science. Implementation of the plan promoted rapid development of China's science and technology. P. 228

<sup>95</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Foreword to the Published Speech 'Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality'", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. 29, p. 381. P. 232

<sup>96</sup> The Asian-African Conference, also known as the Bandung Conference, was held in Bandung, Indonesia, from April 18 to 24, 1955. Five sponsoring countries — Burma, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia and Pakistan — and twenty-four other countries, including Afghanistan, Cambodia, the People's Republic of China and Egypt, participated. The participants extensively discussed the questions of national sovereignty, anti-colonialist struggles, world peace, and economic and cultural co-operation among the participating countries and issued the Joint Final Communiqué of the Asian-African Conference, proposing ten principles for the promotion of world peace and co-operation. P. 245

<sup>97</sup> Located in northeast Egypt, the Suez Canal is an international canal connecting the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Lying where Europe, Asia and Africa meet, the canal is of strategic importance. It was officially opened to traffic in 1869. Great Britain and France took up most of the shares of the Suez Canal Company, from which they derived enormous profits annually. Britain also established its largest overseas military base in the region along the canal. After World War II the Egyptian people fought continually for sovereignty over the canal. On July 26, 1956, the Egyptian government declared the Suez Canal Company nationalized. The governments and leaders of many countries issued statements in support of the just action taken by

Egypt. In October of the same year Britain, France and Israel launched a war of aggression against Egypt in an attempt to recapture the canal, but they failed in the end. P. 245

<sup>98</sup> Chen Duxiu's Right opportunist line refers to the error of Right capitulation in 1927, represented by Chen Duxiu, who gave up leadership of the peasant masses, urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, and, in particular, the armed forces. He advocated co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in everything, negated the struggle between them, and adopted a policy of appeasement and capitulation towards the anti-communist and anti-people schemes plotted by the Right wingers of the Kuomintang, so that when Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei, representatives of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie, betrayed the revolution and launched a surprise attack against the people, the Communist Party and the people could not organize effective resistance, thus causing the defeat of the First Revolutionary Civil War. On August 7 that year the Central Committee of the Communist Party convened an urgent meeting in Hankou, at which it summarized the experience and lessons of the defeat of the great revolution, and put a complete end to the dominant rule of Chen Duxiu's Right capitulation in the Central Committee. P. 253

<sup>99</sup> A reference to the "Left" putschist error, represented by Qu Qiubai, that lasted from November 1927 to April 1928, the "Left" adventurist error, represented by Li Lisan, that lasted from June to September 1930, and the "Left" adventurist error, represented by Wang Ming, that lasted from January 1931 to January 1935 when the Zunyi Meeting was held. PP. 253, 389, 419

<sup>100</sup> The Zunyi Meeting was an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in Zunyi, Guizhou Province, in January 1935 during the Long March. It concentrated on discussing and rectifying errors in military and organizational affairs, ended the dominant rule of "Left" opportunists in the central leadership, established the leadership of Mao Zedong in the Red Army and in the Central Committee, and saved the Red Army and the Party from destruction at the most crucial moment. PP. 253, 364

<sup>101</sup> Wang Ming (1904-74), alias Chen Shaoyu, was a native of Jinzhai, Anhui Province. He joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1925 and served as member of the Central Committee and of its Political Bureau, representative to the Communist International and secretary of the Changjiang Bureau. He was the principal exponent of the "Left" adventurist error in the Party from January 1931 to the time of the Zunyi Meeting of the Political Bureau held in January 1935. In the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan he made Right capitulationist mistakes as well. He so stubbornly rejected the Party's criticism and help that during the 1960s he degenerated into a renegade to the Chinese revolution. P. 254

<sup>102</sup> Bo Gu (1907-46), whose real name was Qin Bangxian, was a native of Wuxi, Jiangsu Province. From September 1931 to January 1935 he served as the principal leader in the provisional central leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and member of the Political Bureau of the Party. During this period he committed serious "Left" adventurist errors. At the beginning of the fifth campaign against the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" in September 1933 he, along with Li De, a military adviser sent by the Communist International, assumed top leadership of the Red Army, committed a series of errors in military command and made the Red Army suffer heavy losses. After the Zunyi Meeting he was dismissed from top leadership of the Party and Red Army. In the early days of the anti-Japanese war he worked in the

Changjiang Bureau and the Southern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party. After 1941 he created and headed the *Liberation Daily* and the New China News Agency. In 1945 he was again elected to the Central Committee at the Seventh National Party Congress. In April 1946 he died in an airplane accident. P. 254

<sup>103</sup> The Rectification Movement was a Party-wide Marxist-Leninist ideological education movement launched by the Chinese Communist Party in 1942. The main objectives were to fight subjectivism to rectify the style of study, fight sectarianism to rectify the style in Party relations, and fight Party stereotypes to rectify the style of writing. Through this movement the entire Party membership became more conscious of the basic need of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. P. 255

<sup>104</sup> Deng Xiaoping (1904- ), a native of Guang'an, Sichuan Province, served as member of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party and secretary-general of its Central Committee and on September 16, 1956 delivered the "Report on Revision of Some Articles in the Constitution of the Communist Party of China" to the Eighth National Congress of the CPC. P. 257

<sup>105</sup> In 1953 Gao Gang was member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government, and Chairman of the State Planning Commission. Rao Shushi was member of the CPC Central Committee, Director of the Organization Department of the Central Committee and member of the Central People's Government. In March 1955 the National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party analysed the important struggle against the schemes of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi to split the Party and usurp top leadership of the Party and the state and adopted a resolution to expel them from the Party. P. 259

<sup>106</sup> See *Poems for Children* for verse quoted in original Chinese text. This book, according to legend, was written by Wang Zhu in the Song Dynasty. Supplemented through the ages, it became a popular children's primer in the old days. P. 267

<sup>107</sup> See "Rectify the Party's Style of Work", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1965, Vol. III, p. 39. P. 269

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40. P. 269

<sup>109</sup> The Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was held in Beijing from September 15 to 27, 1956. It analysed the situation following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production and laid down the task of all-round construction of socialism. At the congress Mao Zedong gave the opening address, Liu Shaoqi delivered the Political Report of the Central Committee, Zhou Enlai gave the "Report on the Proposal for the Second Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy" and Deng Xiaoping gave the "Report on the Revision of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China". Other important speeches included those by Zhu De, Chen Yun and Dong Biwu. The congress adopted resolutions on the Political Report, the Constitution of the Communist Party of China and the Proposal for the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62) and elected a new Central Committee. The congress laid down a correct line, charting the direction for development of the socialist cause and for Party building in the new period. PP. 270, 392

<sup>110</sup> I. V. Michurin (1855-1935), a Russian plant-breeding and agricultural scientist, was fond of horticulture when very young. Before finishing his middle school education, he went to serve at a railway station and at the same time conducted research in improved pomiculture. Later on he rented and bought land on which to carry out

research in fruit growing and experiment in crossbreeding. After victory in the October Revolution in 1917 he, supported financially by the Soviet government, expanded his nursery and research work. During his lifetime he bred more than three hundred new varieties of fruit trees. His writings in this connection are included in *Collected Writings of Michurin*. P. 274

<sup>111</sup> M. Gorky (1868-1936), a Russian writer, was the founder of Soviet socialist literature. From a poor carpenter's family, he received only a couple of years of education. At the age of ten he began earning his own living. He read a lot and began to publish his own writings in 1892. He joined the Russian Socialist-Democratic Labour Party in 1905 and was elected the first president of the Soviet Writers' Union in 1932. His major works are: poetry: *Song of the Stormy Petrel*; novels: *Mother and Life of Klim Samgin*; autobiography and reminiscences: *Childhood, In the World and My Universities*; and plays: *Urban Petty Bourgeois, The Lower Depths* and *The Enemies*. P. 274

<sup>112</sup> B. Franklin (1706-90), a democrat and scientist during the American bourgeois revolution. He received two years of primary school education and served as an apprentice in a printing house at the age of twelve. Later he ran a printing house and initiated some public services. In 1764 he was elected president of the Pennsylvania Assembly. He had a hand in drafting the "Declaration of Independence" during the War of Independence. In 1787 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention, advocating abolition of the slave-owning system. He contributed to research in atmospheric electricity and invented the lightning rod. P. 274

<sup>113</sup> M. Faraday (1791-1867), English physicist and chemist, was from a poor blacksmith's family. At the age of thirteen he left school and was apprenticed to a bookbinding shop. He studied very hard and was appointed as an assistant in a laboratory by Humphry Davy, a chemist. Through research and experiments he discovered electromagnetic induction and clarified the fundamental laws of this phenomenon. He discovered the law of electrolysis and made important contributions in various aspects of physics and chemistry. P. 274

<sup>114</sup> T. A. Edison (1847-1931), was an American inventor and entrepreneur. He started his schooling at the age of eight and left school three months later. Through assiduous study he introduced more than one thousand inventions in electrical engineering, mining, architecture, chemical engineering and film techniques. P. 274

<sup>115</sup> A. B. Nobel (1833-96), Swedish chemist, went to primary school at the age of eight. A year later he moved to Russia with his family, where he was educated by tutors. He invented dynamite and other explosives and blasting cap. In his old age he made a will leaving part of his fortune as a fund for the establishment of the Nobel Prize for physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, literature and peace. The Nobel Prize for economics was established in 1968. P. 274

<sup>116</sup> See *Notes from the Yueyang Chamber* by Fan Zhongyan (989-1052), a statesman and writer of the Song Dynasty. P. 277

<sup>117</sup> A reference to the speech delivered on February 27, 1957 at the Eleventh Session (Enlarged) of the Supreme State Conference. The speech was widely discussed by cadres and masses both inside and outside the Party. Mao Zedong made certain additions before its publication in the *People's Daily* on June 19, 1957 under the title "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People". P. 278

<sup>118</sup> Chen Duxiu (1879-1942), a native of Huaining County, Anhui Province, began editing the magazine *Youth* (later renamed *New Youth*) in September 1915. In 1918, with Li Dazhao, he founded the *Weekly Review* and advocated the new culture. He

became one of the main leaders of the new cultural movement in the period of the May 4th Movement of 1919. After that movement, he accepted and propagated Marxism, and became one of the main founders of the Chinese Communist Party, of which he was the principal leader during its first six years. He committed serious Right capitulationist mistakes during the later period of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27). Afterwards, he became pessimistic about the future of the revolution, accepted the views of the Trotskyites and set up an inner-Party faction to take action against the Party. He was expelled from the Party in November 1929, after which he was openly involved in Trotskyite activities. In October 1932 he was arrested and imprisoned by the Kuomintang and released in August 1937. He died of illness in Jiangjin, Sichuan Province, in 1942. P. 283

<sup>119</sup> Zhang Guotao (1897-1979), a native of Pingxiang, Jiangxi Province, was one of the participants in the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. He was elected member of the Central Committee, member of its Political Bureau and member of the bureau's Standing Committee. In 1931 he became Secretary of the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Sub-bureau of the Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China. In June 1935, when the First and Fourth Front Armies of the Chinese Red Army joined forces in Maogong, Sichuan Province, he became General Political Commissar of the Army. Zhang opposed the Central Committee's decision that the Red Army should advance northward, worked to split the Party and the Red Army, and set up another central committee. In June 1936 he was forced to dissolve this second central committee and joined the Second and Fourth Front Armies of the Army on their march north, arriving in northern Shaanxi in December that year. In April 1938 he joined the Kuomintang's secret police and became a renegade to the Chinese revolution. For this he was expelled from the Party. He died in Canada in 1979. P. 283

<sup>120</sup> Cf. F. Engels, "Introduction to Karl Marx's 'The Civil War in France' ", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Moscow, 1955, Vol. I, p. 484. P. 288

<sup>121</sup> The *Three-Character Classic* was a popular children's primer in old China. Every sentence was composed of three rhyming characters, and most of the contents concerned feudal ethics. The author was said to be Wang Yinglin of the Song Dynasty. (Some claim the book was written by Ou Shizi.) Scholars in the Ming and Qing dynasties added to it, and Zhang Taiyan revised it in 1928. P. 291

<sup>122</sup> Zhu Maichen, a native of Wuxian County (now in Jiangsu Province) in the Western Han Dynasty, served as governor of Guiji and administrative commissioner during the reign of Emperor Wudi. P. 291

<sup>123</sup> Li Mi was a native of Xiangping, eastern Liaoning (present-day Liaoyang, Liaoning Province), in the Sui Dynasty. He moved to Chang'an (present-day Xi'an, Shaanxi Province) in Jingzhao. He launched an uprising against the Sui Dynasty with Yang Xuangan, an official, in the year 613. Later he became the leader of the Wagang Army of peasant insurgents. P. 292

<sup>124</sup> Wang Mian was a native of Zhuji, Zhejiang Province, in the last years of the Yuan Dynasty. His family was poor when he was a child, so he had to graze ox by day and study diligently under the ever-burning lamp in a temple at night. Eventually he became a renowned painter. P. 292

<sup>125</sup> Zhou Enlai (1898-1976), a native of Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, was born in Huai'an, Jiangsu Province. He followed a work-study programme in France and Germany from 1920 to 1924. Deng Xiaoping (1904- ) is a native of Guang'an, Sichuan Province. He pursued a work-study programme in France between 1920 and the early

days of 1926. Li Fuchun (1900-75) was a native of Changsha, Hunan Province. He carried out his work-study programme in France from 1919 to early 1925. Li Weihai (1896-1984) was a native of Changsha, Hunan Province. He followed a work-study programme in France between 1919 and 1922. Nie Rongzhen (1899- ) is a native of Jiangjin, Sichuan Province. From 1920 to 1924 he studied on a work-study basis in France and Belgium. P. 292

<sup>126</sup> See *Mencius*, “Duke Teng Wen”, Part I. P. 292

<sup>127</sup> See the *Confucian Analects*, “Wei Zi”. P. 293

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Mao Zedong’s editor’s note to the article “Run Co-operatives with Diligence and Thrift” in *Socialist Upsurge in China’s Countryside*. Chin. ed., People’s Publishing House, 1956, Vol. I, p. 16. P. 293

<sup>129</sup> See *Maxims for Household Management* by Zhu Bolu. P. 293

<sup>130</sup> See pp. 263-77 above. P. 302

<sup>131</sup> See pp. 291-96 above. P. 302

<sup>132</sup> In 1958, as the campaign to organize people’s communes spread, communal canteens were set up extensively in the countryside in China. All commune members, no matter how many family members they had or how strong their labour forces were, could eat in the canteens free of charge or were supplied with full or half grain rations. This kind of egalitarianism and “wind of communization” in distribution, as well as the inconvenience they caused people, greatly chilled the peasants’ enthusiasm for production. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party decided to close down communal canteens in the “Regulations on the Work of People’s Communes in the Countryside (Revised Draft)”, formulated in May-June 1961. PP. 307, 354, 400

<sup>133</sup> The “Twelve Articles” refers to the twelve-article “Urgent Letter of Directives Concerning the Current Policies for Rural People’s Communes”, issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on November 3, 1960. In the document it pointed out that the tendency towards making a premature leap to communism — a tendency characterized by egalitarianism and requisition of the property of collective economic undertakings without compensation — was seriously damaging the productive forces in China’s agriculture and should, therefore, be resolutely opposed and thoroughly corrected. Among other things, the document stipulated the following: Rural people’s communes should institute a system of three-level ownership with the contingents as the basic units. (The contingents referred to were the production contingents, renamed production brigades in 1961 when their subordinate production groups were renamed production teams. On February 13, 1962, the Central Committee issued a directive making the production teams the basic accounting units of the rural people’s communes, in place of the production brigades.) Property collected from the communes, brigades and individuals should all be checked carefully and returned to them without fail. Commune members should be allowed to farm small private plots and engage in small-scale household sideline production. The principle of “to each according to his work” should be upheld resolutely, and work should be combined with adequate rest. The letter helped correct the tendency to leap prematurely to communism and bring about a radical change in the rural situation.

PP. 309, 319, 335, 435

<sup>134</sup> “Egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources” are chief components of the “wind of communization” in the movement to organize people’s communes. “Egalitarianism” refers to levelling the rich and the poor and distributing equally in the commune. “Transfer” refers to county and commune transferring pro-

perty from production teams (including the commune members) without compensation.

P. 310

<sup>135</sup> Wang Shengping is a peasant in Tanzichong, Huaminglou, Ningxiang County, Hunan Province, which is Liu Shaoqi's hometown. He was president of the township poor and lower-middle peasants' association and Party branch secretary. Cheng Jingchang is also a peasant in Tanzichong.

P. 312

<sup>136</sup> Huang Duansheng is a peasant in Tanzichong.

P. 312

<sup>137</sup> K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1978, Part I, p. 48.

P. 313

<sup>138</sup> In July 1959 in the "Approved Minutes of the Lushan Meeting (Revised Draft)", prepared in accordance with the opinion of Mao Zedong and examined and revised by him, it was pointed out that on the industrial front it was necessary to seize the opportunity to continue the campaign to increase production and practise economy, resolutely implement the instructions of the Party Central Committee to cut back capital construction, and make proper arrangements for suspended projects so as to contract the industrial front quickly and concentrate human, material and financial resources on completing the required construction projects. It was further pointed out that in line with necessity and feasibility comprehensive arrangements should be made for production, construction, transportation and circulation, systematic readjustment of ratio among various sectors of the national economy should be continued and the agricultural front should be greatly strengthened in order to realize the all-round and balanced development of the national economy. On December 27, 1960, after listening to reports by comrades from the various central bureaus, Mao Zedong proposed explicitly, "The key issue we must deal with is to reduce the industrial front and extend the agricultural front."

P. 314

<sup>139</sup> Tao Lujia (1917- ), a native of Liyang, Jiangsu Province, was First Secretary of the Shanxi Provincial Party Committee at the time.

P. 315

<sup>140</sup> During the First Five-Year Plan period and in the early period of the Second Five-Year Plan heavy industry ranked first, followed by light industry and agriculture, in China's national economic plan. In the early days of the Lushan Meeting Mao Zedong pointed out, "In the past, heavy industry ranked first, then light industry and agriculture. We should reverse the order and put agriculture first and then light industry and heavy industry." "Heavy industry," he added, "should serve light industry and agriculture."

PP. 317, 442

<sup>141</sup> This refers to the analysis repeatedly made by Mao Zedong at the Lushan Meeting in July and August 1959.

P. 318

<sup>142</sup> "Sixty Articles" refers to the sixty-article "Regulations on the Work in the Rural People's Communes (Draft)" formulated by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in March 1961. In view of the egalitarianism prevailing among production brigades, production teams and commune members, fairly systematic stipulations were laid down in the document for reducing the excessively large communes and production brigades and teams, checking the tendency of the communes to exercise rigid control over too many activities of their subordinate units, and improving their systems of democracy and management. In May and June of the same year the Central Committee repared a revised draft, for discussion and trial use, in which further stipulations were made on abolishing the supply system in the sphere of distribution and closing the communal canteens. On September 27, 1962, the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee formally adopted this revised

draft. Implementation of this sixty-article document played an important part in restoration of the rural economy. PP. 319, 335, 435

<sup>143</sup> “Two participations, one reform” refers to enterprise management according to “two participations, one reform and three-in-one combination,” put forth by Anshan Iron and Steel Complex in 1960. “Two participations” means cadres’ participation in collective productive labour and workers’ participation in enterprise management; “one reform” means reform of irrational rules and regulations in enterprises and the institution and improvement of rational ones; and “three-in-one combination” means co-operation among cadres, technicians (or management personnel) and workers in enterprises. P. 323

<sup>144</sup> The timber measurement inspector is one who examines and measures the timber and assesses its category and grade. P. 323

<sup>145</sup> After the inspector has measured and assessed the timber, he uses a hammerlike tool permeated with printing ink to print the diameter, grade, category and the number of the team in charge of measuring the timber on each log. P. 323

<sup>146</sup> The Zhengzhou Meeting was called by Mao Zedong in Zhengzhou, Henan Province, from November 2 to 10, 1958 and attended by some of the central and local leaders to correct mistakes discovered in the movement for people’s communes. It was also known as the First Zhengzhou Meeting. At this meeting Mao Zedong criticized the erroneous ideas of trying to have the people’s communes make a rash transition from collective ownership to ownership by all the people and from socialism to communism, and of rashly abolishing commodity production. P. 335

<sup>147</sup> At the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, convened in Zhengzhou from February to March 1959, in line with the views of Mao Zedong it was decided that the people’s communes institute a three-level (commune, production brigade and production team) system of management and business accounting with the production team as the basic unit. The production team here was equal to a former advanced agricultural producers co-operative. It was renamed production brigade in 1961 (a production brigade was comprised of a few production teams). In his letter of September 29, 1961 addressed to members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and other comrades concerned, Mao Zedong said, “By ‘three-level ownership with the production team as the basic unit’ I mean that the production team, not the production brigade, is the basic accounting unit.” At Mao Zedong’s suggestion and on the basis of a survey of different localities and experience gained from selected places, on February 13, 1962, the CPC Central Committee issued the “Directive on Changing the Basic Accounting Units in the Rural People’s Communes”, according to which production teams became the basic accounting units of the people’s communes. P. 335

<sup>148</sup> From early July to early August 1960 the CPC Central Committee held a working conference in Beidaihe. The participants studied international issues and national economic readjustment, approved “Chief Measures Taken for Industrial Production and Transport for the Third Quarter of 1960”, put forward by Li Fuchun and Bo Yibo, and formulated the “Directive on the Entire Party Membership’s Participation in Agricultural and Grain Production”. They proposed readjusting the national economy. In accordance with the spirit of the conference, the Central Committee, when studying and mapping out the plan for 1961, formulated the principle of “readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards”. In January 1961 the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party formally approved the principle for economic readjustment and made

it known to the Chinese people. From then on, the national economy entered a phase of readjustment. P. 336

<sup>149</sup> From late May to mid-June 1961 the CPC Central Committee held a working conference in Beijing to study further readjustment of the national economy. The participants worked out the “Nine Methods of Reducing Population and Grain Sales in Cities and Towns” and decided that within three years the 129 million urban population at the end of 1960 should be reduced by more than 20 million, with a reduction of at least 10 million in 1961. On June 28 the Central Committee issued the “Circular on Some Questions Concerning Reduction of Workers and Office Staff”. Thanks to these reductions labour force on the forefront of agriculture was increased, grain supplies for cities and towns were cut back and difficulties were minimized. P. 336

<sup>150</sup> The eight-article “Directive on Current Problems in Industry” refers to the directive issued by the CPC Central Committee on September 15, 1961, in which eight stipulations were set forth with regard to problems existing at the time: excessively high targets set in plans, imbalances within industry and between industry and other sectors, overextended capital construction, boasting, exaggeration and arbitrary direction made by industrial management departments and enterprises, and chaotic management of enterprises. The main contents were: 1) Carry out the principle of “readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards”. 2) Exercise highly centralized, unified leadership in industrial management. 3) On the basis of overall planning, grasp the key link and concentrate on solving problems. 4) Work hard to increase the production of daily necessities and agricultural means of production in order to stabilize the market. 5) Strengthen economic co-operation. 6) Rectify enterprise management and practise strict responsibility system and the business accounting system. 7) Uphold the mass line and improve work style. 8) Heighten the sense of discipline. The directive facilitated implementation of the principle of “readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards” and accelerated the recovery and development of China’s industry. P. 336

<sup>151</sup> The seventy-article “Draft Regulations on Work in State-Owned Industrial Enterprises” was formulated by the CPC Central Committee in September 1961. Following the Great Leap Forward of 1958, many enterprises failed to implement strict responsibility systems and neglected business accounting; their wage and reward systems suffered from egalitarianism and their Party committees took all the day-to-day administrative work into their own hands. Among the fairly common consequences of this were chaos in production, arbitrary direction, haphazard operation, serious damage to equipment and poor economic results. With this situation in view, the seventy-article draft regulations on industrial work defined the nature of state-owned industrial enterprises and their fundamental tasks, called for the establishment and improvement of necessary responsibility systems, rules and regulations, and emphasized the principles of planned management, distribution according to work, good economic results and material benefits for workers and office staff. The discussion and trial implementation of this document were helpful in summing up experience in the management of state-owned industrial enterprises, in readjusting, consolidating and filling out the national economy and raising its standards and in speeding up the recovery and development of China’s industry. P. 336

<sup>152</sup> The Lushan Meeting in September 1961 was a working conference called by the CPC Central Committee at the Lushan Mountains, Jiangxi Province, from late August to mid-September to study problems concerning industry, grain production, finance, trade and education. It discussed and approved the “Draft Regulations on Work in State-Owned Industrial Enterprises” (“Seventy Articles on Industrial Work”)

and worked out the “Directive on Current Problems in Industry” (“Eight-Article Directive on Industry”). It was decided that all industrial departments “unswervingly carry out the principle of ‘readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards’ ” for a fairly long time to come. It pointed out that “readjustment must be the central task” during the next three years. The meeting also adopted the “Draft Provisional Regulations on Work in Institutions of Higher Learning Directly Under the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of China” (“Sixty Articles on Work in Institutions of Higher Learning”), “Decision on Training Cadres in Rotation” and other documents. P. 336

<sup>153</sup> The forty-article “Draft Regulations on Improvement of Commercial Work” refers to the “Draft Regulations on Improvement of Commercial Work (for Trial Implementation)” issued by the CPC Central Committee on June 19, 1961. In the Great Leap Forward of 1958 and the people’s commune movement there was a tendency for a time to negate commodity production and the law of value, so that some necessary circulation channels were abolished and commercial work was weakened, producing adverse consequences in the national economy and people’s lives. To change the situation a guiding principle for commercial work was formulated in the draft regulations and many concrete policies and measures were defined for its improvement. The main regulations were: to uphold the principle of exchanging industrial and agricultural products at equal value, widely introduce the contract system for the purchase of farm and sideline products, improve management and administration of state commercial departments, restore supply and marketing co-operatives and co-operative stores, restore workshops for processing agricultural products in connection with rural commerce, open up rural trade fairs and stimulate the interchange of urban and rural products. P. 336

<sup>154</sup> The “Draft Regulations on Some Policies Concerning Urban and Rural Handicrafts (for Trial Implementation)” refers to the thirty-five-article draft regulations formulated by the CPC Central Committee in June 1961. Following the Great Leap Forward of 1958, when handicrafts underwent a blind transition to state-operated and communal industry and the orientation of handicraft production was changed, large numbers of handicraft workers had to transfer to other occupations and production of many small articles for daily use dropped or stopped. As a result, these small articles were in short supply. In view of this situation, the draft regulations stipulated that China’s handicrafts have three forms of ownership — ownership by all the people, by the collective and the individual — with collective ownership predominant — and that handicraft workers follow their original occupations and their mode of production and management be flexible and diversified. As for their wage system, the principle of “distribution according to work, more pay for more work” should be carried out, and supply, production and marketing should be placed under overall planning. P. 336

<sup>155</sup> After the “Draft Regulations on Improvement of Commercial Work (for Trial Implementation)” was issued by the CPC Central Committee on June 19, 1961, the Central Committee prepared to draft more regulations on commercial work, but for one reason or another the regulations were not worked out. P. 337

<sup>156</sup> “Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shanxi-Suiyuan Liberated Area”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. IV, p. 236 P. 344

<sup>157</sup> Mao Zedong, *Inner-Party Correspondence*, March 17, 1959. 345

<sup>158</sup> Mao Zedong, “Sixty Articles on Working Methods (Draft)”, January 31, 1958. P. 345

<sup>159</sup> From a speech delivered at the working conference convened by the CPC Central Committee in Beijing on June 12, 1961. P. 346

<sup>160</sup> The policy of developing several industries simultaneously involves a whole set of policies for “walking on two legs”, such as: while giving priority to the development of heavy industry, industry and agriculture, and heavy and light industry should develop simultaneously; under centralized leadership, overall planning and due division of labour, central and local industry, and large, medium-sized and small enterprises should develop simultaneously. In his report delivered at the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the CPC in May 1958, Liu Shaoqi gave a general idea of the policy of developing several industries simultaneously while elucidating the main points of the general line for socialist construction. PP. 346, 402

<sup>161</sup> Mao Zedong, “The Summing-Up of Ten Years”, June 18, 1960. P. 347

<sup>162</sup> Cf. “Get Organized” *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. III, pp. 158-59. P. 353

<sup>163</sup> Mao Zedong stressed this point on many occasions to vast numbers of cadres and intellectuals in his articles, speeches and inscriptions. For instance, in the article “Talks at the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art” of 1942 he pointed out, “Only by speaking for the masses can one educate them and only by being their pupil can one be their teacher” (*Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. III, pp. 84-85). In “Methods of Work of Party Committees” in 1949 he said, “We should listen carefully to the views of the cadres at the lower levels. Be a pupil before you become a teacher” (*Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. IV, p. 378). In 1950 he wrote an inscription for the Changsha No. 1 Normal School in Hunan Province, “Be a pupil of the people before you become their teacher.” In “Speech at the Chinese Communist Party’s National Conference on Propaganda Work” in 1957 he also pointed out, “Our writers and artists, scientists and technicians, professors and teachers are all educating students, educating the people. Being educators and teachers, they have the duty to be educated first. . . . To be a good teacher, one must first be a good pupil.” (*Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, Vol. V, pp. 425-26). P. 353

<sup>164</sup> This was written on April 29, 1959 to cadres at provincial, prefectural and county levels as well as cadres of people’s communes, production brigades and production teams. The six questions were: 1) fixing farm output quotas for peasant households; 2) close planting; 3) economizing on the use of grain; 4) extending the sown acreage; 5) agricultural mechanization; and 6) the importance of speaking the truth. The gist of the message was to criticize boasting and exaggeration and encourage an attitude of seeking truth from facts. P. 356

<sup>165</sup> The “Decision on Training Cadres in Rotation” was issued by the CPC Central Committee on September 15, 1961. At that time, as was stated in the decision, the Central Committee considered it most important to launch a new, Party-wide drive for study and, therefore, decided that all Party cadres holding leading posts at different levels and in various fields should attend, group by group, a short-term training course. The purpose was to help Party cadres better understand and grasp the objective laws governing socialist construction, overcome one-sidedness in their thinking and mistakes in their practical work, conscientiously master a Marxist-Leninist style of work and correct the mistakes of being divorced from both reality and the masses, running counter to Party policies and violating discipline. P. 356

<sup>166</sup> V. I. Lenin, “‘Left-Wing’ Communism — An Infantile Disorder”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, Vol. III, pp. 351-52. P. 361

<sup>167</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Speech at a Joint Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet and All-Russia Trade Union Congress", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. XXVIII, p. 400. P. 361

<sup>168</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, Vol. II, p. 360. P. 361

<sup>169</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Speech at a Congress of Chairmen of Gubernia Soviets", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. XXVIII, p. 36. P. 361

<sup>170</sup> "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. I, pp. 108 and 112. P. 362

<sup>171</sup> "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. II, p. 204. P. 362

<sup>172</sup> Cf. "Fight for a Fundamental Turn for the Better in the Nation's Financial and Economic Situation", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, Vol. V, pp. 29-30. P. 363

<sup>173</sup> "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1967, Vol. III, p. 119. P. 365

<sup>174</sup> A reference to the sixty-article "Draft Provisional Regulations on Work in Institutions of Higher Learning Directly Under the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China", which was approved in principle by the CPC Central Committee in September 1961. In the draft the experience — both positive and negative — in higher education in the three years or so following 1958 was analysed. In view of the major problems, such as lowered quality of instruction, neglect of the role of intellectuals and too much physical labour, it was stipulated that institutions of higher education make teaching their main task and strive to raise the quality of instruction; correctly implement the Party's policy towards intellectuals and its policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend"; manage general affairs well so as to ensure the material conditions necessary for teaching and the daily life of staff and students; improve the method and style of Party leadership and strengthen ideological and political work. P. 369

<sup>175</sup> In October 1957 the Soviet Union launched the first man-made satellite, at the time the most advanced scientific achievement in the world. During the Great Leap Forward of 1958 some people compared "high-output targets" and "newest achievements" in every trade and profession to the launching of a satellite. However, owing to exaggeration prevalent at the time, the "high-output targets", "new techniques" and "new products" announced by not a few departments and units were false and impracticable. P. 375

<sup>176</sup> From a speech delivered by Mao Zedong at a working conference of the Central Committee in Beijing on January 13, 1961. P. 375

<sup>177</sup> "Taking roots among peasants and maintaining close contact with them" was a working method in the land reform. The key was for cadres engaged in land reform to discover and train backbone activists for struggle from among poor peasants and farm labourers while contacting peasants and inquiring about their misery (the backbone peasants were commonly called "roots"), then have the backbone activists mobilize and contact other poor peasants and farm labourers and unite with middle peasants in order to wage a struggle against the feudal landlord class. P. 381

<sup>178</sup> "Present Situation and Our Tasks", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. IV, p. 161. P. 382

<sup>179</sup> Cf. “Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. III, pp. 119-20, and “Methods of Work of Party Committees”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. IV, p. 377. P. 386

<sup>180</sup> These guiding principles for inner-Party struggle were put forth by Mao Zedong during the War of Resistance Against Japan when he summed up the historical lessons from inner-Party struggle. See Mao Zedong, “Rectify the Party’s Style of Work”, “Our Study and the Current Situation” and “The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. III, pp. 49-50, 164, and 271 respectively. In the article “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People” of 1957 Mao Zedong stressed and explicitly summarized these principles once again. See *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, Vol. V, pp. 389-90. P. 389

<sup>181</sup> “The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War”, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. II, p. 204. P. 390

<sup>182</sup> In “Regulations on Work in the Rural People’s Communes (Revised Draft)”, approved by the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party convened on September 27, 1962, the “Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention for Party and Government Cadres” were revised as follows:

The Three Main Rules of Discipline:

- 1) Conscientiously carry out the policies of the Central Committee of the Party and state laws and decrees and take an active part in socialist construction.
- 2) Practise democratic centralism.
- 3) Report the situation truthfully.

The Eight Points for Attention:

- 1) Be concerned for the people’s wellbeing.
- 2) Take part in collective labour.
- 3) Treat people as your equals.
- 4) Consult the masses in work and be fair in handling matters.
- 5) Maintain close ties with the masses and seek no personal privileges.
- 6) Follow the principle of “no investigation, no right to speak”.
- 7) Act in light of actual circumstances.
- 8) Enhance the class consciousness of the proletariat and raise the political

level.

P. 393

<sup>183</sup> *Some Questions Concerning Party Life* was study material for the secretaries of county Party committees and Party cadres at higher levels provided by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in its “Decision on Training Cadres in Rotation”, issued on September 15, 1961. It consists of excerpts from works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi and from documents of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party — excerpts on the role of the ruling party and the need to act in accordance with party constitution, to strictly abide by democratic centralism, to correctly carry on inner-Party struggle, to maintain close ties with the masses and strengthen Party unity. The CPC Central Committee required Party cadres to study this material so as to raise their ideological and political level, enhance their Party spirit and correctly solve all kinds of problems existing in Party life at the time. P. 394

<sup>184</sup> A reference to the system introduced in the early days of people's communes in rural areas whereby the commune members were provided mainly with free grain rations or meals. The "Resolution on Some Questions Concerning the People's Communes," adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC, convened in December 1958, prescribed that the people's communes in rural areas adopt a distribution system that combined the wage and supply systems. Because there was actually no big increase in production and the supplied portion was much larger than that of wages, the principle of distribution according to labour was not applied faithfully. As a result, this egalitarian distribution dampened the peasants' enthusiasm for production. So, the supply system was abolished in accordance with "Regulations on Work in the Rural People's Communes (Revised Draft)" formulated by the CPC Central Committee in May and June of 1961. P. 400

<sup>185</sup> On February 6, 1962, Deng Xiaoping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, delivered a speech on the building of the ruling party to the enlarged working conference of the CPC Central Committee. He focused on severe errors in the Party's leadership and work after 1959, especially on the weakening of the Party's fine traditions. He stressed the need to improve the Party's life and restore and develop the Party's fine traditions by strengthening democratic centralism, establishing a regular system of organizational, propaganda and educational work, training and selecting cadres, studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and so on. P. 417

<sup>186</sup> At the working conference of the CPC Central Committee held on May 11, 1962, Zhou Enlai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee and Premier of the State Council, discussed questions concerning the economic situation, guiding principles and tasks, grain, foreign exchange, market, reduction of urban population, etc. Deng Xiaoping, General Secretary of the Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council, spoke on questions concerning reduction of urban population, more effective leadership of the production teams of people's communes in rural areas, re-examination of cases and rehabilitation, strengthening leading cores of Party committees at various levels, etc. P. 423

<sup>187</sup> The report by the Central Financial and Economic Group refers to the "Report on Discussion of the Readjustment Plan for 1962" it submitted to the CPC Central Committee on April 30, 1962. It analysed the basic situation of the national economy at the time, truthfully pointed out the severe difficulties in the economy and put forward three important policy decisions: 1) to readjust the entire national economy on a large scale; 2) to work for a quick but prepare for a slow fundamental turn for the better in the financial and economic situation; and 3) to resolutely curtail the industrial production and construction front, continue to reduce workers and staff members and the urban population and vigorously strengthen the agricultural production front. It also proposed concrete measures for carrying out these three policy decisions. The report was discussed at the working conference of the Central Committee held in May 1962, and on May 26 it was issued throughout the Party for implementation. P. 423

<sup>188</sup> Yang Shangkun (1907- ), a native of Tongnan, Sichuan Province, served as alternate member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and head of the General Office of the Central Committee at the time. P. 423

<sup>189</sup> The enlarged working conference of the Central Committee was convened in Beijing from January 11 to February 7, 1962. It was attended by more than seven thousand persons — leading members of the Central Committee and its bureaus; of

Party committees of the various provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, prefectures and counties; of major factories, mines and other enterprises; and of army units. At the conference Liu Shaoqi, on behalf of the Central Committee, delivered a report in which he made a preliminary assessment of the experience and lessons since the Great Leap Forward of 1958, analysed the major shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the previous years and pointed out that the major task facing the entire Party was readjustment. Mao Zedong delivered an important speech at the conference, emphasizing the necessity of improving the system of democratic centralism, of exercising full democracy both inside and outside the Party and of deepening people's understanding of the laws governing socialist construction while summing up both positive and negative experience. He also made a self-criticism, bearing responsibility for the shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the previous years. PP. 424, 435

<sup>190</sup> The Third Five-Year Plan for National Economic Development was originally intended to cover the period from 1963 through 1967. However, during the period between the enlarged working conference of the CPC Central Committee convened in January 1962 and its working conference convened in May 1962, the Central Committee, proceeding from an analysis of the international and domestic situation and of the execution of the readjustment plan beginning in 1961, envisaged that readjustment would cover a relatively long period and that the focal point during the period of the Third Five-Year Plan should be readjustment and rehabilitation. This is what Liu Shaoqi meant here. Later, as the national economy recovered fairly rapidly, Mao Zedong proposed that the three years from 1963 through 1965 be a transition period for carrying out readjustment and laying a foundation for the Third Five-Year Plan that would start in 1966. This proposal was approved by other leading comrades of the Central Committee. P. 427

<sup>191</sup> The "five unhealthy practices" refer to premature communization, boastfulness and exaggeration, issuing of arbitrary orders, authoritarianism, and seeking of privileges, which prevailed during the Great Leap Forward and people's commune movement. P. 435

<sup>192</sup> "A Circular on the Situation", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. IV, p. 220; and "On the Policy Concerning Industry and Commerce", p. 204. P. 437

<sup>193</sup> "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing 1975, Vol. IV, p. 419. P. 442

<sup>194</sup> Cf. K. Marx, "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1985, Vol. 20, p. 188. P. 448

<sup>195</sup> Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Draft Programme of the R.C.P. (B.)", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. 29, p. 111; "Instructions of the Central Committee to Communists Working in the People's Commissariat for Education", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. 32, pp. 120-22; and "On Polytechnical Education", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, Vol. 36, pp. 532-34. P. 448

<sup>196</sup> Trusts are advanced forms of monopolies that came into existence after capitalist production and the concentration of capital had reached a very high level. They combine many enterprises producing the same kind of commodities and ones closely related with the marketing of those commodities. In socialist countries trusts are one of the forms of socialist enterprises. P. 453



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(下卷)

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